Migration and Diaspora Formation

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Migration and Diaspora Formation

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Introduction

Migration and Diaspora as Elements of a Future Global History of Christianity. A Plea for an Enlarged Perspective

1 Migration and the Current Shape of World Christianity

The main issue this book seeks to address is the question whether and to what extent migration and diaspora formation should be considered as elements of a new historiography of global Christianity. This argument takes into account the dramatic changes Christianity as a World Religion has experienced in recent times – and also opens new perspectives in reflecting upon earlier epochs.

These dramatic changes refer to what has been labelled as a "shift of centres" of Christianity from the Northern hemisphere (Europe and North America) to the Global South.[1] In 1910, about 81% of the Christian world population lived in Europe or North America.[2] By 2010 this ratio had dropped to about 38%. Africa has to be credited with the most spectacular growth from only 2–3% around 1910 to more than 21% hundred years later, Latin American Christianity increased more than double from about 12% to almost 24% in the same period, and Asia from mere 4% to currently about 15%. This shift is reflected in the figures of the various denominations as well. Looking at the Catholic Church, authors like Walbert Bühlmann were already speaking in 1983 about the transformation of a (Eurocentric)

1 Cf. Lamin Sanneh and Joel A. Carpenter, eds., *The Changing Face of Christianity. Africa, the West and the World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Lamin Sanneh, *Whose Religion is Christianity? The Gospel beyond the West* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003); Mark A. Noll, *The New Shape of World Christianity: How American Experience Reflects Global Faith* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2009); Sebastian Kim and Kirsteen Kim, *Christianity as a World Religion* (London: Bloomsbury, 2008); Philip Jenkins, *The New Faces of Christianity: Believing the Bible in the Global South* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

2 All figures are based on Todd Michael Johnson, Kenneth R. Ross, and Sandra S. K. Lee, eds., *Atlas of Global Christianity 1910–2010* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009). Founded information is providing as well the Pew Research Center, Global Christianity – A Report on the Size and Distribution of the World's Christian Population, 2011 (https://www.pewforum.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/7/2011/12/Christianity-fullreport-web.pdf).

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"Western Church" to a "World Church."[3] Since the 1980s similar observations have also been made about the Anglican World Communion,[4] the Lutheran World Federation[5] and other global Protestant denominational bodies.

The reasons for this dynamic are diverse but two of them deserve to be mentioned here. On the one hand, population in regions of the Global South exploded.[6] On the other hand, contrary to predictions from the colonial era, Christianity expanded after the decolonization era in an unexpected rhythm in some of these regions, intensifying the effect of the general demographical growth. This was the case in sub-Saharan Africa, and in countries like Korea and the Philippines.

One element of particular interest in the general picture of this "next Christendom" – the title of a seminal book by Philip Jenkins[7] – is migration. The successive waves of South-North migration since the 1970s have increasingly altered the current face of Christianity in its traditional homelands in the Northern hemisphere. African, Asian, and Latin American migrants to North America have led what has been described as "the De-Europeanization of American Christianity."[8] This is mirrored not only in the general picture, but also in the composition of specific denominations. For example, in the US, the Catholic Church has remained stable but its Irish or Polish character has been replaced by a Latin American one. In Europe, there are African and Asian migrant communities both within traditional Church structures (such as Vietnamese Catholics, as members of the local Catholic congregation), or as branches of already existing African,

3 Walbert Bühlmann, Weltkirche. Neue Dimensionen – Modell für das Jahr 2001 (Graz/Wien/Köln: Styria, 1984), 12: „Von der Westkirche zur Weltkirche."

4 Cf. Kevin Ward, *A history of Global Anglicanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006): "southward shift in Anglicanism," 15 as well as several remarks on the need for a new historiography of the Anglican Communion, 6–11; Andrew Wingate et al., eds., *Anglicanism: A Global Communion* (New York: Church Publishing Inc., 1998), 21.

5 After five general assemblies held in western countries the 6th in Dar es Salaam (Tanzania, 1977) and the 8th in Curitiba (Brazil, 1990) represents a visible shift; cf. for short considerations on the problems coming from the global South Vilmos Vajta, *Im Wandel der Generationen: Der Lutherische Weltbund 1947–1982* (Stuttgart: Kreuz Verlag, 1983), 12–14 (for issues of creed) and 18–28 (for religious implications of social-political realities).

6 Cf. Max Roser, Hannah Ritchie, and Esteban Ortiz-Ospina (2013), "World Population Growth," published online at OurWorldInData.org; retrieved from: https://ourworldindata.org/world-population-growth.

7 Philip Jenkins, *The Next Christendom: The Coming of Global Christianity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011, third edition), especially on migration to Europe 120–125.

8 Jehu J. Hanciles, *Beyond Christendom: Globalization, African Migration, and the Transformation of the West* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 2008), 293–296.

Asian or Latin American churches extending to western countries[9] or as new, independent migrant churches established on European soil. An increasing number of Europeans[10] have been pulled into the congregations of the last two church types. One of the effects of this dynamic is an increasing awareness among migrants and migrant churches of the need for a so-called "reverse mission"[11] in European societies now regarded as secular. This manifests itself not only among Protestant and charismatic communities but in the Roman Catholic Church as well, which is covering the shortage of its clergy by employing – for example in Germany – thousands of priests and capelans from Asia (very often from India) or different African countries. Not only has the global map of Christianity changed dramatically during the last 50 years (with a new and unprecedented presence, for example, in the Gulf states, as result of the influx of a labour force from such places as the Philippines), but Islam has also experienced remarkable changes, due to its spread through migrants.

The role of migration for Christianity as a world religion during recent decades has drawn considerable attention from scholars, especially those from the English-speaking academic world. Book titles like *Christian Theology in the Age of Migration. Implications for World Christianity*,[12] *Migration and Public Discourse in*

9 Cf. Philip Jenkins, *God's Continent: Christianity, Islam, and Europe's Religious Crisis* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009); an example for new transnational Pentecostal churches is the Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus (IUED), founded in 1977: since the 1990s IUED established transnational Christian missions, planting churches in at least 52 countries, including Portugal, with 62 churches, and South Africa, with 115 churches (cf. Brian Stanley, *Christianity in the Twentieth Century: a World History* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018], 307; and Paul Freston, "The Transnationalisation of Brazilian Pentecostalism. The Universal Church of the Kingdom of God," in André Corten and Ruth Marshall-Fratani, eds., *Between Babel and Pentecost. Transnational Pentecostalism in Africa and Latin America* [Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2001], 196–215.)

10 Cf. Afe Adogame, *The African Christian Diaspora* : *New Currents and Emerging Trends in World Christianity* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013): the Embassy of the Blessed Kingdom of God for All Nations has a majority of non-African adherents, 74, 80.

11 Cf. Adogame, *The African Christian Diaspora,* 169–190; Frieder Ludwig and J. Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu, eds., *African Christian Presence in the West. New Immigrant Congregations and Transnational Networks in North America and Europe* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2011).

12 Peter C. Phan, ed., *Christian Theology in the Age of Migration. Implications for World Christianity* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2020): "There is virtually no nation on the Earth that has not been seriously affected by migration as country of origin, transit, or destination. [. . .] Global population movements today are so worldwide, frequent, and immense that our time has been dubbed 'The Age of Migration'," IX–X. Phan inspired himself for the tile of this book from the seminal study of Stephen Castles, Hein De Haas, and Mark J. Miller, *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*, (New York: The Guilford Press, 2020, sixth edition).

World Christianity,[13] *Church in an Age of Global Migration: A Moving Body*,[14] *Beyond Christendom: Globalization, African Migration, and the transformation of the West*[15]together with the ones already mentioned and many others suggest the dramatic and historical impact of the current dynamics.[16] These and other similar titles emphasize that migration has come to be regarded as one of the most important features – if not *the* defining feature – of this age.

The current migration has different elements, and thus a different profile, from those of earlier times. Over the last 50 years long-distance migration has increased enormously. In contrast with developments in the previous 500 years, Europe is no longer the main source of global migration and the starting point of colonial overseas settlement enterprises and has become a receiving area. Globalization has led to a situation where a steadily increasing number of people from 'anywhere' have migrated to 'everywhere' in a transregional and transcontinental manner. This was facilitated by considerably improved conditions of travel and communication and low-cost air travel. Long-distance migration ceased to be a single lifetime experience and one-way movement. A migration experience became often the first step in a series of back-and-forth movements during the lifetime of many individuals.

In addition to the new character of the current migration, there is increasing interest in it in political and civil society circles. States, political bodies (such as the EU) and international organizations have an interest in controlling migration. Uncontrolled immigration is seen as a challenge for state boundaries and nation-states are increasingly concerned about the growing transnational communities of people – diasporas – having allegiance to foreign countries. Global migration has forced regional and international politics to adopt new forms of collaboration.

Church history as an academic discipline, however (especially in the German-speaking world and particularly in the Protestant context), has so far paid only limited attention to these changing realities – which can no longer be

13 Afe Adogame, Raimundo C. Barreto, and Wanderley Pereira da Rosa, eds., *Migration and Public Discourse in World Christianity* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2019).

14 Susanna Snyder, Joshua Ralston, and Agnes M. Brazal, eds., *Church in an Age of Global Migration: A Moving Body* (New York: Palgrave Mcmillan, 2016).

15 Hanciles, 2008; from the same author cf. the recent study as well: *Migration and the Making of Global Christianity* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2021).

16 Two different but remarkable discussions on the role of migration on world Christianity, including Europe and North America, during the 20th century offers Brian Stanley, *Christianity in the Twentieth Century: A World History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018), 337–356 (and specially 355–356 regarding the West); and Hartmut Lehmann, *Das Christentum im 20. Jahrhundert: Fragen, Probleme, Perspektiven* (Leipzig: Ev. Verlagsanstalt, 2012), 182–188.

ignored. This implies, at the same time, the need to reflect on the entire history of Christianity, from its early beginnings, from a global perspective.[17] The challenge thus consists in connecting a Church History traditionally focusing on sedentary forms of Christianity and pattens of thinking primarily defined by regional contexts with issues of religious mobility, including migration and diaspora formation during the *long durée* of the history of Christianity. A more balanced historiography correlating sedentary and regional dimensions[18] with transregional mobility and interactions will enrich the perspective.

A *global* history of Christianity aims to integrate local histories on a larger map and to contextualize particular dynamics in a broader framework. Migration – as a spatial movement of people with the intention to resettle on a temporary or a more permanent basis – has many reasons and takes many forms. And the phenomenon of diaspora, as currently debated in contemporary academic discourses, is highly complex and diverse. The constraints of this volume will not allow a systematic and comprehensive discussion of every form of migration and diaspora.

The case studies included therefore have to be considered merely as hints and examples for an ecclesiastical historiography that will enlarge its criteria of selection in a systematic manner. What would a global history of Christianity look like if it was not interested *only* in confessional paradigms, the conditions of religious communities in different political, social, and cultural settings, hierarchies, doctrines, institutional structures, forms of fellowship or worship etc., but also in asking how the religion of people was influenced by experiences of disruption like migration and the conditions of diaspora? Migrants are mostly regarded as a peripheral element and generally considered only in their exotic

17 This is also the main argument of Mark N. Noll in the Introduction of his *The New Shape of World Christianity* (2009): "The new world situation for the Christian religion demands a new history of Christianity. Naturally, with the startling changes that have taken place over the last century in the church worldwide, quite a bit more is needed than just a new history, especially since those changes have been as dramatic as anything experienced by the worldwide body of Christ since its very earliest years. Older histories of Christianity remain irreplaceable . . . The problem is not that earlier historical accounts are necessarily erroneous or misleading. It is rather that they presume a core Christian narrative dominated by events, personalities, organizations, money and cultural expectations in Europe and North America – and then surrounded by a fringe of miscellaneous missionary phenomena scattered throughout the rest of the globe. Such a historical picture was all but inevitable given conditions, say, in 1900 when over 80 percent of the world Christian population was Caucasian and over 70 percent resided in Europe," 9.

18 Here has to be considered as well in a more systematic manner the consequences of the so called 'internal migration' which can be more interesting in its roll for religion from a comparative, global perspective; cf. Hartmut Lehmann, ed., *Migration und Religion im Zeitalter der Globalisierung* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2005), 10–11.

character. But the general awareness of migration and diaspora has increased since the Second World War, with its huge problems of 'displaced persons'.

Nevertheless I assume, as a working hypothesis, that migration and diaspora formation were not always and everywhere crucial in the history of Christianity, but in certain places and at certain times complementary or even only peripheral to crucial factors in the life of religious communities. Thus, for a balanced picture, it is fundamental to determine the scale of their importance for the History of Christianity as an academic discipline. The following remarks are not intended to map a possible field of migration and diaspora studies in the discipline of Ecclesiastical History in a comprehensive manner, but to make only few references to the obvious potential of these issues.

2 Migration in Current Ecclesiastical Historiography

In spite of the fact that transnational, transregional, and global perspectives have become quite dominant in recent historical studies, Church History – as an academic discipline, especially in the German-speaking Protestant context – has been quite slow to respond to these new developments. Roman Catholic Church historiography, on the other hand, has always been more universalistic in outlook but has usually paid only limited attention to the denominational plurality and non-Catholic sections of the Christian tradition. It has been primarily Early Church History (due to its inherent "ecumenical" perspective) and the new subfield of 'History of World Christianity' (flourishing especially in anglophone academia) that have developed a genuine interest in overarching transregional and transcultural perspectives.

Insights from these two fields are highly relevant for the issues under consideration in this book. From its very beginnings, the geography of Christianity has been shaped not only (or not even primarily) by organized missionary activities but also through the migration of its first adherents (as we learn from Acts 8). In late antiquity and medieval times, Christianity spread in various regions both as result of mass migration (with Gothic tribes, for example, already coming into contact with Christianity at the lower Danube in the early 4th century) and individual mobility (by itinerant Irish and Scottish monks in Western Europe or East Syriac "Nestorian" merchants engaged in long-distance trade to Central Asia, China or India).

In early modern times (since the 16th and 17th centuries), it has not only been the activities of European religious refugees (such as the Huguenots or Moravians)

who contributed to the dissemination of Christianity in regions where it had been previously unknown. The transatlantic slave trade also played an important role, in *both* directions, as recent research has shown. So, for example, Christianized Kongo slaves displaced to the 'New World' also functioned as evangelists among their countrymen and fellow sufferers in the Americas.[19] Vice versa, the first Protestant black communities on West African soil in the late 18th century were the result of a movement of remigration among black African Americans – freed slaves – from Nova Scotia to the current Sierra Leone, with – programmatically – "Freetown" as its centre.[20] Finally, as already mentioned, global movements of migration and increasing South-North migration in the past 50 years led, inter alia, to the establishment of many African congregations in the Western world and has changed the traditionally white profile of North American Christianity.

Such events and examples are well known among specialists and have been discussed in various disciplines of historical research. Traditional ecclesiastical historiography has referred to processes of migration only occasionally and in different contexts. However, there is still no attempt to consider the relevance of migration and diaspora formation in the *long durée* of the history of Christianity in a more systematic way.[21] A stronger awareness of the connection between successive movements of migration and the development and formation of Christian communities, not only in the last two centuries but from the earliest times, will certainly help to create a more inclusive picture.

With a few exceptions, western ecclesiastical historiography has seen migration firstly in terms of religious dissidents leaving Europe for the New World and to a lesser extent moving around Europe since the 16th century. Their number, the consequences of their mobility, and their status as religious refugees made historians (especially those of their own confessional tradition) attentive to their fate. As a result, the general pattern of historiographical approach to

19 Cf. John K. Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2007), 262.

20 Cf. Andrew Walls, "Sierra Leone, Afroamerican Remigration and the Beginnings of Protestantism in West Africa," in Klaus Koschorke, ed., *Transcontinental Links in the History of non-Western Christianity* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2002), 55; Lamin Sanneh, *Abolitionists abroad. American Blacks and the Making of Modern West Africa* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1999).

21 Hartmut Lehmann remarked 2005 the lack of interest for migration in the scholarship regarding even the most recent religious movements, id., ed., *Migration und Religion im Zeitalter der Globalisierung* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2005), 8; in contrast, studies on other different academic fields shows interest in the connection between religions and migration: cf. Andrea Lauser and Cordula Weissköppel, eds., *Migration und religiöse Dynamik. Ethnologische Religionsforschung im transnationalen Kontext* (Bielefeld: Transkript, 2008).

these groups stressed the role of European Christendom in the New World and elsewhere. The emphasis therefore lay on their agency and their heroic character as "founding fathers."

Secondly, church historians have discussed to some extent the issue of European mass migration to the Americas and some settler colonies during the 19th and early 20th centuries. In this regard, the focus has been on the mostly poor conditions of ordinary migrants, the emergence of new local churches, including strategies to overcame the hardships of the beginning, to adapt to the new situation, or the effort to preserve a distinct ethnic and religious identity of migrants and their descendants over several generations. Only in the post-colonial era has a consistent body of scholarship emerged that is reconsidering the large number of transatlantic forced migrants to the New World between the 16th century and the end of slavery.

3 Towards a *Global* History of Christianity and the Goal of an Entangled History

The current concept of a 'global', 'entangled', or 'connected' history of Christianity gives a broader picture. This is not defined primarily by the attempt to write a comprehensive history of Christianity in space (as global) or time (as universal), but as one that is interested in the processes of transregional interaction and transfer in multiple directions, observing in comparative perspective delayed or simultaneous, analogous or dissimilar developments. Even if such a perspective is absolutely necessary for modern times, a change of perspective must include earlier epochs as well. Although global, entangled, or connected historiographical patterns each have a specific focus and use different tools, they can be employed in an eclectic manner with the aim of giving a wider comparative picture. The basic interest of the resulting approach is to promote an integrative image of Christianity, where local histories can and have to be integrated within the broader context on such a global map. Thus, the history of any congregation and religious body can be written at any time as one part of a broader picture. For reaching such a vision, different historiographical tools may be employed. One such set of tools – the "polycentric structures" and the "enlarged map" – were proposed by Klaus Koschorke.[22]

22 Klaus Koschorke, "Polyzentrische Strukturen der globalen Christentumsgeschichte," in Richard Friedli et al., eds., *Intercultural Perceptions and Prospects of World Christianity* (Frankfurt

Building on this vision with a strong emphasis on space, I propose to focus on mobility as a further essential dimension for an interconnected history of Christianity. There has been a tendency, especially, but not only in the Protestant context, to focus primarily on sedentary, territorially-shaped forms of religion. According to existing textbooks, Christianity cannot be imagined in history without dioceses, "Landeskirchen," presbyteries, regional conferences, and many other forms of territorial constitution. Virtually the entire life of churches is structured on territorial principles. Even the so-called "local Church," as the smallest comprehensive part of the "universal Church," works with such a static image for defining its shape. This goes back to the reality that the majority of faithful could be referred to as being residents of a particular place. As a matter of fact, the church structures were designed exactly for this situation and mobility was to a certain extent regarded as being temporary, exceptional, accidental, or even abnormal. The emphasis on this static dimension of religion has become so strong and undisputed that territorially defined forms of church order began to be considered essential to Christianity in its different traditions. Mobility was implicitly assumed to apply only to a few special categories such as missionaries, and (to a certain extent) monastic and religious orders, or pilgrims, but was never seen as a more common element. Thus, mobility seemed to be restricted to a small number of persons and to be limited in time.

Even if the map of Christianity is still drawn largely as a static one representing the presence and the spread of Christianity over several centuries,[23] in recent decades the science of cartography has changed its perspective from a static representation of geographical reality to the mapping of different dynamic elements, including movement. By focusing on migration and diaspora, a new map of Christianity will include the dimension of movement and interaction between its different parts and between Christianity and new territories. With such a tool, the known history of Christianity will be augmented with a history of interaction and exchange, starting from the first century. Thus, local histories will become parts of a broader picture and the historiography might correlate both local and transregional perspectives in a balanced manner. Certainly, the movement associated with migration and diaspora will not cover the entire spectrum of spatial mobility, but it offers the opportunity to focus on a phenomenon that affects a significant number of persons and places in comparison with other forms of mobility.

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a.M.: Peter Lang, 2010), 105–126; id., "Verenderte Landkarten der globalen Christentumsgeschichte," in *Kirchliche Zeitgeschichte* 22/1 (2009), 187–210.

23 A remarkable exception in the ecclesiastical historiography and a promising model represents the recent database of Julia Hillner, Dirk Rohmann et al., Clerical Exile in Late Antiquity (www.clericalexile.org, July, 21st, 2021).

4 Migration as a Special Form of Mobility

Because of their specific profile and the mix of different elements, migration and diaspora go beyond usual forms of mobility for the following reasons.

Both as mass or more individual movement, migration represents in numeric terms the phenomenon with the greatest historical impact on the (semi)permanent change of the place of living for millions of persons. This could include both regional shifts (from country to town, for example), as well as transregional and even transcontinental ones. People of different ages and social condition are affected by such a movement. As mass migration, this could involve large parts of one ethnic group, both in a short time as waves, or, over a longer period, as chain migration. In both cases a substantial number of migrants could produce tensions on one or the other or even on both ends of migration through their presence or absence. In some cases, the number of emigrants can exceed the number of people left behind. In other cases, the number of immigrants can over time exceed the number of older residents of their incoming area.

In many cases migration represents an uncoordinated, spontaneous movement, involving partial or total lack of generally-acknowledged leadership. This could increase tensions and problems both among migrants themselves and with the receiving environment. The consequences for religion and people are significant, since religion has the potential to reconcile old inhabitants with newcomers on the basis of a common faith, or it could increase tensions, if religions are different. In migration, religion, as a resource to be activated, might be more significant than in other situations, both on an individual and on a community level.

Sometimes migration follows known patterns of geographical movement as in the transatlantic migration from Europe and Africa to the New World. Because of the spontaneous character of migration or the incidental pressure, migrants might, however, look for new opportunities of movement, since earlier channels of movement may be closed or resources of previous destinations exhausted. For these reasons, migration has the potential to open new ways of movement, connection and exchange for a significant number of persons. The intensity of connection between the both ends of migration reaches its peak in remigration or circular migration. Returnees or their descendants are the direct communication channel in both directions. The consequences of this kind of communication need to be discussed in connection with diaspora.

As one complementary tool to the already-mentioned “enlarged map” of Christianity, I propose the map of spatial movement as a ‘map of agency’ – with a special attention to migration. For too long the focus on western Christianity boosted the implicit assumption that western actors were historical subjects and assigned a more passive role to all others. Even if a postcolonial and

the subaltern-studies approach changed this perspective in recent decades, the effort to reclaim the quality of subjects for unprivileged or marginal groups like migrants and diaspora communities in the *long durée* of church history is still desirable.

As the history of colonialism has taught us, suppression and unprivileged conditions generate a series of strategies and answers from the oppressed. And even if slavery lasted until late in the 19th century, the agency of slaves and their descendants in form of migration and resettlement became obvious, especially in North America. Contrary to the focus on western Christianity and mission, exploring the movement produced by migration and diaspora will animate the global land map of Christianity with subjects previously below the radar of most historians.

5 Diaspora

At the end of migration (as an event limited in time and space) a diaspora can emerge under certain conditions. Since current academic discourses on diaspora formation emphasise the difficulty of defining diaspora as a fully objectified reality, most of the debates try to identify the circumstances in which a group of migrants or their offspring can develop a diasporic profile, and the characteristics of such a diaspora. One key element in this process is the longing for the lost or left behind 'homeland'. This could manifest itself in an active cultivation of links with the homeland, as nostalgia, or as an attempt to recreate it abroad or in other forms. The diaspora group itself shows an increasing awareness of a distinct identity vis-à-vis the majority of the society they are part of. Most of the time such an identity rests on a mixture of elements, including ethnicity, language, origin, and not least religion. To a certain extent, diaspora means living in multiple 'places' with all its consequences. On the one hand, the absence of the 'homeland' is defining and involves a strong desire to bridge the gap whenever possible, using different forms of communication, or even recreating the homeland in the new setting. On the other hand, under new conditions subjects can live out their religion only in a reduced manner. Almost all attempts to recreate the 'homeland' (including the spiritual one) turn out to be – to a great extent – a new creation. Both these circumstances lead to processes of selection and adaptation which might end to religious innovation. Bearing this in mind, the comparison between religion under the conditions of diaspora and religion 'at home' can prove fascinating.

When referring to groups in movement, ecclesiastical historiography frequently used marginal or deviant categories such as heretics, schismatics, or nonconformists. The 'core' of the Church has been thought to be less affected by

such phenomena. Nevertheless, in observing the dynamic of entire religious communities under pressure and persecution, one can observe that their centre of gravity may shift, in some cases significantly, because of migration, which affects a considerable part of a particular religious community or even its core. In some cases, the geography of a whole religious body may change because of migration and diaspora formation to such an extent, that this entire community has to be considered as being migrating or in diaspora.

6 Transformation of Religion

In the most branches of Christianity there is a widespread tendency to preserve a specific core of tradition unaltered. But religious practices, including worship and forms of devotion, as well as other elements of life and order are subject to a process of perpetual transformation. This might take different forms, such as innovation, adaptation to a changing context, return to allegedly older traditions as a way to ensure fidelity to their own identity, and so forth. Changes can certainly occur in many circumstances, but migration and diaspora conditions are frequently among the typical situations that lead to the transformation of religion. The following four examples can shed some light on this issue:

1. Since religion is territorially structured, the transfer to a new place could mean that the new space lies beyond the range of its own confessional framework, raising the question of reorganization. In such circumstances, hierarchically-organized churches face special problems. They may have to adopt, temporarily or even permanently, solutions that are atypical of or even contrary to their own tradition. In some circumstances such solutions could enter into the tradition of that particular group and eventually gain authority as a local tradition.
2. Mobility and relocation impose upon subjects certain constraints regarding the practice of their religion. In most cases, the lack of proper religious space, required materials and utensils force migrants to improvise. Such constraints lead them to reflect on which elements are essential to their religious practice and which are only secondary. This process is more likely to occur under the pressure of external circumstances than under the conditions of a normal religious practice and involves not only exterior elements but could take a deeper dynamic, questioning of principles as well.
3. Mobility was in the past – and is even today – the condition for encounter with other religious ideas. Under the conditions of migration such encounters could lead to the need to enforce boundaries and stressing their own

particular identity as a strategy of self-preservation. On the other hand, religious encounter and interconfessional intercourse was always the condition of transformation of religion both at the institutional and at the individual level. This could impact not only on migrating or diaspora groups, but on religious groups "at home" as well.

4. In a local context with a very plural religious landscape emerging out of the migration of different groups, the transformation of religion in the form of religious innovation would probably reach the highest degree. The denominational landscape of the US or the one of urban centres in South Africa are prime examples of this dynamic. In such conditions the transformation of beliefs can entail a degree of 'hybridization'.

7 Aims of the Approach

By proposing an experimental approach to church history, focusing on migration and diaspora, I do not intend introduce a new historiographical pattern in the sense of a 'migration turn'. By focusing on migration and diaspora as elements of a global history of Christianity I also do not intend to reduce it to these two aspects. Behind this approach lies the desire to broaden the perspective of Ecclesiastical History – and religious history in general – in a more systematic manner by searching for new criteria. By focusing on migration and diaspora, I hope to contribute to reflection and debate over the criteria of selection employed by church historians. From experience of the current situation, we have the opportunity to question our criteria of selection and, if necessary, to enrich them with new ones with the aim of getting a more inclusive and colourful picture of the past. This will help us to recover previously lost actors and forgotten dynamics.

Pursuing these aims, the present volume is the result of an international conference originally planned at the *Center for Advanced Studies* at the University of Munich in March 2020, with the generous support by the *German Research Foundation* (DFG) through the Heisenberg Programme. Due to the first Covid pandemic lock down, this conference had to be cancelled just ten days before the event. But the authors submitted their chapters and discussed them, together with some invited commentors, in various online meetings during the month of May 2021. Consequently, this book is the result of a close exchange between scholars from various fields of expertise and academic background.

For the preparation of this volume I am thankful to Steve Hayes and Florian Schiermeier, each of them helping as native speakers and experienced academics by copy-editing the texts. The interest showed in the issues of this volume

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Section One: **Antiquity / Early Middle Ages**

Werner Kahl

Migration Experiences, Gospel Interpretation, and the Emergence of Multiethnic Faith Communities in Early Christianity: Acts and Paul

1 Introduction

Migration is increasingly being recognized in New Testament studies as a promising perspective for the analysis and understanding of the phenomenon of Early Christianity in general, and the spread of the faith in Christ across cultures in Greco-Roman antiquity in particular. The recognition of this category as a possibly productive exegetical approach seems to be due to recent processes of global migration as well as the philosophical and theological discourses on this phenomenon: the theory of transculturalism,[1] migration studies,[2] and postcolonialism.[3]

These developments bring into sharp focus the significance of the realities of migration, diaspora existence, translation, identity change, and power structures, not only in our times but also in the Early Christian movements of the first century CE. They present a unique resource for uncovering migration expe-

1 Wolfgang Welsch, "Transkulturalität: Zwischen Globalisierung und Partikularisierung," *Jahrbuch Deutsch als Fremdsprache* 26 (2000): 327–351.

2 Cf. programmatically Reinhard von Bendemann, "Frühes Christentum und Migrationssoziologie – Ausgewählte methodische Fragen und Probleme," in *Migrationsprozesse im ältesten Christentum* (BWANT 218), eds. Reinhard von Bendemann and Markus Tiwald (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2018): 9–49.

3 It is remarkable and telling for the exegetical field in Germany that a cultural critic – not a theologian – in a widely read textbook seems to have been the first to take note of the postcolonial biblical studies by Musa Dube, Fernando Segovia, and Rasiah S. Sugirtharajah: cf. Doris Bachmann-Medick, *Cultural Turns: Neuorientierungen in den Kulturwissenschaften* (Reinbek: Rowohlts, 2006, [4]2010), 208, 229–30. Postcolonial exegesis has "arrived" in German-speaking theology only lately, with the publication of, inter alia, contributions by Segovia, Sugirtharajah, and Kwok Pui-lan, originally between 1998 and 2005 and appearing in German translation: *Interkulturelle Theology: Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft* (2012). Interestingly, these contributions have been published not in an exegetical journal but in a journal for mission studies. As an exception for the exegetical discourse in Germany, see Stefan Alkier, *Neues Testament* (Tübingen and Basel: Francke, 2010), 67–72.

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riences as necessary conditions for the successful spread of belief in Christ in the Hellenistic world, moving from a matrix of constructing reality in a Semitic language and in a particular Jewish encyclopedia of Galilee/Judaea, over to other cultures of Greco-Roman antiquity, conceptualized and brought to expression in *Koinē* Greek.

The New Testament is the result of – and reflects – cross-cultural processes, as becomes apparent in the following observations:

- The 27 writings collected in this canon were composed and written in *Koinē* Greek, the common language and lingua franca in much of the Hellenized world. Their authors were probably all Jews, narrating incidents that happened in Galilee and Judaea and interpreting the significance of these events, for Greek-speaking Jews and non-Jews.
- New Testament writings generally quote from or allude to existing old Greek versions, including the Septuagint, of the – still uncompleted – canon of the Hebrew-Aramaic Jewish Holy Scriptures.[4] The Septuagint by itself documents cross-cultural transitions. It was necessitated by the diaspora Jews being alienated from the Hebrew Scriptures by acculturation into cultures dominated by and connected through the Greek language.[5] The New Testament writings stand in continuity with these Greek interpretations of the Hebrew-Aramaic Scriptures. As such, they are part of the Jewish tradition of actualizing Scripture in ever changing contexts, cultures, and situations. They present examples of the "interpreted" or "rewritten Bible."[6]
- These writings witness certain transformations and modifications of some traditional Jewish beliefs. They redefine belief in Christ to adapt it to the

4 Stefan Alkier has recently pointed out the neglect of Septuagint studies in New Testament exegesis, which is problematic, since it undervalues the significance of the Septuagint, as opposed to the Hebrew-Aramaic Scriptures, as the main reference text for the New Testament writings. See Stefan Alkier, "Zum Geleit," in *Der Seher und seine Septuaginta. Studien zur Intertextualität der Johannesapokalypse,* eds. Stefan Alkier and Thomas Paulsen (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2020): 5–12, here 6–9.

5 Siegfried Kreuzer, "Entstehung und Entwicklung der Septuaginta im Kontext alexandrinischer und frühjüdischer Kultur und Bildung," in *Septuaginta Deutsch: Erläuterungen und Kommentare zum griechischen Alten Testament I: Genesis bis Makkabäer*, eds. Martin Karrer, Wolfgang Kraus, and Eberhard Bons (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2011): 3–39.

6 James L. Kugel, *How to Read the Bible. A Guide to Scripture, Then and Now* (New York a.o.: Free Press, 2007). Kugel defines the term *interpreted Bible* as "the Bible as explained by the ancient interpreters" (XV), cf. 672: "The raw material that made up the Bible was *written anew* not by changing its words but by changing the way in which those words were approached and understood."

cultures of recipients in the Greco-Roman world, with Early Christianity as a cross-cultural phenomenon.[7]
– Experiences of migration underlie much of the history of Early Christianity.[8]

Cross-cultural processes represent a *central* feature of the spread of Early Christianity; as such, they correspond to an understanding of the meaning of the gospel among Hellenized Jews as *essentially* involving the crossing of boundaries.[9] The New Testament writings in general provide ample evidence for the centrality of the social phenomena of migration, displacement, resettlement and the emergence of cross-cultural faith communities in Early Christianity. This is reflected in almost all the writings of the New Testament, especially in Luke-Acts and the letters attributed to Paul. It seems that the theological perspectives and the concern for the need for cross-cultural faith communities of both Luke and Paul converge at important junctures.

In what follows I will focus on an analysis of Luke's *Acts of the Apostles* from the perspective of experiences of migration and of cross-cultural faith communities:[10] Chapter 2 below highlights selected passages in Acts 1–13 that reflect experiences of migration and some of their sociological consequences for the first and second-generation believers in Jesus as Christ. The first half of the narrative of Acts is concerned with establishing the conditions for, and recording the unfolding of the development from the first inter-cultural Jewish

7 Cf. Werner Kahl, "Paulus als kontextualisierender Evangelist beim Areopag," in *Der eine Gott und die fremden Kulte: exklusive und inklusive Tendenzen in den biblischen Gottesvorstellungen*, Biblisch-Theologische Studien 102, ed. Eberhard Bons (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 2009): 49–72; Werner Kahl, "Die Bezeugung und Bedeutung frühchristlicher Wunderheilungen in der Apostelgeschichte angesichts transkultureller Übergänge," in *Religion und Krankheit*, eds. Annette Weissenrieder and Gregor Etzelmüller (Darmstadt: WBG, 2010): 249–64.

8 Cf. Werner Kahl, "'Geh in ein Land, das ich dir zeigen werde': Biblische und theologische Aspekte der Identität von Migranten," in *Interkulturelle Theologie: Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft* 37,2–3 (2011): 204–21; Werner Kahl, "Migrants as Instruments of Evangelization – In Early Christianity and in Contemporary Christianity," in *Global Diasporas and Mission,* eds. Chandler H. Im and Amos Yong (Oxford: Regnum Books International, 2014): 71–87.

9 With respect to Paul, cf. Hendrikus Boers, *The Justification of the Gentiles: Paul's Letters to the Galatians and Romans* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1994).

10 Cf. Hans Förster, "Religion und Mobilität bei den frühen Christen nach dem Zeugnis der Apostelgeschichte," in *Minderheiten und Migration in der griechisch-römischen Welt. Politische, rechtliche, religiöse und kulturelle Aspekte* (SHM 31), ed. Patrick Sänger (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2016): 167–184; Rita Müller-Fieberg, "Missionierende Migranten? Migrierende Missionare? – Ein perspektivischer Blick auf die Apostelgeschichte und ihre Figuren (Priszilla und Aqulia)," in *Migrationsprozesse im ältesten Christentum* (BWANT 218), eds. Reinhard von Bendemann and Markus Tiwald (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2018): 187–206.

faith community of Christ-believers in Jerusalem to the first inter-ethnic faith community in Antioch. Chapter 3 engages Luke's presentation of Paul as a cross-cultural proclaimer of the Gospel. Chapter 4 turns to Paul's interpretation of the meaning of Gospel as God's performance in and through Christ making possible the inclusion of gentiles into salvation and effecting the creation of transcultural and inter-ethnic faith communities. That Luke-Acts closely reflects Paul's understanding of Gospel will be shown by means of a close reading of the encounter between the Jewish Christ-believer Peter and the Roman centurion Cornelius according to Acts 10:1–11:18 (chapter 5). After these narrative analyses, chapter 6 concludes by emphasizing the importance of the preparedness of Jews from the diaspora for crossing cultural and ethnic boundaries as a sociological precondition for the spread of the faith in Jesus as the Christ who aims at integrating people of distinct origins into the one people of God.

2 Experiences of Migration and of Cross-cultural Faith Communities in the Acts of the Apostles

In the Acts of the Apostles Luke presents a particular construction of the spread of this faith, covering the three decades from the thirties to the fifties of the first century. He remoulded and adapted memories concerning this spread so as to fit the agenda for the unfolding of his narrative.

2.1 The Programme and Structure of Acts

Before his ascension into heaven, Jesus addresses his disciples. The main narrative move of Acts is programmatically expressed in the last clause of Acts 1:7–8: "He said to them: 'It is not for you to know the times or dates the Father has set by his own authority. But you will receive power when the Holy Spirit comes on you; *and you will be my witnesses in Jerusalem, and in all Judaea and Samaria, and to the ends of the earth*'."[11]

The scene is located close to Jerusalem at Mount Olive. The remaining eleven disciples are identified by name (v. 13). They are not Judaeans but Galileans (cf. v. 11). In accordance with the proclamation of verse 8, they do not return to

11 The quotation is taken from NIV.

Galilee, their country of origin, but to Jerusalem (v. 12). In Judaea, however, their particular northern dialect of Aramaic would betray their origin.

The proclamation of verse 8 should not be taken literally. It only roughly describes the programme of dissemination of the *witness* to Christ. It should be noted that it was *not* the addressees of this proclamation – Jesus' disciples – who travelled "to the ends of the earth" as witnesses of Christ (cf. also Matt 28:16–20). Those who eventually gave witness to Christ in the wider Greco-Roman world were not among these eleven disciples of Jesus. Most of them were representatives of the Jewish diaspora in Hellenized Mediterranean regions.

It is important to Luke, however, to emphasize that the witnessing activity of the disciples would *begin* in *Jerusalem*, and that the core of the disciples of Jesus would *remain* there. By insisting on their remaining in Jerusalem, Luke corrects another tradition that was favored by Mark, and followed by Matthew (Mark 16:7, Matt 28:5). Here the women at the grave are instructed to inform the disciples that Jesus would go ahead to *Galilee* and that the disciples would see him *there*. This motif occurs in two following narrative moves in Matthew 28. In verse 10, the proclamation of verse 5 is reiterated to the women, this time by Jesus himself. And verse 16 recounts the encounter of the disciples with Jesus at a mountain in Galilee, presupposing that the disciples had left Jerusalem and travelled to the meeting place. Matthew stresses here the discontinuity of the Jesus movement with historical Israel.

Luke, on the other hand, omits the references to Galilee as the future meeting point with Jesus (cf. Lk 24:6–7). In Luke's gospel the disciples are still in Jerusalem, where Jesus appears to them (Lk 24:33–36). He explains to them that repentance and forgiveness of sins will be preached, based on his name, for all nations, *beginning in Jerusalem* (Lk 24:47). Luke is here in agreement with Paul who insisted that Israel would continue to be the favoured subject of God's dedication (cf. Rom 9–11). The gospel from the Pauline-Lucan perspective fundamentally means the complete inclusion of "all nations" into the covenant of God with his people while not losing their cultural identities.

The programmatic announcement in Acts 1:8 provides the structure for the whole narrative. The story begins with events concerning the witnessing activity of the disciples in Jerusalem and Judaea (Acts 1–7), moves over to incidents occurring in Samaria (Acts 8–9), and from there lays an emphasis on the proclamation of Christ among "the nations" (Acts 10–28). The narrative describes in particular a move from the margins of the Roman Empire to its center, ending with Paul's house arrest in Rome.

The apostles engaged in giving witness to Christ are subject to the works of the Holy Spirit. According to Acts, it is the divine Spirit who, as the main active subject of the process, brings about the worldwide spread of the gospel. The

Spirit of God *initiates* the global dissemination of the gospel of the grace of God (20:24; cf. 15:7) and *prepares* as well as *directs* those involved in giving witness to Christ. The title "The Acts of the Holy Spirit" for the second book of Luke would be more appropriate than the traditional title "The Acts of the Apostles."

The "good news" spread by the apostles is that both Jews and gentiles "may be saved by the grace of the Lord Jesus" (15:11). According to the reconstruction presented by Luke in Acts, it was due to divine grace that the former difference between both groups before God with respect to eligibility for salvation has been overcome. The insight into the universality of salvation was made possible by divine revelation, not by human calculation. During the unfolding of the divine plan as presented in the narrative programme of Acts, the circle of peoples included in salvation was progressively widened: In the beginning *Jews and proselytes from the diaspora* were included as potential recipients of the gospel (chapters 1–8), then *Samarians* were added (chapter 8) before non-Jewish and uncircumcised people of the "nations" were regarded as worthy of salvation (chapters 9–28) – first so-called *God-fearers*, non-Jews who believed in the God of Israel and who observed certain Jewish laws (chapter 10), and then *Greeks* and other *uncircumcised peoples* of the Greco-Roman world with no closer relationships to synagogues (chapters 11–28).

2.2 A First Cross-cultural Assembly of Jewish Christ Believers (Acts 2)

Besides the fact that the disciples of Jesus remained in Jerusalem as migrants from Galilee after the experiences of Jesus' death and reappearance, migrants from regions beyond Palestine first come into play as potential instruments of evangelization in Acts 2:1–13. At the Jewish festival of *Shavuot* which concludes the *Pesach* celebrations after fifty days (LXX: *pentēkostē*), many diaspora Jews and proselytes witnessed the presence of the Holy Spirit with the apostles in Jerusalem. According to 2:5, these witnesses "lived" in Jerusalem, meaning they had migrated permanently to Jerusalem and were not just visiting for the festivities. The Holy Spirit manifested itself in the ability of the Galilean disciples "to speak in other tongues" (2:4), i.e., in languages different from Aramaic, their mother-tongue. The Jews and proselytes from the diaspora witnessing the event were amazed to hear the Galileans praise God in their various languages (2:7–8, 11–12). It seems significant that this event led to the formation of the first transnational and intercultural community of *Jewish* believers in Christ. According to 2:37–47, Jews and proselytes from Galilee, Judaea, and the diasporas of various countries began to pray and eat together, and they shared their belongings.

Intercultural communities with people representing various origins and languages tend to be fragile compositions. Disruptive and disintegrative forces constantly threaten these communities. To regard one another as brother or sister with equal dignity and rights across cultures was not the rule even within ancient Judaism, and what is today referred to as Early Christianity was initially a predominantly Jewish phenomenon.

2.3 Conflicts in the Jerusalem Assembly (Acts 6:1–6)

One intercultural conflict involving migrants in the formation of the first community of Christ believers is reflected in Acts 6:1–6. According to this passage "Hellenists," Jews who had migrated to Jerusalem from the Hellenistic world, complained that the "Hebrews," Jews from Judaea and Galilee, did not take good care of the Jewish widows with a migration background. Seven Hellenistic migrants from among the community were chosen to organize the daily feeding of the widows, among them one Nicolas, a proselyte from Antioch in Syria. Two of these seven men, Stephen and Philip, are presented as the first migrant witnesses of the gospel in Acts. And both of them were instrumental in communicating the gospel to non-Hebrews.

2.4 The Killing of Stephen and Forced Migration by Persecution (Acts 7–8)

In Acts 7, Stephen is challenged by other, non-Christ-believing diaspora Jews, "some of the so-called synagogue of the Freemen, Cyreneans and Alexandrians, and by those from Cilicia and Asia" (7:9). The witness of Stephen eventually led to his becoming the first martyr, a "blood witness" of the Jewish-Christian movement. *Ironically*, Saul/Paul, himself born and raised in the diaspora and responsible for the killing of Stephen (7:58), later in the narrative becomes the prime example of a migrant evangelist among non-Jews. The first persecution of the Christ believers in Jerusalem, which was also led by Saul/Paul (8:1–4), caused a *forced migration* of most members of the Christ-believing community in Jerusalem. They were dispersed (διασπαρέντες) not only in Judaea but also in Samaria where Philip began to preach (8:5–25), causing Samarians – whom Hebrews despised as a mixed people and regarded as neither Jews nor gentiles – to accept the gospel (8:12–14) and to receive the Holy Spirit (8:15–17).

2.5 The Ethiopian Proselyte (8:26–40)

The same Philip was led by divine revelation to the road to Gaza where he encountered an Ethiopian eunuch who served as a high-ranking official of the Ethiopian kingdom. This person was on his way back home from Jerusalem where he went to pray. Most likely this Ethiopian was a proselyte, and as an Ethiopian he would have been circumcised in any case. According to the passage (8:26–40), the Ethiopian reads the prophet Isaiah aloud, i.e. some lines from the Septuagint version (Is 53:7–8). The meaning of the verses remains unclear to the reader and he asks Philip for clarification about whom they refer to: Ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ εὐνοῦχος τῷ Φιλίππῳ εἶπεν, Δέομαί σου, περὶ τίνος ὁ προφήτης λέγει τοῦτο; περὶ ἑαυτοῦ ἢ περὶ ἑτέρου τινός; (8:34). Philip in turn interprets the verses Christologically to the Ethiopian who then accepts the teaching of Philip about Jesus and allows himself to be baptized. We are not informed about his further plans and activities, but Acts suggests that the message about Christ travelled with this proselyte to Ethiopia shortly after 30 CE.

2.6 The Commissioning of Paul (Acts 9:1–19a)

The passage Acts 9:1–19a is in modern Bible translations usually introduced as the "conversion" or "call" of Paul. It does not, however, narrate a "conversion" of Paul. Before and after his dramatic encounter with the risen Christ, he remained a Jew. And "Christianity" or "The Church" did not yet exist. He was also not "called" into his particular ministry but *forced* by divine intervention to serve as a "*chosen instrument*" (εἶπεν δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ κύριος, Πορεύου, ὅτι σκεῦος ἐκλογῆς ἐστίν μοι οὗτος) "to carry the name of Christ before nations, kings and the children of Israel" (9:15). Ironically, in the case of Paul, who previously had forced Christ-believing Jews into dispersion, i.e. migration (8:3–4), we also have an example of – spiritually – *forced migration*.[12] As someone who was born and raised in the diaspora, in Tarsus of Asia Minor, Paul initially tried

12 David P. Moessner also points out the irony of this narrative move, cf. Moessner, "The Problem of the Continuity of Acts with Luke, the Church's Reception of Two Separated Volumes, andthe Construction of Luke's 'Theology': Toward a Theology of Jesus the 'Christ' of Israel and the 'Lord of All' in the Light of the Worldwide Church (ἡ ἐκκλησία) of Luke's 'Gospel Acts'," in *History and Theology in the Gospels. Seventh International East-West Symposium of New Testament Scholars, Moscow, September 26 to October 1, 2016*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 447, eds. Tobias Nicklas, Karl-Wilhelm Niebuhr, and Mikhail Seleznev (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2020): 147–67, 162.

to convince other diaspora Jews of his belief in Christ, first in Damascus (9:20) and then among Hellenistic Jews in Jerusalem (9:28–29). These first attempts by Paul were apparently not successful.

2.7 Cornelius, the Roman God-fearing Centurion (Acts 10:1–11:18)

According to the narrative of Acts, Cornelius, who had migrated to Caesarea as a Roman centurion, became the first non-Jewish *God-fearer* (φοβούμενος τὸν θεόν, 10:2) who accepted the faith in Christ (10:1–11:18). As such, he was, and could remain, a *non-circumcised* (11:3) Roman who believed in the God of the Jews. Because of his acceptance of the message about Christ as preached to him by Simon/Peter, his "whole household" received the Holy Spirit and was saved (11:14–15).

2.8 The Formation of the First Multi-ethnic Faith Community in Antioch (Acts 11:19–26)

The narrative of Acts communicates a gradual process leading eventually to the preaching of the gospel to *uncircumcised non-Jews* living outside Palestine who might not have had any relationship to the Jewish tradition. The first such instance is reflected in Acts 11:19–26. Of those Christ believers who had been forced by persecution to leave Jerusalem (11:19a, cf. 8:3–4), some migrated to Phoenicia, Cyprus, and Antioch in Syria "proclaiming the word to Jews exclusively" (11:19b). Some of the Jewish migrants, who had been originally from Cyprus and from Cyrenaica in northern Africa, were the first to *also* address non-Jewish "Greeks" with their preaching, in Antioch: ἦσαν δέ τινες ἐξ αὐτῶν ἄνδρες Κύπριοι καὶ Κυρηναῖοι, οἵτινες ἐλθόντες εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν ἐλάλουν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, εὐαγγελιζόμενοι τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν (11:20). The addressees responded by accepting the message about Christ. Barnabas and Saul/Paul also lived and taught in this city for about one year (11:26), and it was in Antioch that "the disciples were first called Christianoi, i.e. followers or adherents of Christ": χρηματίσαι τε πρώτως ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τοὺς μαθητὰς Χριστιανούς (11:26).[13]

13 In Luke-Acts, the term "disciples" is not reserved to the twelve chosen disciples from Galilee. It can refer also to a wider circle of followers or adherents of the faith in Christ.

According to Acts, the first transcultural and multi-ethnic community of Christ-believers, consisting of both Jews of various origins *and uncircumcised non-Jews,* was created in Antioch in the thirties of the first century by migrant diaspora Jews whose language of communication was Greek and whose Holy Scripture was the Septuagint. Luke does not inform us about the motivation or situation behind the decision to include non-Jews into the community. It must have been obvious to observers in Antioch that here a new social phenomenon of a mixed community took shape, which transcended Jewish experiences and concepts: the non-Jewish believers neither had to be circumcised nor did they have to follow Jewish dietary laws as preconditions for being counted among the community of the divinely chosen ones. They only had to adopt the belief in the one God as he had been witnessed in the Jewish tradition and they had to accept that Jesus is the Christ (cf. Acts 20:21). This was not a Jewish synagogue community but a new kind of *ecclesia* community, i.e. an assembly whose adherents were called by others "Christianoi." It seems probable that Jewish Christ believers were included in that term; this would not have put them in a position of contradiction to Judaism.

2.9 The Commissioning of Paul and Barnabas (Acts 13:1–3)

The Jews Barnabas and Saul/Paul were sent out from Antioch into further migration at the instigation of the Holy Spirit with the objective of evangelizing the gentiles (13:1–3). These two apostles had served together with three others as prophets and teachers in Antioch. Two of those three colleagues were diaspora Jews with an *African* origin: Symeon who was also called *Niger* (from Latin: "black man") and Lucius from *Cyrene* in northern Africa. The Holy Spirit instructed them together with Manaen to single out Paul/Saul and Barnabas for their particular responsibility of preaching to the gentiles. From a contemporary African perspective, it is significant that two of the three pairs of hands that were laid onto Barnabas and Saul/Paul as a way of blessing them for their journey belonged to Jewish migrants from Africa.[14]

14 Mensa Otabil, *Beyond the rivers of Ethiopia. A biblical revelation on God's purpose for the Black Race* (Accra: Altar International, 1992), 63. The Ghanaian neo-pentecostal pastor Otabil interprets this passage as indicating, "that it is alright for black people to send missionaries into the field."

3 The Lukan Presentation of Paul as Cross-cultural Proclaimer of the Gospel (Acts 14:8–18)

According to Luke's narrative in Acts, political and spiritual factors forced Paul and his companions into migration towards the West, resulting finally in Paul's arrest by the Romans and his transfer to Rome where he awaited his trial. On his journeys in the Hellenized Roman Empire, Paul increasingly, but by no means exclusively, preached about Christ before non-Jews, i.e., members of various ethnic groups who believed in a multitude of gods. As a diaspora Jew who was born and raised in Asia Minor, Paul shared with these addressees of his sermons a common language, *Koinē Greek*, as the lingua franca of the Roman Empire.

Cross-cultural communication in general, and interreligious encounters in particular, cause misunderstandings. Acts reflects the challenges of cross-cultural communication that Paul encountered while preaching as a Jewish migrant and cultural outsider in various regions of Asia Minor and Greece. One such incident is presented in Acts 14:8–18. According to this passage, Paul, on his visit to Lystra in the Roman province of Galatia, accompanied by Barnabas, commanded a man lame from birth to stand on his feet. Polytheistic witnesses of the event concluded that some of their gods were involved in the miracle. This was expressed in a comment passed in their mother tongue: "The gods have taken on human shape and have come down to us" (14:11). To them, Zeus appeared as Barnabas and Hermes as Paul. As was demanded by tradition, the local priest of Zeus was getting prepared to sacrifice offerings to "these gods." In a dramatic attempt to dissuade the people from so doing, Paul insisted that he and Barnabas were "merely human beings," and by referring to the one and only God of his Jewish tradition, he pointed to this numinous subject who had brought about the miraculous restoration.

According to the passage, however, Paul himself had caused the misunderstanding. In commanding the lame man to rise and walk, Paul appeared as an *immanent bearer of numinous power*, i.e., as a god in human shape. As the agent of a transcendent god, Paul would have been expected to *refer* to a god during the healing performance. Paul, however, did not do so. The polytheistic inhabitants of Lystra could only make sense of the miracle within their traditional polytheistic frame of reference, their encyclopaedia, so to speak, so they *had* to conclude that gods had appeared before them. From their cultural perspective, this interpretation was evident, and it took Paul great efforts to convince the inhabitants of his human nature (14:18).

This passage shows that Luke was keenly aware of the danger of misunderstanding among polytheistic audiences, especially with respect to miracles.[15] Therefore Luke regularly presents Peter and Paul as *agents* of God in miracle-healing stories, and as petitioners and/or mediators of numinous power. In the miracle healing stories of Acts, the apostles typically appeal to God through *prayer*, command healing in the *name of Jesus*, and/or lay their hands on a person in need, thereby signalling that divine healing power was transferred *through* the apostles in a particular case. Immediately preceding our passage, Luke has the polytheistic readers of his work understand that *only God* is the miracle worker: ". . . the Lord causing signs and miracles to happen through their hands" (14:3; cf. 5:12; 19:11; even with respect to Jesus of Nazareth: 2:22).[16]

In general, however, Luke presents Paul as a person who tried to avoid or at least minimize resistance to his message in order to maximize the positive reception of the gospel among various groups of addressees. As far as possible, Paul would adjust to the culture and to the expectations of different groups of listeners (cf. below the discussion of Paul's speech at the Areopagus in Acts 17:16–34). He did so as a Jew who had come, by means of a miraculous event (9:1–19; cf. 22:3–21; 26:9–20), to believe that Jesus of Nazareth was the Christ. Following this strategy, he could have his assistant Timothy – an uncircumcised Jew: his mother was a Jew and his father a non-Jewish Greek – circumcised "because of the Jews in those regions" (16:1–3). Paul did *not* reject Jewish customs for Jews, including himself (cf. 21:20–26). To him, circumcision *for Jews* still remained important as an identity marker deeply rooted in Jewish tradition, but *not* as a means and exclusive sign of salvation.

4 Paul's Understanding of the Meaning of Gospel According to his Letters

Luke's presentation of events and the underlying theology of his narrative correspond *generally* well with Paul's own perspective as communicated, e.g. in his

15 The only other passage where a similar misunderstanding is narrated is Acts 28:2–6.

16 For a detailed analysis of Luke's attempts to preempt a common polytheistic misunderstanding of the role of the apostles and of Jesus in miracle healing performances, cf. Werner Kahl, *New Testament Miracle Stories in Their Religious Historical Setting: A Religionsgeschichtliche Comparison from a Structural Perspective*, Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments 163 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994), 111–20, 226–28.

letter to the faith-communities in Galatia.[17] In Gal 2:1–6, Paul emphasizes that his Greek non-Jewish companion Titus (Ἕλλην ὤν) was *not* forced into circumcision by the apostles in Jerusalem, even though some of the Jewish Christ-believers there seem to have demanded just that. The "truth of the Gospel" (ἡ ἀλήθεια τοῦ εὐαγγελίου) includes for Paul "a freedom in Christ Jesus" (τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἡμῶν ἣν ἔχομεν ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ) that is not to be compromised, i.e. a freedom from the imposition of features and habits from one ethnic group (Jews) onto another (e.g. Greeks) as a condition for inclusion into divine salvation. To Paul, such features and habits are particular cultural markers with only relative, i.e. social value. This "freedom in Christ" implies and demands for Paul living with gentiles including joint meals, as he propounds in the immediately following section Gal 2:11–21. What is at issue here has been precisely pointed out by Hendrikus Boers: "Paul's response to the common issue in the two incidents [in Jerusalem and in Antioch, W.K.] was to bring to expression an understanding of Christ which did not allow a separation of Jewish and gentile believers."[18]

Interestingly, in light of Acts 11:19–26, Paul also discusses the issue of joint meals with reference to a controversy that unfolded in *Antioch*. In the immediately preceding section Gal 2:1–10, Paul communicates the fundamental agreement that he had reached with the apostles in Jerusalem, on his obligation to preach to the gentiles and, implicitly, on the relationship between Jews and gentiles. According to Paul's account of events – unfortunately we do not have his opponents' views represented by themselves – prominent apostles did not require anything from him (ἐμοὶ γὰρ οἱ δοκοῦντες οὐδὲν προσανέθεντο; 2:6) besides "remembering the poor" (μόνον τῶν πτωχῶν ἵνα μνημονεύωμεν; 2:10; this corresponds with Acts 11:29–30). Gal 2:1–10 itself is preceded by a passage (Gal 1:11–24) in which Paul clarifies that his particular understanding of the meaning of Gospel is not of human but of divine origin and that it goes back to a revelation experience: τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τὸ εὐαγγελισθὲν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν κατὰ ἄνθρωπον· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐγὼ παρὰ ἀνθρώπου παρέλαβον αὐτό, οὔτε ἐδιδάχθην, ἀλλὰ δι' ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (Gal 1:11b–12).[19] The topics of revelation; inclusive meaning of Gospel; mission to the gentiles; non-circumcision of gentiles; and intercultural table fellowship at Antioch, in this chronological order in Gal 1–2, have a function in the overall argument of Galatians. Here Paul addresses an

17 This is not to say that there are not also some discrepancies between the two that cannot be reconciled.

18 Hendrikus Boers, *Christ in the Letters of Paul. In Place of a Christology*, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft 140 (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 2006), 343.

19 Cf. Boers, *Christ in the Letters of Paul*, 344–5, who emphasizes the role of revelation experiences in shaping Paul's developing understanding of the meaning of Christ.

actual problem in faith communities in Galatia, of course as he perceives it from a distance: Some have introduced the observance of certain laws, undermining the freedom that Paul claims for the Gospel and causing division along the lines of ethnicity and culture. Against these attempts at undermining his understanding of Gospel and its adequate realization in cross-cultural, multi-ethnic faith and living communities, Paul in Gal 3:25–29 emphasizes the social dimension and relevance of Gospel, for unity in Christ. Gal 3:28 poignantly brings to expression Paul's fundamental insight into the meaning of Gospel as the message of Christ which puts into effect the *crossing of societal divides* between people of different status and origin. The usual translation of the verse, however, is misleading and clouds the intended meaning: "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free, there is neither male nor female; for you are all one in Christ Jesus" (RSV). In the context of the problem under discussion in Galatians, this rendering does not make complete sense. For in Antioch (Gal 2:11ff.) as in the Galatian communities there were and there should be Jews and Greeks, slaves and free persons, men and women. Their distinctness is not erased or transcended. The question at stake in these communities was, how can their members *as* Jews and Greeks, slaves and free persons, men and women constitute a faith community that makes transparent the *justice of God* who is not partial but who, in Christ, has potentially included all of humanity into his covenant:

> (25) ἐλθούσης δὲ τῆς πίστεως οὐκέτι ὑπὸ παιδαγωγόν ἐσμεν. (26) Πάντες γὰρ υἱοὶ θεοῦ ἐστε διὰ τῆς πίστεως ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ. (27) ὅσοι γὰρ εἰς Χριστὸν ἐβαπτίσθητε, Χριστὸν ἐνεδύσασθε· (28) οὐκ ἔνι Ἰουδαῖος οὐδὲ Ἕλλην, οὐκ ἔνι δοῦλος οὐδὲ ἐλεύθερος, οὐκ ἔνι ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ· πάντες γὰρ ὑμεῖς εἷς ἐστε ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ. (29) εἰ δὲ ὑμεῖς Χριστοῦ, ἄρα τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ σπέρμα ἐστέ, κατ' ἐπαγγελίαν κληρονόμοι.

I render verse 28 in the context of verses 25–29 in the following way in order to bring out its meaning:

> (25) Since the faith has arrived, however, we are no longer under a custodian. (26) For you all are sons (and daughters) of God by means of the faith (that you have) in Christ Jesus. (27) For as such as you have been baptized into Christ, you have put on Christ: (28) *Here it does not matter to be* Jew or Gentile, *here it does not matter to be* slave or free person, *here it does not matter to be* male or female. For you all are (joint together as) one in Christ Jesus. (29) But since you belong to Christ, it follows that you are progeny of Abraham, i.e. heirs according to the promise.

Paul denies here, as elsewhere, any exclusivist claims to salvation or justice. According to his understanding of Gospel, the justice of God and His salvation have been extended universally. According to Paul's understanding of the gospel, it was not a question of ethnic belonging, of gender, or of societal status that decided one's inclusion in God's family, but rather belonging to Christ: "(I)n Christ

there was no difference between Jewish and gentile believers."[20] More precisely: In Christ cultural, ethnic or status differences are not erased but they are not decisive with respect to the inclusion into salvation. In this sense, they do not "matter." And this has a bearing on the organisation of actual relationships in the faith-communities.[21] While in 1Cor 12:13 Paul focuses with a different grammatical construction (εἴτε . . . εἴτε . . .) on the *entry* of Jews as well as Greeks, slaves as well as freemen, into the Christ-body through baptism and in one spirit, in Gal 3:28 he employs the construction οὐκ ἔνι . . . οὐδὲ . . . in order to refer to the *result* of the baptism into Christ which brings about a new identity for all who have "put on Christ."

5 The Narrative and Theological Turning Point in Acts 10:1–11:18 as Reflecting the Pauline Understanding of Gospel

Remarkably, the same *structure* of argument in Gal 1–3 is also presupposed in Acts 10–11, where the narrative moves from the theological insight into the universality of God's mercy gained by Peter through divine revelation (10:9–43), via a visit with the apostles in Jerusalem with the successful attempt of persuading them into the programme of gentile inclusion proposed by Peter (10:1–18), to the description of the first cross-cultural faith community of Christ believers in Antioch (11:19–26).

In the context of the narrative about Peter's encounter with the Roman centurion Cornelius (Acts 10 and 11:1–18), Luke communicates his fundamental understanding of the meaning of Jesus Christ: It is about *crossing boundaries* that separate people, especially Jews and non-Jews, based on the recognition of the universality of God's mercy (10:34–35; 11:23).[22]

Peter comes, through divine intervention, to the realization that "I should speak of no human being as common or unclean" (κἀμοὶ ὁ θεὸς ἔδειξεν μηδένα

20 Boers, *Christ in the Letters of Paul*, 343.

21 Cf. François Vouga, *An die Galater*, Handbuch zum Neuen Testament 10 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), 91: "Die Bedeutung der Aussage ist, daß die Abgrenzungskriterien, die die Menschen nach bestimmten Eigenschaften trennen und hierarchisieren, im Gemeinschafts- und Herrschaftsbereich Christi nicht gelten."

22 Cf. the important study of Ute E. Eisen, *Die Poetik der Apostelgeschichte. Eine narratologische Studie*, Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus / Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments 58 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006), 169–187.

κοινὸν ἢ ἀκάθαρτον λέγειν ἄνθρωπον; 10:29).[23] From this experience, he has gained the deep insight that "God is impartial" (Ἐπ' ἀληθείας καταλαμβάνομαι ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν προσωπολήμπτης ὁ θεός; 10:34; cf. Rom 2:11: οὐ γάρ ἐστιν προσωπολημψία παρὰ τῷ θεῷ). This theological insight is developed narratively in a discourse on purity versus impurity with regard first to food and then by extension to human beings: Food that is taboo for Jews, is presented to Peter in an apparition three times from heaven (10:9–16), but Peter refuses to eat. In the context of his invitation by Cornelius he ponders over the meaning of this sign and the accompanying heavenly statement: "What God has made pure, you (σὺ) do not (regard as) common" (Ἃ ὁ θεὸς ἐκαθάρισεν σὺ μὴ κοίνου; 10:15). It is also significant that in the narrative, it is an "angel of God" (10:3) that appears to Cornelius who is praying to God. The readers are not informed at this point about the request of the prayer, only that God has apparently accepted it (10:4). And the angel prepares the encounter between Cornelius and Peter (10:5–6). It is *this very context* of an intercultural encounter that *produces* Peter's theological insight into the boundary-crossing meaning of Gospel: After Peter entered the house of Cornelius, where many – obviously gentiles – were gathered (10:27), he begins to realize the significance of the apparition. It is related to the Jewish prohibition on entering the house of a gentile (10:28). In this situation of a direct encounter with gentiles in the house of a pious gentile God-fearer, Peter concludes from the heavenly voice that had admonished him earlier apparently with respect to forbidden food stuff, not to declare common what God had made pure, that he should not regard any *human being* as common or unclean. In this context of a discourse on impurity versus purity with regard to foodstuffs and human beings, the reference to *a joint meal* of the disciples with the resurrected Jesus in 10:41b is significant: "we who ate and drank with him after he rose from the dead" (οἵτινες συνεφάγομεν καὶ συνεπίομεν αὐτῷ μετὰ τὸ ἀναστῆναι αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν). Having a meal with a formerly dead person, a risen corpse – *the* strongest symbol of impurity in ancient Judaism – might metaphorically foreshadow the purity/impurity divide between Jews and gentiles. This is precisely the issue at stake at this narrative juncture in Acts as is clearly brought to expression in the reproach against Peter by the Christ-believing Jews in Jerusalem: "You entered the house of uncircumcised men and ate with them" (Εἰσῆλθες πρὸς ἄνδρας ἀκροβυστίαν ἔχοντας καὶ συνέφαγες αὐτοῖς; 11:3). Peter in response points to the divine authorization of his action (11:4–12) and its divine sanction: "Now as I started speaking, the Holy Spirit fell

23 English Translation: Carl Holladay, *Acts. A Commentary*, The New Testament Library (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2016), 233.

upon them, just as it did upon us at the beginning" (ἐν δὲ τῷ ἄρξασθαί με λαλεῖν ἐπέπεσεν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ὥσπερ καὶ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἐν ἀρχῇ; 11:15; cf. 10:44–46). The bestowal of the Holy Spirit signifies a divinely-commissioned connection to "heathen," previously regarded as impure. The divine Spirit overrides impurities.

In this context, the prayer request of Cornelius is finally revealed. His concern was gaining "salvation" for himself and his household, and he would gain it through words of Peter, "who will speak to you words that will bring salvation both to you and your entire household" (ὃς λαλήσει ῥήματα πρὸς σὲ ἐν οἷς σωθήσῃ σὺ καὶ πᾶς ὁ οἶκός σου; 11:14). At the end of the discourse, the addressees of this speech of Peter in Jerusalem acknowledge that "even to the gentiles has God given life-giving repentance" (Ἄρα καὶ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ὁ θεὸς τὴν μετάνοιαν εἰς ζωὴν ἔδωκεν; 11:18).

The discourse on purity versus impurity in Acts 10:1–11:18 that aims at overcoming the divide between Jews and gentiles is the Lukan equivalent to the synoptic discourse on purity versus impurity in Mark 7:1–23 par. Matt 15:1–20. The synoptic passage deals with the problem of impure versus pure food in relation to inner impurity versus purity. In both cases this discourse is followed by the problem of including gentiles in the saving activity of Jesus as exemplified in the narrative of the healing of the daughter of a Syrophoenician (Mark) or Canaanite (Matthew) woman in the vicinity of Tyre (Mark 7:24–30; Matt 15:21–28), by driving out an *unclean spirit* (πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον; Mark 7:25). Significantly, Luke omits this synoptic discourse as part of his great omission of Mark 6:45–8:26 between Lk 9:17 and 18, and he places it in great narrative variation in Acts 10:1–11:18 in the section between his account of the dispersion of Christ-believing diaspora Jews (Acts 8:4) and the formation of the first cross-cultural faith community of Christ believers in Antioch (11:19–26) as a way of preparing for this event.

Acts 10:1–11:18 presents Peter as crossing physical boundaries: He enters the Roman's house. This gives way to the crossing of ideological, ritual, and theological boundaries. According to Luke's narrative, these moves were divinely prepared and sanctioned. In this encounter between Christ-believing Jews and gentiles who were searching for "salvation", a new understanding of the meaning of Christ or Gospel evolved, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. This paved the way narratologically for the establishment of the first cross-cultural faith community in Antioch. The term *Christianoi* for this mixed group of believers makes the point that this phenomenon appeared as an unprecedented crossing of boundaries for which a new term had to be invented.

6 Intercultural Competence of Migrants as *conditio sine qua non* for the Cross-cultural Spread of the Gospel

One remarkable example of Paul's ability to adjust his message with great freedom and flexibility to audiences of polytheistic cultures is the "report" of his speech before philosophers in Athens (Acts 17:16–34). Here Paul is able to connect positively to traditional customs and philosophical insights shared by his listeners. He skilfully focuses his speech on the common ground of Jews and polytheistic philosophers, for instance the notion that ultimately God, who created the world and who sustains life, is *one*, and that he cannot be captured in human creations. Paul carefully avoids any references to Christ that might be misunderstood as suggesting that Christ was another god. Instead, Paul consequently introduces Christ in passing as a "certain man" appointed by God (17:31).

Paul was a diaspora Jew who was born and raised in the multicultural metropolis of Tarsus, a rich Asia Minor city well known in antiquity for its philosophical schools and large Jewish community. His mother tongue was Greek. His upbringing prepared him sufficiently for his later engagement as a sensible cross-cultural evangelist in migration.[24] In Acts this multi-faceted translation ability is *not* presented as a divinely-bestowed gift. In Paul's case the primary function of spiritual revelation was to direct his travels at particular turning points, beginning with his encounter with the risen Christ in chapter 9, via his call to migrate to Macedonia (16:6–10), and ending with his final return to Jerusalem (20:21–23), which led to his arrest. In addition, it is the Holy Spirit that enables the apostles to preach freely and boldly (4:31; cf. 28:31).

But in Acts, the Holy Spirit is *not* featured as the subject who enables apostles and believers to miraculously speak other languages spontaneously for the sake of communicating the Gospel to other peoples. Acts 2 describes a unique event taking place among the Galilean followers of Jesus which was witnessed by Jews from various diasporas present in Jerusalem. These Galileans did not try to communicate the Gospel among people speaking other languages, and *they* did not migrate into the surrounding Greco-Roman world as evangelists. The disciples and earliest followers of Jesus were largely representatives of the uneducated strata of Jewish society in Galilee (cf. 4:13). It is not a coincidence that these Galileans are not

24 Cf. the recent study by Esther Kobel, *Paulus als interkultureller Vermittler. Eine Studie zur kulturellen Positionierung des Apostels der Völker*, Studies in Cultural Contexts of the Bible 1 (Paderborn: Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh, 2019).

featured in Acts as evangelists beyond the traditional Jewish territories. Historically speaking, they were not able to do so. It rather was the human resources – language ability, cross-cultural experiences, and sensitivities – of *migrant diaspora Jews from Hellenized Mediterranean cities* of the Roman Empire that provided the backbone for a successful communication of the gospel to various peoples. In this regard, the narrative presentation of Acts is historically plausible.

Louis H. Feldman has pointed to "deep Hellenization of Judaism in Asia Minor and hence the existence of a common language of discourse with non-Jews" as one of the most important preconditions for successful "missionary" endeavours by Jews among non-Jews, attracting quite a number of non-Jews "as proselytes or as 'sympathizers'" to the Jewish faith.[25] The same holds true for the Christ-believing Jewish migrants of the first century. Their interpretation of Christ's death and resurrection as the salvific event that *alone* grants non-Jews access to the chosen community of God made it much easier for non-Jews to identify with the – Christologically reconstructed – Jewish tradition.

Luke, with his focus on Paul, of course, only represents a cross-section of the phenomenon of the spread of the belief in Jesus as the Christ in the first century CE. We cannot be sure if this selection of Paul was due to an extraordinary importance of this apostle for the formation of Early Christianity; it might simply reflect Luke's close acquaintance with Paul's biography or at least with his letters.[26] Many other Jewish migrants from the diasporas were involved in the initial spread of the belief in Christ in the first century, even though their names and stories have most often not come down to us. In general, their efforts were much less spectacular than in the case of Paul but in the long run, their strategies for communicating the Gospel of the boundary-crossing love of God in, around, and beyond their households – in close communication with family members, neighbours and strangers – proved very effective.[27]

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25 Louis H. Feldman, J*ew and Gentile in the Ancient World: Attitudes and Interactions from Alexander to Justinian* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 440–42.

26 Of all the gospel writers, Luke betrays the closest affinities to Pauline theological thought, both in his Gospel and in Acts.

27 Cf. with respect to 1Peter 1:15–16, 2:15 and 3:15, Uta Poplutz, "Fremdheit als Chance. Von der Identitätskonstruktion einer frühchristlichen Gemeinde im Spiegel des ersten Petrusbriefes" in *Migrationsprozesse im ältesten Christentum* (BWANT 218), eds. Reinhard von Bendemann and Markus Tiwald (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2018): 207–230, esp. 222–226. For a rather unspectacular gradual spread of the Gospel in antiquity, cf. the following two important studies: Rodney Stark, *The Rise of Christianity. A Sociologist Reconsiders History* (Princeton: Princetion University Press, 1996); Wolfgang Reinbold, *Propaganda and Mission im ältesten Christentum. Eine Untersuchung zu den Modalitäten der Ausbreitung der frühen Kirche*, Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments 188 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000).

7 Conclusion

Luke-Acts suggests that *Jewish migrants with a diaspora background* played a significant role in spreading the Gospel in the Greco-Roman world of the first century. The apostle Paul is a case in point. It is historically believable that those who were raised as Jews in Greco-Roman environments of Mediterranean antiquity were culturally prepared to interpret the meaning of Christ in terms of an inclusion of non-Jews in salvation. And they were able to communicate the Gospel across cultures and languages in ways that could be credible and relevant to non-Jews. The creation of multi-ethnic and cross-cultural faith communities appeared as the appropriate response to the boundary-crossing meaning of Gospel, on the social plane. These integrated faith and living communities were an extraordinary *novum* in the Greco-Roman world, as has also been observed recently by the sociologist Jürgen Habermas: "(The Christian Church) was welcoming to all and integrated her members, by means of transcending all ethnically, linguistically and culturally separating boundaries between collectives that were formed socially in particularistic ways."[28] The "fundamental ethnic and social de-limitation" characteristic of these Early Christian faith communities would then increasingly arouse suspicion among representatives of the Roman state in the second century.[29]

28 Jürgen Habermas, *Auch eine Geschichte der Philosophie, Bd. 1: Die okzidentale Konstellation von Glauben und Wissen* (Berlin: Suhrkamp, 2019), 526: "Sie stand allen offen und integrierte ihre Mitglieder, indem sie durch alle ethnisch, sprachlich und kulturell trennenden Grenzen zwischen partikularistisch vergesellschafteten Kollektiven hindurchgriff" (translation: W.K.). Cf. Harmut Leppin, *Die frühen Christen. Von den Anfängen bis Konstantin* (München: C. H. Beck, 2018), 420: "Die(se) Verbindung von religiöser Exklusivität und sozialer Inklusivität zeichnete Christen aus. [. . .] Noch dramatischer war der Anspruch, an kein Volk und keine Polis gebunden zu sein, denn damit überschritten sie Grenzen."

29 Hubert Cancik, "System und Entwicklung der römischen Reichsreligion. Augustus bis Theodosius I.," in *Die Anfänge des Christentums*, eds. Friedrich Wilhelm Graf and Klaus Wiegandt (Frankfurt a. M.: Fischer, 2009): 373–96, here 386.

Christoph Auffarth

Religion im Gepäck: Von Migranten und religiösen Virtuosen in der römischen Kaiserzeit

Die wechselseitige Veränderung von Migration und Religion (*intersection*) ist eine in der Gegenwart heiß umstrittene Frage, die wiederum hermeneutisch wissenschaftliche Fragestellungen aufwirft, wenn man historische Fälle untersucht. Scharfe Gegensätze klaffen zwischen zwei sich widersprechenden Positionen: Die These der einen Seite behauptet, dass Religion die Gesellschaft spalte zwischen Migranten und der Aufnahmegesellschaft mit ihrer religiösen Neutralität des Staates.[1] Die Gegenthese dagegen lautet, dass Religion ein Gut ist, das Migranten in die Einwanderungsgesellschaft mit- und einbringen, dabei aber oft auf Unverständnis und Ablehnung stoßen.[2] Ein weitreichender postmoderner Diskurs besteht dahingehend bezüglich des typologischen Unterschieds zwischen ‚exklusivem Monotheismus' und ‚offen-tolerantem Polytheismus'.[3] Die Kontroverse verlangt nach einer theoretischen Modellierung.[4] Wenn in die-

1 Für die Perspektive auf die Bundesrepublik Deutschlang vgl. die Forschungen von Wilhelm Heitmeyer.

2 Religion sei demnach ein Gut der Migranten und nicht ein Teil der ‚fremden' Identität, der bei der Einwanderung (weg-),integriert' werden müsse. In der zweiten Islamkonferenz 2010 hat Innenminister Wolfgang Schäuble diese Einsicht zur Maxime des Umgangs miteinander erklärt, seine Nachfolger haben es wieder aufgegeben, vgl. dazu die Forschung von Alexander Nagel und Gritt Klinkhammer.

3 ‚Postmodern' pointiert Bernd Witte, *Moses und Homer: Griechen, Juden, Deutsche. Eine andere Geschichte der deutschen Kultur* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018), 133–134; vgl. zudem Witte Seite 10 mit Blick auf Jan Assmann, *Religio duplex: Ägyptische Mysterien und europäische Aufklärung* (Berlin: Verlag der Weltreligionen, 2010). Dieser hat seine ‚mosaische Unterscheidung' als Sündenfall des Monotheismus in der Erfindung der ‚Gegenreligion' erst relativiert im *duplex usus*; vgl. dazu meine Rezension: Christoph Auffarth, „Aufgeklärte Religion – Ausweg aus dem Krieg der Kulturen? Jan Assmann: Religio duplex. Ägyptische Mysterien und europäische Aufklärung," (9.12.2010) http://buchempfehlungen.blogs.rpi-virtuell.net/2010/12/09/religio-duplex-agyptische-mysterien-und-europaische-aufklarung-von-jan-assmann/. Assmann hat dann der antijüdisch lesbaren Rezeption seiner These widersprochen in Jan Assmann, *Exodus: Die Revolution der Alten Welt* (München: C. H. Beck, 2015).

4 Der Beitrag wurde in einer Reihe an Aufsätzen des Autors weiterentwickelt; vgl. zur theoretischen Modellierung von Religion und Migration in der Antike seit dem Hellenismus etwa Christoph Auffarth, „Religio migrans. Die ‚Orientalischen Religionen' im Kontext antiker Religion. Ein theoretisches Modell," in *Religioni in Contatto nel mondo antico. Modalità di diffusione e processi di interferenza*, Mediterranea 4, Hg. Corinne Bonnet, Sergio Ribichini und Dirk

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sem Band die vergleichende Perspektive des Themas „Religion und Migration“ ein Ziel der Diskussion sein soll, dann sind neben dem Vergleichbaren immer auch die Unterschiede mit zu betrachten.

Um ein *Pasticcio* aus verschiedenen Zeiten und Orten zu vermeiden,[5] fokussiere ich meine Argumente zur Migration im *Imperium Romanum* auf das römische Korinth, immer mit dem vergleichenden Blick. Die Geschichte der Stadt Korinth teilt sich in zwei Epochen, die griechische Polis, die 146 v. Chr. zerstört wurde, und das römische *Corinthus*, das Caesar 44 v. Chr. als *Colonia* neu gründete. Das römische Korinth war zu dieser Zeit eine klassische Einwanderungsgesellschaft, *alle* Bewohner der Stadt sind Migranten. Gebahnte Straßen, sichere Reisebedingungen sowie offene, vielbefahrene Seerouten ermöglichten Migrationswege. Die Stadt lässt sich weniger als Drohnen-Stadt (*consumer city*) beschreiben, die von den agrarischen Erträgen lebt, die die emsigen Bienen im Hinterland produzieren, sie war eher eine Dienstleisterstadt (*service city*), die als Hafenstadt den Handeltreibenden und den Seeleuten vieles bot, was sie bei ihrem Aufenthalt benötigten.[6] Die unzähligen Sklaven, die als Zwangsarbeitsmigranten aus aller Welt kamen, bildeten eine weitere wichtige Gruppe.[7] Von der Religion in dieser Stadtgesellschaft ist im Folgenden die Rede.

Steuernagel (Rom: Fabrizio Serra editore, 2008): 333–363; Christoph Auffarth, „Mit dem Getreide kamen die Götter aus dem Osten nach Rom: Das Beispiel des Serapis und eine systematische Modellierung,“ *Zeitschrift für Religionswissenschaft 20* (2012): 7–34; Christoph Auffarth, „With the Grain Came the Gods from the Orient to Rome: The Example of Serapis and Some Systematic Reflections,“ in *Religions and Trade. Religious Formation, Transformation and Cross-Cultural Exchange between East and West. Dynamics in the History of Religions*, Hg. Peter Wick und Volker Rabens (Brill: Leiden, 2013): 19–41.

5 Ein systematisches Konzept fehlt sowohl in Tanja Scheer, „Migration,“ Der Neue Pauly (DNP) 8 (2000): 159–161 als auch in Eckart Olshausen und Holger Sonnabend, *„Trojaner sind wir gewesen:“ Migrationen in der antiken Welt* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2006); Harry O. Maier und Emiliano Urciuoli, „Urban religion at the neighbourhood level in the Roman empire. Christ religion as case study,“ *Religion in the Roman Empire* 6 (2020): 3–19; James Clackson (Hg.), *Migration, mobility and language contact in and around the ancient Mediterranean* (Cambridge: CUP, 2020).

6 So die Charakterisierung von Donald Engels, *Roman Corinth: An Alternative Model for the Classical City* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1990), zu der Mary Walbank wichtige Einschränkungen macht: vgl. Mary Walbank, “Review,” *The Journal of Roman Studies* 81 (1991): 220–221. Das Buch nimmt eine veraltete Vorstellung von der Wirtschaft der Antike auf, dass es noch kein ausgeprägtes, eigengesetzliches System von Wirtschaft gegeben habe mit Markt, Angebot und Nachfrage. Vielmehr sei Wirtschaft (ebenso wie Religion) „embedded“/eingebettet gewesen in Sozialbeziehungen: das Modell der Gabenökonomie.

7 Josephus, *Bellum* 3,540 berichtet, dass Vespasian 6.000 junge jüdische Männer aus dem Magdala zwang, am Kanal von Korinth zu arbeiten, als Kaiser Nero das in Angriff nahm (Sueton, *Nero* 19: wohl 67 n. Chr.).

1 Römische Religion außerhalb Roms: „Export“

Die römische Religion war und blieb auch während der Ausdehnung des *Imperium Romanum* die Religion der Stadt Rom. Sie wurde nicht funktional zu einem Mittel der Herrschaft eingesetzt, die den eroberten Ländern und Völkern aufgezwungen wurde. Denn praktisch stellten Religionen in vielen Reichsbildungen ein wichtiges Unterscheidungsmerkmal zwischen der Minderheit der Imperialisten und der Mehrheit der Beherrschten dar. Hätten alle sich zu der Religion der Herrscher bekehrt, wäre auf einem Gebiet Gleichheit entstanden, wo doch die Differenz die Überlegenheit betonte.

Dennoch gab es Migrationsformen von römischer Religion, von denen ich die vier Wichtigsten nenne:

- Die Legionen, die im Reich an Krisenherde geschickt und positioniert wurden, befanden sich über die *Canabae*[8] in einem beschränkten Austausch mit den Einheimischen, etwa wenn Soldaten mit einheimischen Frauen eine Familie gründeten. Die *religio castrensis* (Militärreligion im Lager/*castra*) war allerdings ein sehr eingegrenzter Ausschnitt aus der römischen Religion.
- Magistrate brachten für die begrenzte Zeit ihrer Aufgaben in den Provinzen ihre persönliche Religion mit (und Souvenirs mit religiösen Symbolen wieder nach Rom, ohne dass das als Beweis für eine Kultpraxis einer fremden Religion in Rom gelten könnte). Ein wichtiges Beispiel ist Kaiser Vespasian, der in Ägypten Wunder vollbrachte und die ägyptische Isis als seine persönliche Gottheit monumental in der Stadt Rom repräsentierte.[9]
- Der Kaiserkult der jeweils herrschenden Dynastie galt früher als die aufgezwungene Loyalitätsreligion, die – als religiöser Teil der imperialen Herrschaft – in den Provinzen anstelle der römischen Kulte verbreitet wurde. (Dazu jedoch unten im Abschnitt 3).
- Ebenfalls zu nennen sind *Coloniae* römischer Bürger in Übersee, deren Religion in der umgebenden Region Aufmerksamkeit fand. Als Beispiel dafür

8 *Canabae* sind die Siedlungen mit Lebensmittelläden, Kneipen und Wohnhäusern von Einheimischen außerhalb der Militärlager.

9 Zum Isis-Heiligtum auf dem Campus Martius/Marsfeld vgl. John Miguel Versluys (Hg.), *The Iseum Campense from the Roman Empire to the Modern Age*: *Temple – monument – lieu de mémoire* (Rom: Edizioni Quasar, 2018). Wichtig ist zudem die Beobachtungen von Joachim Friedrich Quack, dass das Ritual von Profis aus Ägypten mitgebracht wurde; vgl. Joachim Friedrich Quack, „Zum ägyptischen Ritual im Iseum Campense in Rom,“ in *Rituale in der Vorgeschichte, Antike und Gegenwart. Studien zur Vorderasiatischen, Prähistorischen und Klassischen Archäologie, Ägyptologie, Alten Geschichte, Theologie und Religionswissenschaft*, Hg. Carola Metzner-Nebelsick u. a. (Rhaden/Westfalen: Leiendorf, 2003): 57–66.

ist im Folgenden – mit Blick auf die Bereiche „Religion“ und „Migration“ – das römische Korinth der Gegenstand der Dikussion.

Die Gründungen von *Coloniae* waren Konsequenz einer Gegenmaßnahme zu den Enteignungen und Landflucht durch den Aufbau von Latifundien in Italien: die *lex agraria* der Gracchen 133 v. Chr. In den Zeiten der Bürgerkriege erhielten jene, die sich zur Armee der jeweiligen Partei werben ließen, – als erhoffte Belohnung – ein Stück eigenes Land. Die *lex agraria* teilte erst innerhalb, dann außerhalb des römischen Italiens Land zu, auf dem die Bürger in einem städtischen Rahmen siedeln konnten, zumeist umfriedet von einer Stadtmauer.[10] Für eine römische *Colonia* steckten Agrimensoren die Grundstücke rechts und links der beiden Hauptstraßen der Stadt ab. Am Schnittpunkt einer *Colonia* lag das *Forum* mit dem *Capitolium*, dem Tempel der capitolinischen Trias Iupiter, Juno und Minerva. Das römische Korinth ging noch weiter: Das römische Forum, eingerichtet an der Stelle der alten griechischen *Agora*, lässt an das *Forum Romanum* in der Hauptstadt erinnern (Abb. 1):

- Betritt man das Forum in Korinth (Abb. 1) vom Hafen her kommend durch das Tor, so befindet sich – wie auf dem *Forum Romanum* (Abb. 2) – rechter Hand die *Basilica Iulia* mit den Statuen und Büsten der iulisch-claudischen Kaiserfamilie.[11]
- Gegenüber der *Basilica Iulia*, rechts des Tores, bietet eine Fassade mit Gefangenen, die das Gebälk tragen müssen, einen Anblick wie in Rom die *Basilica Aemilia*. Auch diese ist mit eben solchen Feinden ausgestattet: Wer es wagt, sich gegen das *Imperium Romanum* zu erheben, muss nun als Gefangener das Imperium tragen. In beiden Fällen sind es die Parther, die bei Carrhae 53 v. Chr. die römischen Feldzeichen erobert hatten, die Augustus aber durch einen Vertrag wieder zurückerhalten hatte – sein größter außenpolitischer Erfolg.[12]
- Die Rostra/ βῆμα.
- Auf dem zentralen Platz in der Achse der vom Hafen heraufführenden Hauptstraße haben die *Augustales*, also die für den Kaiserkult sorgenden Familien ein Monument errichtet, das nicht nur ihre Aufgabe und ihre Namen vor

10 Hartmut Galsterer, „Colonia,“ DNP 3 (1997): 76–85.

11 Vgl. Paul D. Scotton; Catherine De Grazia Vanderpool, *Julian Basilica: Architecture, Sculpture, Epigraphy*, Corinth 22 (Princeton: ASCS at Athens, 2022) sowie Saul S. Weinberg, *The Southeast Building, the Twin Basilicas. The Mosaic House*, Corinth: Results of the Excavations 1.5 (Princeton: ASCS, 1960).

12 Vgl. Volker Michael Strocka, *Die Gefangenenfassade an der Agora von Korinth. Ihr Ort in der römischen Kunstgeschichte*, Eikoniká, kunstwissenschaftliche Beiträge 2 (Regensburg: Schnell und Steiner, 2010).

Augen stellt, sondern auch die Basis bildet für eine riesige Statue.[13] Rechtwinklig dazu liegt die Querachse von der *Basilica Iulia* über das Augustales-Monument zum einzig neu gebauten Tempel E. Der Tempel, der das Forum hoch überragt, muss ein Ausweis für die römische Identität des neuen Korinths gewesen sein. Wem dieser Tempel geweiht war, ist jedoch ein durchaus umstrittenes und nicht gelöstes Problem.[14]

- Gegenüber dem Eingang schaut man auf die Rostra (in Korinth die *Bema*, das Rednerpodium) und die Curia.
- Das typische *Capitolium*, das in Rom auf dem steilen Hügel hoch über dem Forum steht, wurde in *Coloniae* sonst direkt am Schnittpunkt der Achsen, am Forum gebaut. Dort ist es in Korinth nicht zu finden. Der beherrschende Tempel ist der alte griechische des Apollon.[15] Doch der Tempel E ist ein guter

13 Vgl. Margaret L. Laird, „The emperor in a Roman town: the base of the Augustales in the forum of Corinth," in *Corinth in Context: Comparative Studies on Religion and Society*, Hg. Steve Friesen u. a. (Leiden: Brill, 2010): 67–117 sowie Mary E. Hoskins Walbank, „Evidence for the Imperial Cult in Julio-Claudian Corinth," in *Subject and Ruler: The Cult of the ruling power in Classical antiquity*. JRA-Suppl., Hg. Alastair Small (Ann Arbor: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 1994): 201–214.

14 Das Problem ist hier nicht ausführlich zu diskutieren. Auf der einen Seite nennt Pausanias den Tempel „der Octavia". Octavia war die Schwester des Augustus, die von diesem als Unterpfand des Friedens mit Antonius verheiratet wurde. Kurz danach aber wurden Octavianus, der später Augustus genannt und geehrt wurde, und Antonius zu Feinden. Der Krieg zwischen den beiden endete mit dem Tod des Antonius. Octavia blieb zwar im Kaiserhaus, aber dass man ihr einen Tempel in der Colonia stiftete, ist nicht sehr wahrscheinlich. Pausanias nennt bei seiner Stadtführung 2,4,5 ein Capitolium ὑπὲρ (oberhalb, jenseits) des Theaters. Damit könnte er den Tempel E gemeint haben, den er beim Rundgang durch das Forum eben Tempel der Octavia genannt hatte, ‚oberhalb' (ὑπὲρ) der Agora 2,3,1; siehe dazu Domenico Musti und Mario Torelli, *Pausania: Guida della Grecia. Libro II. La Corinzia et l'Argolide* (Verona: Mondadori, ²1994), 230 zur Stelle. Weiter gibt es eine Münzserie aus der Regierungszeit des Kaisers Tiberius (also des Nachfolgers des Augustus), die einen sechs-säuligen Tempel mit der Inschrift GENS IULIA zeigt; vgl. Mary E. Hoskins Walbank, „Image and Cult: The Coinage of Roman Corinth," in *Corinth in Context: Comparative Studies on Religion and Society*, Hg. Steve Friesen u. a. (Leiden: Brill, 2010): 156–162 mit Abbildungen der Serie, die Amandry ausführlich untersucht hat. Walbank votiert für den alten, renovierten Apollon-Tempel als das auf der Münze zu sehende Gebäude. Anlass boten die Jubiläen des Jahres 33/34: Der Todestag des Augustus vor 20 Jahren und die Übernahme der Herrschaft durch Tiberius – 60 Jahre seit der *res publica restituta,* 50 Jahre nach den *ludi saeculares*. Eine spätere Münze aus Korinth mit Domitian auf der Vorderseite (ca. 85–87 CE) zeigt auf der Rückseite einen Tempel mit vier Säulen, in dessen Mitte eine Götterfigur sitzt, an die zwei Stehende angrenzen, was offenbar die capitolinische Trias Jupiter, Juno und Minerva darstellt. Das identifiziert Walbank als ‚Zitat' des korinthischen Capitols. Entsprechendes gilt sicher für die zweite Bauphase; für die erste käme eine Venus/Aphrodite in Frage.

15 Nancy Bookides und Ron Stroud, „Apollo and the Archaic Temple at Corinth," *Hesperia* 73 (2004): 401–426; Walbank, „Image and Cult," 163–170.

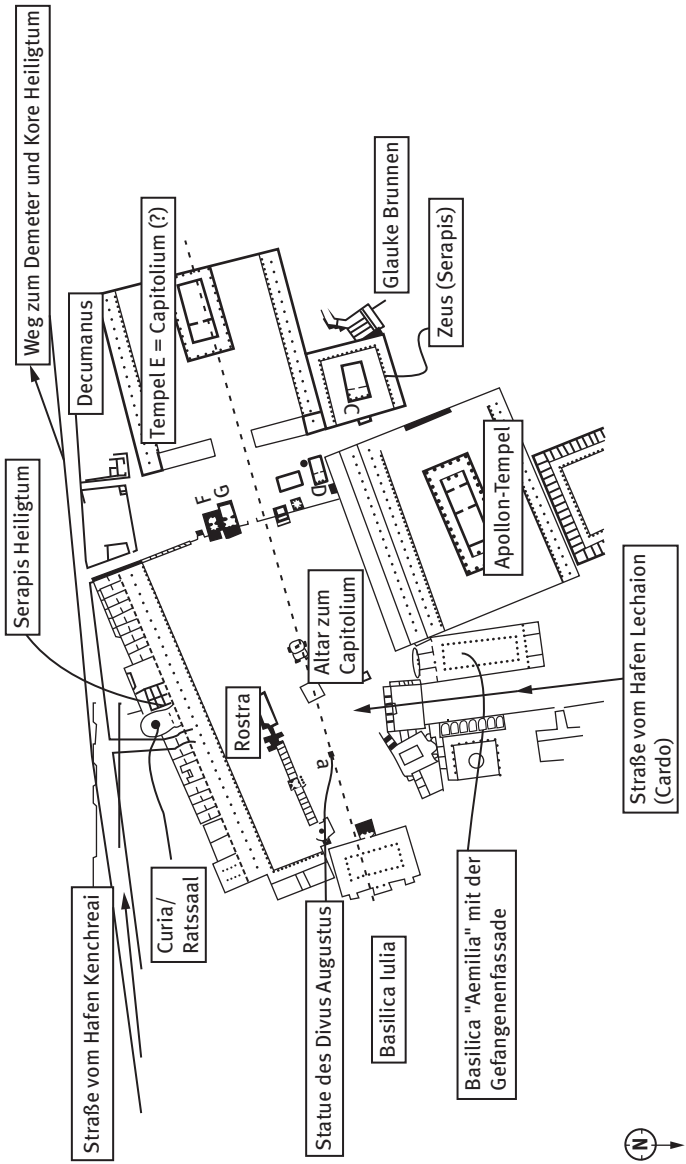

Abb. 1: Das Forum von Korinth: Grundriss (Mitte des 1. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.). Es erinnert an das *Forum Romanum* in Rom.

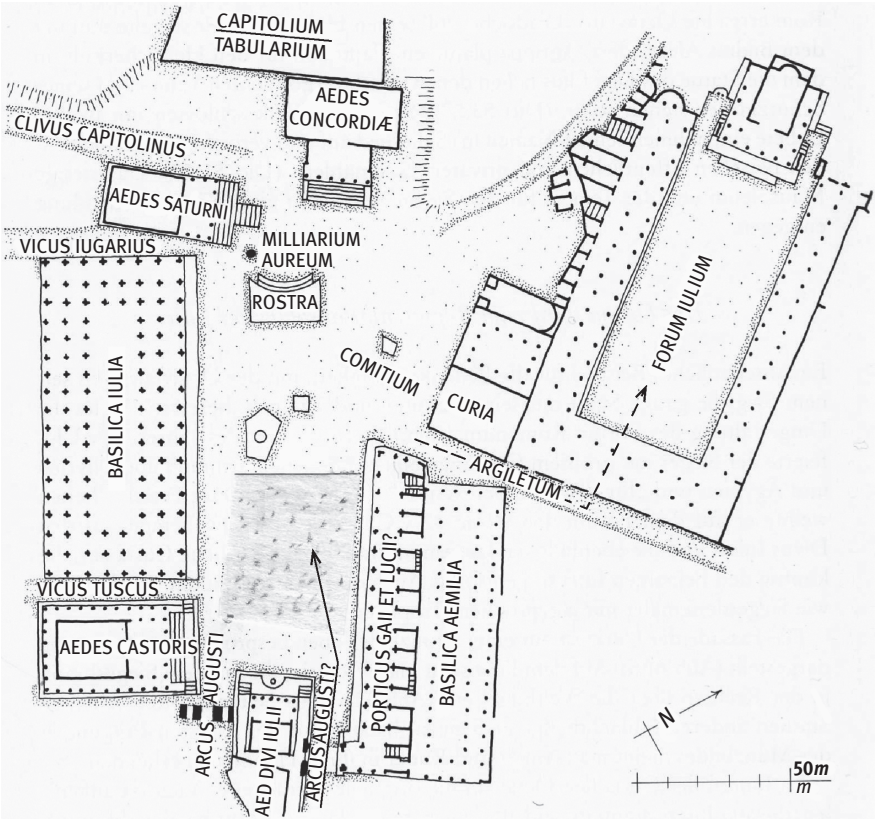

Abb. 2: Das *Forum Romanum* in Rom (Skizze).

Kandidat für den zentralen römischen Tempel. Denkbar ist aber auch eine Anlage hinter dem Forum, wie Casear, der Gründer Korinths, es in Rom anlegen ließ für die göttliche Mutter seiner Familie, der *Venus genetrix*: Ein Podiumstempel in einem großen, säulenumstandenen Innenhof.

– Der Tempel E/das *Capitolium* liegt zwar hinter einem ‚Vorhang' kleiner Tempel, aber liegt zum einen 9 Meter höher und ist zum anderen mitten auf dem Forum präsent durch den Altar, der zu dem Tempel den rituellen Bezugspunkt herstellt.[16]

16 Johannes Fouquet, *Bauen zwischen Polis und Imperium* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019), 70–75.

Obwohl das griechische Korinth „dem Erdboden gleich gemacht wurde“ und keiner von den alten Griechen mehr dort wohnte,[17] bauten die Römer zunächst keinen neuen Tempel, sondern renovierten die alten griechischen Tempel. Wie weit sie die griechischen Tempel in ihrer griechischen Bedeutung übernahmen oder in *Interpretatio Romana* umdeuteten, kann man nur näherungsweise beantworten.

Der einzige völlig neue Tempel – dem römischen Stil gemäß auf einem Podium gelegen – wurde in einem eigenen Forum hinter dem ‚Vorhang‘ der Reihe kleinerer Tempel gebaut, lag aber neun Meter höher: Der Tempel E, von Pausanias ‚Tempel der Octavia‘ genannt (Paus. 2,3,1).[18] Von der Anlage eines Forums hinter dem Forum könnte der Gründer der Colonia, Caesar, oder sein Adoptivsohn Augustus dort einen Tempel der *Venus Genetrix* geplant haben, der göttlichen Stammmutter der Familie des C. Iulius Caesar. Gleichzeitig könnte das eine Anknüpfung an die alte Stadtgöttin des griechischen Korinths gewesen sein – an Aphrodite. Augustus hatte in Rom sein *Forum Augustum* hinter dem *Forum Romanum* gebaut und dort im Bildprogramm des *Mars Ultor*-Tempels die göttliche Abkunft seines Geschlechts von der Stammmutter, der Göttin Venus, visualisiert.[19] Vom Stadtplan her ist deutlich ein Spiegel des *Forum Romanum* in Rom zu lesen. Es ist jedoch auch aus den Inschriften zu erkennen, dass neben römischen auch griechische Kulttitel verwendet wurden.[20]

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17 Strabon 8.6,23. Paus. 2,1,2: Κόρινθον δὲ οἰκοῦσι Κορινθίων μέν οὐδεὶς ἔτι τῶν ἀρχαίων, ἔποικοι δὲ ἀποσταλέντες ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων. („Korinth bewohnen keine Korinther mehr von den alten, vielmehr Kolonisten, ausgesandt von Römern.“) Diese Aussage ist sicher übertrieben. So stand die Südstoa; noch wenige Funde belegen eine kleine Kontinuität der Besiedelung.

18 Guy Sanders, Jennifer Palinkas, Ioulia Tzounou-Herbst und James Herbst, *Ancient Corinth. Site Guide* (Princeton: ASCS at Athens, 2018), 30–32.

19 Paul Zanker, *Augustus und die Macht der Bilder* (München: Beck, ²1990), 85–106; 198–204. Das Erdbeben von 77 n. Chr. galt als *terminus post quem* für das Bauprogramm in Korinth: die Gefangenenfassade, das Propylon als Eingang zum Forum, das ‚große Bad‘, den Tempel E. Vgl. Henner von Hesberg, „Zur Datierung der Gefangenenfassade in Korinth. Eine wiederverwendete Architektur augusteischer Zeit,“ *Athener Mitteilungen 98* (1983): 215–238. Dagegen erweist Volker Michael Strocka, *Die Gefangenenfassade an der Agora von Korinth. Ihr Ort in der römischen Kunstgeschichte,* Eikoniká, kunstwissenschaftliche Beiträge 2 (Regensburg: Schnell und Steiner, 2010) mit stilistischen Datierungen das große Bauprogramm als Vorbereitung auf den Aufenthalt Kaiser Neros in Korinth in den Jahren 66/67 n. Chr.

20 Annette Hupfloher, „A Small Copy of Rome? Religious Organization in Roman Corinth,“ in *Pathways to Power. Civic Elites in the Eastern Part of the Roman Empire.* Tripodes 6, Hg. Athanasios D. Rizakis und Francesco Camia (Athen: Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene, 2008): 151–160. John Harvey Kent, *Corinth. Results of Excavations conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, VIII. 3: The Inscriptions, 1926–1950* (Princeton, NJ: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1966), Index III: Religion, pagan, 236–238.

Früher ist man davon ausgegangen, dass sich mit dem Wechsel von der Iulisch-Claudischen Dynastie römischer Kaiser zur Flavischen (69 n. Chr. Vespasian – Titus – Domitian) auch das Bild des römischen Korinths veränderte. Das Erdbeben, das in Rom das Capitol im Jahre 77 n. Chr. ebenso schwer zerstörte wie das in Korinth, sei der äußere Anlass für das neue Gesicht gewesen. Sollte sogar das Land neu vermessen worden sein? Die Münzen und die Inschriften, die eine Umbenennung der Stadt belegen sollen, geben das aber nicht her.[21] Das neue Bild Korinths wurde sicher auch für den Besuch Kaiser Neros umgestaltet.

Die genaueste Beschreibung von Korinth findet sich bei Pausanias, Mitte des 2. Jahrhunderts, also noch einmal drei Generationen nach dem vermuteten Umbau.[22] Pausanias liest in seiner *Periegesis* jedoch die Sakrallandschaft nicht von ihrer römischen Oberfläche her, sondern schaut unter der Oberfläche nach griechischen, möglichst archaischen Spuren.[23] Da ist es wieder auferstanden, das von den Römern dem Erdboden gleichgemachte griechische Korinth! Er beobachtet, wie die (Möchte-gern-)Neu-Griechen offenbar auch die alten Kulte wieder einrichteten und anscheinend auch die griechischen Namen verwendeten. Folgt man dem Rom-skeptischen Pausanias, so haben die römischen Bürger die griechische Sakrallandschaft wieder aufleben lassen, ergänzt um wenige römische Kulte – diese aber im Zentrum der neuen Stadt. Doch fehlte es ihnen an Authentizität. Sie kannten zwar das Fest und den Mythos der Kinder der Medea, aber feierten es nicht mehr wie die alten Korinther.[24] Vielleicht erwähnt Pausanias ausgerechnet dieses Fest, weil die Immigrantin Medea zwar in der Stadt zur Königin aufgestiegen war, aber im Innern die Barbarin blieb, die aus Rache zu ihrem Mann Jason die gemeinsamen Kinder ermordete.[25] Während sich die alten Grie-

21 Mary E. Hoskins Walbank, „What is in a name? Corinth under the Flavians," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik 139* (2002): 251–263. Der neue Name erscheint auf Münzen als COL IUL FLAV AUG CORINT, also *Colonia Iulia Flavia Augusta Corinthiensis*. Vorher und später wieder nennen Münzen sie *Colonia Laus Iulia Corinthiensis*. Also nur die Münzemission der Jahre 84–87 CE ergänzt, nicht ersetzt den Namen um das Element der Flavischen Dynastie.

22 Pausanias, *Periegesis* 2,1–2,5,5.

23 Zur Romkritik und zur Forschungsliteratur zu Pausanias vgl. Christoph Auffarth, „Athen – die heilige Stadt: Erbe, Umdeutung, Palimpsest der Sakrallandschaft," in *Athen in der Spätantike. COMES Civitatum Orbis MEditerranei Studia*, Hg. Ilinca Tanaseanu-Döbler (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2020): 33–58; Christoph Auffarth, „‚Verräter – Übersetzer?' Pausanias, das römische Patrai und die Identität der Griechen in der Achaea," in *Römische Reichsreligion und Provinzialreligion*, Hg. Hubert Cancik und Jörg Rüpke (Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1997): 219–238.

24 Paus. 2,3,7.

25 Paul Dräger, „Medeia," *DNP* 7 (1999): 1091–1093 erklärt die komplexe Überlieferung. Jason hatte sie auf der Argonautenfahrt nach Kolchis am Nordrand des Schwarzen Meers kennen und lieben gelernt. – Im Text verbindet Pausanias Medeia mit den Medern/Ariern; gegen diese größten historischen Feinde errangen damals 480 v. Chr. die Griechen ihre Freiheit. Den Röm-

chen selbst als Immigranten bezeichneten und Autochthonie („schon immer im eigenen Lande") kein Argument des Stolzes darstellte,[26] wendet Pausanias es in der Kaiserzeit gegen die (aus seiner Sicht) Besatzer-Immigranten.

Anfang des 2. Jahrhunderts n. Chr., also in der 5. Generation der Römer-Korinther, wurde eine Statue der Roma aufgestellt, die auf einem Steinsitz sitzt, der aus den sieben Hügeln Roms besteht (Abb. 3).[27] Kaum einer der Neu-Korinther kannte noch die Stadt Rom – man musste sie jedes Mal memorieren, wenn man an dem Denkmal vorbei kam.

2 Nichtrömische Kulte in der Römischen Reichsreligion: „Import"

2.1 Griechische und „Orientalische" Kulte

Religio Romana im strikten Sinne des Wortes dient nur dem Zweck, offizielle Akte der *res publica* einzuleiten und damit die rituelle Regel *religio* sicher zu stellen.[28] Dabei werden von Spezialisten auch Voraussagen über die unmittelbare

ern ist nur ein Vertrag, aber kein nachhaltiger Sieg gelungen; vgl. Martin Schottky, „Parther- und Perserkriege," *DNP* 9 (2000): 375–377. Die Römer präsentierten in Athen ihre zurückgegebenen Feldzeichen direkt unter den von den Griechen siegreich eroberten Schilden am Parthenon; vgl. Auffarth, „Athen – die heilige Stadt:" 39–40.

26 Jonathan M. Hall, *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Christoph Auffarth, „Constructing the identity of the polis: the Danaides as ‚ancestors'," in *Ancient Greek Hero Cult. Proceedings of the International Seminar Göteborg, 1995*, Hg. Robin Hägg (Stockholm: Stockholm University, 1999), 39–48. Großes Aufsehen erregte das Buch von Martin Bernal, *Black Athena: the Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilization* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers Univ. Press, 1987) durch den Vorwurf des Rassismus, dass die Europäer seit der Aufklärung die Antike zu einer weißen gemacht hätten. Vgl. Jan Assmann, „Sentimental Journey zu den Wurzeln Europas. Zu Martin Bernals ‚Black Athena'," *Merkur* 522 (1992): 921–931 http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bsz:16-propylaeumdok-21572 (04.09.2020); Daniel Orrells, Gurminder K. Bhambra und Tessa Roynon (Hg.), *African Athena. New agendas* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

27 Kent, *Corinth* VIII.3, Nr. 352. Henry S. Robinson, "A Monument of Roma at Corinth," *Hesperia* 43 (1974), 470–484; Tafel 101–106. Die Statue rekonstruiert aufgrund einer Münze (71 C.E.); vgl. Harold Mattingly, Hg., *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, Bd. 2 (London: British Museum, 1930), 774.

28 Maijastina Kahlos, „Religio," *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* 28 (2018): 992–1014. Im gleichen Lexikon folgt der ambitionierte Artikel Religion von Ilinca Tanaseanu-Döbler, „Religion," *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* 28 (2018): 1014–1082.

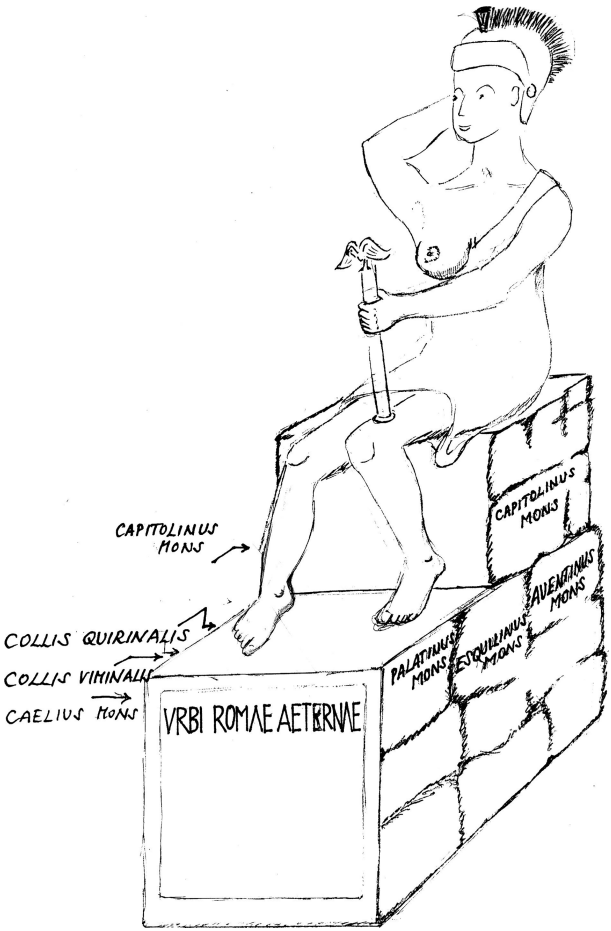

Abb. 3: Die Statue der *Roma* in Korinth aus dem 2. Jahrhundert, die auf den sieben Hügeln thront (Rekonstruktionsskizze).

Zukunft getroffen. Sie kann referieren auf die ‚Sicherheit' der *res publica* (Heilsgeschichte, *sotería*). Sie ist keine Religion der Individuen. Die ‚Religion der Römer' umfasst vielmehr drei Ebenen*: religio Romana, ritus Graecus*, Magie.[29] Wenn also in Korinth die *religio Romana* nur einen geringen Ausschnitt darstellt, dann deshalb, weil *religio Romana* in Rom vollzogen wird. Im römischen Korinth

29 Jörg Rüpke, *Die Religion der Römer* (München: Beck 2001. ²2006).

gibt es ‚Zitate' und den unten beschriebenen Kaiserkult. Die Bürger der *Colonia* leben griechische Religion in der hellenistischen Vielfalt.[30]

Korinth ist eine Stadt mit zwei Häfen, die einen gewissen Aufenthalt einschiebt, weil der Isthmos das Umladen der Ladung von einem zum anderen Hafen verlangt. Hafenstädte entwickeln plurale Gesellschaften mit Subkulturen und Diasporen von Sklaven, Seefahrern, Vertretern in Filialen von Handelsgeschäften in anderen Hafenstädten, Prostituierten und Familien mit römischem Bürgerrecht.[31] Der Festkalender fügt neben römischen und griechischen auch weitere religiöse Feste hinzu, die das Publikum gleich welcher religiösen Vorlieben anlocken. Hier gehe ich auf zwei prominente Kulte in Korinth ein:[32]

Das eine ist der griechische *Kult der Demeter und Kore*, 900 Meter steilauf am N-Hang des Akrokorinth gelegen. Das griechische Heiligtum mit seinen vierzig Restaurant-Gebäuden, ohne einen eigentlichen Tempel, wurde in römischer Zeit renoviert und erhielt nun einen Eingang (Propyläen) mit Mauer sowie ganz oben

30 Während Piérart 1998 in Bezug auf den Melikertes/Palaimon meint, dass der Kult erst Jahrzehnte nach der Neugründung als Portunus-Kult aus Italien importiert worden sei und völlig umgeformt als Mysterienkult neu eingerichtet wurde, denkt die Ausgräberin, Liz Gebhard, dass der Kult vor der Zerstörung bereits bestand und sofort von den Kolonisten wieder aufgenommen wurde mit der Überführung der Isthmischen Spiele wieder nach Korinth/Isthmia; vgl. Elizabeth R. Gebhard, „Rites for Melikertes – Palaimon in the Early Roman Corinthia," in *Urban religion in Roman Corinth*, Hg. Daniel N. Schowalter u. a. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005): 165–203 sowie Marcel Piérart, „Panthéon et hellénisation dans la colonie romaine de Corinthe. La ‚Redécouverte' du culte de Palaimon à l'Isthme," *Kernos* 11 (1998): 85–109.

31 Die literarischen Quellen sprechen von Freigelassenen, weniger von Veteranen, etwa Strabon 8.6,23: ἡ Κόρινθος ἀνελήφθη πάλιν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος τοῦ θεοῦ … πέμψαντος τοῦ ἀπελευθερικοῦ γένους πλείστους. Die Untersuchung von Namen, zusammengestellt von Athanasios Rizakis und Sophia Zoumbaki, *Roman Peloponnese 1: Roman personal names in their social context (Achaia, Arcadia, Argolis, Corinthia and Eleia)*, Meletemata 31 (Athen: Research Centre for Greek and Roman Antiquitiy, National Hellenic Research Foundation, 2001). A. J. S. Spawforth, "Roman Corinth. The formation of a Colonial élite," in *Roman Onomastics in the Greek East*, Hg. Athanasios D. Rizakis (Athen: KERA, 1996): 167–182 führt zu dem Ergebnis in den ersten drei Generationen bis Nero: (n = 40) 19% Freigelassene, 6% Veteranen, 29% *Negotiores* (Kaufleute), 8% Griechische Notabeln aus der Provinz, 2% aus der Elite Roms, 19% unbestimmbar; Marcin N. Pawlak, „Corinth after 44 BC: Ethnical and Cultural Changes," *Electrum. Studia z historii starożytnej* 20 (2013): 143–162.

32 Amelia R. Brown, *Corinth in Late Antiquity. A Greek, Roman and Christian City* (London: Tauris/Bloomsbury, 2018), 113–128 (Sacred spaces around the forum) und 129–149 (Sacred spaces in the city and Corinthia). Die Inschriften hat Kent, *Corinth*, VIII.3 mit guten Indizes erschlossen. Für die Spätantike ersetzt und wesentlich verbessert in der Neuausgabe der Inschriften Sironen, *IG* IV.3: nur die Texte und deutsche Übersetzungen von Klaus Hallof http://telota.bbaw.de/ig/IG%20IV²%203,%201246 (25.9.2010).

drei Tempeln, die es vorher nicht gab. Das heißt, nicht jeder kann hier ohne Schwelle eintreten, sondern eine Schleuse riegelt das Heiligtum ab (Abb. 4). Gleiches bauten auch erst die Römer für die Mysterien der Demeter und Kore in Eleusis.[33] Ein Heiligtum bedarf in römischen Vorstellungen eines Tempels. Vor dem Eingang wurde ein neues Gebäude ohne Fenster gebaut; es enthielt magische Fluchtäfelchen.[34] Nicht so weit entfernt (rund 67 km) liegt das berühmte Heiligtum der Demeter und Kore in Eleusis, das von Menschen aus der ganzen Welt aufgesucht wird, um sich in die Mysterien einweihen zu lassen.[35] Das Heiligtum in Korinth scheint aber ein eigenständiges Heiligtum zu sein, keine Filiale. Verstärkt ist jetzt der Mysteriencharakter durch das Eingangstor, deutlich romanisiert im Sinne der Erwartungen der Reichsreligion (s. u. Abschnitt 3).

Als zweiten Kult gehe ich auf die ‚ägyptischen' Götter *Isis und Serapis* ein. Direkt unterhalb des Demeter-und-Kore-Heiligtum besuchte Pausanias ein Isis-Heiligtum, das aber bislang nicht gefunden wurde. Das meiste wissen wir vom Isis-Heiligtum im Hafen von Kenchreai. Er wird von den gerade angekommenen Seefahrern und den Fremden der Diaspora vor Ort aufgesucht. Es bildet sich darüber hinaus eine Gemeinde derer, die sich in die Mysterien der Isis einweihen lassen. Der Isis-Kult wird zu dem Hauptfest der Seefahrer im Hafen (und löst damit Athene als Göttin der Seefahrt ab).[36] Zu Beginn der Schifffahrtssaison zieht eine Prozession umsäumt von städtischem Publikum zum gut zwei Stunden[37] entfernten Hafen; der Höhepunkt des Festes aber wird den Blicken der Städter entzogen und ist dann nur den Eingeweihten und den Neophyten zugänglich. So lockt der Umzug zwar viele Städter Richtung Hafen Kenchreai; zur Liturgie der Initiation im Tempel[38] sind aber nur die engeren Kultangehörigen eingeladen.

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33 Auffarth, „Athen – die heilige Stadt:" 49–51.

34 Ronald S. Stroud, *The inscriptions. Corinth*, Vol. 18, 6 (Princeton, NJ: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2013).

35 Eleusis in der Kaiserzeit: Kevin Clinton, „The Eleusinian Mysteries: Roman Initiates and Benefactors, Second Century B. C. to A. D. 267," in Wolfgang Haase (Hg.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt. 2,18,2* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1989): 1499–1539; Jan N. Bremmer, *Initiation into the mysteries of the Ancient World*, Münchner Vorlesungen zu antiken Welten 1 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014), 81–109; Auffarth, „Athen – die heilige Stadt." Zu Mysterien und der Metamorphose von Religionen in der Kaiserzeit in Analogie zu Mysterien („Mysterisierung") vgl. Christoph Auffarth, „Mysterien (Mysterienkulte)," *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* 25 (2013): 422–471.

36 Im Philokalos-Kalender (354 n. Chr.) ist das Fest des *navigium Isidis* (πλοιαφέσια) für den (frühen!) 5. März eingetragen.

37 Strabon 8.6,22 sagt siebzig Stadien (knapp 14 km) entfernt. Auf modernen Karten sind es 10,8 km.

38 Der Tempel ist archäologisch wohl identifiziert. Seine Ausschmückung an den Wänden bildet griechische Geistesheroen ab (Homer, Platon), keine Ägypter (auch nicht Hermes Trismegistos).

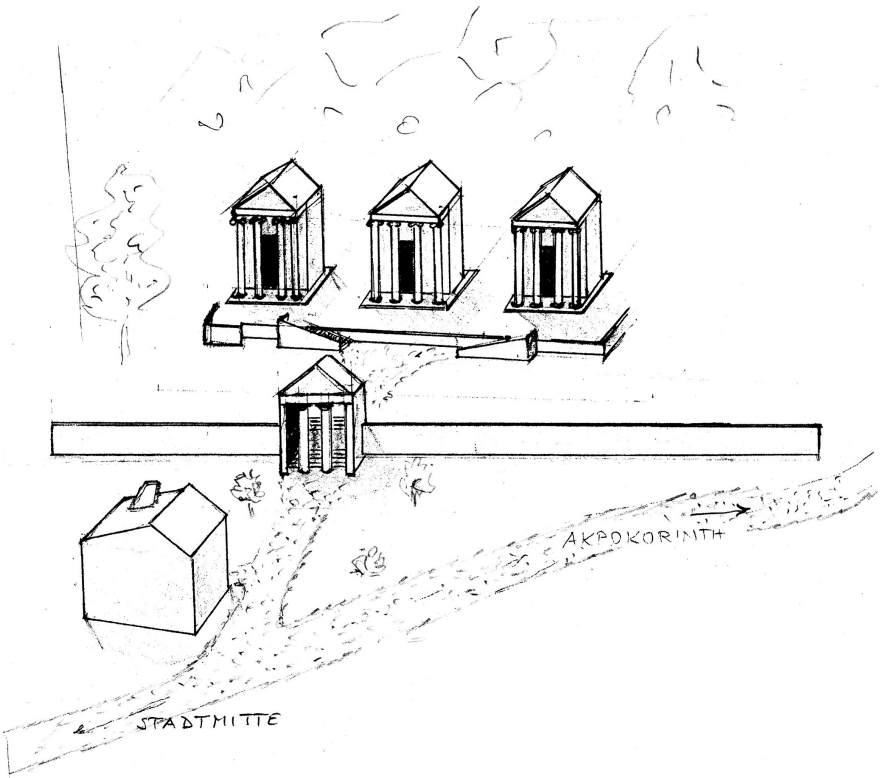

Abb. 4: Demeter und Kore-Heiligtum in römischer Zeit, südlich der Stadt auf halbem Weg zum Akrokorinth (Rekonstruktionsskizze).

Auch *Serapis* ist in Korinth präsent.[39] Sein hellenisierter Kult, ursprünglich wie der der Isis aus Ägypten, ist eng verbunden mit den Getreidelieferungen, auf die die *consumer cities* – Rom voran aber auch Korinth – angewiesen waren als Grundnahrungsmittel, das die Städte und ihr Umland nicht selbst produzierten. Das Imperium sorgte für sichere Seerouten, auf denen das Getreide aus *Aegyptus* und *Africa* geliefert wurde. Mit dem Getreide kamen die Götter aus Ägypten nach Rom.[40] Serapis trägt auf dem Kopf den *modius*, das Hohlmaß, mit dem man Ge-

39 Guy Sanders, Jennifer Palinkas, Ioulia Tzounou-Herbst und James Herbst, *Ancient Corinth. Site Guide* (Princeton: ASCS at Athens, 2018), 75; (Räume XX und XXI in der Südstoa neben dem Bouleuterion).

40 Vgl. Christoph Auffarth, „Mit dem Getreide kamen die Götter aus dem Osten nach Rom: Das Beispiel des Serapis und eine systematische Modellierung," *Zeitschrift für Religionswissen-*

treidekörner abmessen konnte. In Korinth sind drei Serapis-Köpfe gefunden worden. Der eine gehört zu einem bemerkenswerten Heiligtum.[41]

Das Heiligtum liegt an einem zentralen Ort in der Stadt (Abb. 1): Es ist Teil der Süd-Stoa, die das Forum/*Agora* Richtung Akrokorinth abschließt, neben dem *Bouleuterion*/Ratssaal und am Durchgang der Hauptstraße (*Cardo*) vom Hafen Lechaion über das Forum zum südlichen Teil der Stadt bzw. zum anderen Hafen Kenchreai. Im Innern des wie ein Laden in die Mall eingefügten Ladens mit drei Räumen befand sich in der Halle eine hölzerne Herme, in die der Marmorkopf des Serapis eingelassen wurde, ein gebauter Altar, auf der Basis eine Inschrift für die Statue der *Colonia Laus Iulia Corinthiensis*;[42] wohl ebenfalls hierher gehörig ein zweiter Serapis-Kopf und eine Weihung eines Freigelassenen und Schatzwalters Phileros und ein Münzenhort mit Münzen vorwiegend aus der Zeit von Gallienus (260–268). Im angrenzenden Nachbarraum befand sich ein Wasserreservoir und ein Ablauf, das wahrscheinlich das Wasser zur Verfügung stellte, welches typischerweise im Kult als Nilwasser bzw. *Canopus* gebraucht wurde.

Serapis ist ein Beispiel für die Ausbreitung einer Religion, die sich aber für die andere kulturelle Passung deutlich verändern muss (*religio translata*[43]).[44] In seiner hellenisierten Form wird Serapis zunächst zur Symbolfigur für die Herr-

schaft 20 (2012): 7–34; Christoph Auffarth, "With the Grain Came the Gods from the Orient to Rome: The Example of Serapis and Some Systematic Reflections," in *Religions and Trade. Religious Formation, Transformation and Cross-Cultural Exchange between East and West. Dynamics in the History of Religions*, Hg. Peter Wick und Volker Rabens (Brill: Leiden, 2013): 19–41; Jörg Rüpke, *Pantheon* (München: Beck, 2018), 272–280.

41 Vgl. Amelia R. Brown, *Corinth in Late Antiquity. A Greek, Roman and Christian City* (London: Tauris/Bloomsbury, 2018), 113 mit Anm. 1 (S. 233): Korinth Museum S 2387. Guy Sanders, Jennifer Palinkas, Ioulia Tzounou-Herbst und James Herbst, Hg., *Ancient Corinth. Site Guide* (Princeton: ASCS at Athens, 2018), 75 (Abb.); Elizabeth J. Milleker, „Heads of Sarapis from Corinth," *Hesperia* 54 (1985): 121–135. Tafel (Abb.); Dennis Edwin Smith, „Egyptian Cults in Corinth," *Harvard Theological Review* 70 (1977): 200–231 nennt es „a chapel in Corinth" 212–216 (mit den besten Plänen). Das Heiligtum in der Südstoa des Forums „shop XX".

42 Vgl. für die Inschrift Kent, *Corinth*, VIII.3, Nr. 130 *Colonia*. *Phileros* in Nr. 67.

43 Zur Terminologie Christoph Auffarth, „Religio migrans. Die ‚Orientalischen Religionen' im Kontext antiker Religion. Ein theoretisches Modell," in *Religioni in Contatto nel mondo antico. Modalità di diffusione e processi di interferenza* (Mediterranea 4), Hg. Corinne Bonnet, Sergio Ribichini und Dirk Steuernagel (Rom: Fabrizio Serra editore, 2008): 333–363.

44 Joachim Quack, „Serapis I. Ägypten. Sarolta A. Takacs: II. Griechisch-römische Antike," *DNP* 11 (2001), 445–448; Joachim Quack und Bjørn Paarmann, „Sarapis – Bemerkungen aus der Sicht eines Ägyptologen," in *Aneignung und Abgrenzung. Wechselnde Perspektiven auf die Antithese von ‚Ost' und ‚West' in der griechischen Antike*, Hg. Nicolaus Zenzen, Tonio Hölscher und Kai Trampedach (Heidelberg: Verlag Antike, 2013): 229–291; Christoph Michels, „Serapis, Serapeion," *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* 30, Lieferung 236 (2020).

schaftsansprüche der ägyptischen Ptolemäer im östlichen Mittelmeerraum, indem diese überall – vor allem in den Häfen der Ägäis – Heiligtümer für ihren Gott errichten. So etwa auf Delos, der Insel, die von vielen Schiffen auf der hochriskanten Fahrt durchs Mittelmeer angesteuert wurde und daher Heiligtümer fast aller Götter beherbergte (darunter auch eine Synagoge).[45] Doch diese von einem Zentrum aus gesteuerte ‚Mission' wird abgelöst durch eine nicht-intentionale Ausbreitung – wie etwa durch die Wahl des Gottes durch Händler – bis zu so entfernten Orten wie auf der Seidenstraße ein Devotionalienhändler in Afghanistan.[46] Als in der Spätantike die staatliche Organisation der Getreideversorgung zusammenbricht und von christlichen Bischöfen übernommen wird, lässt ein Bischof seinen Thron verzieren mit dem Joseph der christlichen Heilsgeschichte, der mit einem Modius auf dem Kopf das Getreide speichern lässt für die kommenden sieben mageren Jahre.[47] Serapis ist christianisiert.

Das Serapis-Heiligtum an so zentraler Stelle in der Stadt spricht nicht dafür, dass es sich um eine ethnische Diaspora handelt,[48] die dort ihren Kult für sich ausführt. Vielmehr handelt es sich um einen populären Kult sowohl für die Bürger der Stadt als auch für die vielen Gäste, die sich vorübergehend in der Stadt aufhalten. Bei Isis am Hafen kommen die Einwohner zu einem Umzug, der die Schifffahrtssaison einläutet, während das anschließende Initiationsfest nur den neu Einzuweihenden wie den bereits Eingeweihten exklusiv geöffnet wird. Auch hier handelt es sich nicht um eine ethnische Diaspora, sondern ein Fest, das die ganze Stadt auf die Beine bringt, da sie ja doch von der Schifffahrt lebt. Und Initiation in die Mysterien der Göttin mit den zehntausend Namen ist nichts, was aufwändig, exklusiv und schon gar nicht ethnisch beschränkt wäre. Der mittellose Lucius wird initiiert, mit Ägypten hat er nichts zu tun.

45 Vgl. zu den drei Serapeia auf Delos Philippe Bruneau und Jean Ducat, *Guide de Délos*, École Française d'Athènes: Site et Monuments 1 (Athen: EFA, 1983), 219–231, § 91, 96, 100. Heiligtümer für die samothrakischen Gottheiten § 93, Atargatis und Haddad aus Syrien § 98, 118, Zeus Hypsistos § 106, Gott von Askalon § 107, 109, Tanit § 111. Synagoge § 80 mit vier Weihungen an den höchsten Gott (θεὸς ὕψιστος); vgl. dazu Monika Trümper, „The Oldest Original Synagogue Building in the Diaspora. The Delos Synagogue Reconsidered," *Hesperia* 73 (2004): 513–598; Christliche Kirche aus dem 5. Jahrhundert § 86.

46 Auffarth, „Mit dem Getreide kamen die Götter:" 25–26.

47 Auffarth, „Mit dem Getreide kamen die Götter:" 23–25.

48 Die Inschrift für Isis und Serapis nennt als Weihenden C. Iulius Syrus, also wohl einen ehemaligen Sklaven, der sich als Freigelassener in Korinth ansiedelte (Mitte des 1. Jahrhunderts); Kent, *Corinth*, VIII.3, Nr. 57.

2.2 Systemsprengende Religionen? Juden und Christen in Korinth

Wie aber passen die zwei monotheistischen Religionen in die sozialen Handlungspraxen der polytheistischen Religion?[49] Sprengen sie das System der antiken hellenischen Religion? Über Christen[50] in Korinth haben wir die *Briefe* des Paulus, die *Clemensbriefe*, die *Apostelgeschichte* 18,[51] die detailliert über entstandene Probleme ganz in den Anfängen und in der späteren Zeit diskutieren. Mit dem Bischof Dionysios erfahren wir einiges über den Stand der Christen um 170 n. Chr.[52] Die archäologischen Befunde hingegen sind äußerst spärlich.

Als Paulus nach Korinth kommt, sucht er zunächst nach der Synagoge.[53] Dort findet er Anschluss an eine Jüdin Priscilla und einen Juden Aquila, die das gleiche Handwerk betreiben, das auch Paulus beherrscht. Die beiden waren

49 Walter Burkert hat die Unterscheidung (griechisch-römischer) Kulte versus (christlicher) Religion betont in Walter Burkert, *Antike Mysterien* (München: Beck, 1990), dazu die Rezension von Christoph Auffarth in *Wissenschaft und Weisheit* 53 (1990): 231–232; Simon Price, „Religious mobility in the Roman Empire," *Journal of Roman Studies* 102 (2012): 1–19.

50 Zur Bezeichnung *Christianer* als Fremdbezeichnung Ende des 1. Jahrhunderts in Antiochien und Ende des 2. Jahrhunderts als Selbstbekenntnis *Christianus/Christiana sum*, die in Märtyrerakten genügt, um dieselben zum Tode zu verurteilen, s. Jan N. Bremmer, *Maidens, Magic and Martyrs. Collected Essays 1* (Tübingen: Mohr, 2017), 3–12. Die Unterscheidung von Judäer (Ἰουδαῖοι) (aus der Provinz *Iudaea* oder religiös „Juden") und Gottesfürchtigen (θεοσεβόμενοι) (auch Apg. 18,7: solchen die am Synagogengottesdienst teilnehmen, aber nicht die ‚Gesetze' einhalten) beziehungsweise *Christianern* ist noch nicht klar. Meines Erachtens ist der *fiscus Iudaicus* ein wichtiges Unterscheidungsmerkmal für die Re-Ethnisierung der Juden in der Diaspora. Wichtig dazu: Benedikt Eckhardt, „Rom und die Juden – ein Kategorienfehler? Zur römischen Sicht auf die Iudaei in später Republik und frühem Prinzipat," in *Religio licita? Rom und die Juden*. Studia Judaica 84, Hg. Görge Hasselhoff und Meret Strothmann (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2017): 13–53.

51 Zum Quellenwert der *Apostelgeschichte* des Lukas und zur Datierung vgl. die Ansätze von Matthias Klinghardt und Markus Vinzent, die die Evangelien erst in den Zusammenhang mit der Krise um Markion, also Mitte des 2. Jahrhunderts setzen; vgl. Matthias Klinghardt und Jan Heilmann, Hrsg., *Der Text des Neuen Testaments im 2. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen: A. Francke 2018) und Markus Vinzent, *Offener Anfang. Die Entstehung des Christentums im 2. Jahrhundert* (Freiburg: Herder 2019), 182 macht aufmerksam, dass die *Apg* sehr selten von christlichen Schriftstellern der Antike verwendet wird.

52 Adolf Jülicher, „Dionysios 151," *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft 5.1* (1903), Sp. 993–994: „Vorkämpfer der milden Bussdisciplin"; Eusebios, *HE* 5.23,1–13; Jan N. Bremmer, „Early Christians in Corinth (A.D. 50–200): Religious Insiders or Outsiders," *Annali di storia dell' esegesi* 37 (2020): 181–202 bietet eine vorzüglich dokumentierte Untersuchung. Gerade das 2. Jahrhundert ist bei ihm beleuchtet.

53 So Apg. 18,4. Über Juden in Korinth ist sehr wenig bekannt. Der Türsturz mit der Aufschrift Synagoge der Judäer stammt aus dem späten 3. Jahrhundert; vgl. *Inscriptiones Iudaicae Orientis* 1 (Tübingen 2004), 182–184. Die jüdischen Zwangsarbeiter (wie Anm. 7) kamen erst nach Paulus.

aus Rom nach Korinth abgeschoben worden, nachdem der Kaiser Claudius 49 n. Chr. die Juden aus Rom ausgewiesen hatte.[54] Sind die Christen nun in Korinth Außenseiter und ‚exklusiv'? Jan Bremmer hat herausgearbeitet, wodurch Christen sich für einen Korinther als ‚fremd' erweisen: Sie hatten keinen Tempel, sondern trafen sich in Privathäusern. Sie besaßen kein Götterbild, kein Opferritual sowie keine Priester und bildeten eine egalitäre Gemeinde, sodass auch Frauen im Gottesdienst auftraten.[55] Trotzdem rät Paulus, ausgebildeter Rabbi, in den in der Gemeinde aufgetretenen Streitfragen zur Lebensführung (Halacha) zu einer sehr weichen Linie: sein Lieblingswort ist ‚Freiheit' (ἐλευθερία).[56] Um Bürgern der Mittelschicht oder gar Oberschicht[57] nicht den Umgang mit ihresgleichen zu verbieten, insbesondere die Einladung zu Symposien, erlaubt Paulus, auch Fleisch zu essen, das in der Tempelmetzgerei (lat. *macellum*, griech. μάκαλλον) gekauft wurde. Die Gemeinde trifft sich im Privathaus des Gaius, das offenbar geräumig genug ist.[58] Das ist nun der Haupteinwand gegen die Außenseiter-Theorie. Die egalitäre und der römischen Gesellschaftsordnung entgegenstehende Ordnung der Gemeinde ist nach außen nicht sichtbar und soll auch nicht für alle in der Polis durchgesetzt

54 Apg. 18,1–2. Sueton, *Claudius* 25,4: „Iudaeos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultantis Roma expulit." (Die Juden, die von Chrestos [Christus?] angeheizt ständig rebellierten, vertrieb er aus Rom.) Anders Cassius Dio 60.6,6. Botermann, *Judenedikt* 1996 rechnet die Stelle schon den Christen zu.

55 Bremmer, „Early Christians in Corinth:" 181–202. Dort sind Quellen und Forschungskontroversen dokumentiert, die ich in dem Zusammenhang des hier gestellten Themas nicht ausbreiten kann.

56 Oft im Wechselspiel mit Sklave/Diener wie 1Kor 7,21–22, 2Kor 3,17 etc. Der Geist Gottes ist Freiheit. Freiheit vom ‚Gesetz', Röm 7,3. Als Anklage gegen Paulus vor dem Statthalter vorgebracht, Apg. 18,12–17: Sie unterstellen, dass Paulus gegen das (römische) Gesetz παρὰ τὸν νόμον das Volk aufwiegele, ohne zu sagen, dass Paulus gegen das jüdische Gesetz verstoße; Vgl. Christoph Auffarth, „‚Groß ist die Artemis von Ephesos!' Der Artemiskult im kaiserzeitlichen Ephesos," in *Ephesos. Die antike Metropole im Spannungsfeld von Religion und Bildung*, Hg. Tobias Georges (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017): 80–82.

57 Zu Erastos, der im Gruß des Römerbriefs, Röm 16,23, als Stadtkämmerer (οἰκονόμος τῆς πόλεως) ausgewiesen ist, vgl. Alexander Weiß, *Soziale Elite und Christentum. Studien zu ordo-Angehörigen unter den frühen Christen* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015), 106–147; Alexander Weiß, „Paulus und die coloniae. Warum der Apostel nicht der einzige römische Bürger unter den frühen Christen war," in *Der jüdische Messias Jesus und sein jüdischer Apostel Paulus*, Hg. Armin D. Baum, Detlef Häußer und Emmanuel L. Rehfeld (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016): 341–356; Michael Wolter, *Der Brief an die Römer*. Teilband 2. Evangelisch-Katholischer Kommentar VI. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht; Ostfildern: Patmos, 2019): 455–511, hier 500–501.

58 Röm 16,23: (ξένος) ὅλης τῆ ἐκκλησίας „Gastgeber der gesamten (Orts-)Gemeinde"; vgl. Wolter, *Der Brief an die* Römer, 498–500. Aber auch Aquila und Prisca werden als Gastgeber genannt (1Kor 16,19. Röm 16,5a). Davon zu unterscheiden ist die umfangreiche Diskussion über Hauskirchen und *tituli*.

werden. Sklavinnen und Sklaven sind bei Gemeindeversammlungen ‚Schwestern und Brüder'; wenn sie aber in die Polis zurückkehren, sind sie wieder Sklaven. Die Sklaverei als ökonomisches Grundelement in den antiken Gesellschaften wird nicht in Frage gestellt. Paulus sagt im Philemon-Brief, in dem es um einen entlaufenen Sklaven geht, der auf Freiheit der Christen pocht und den Paulus zurück zu seinem Herrn schickt: „unsere Polisgesellschaft gibt es (erst) im Himmel."[59] Phoibe aus dem Ost-Hafen Korinths, Kenchreai, kommend, wird von Paulus sehr empfohlen; sie wird den Brief aus Korinth nach Rom gebracht haben.[60] Konflikte sollen am besten innerhalb der Gemeinde geregelt und nicht nach außen getragen werden.[61] So bleibt die Gemeinde unauffällig, kann sich im polytheistischen Umfeld und in der bestehenden Polis-Ordnung bewegen. Fremdheit ist in Korinth die Regel, nicht die auffällige Ausnahme von Außenseitern.

Auch wenn einmal von der ‚ganzen Vollversammmlung' (ὅλη ἡ ἐκκλησία) der Christianer in Korinth die Rede ist,[62] so wird es doch schon Gruppen gegeben haben, die sich in unterschiedlichen Privathäusern getroffen haben.[63] Der Weg aus dem Hafen Kenchreai in die Stadt ist zu weit für Phoibe, um an einem Gottesdienst teilzunehmen, der vor oder nach der Arbeit stattfindet. Die Häuser der Wohlhabenden boten im Obergeschoss einer *Insula* Platz für Menschen unterschiedlicher sozialer und ethnischer Herkunft; die Gemeinde der Christianer war keine Unterschichtenreligion.[64]

2.3 Private Unternehmer in Sachen Religion

Als die dritte Ebene der Religion der Römer und in der Reichsreligion gehe ich noch auf private Unternehmer ein, die religiöse Rituale für Klienten anbieten.[65]

59 Phil 3,20: ἡμῶν τὸ πολίτευμα ἐν οὐρανοῖς ὑπάρχει.

60 Röm 16,1; vgl. Wolter, *Der Brief an die* Römer, 458–463.

61 In 1Kor und in Röm 16,17–20a sowie Ende des Jahrhunderts im Clemensbrief wird vor innergemeindlichen Unruhen eindringlich gewarnt.

62 Vgl. etwa Röm 16,23; vgl. weiterhin die Warnung, nicht in Gruppen auseinanderzufallen, im Eingang des 1Kor: genannt werden die „Leute der Chloe" (1Kor 1,11) sowie die von Apollos (1Kor 1,12; 3,22; Apg 18,24) und von Kephas Getauften (1Kor 3,22).

63 Vgl. dazu die Überlegungen von Jan N. Bremmer, „Urban Religion, Neighbourhoods and Early Christian Meetingplaces," *Religion in the Roman Empire 6* (2020): 48–74.

64 Die Kritik an Verwandtschafts- (Familie, das ganze Haus) oder Vereinsbasierten Christengemeinden etwa bei Bremmer, „Urban Religion:" 48–74.

65 Klientelreligion (heute Psychotherapie, Yogagruppen, personal trainer, Heilungsgottesdienste), vgl. Christoph Auffarth, „Magie: Ein Schlüsselbegriff der Religionsgeschichte [anlässlich der Monographie Bernd-Christian Otto: *Magie* 2011]," *Zeitschrift für Religionswissenschaft*

Die Rituale changieren zwischen Exotik und Anpassung.[66] Von Peregrinus Proteus und Alexander von Abonou Teichos war schon die Rede. Für Korinth finde ich folgende Beispiele: Apuleius nimmt ein Geschehen zum Anlass eines Reinfalls eines solchen Unternehmers, der in Korinth auftritt. Der Orakelspender gibt gegen ein üppiges Honorar Orakel. Er entlarvt sich aber selbst, als er ein Orakel verkündet, das sich auf die Vergangenheit bezieht und durch einen Anwesenden, der als Augenzeuge dabei war, als Lüge entpuppt wird.[67] Offenbar ist die Lust zum Spott genauso groß wie der Bedarf an solchen Angeboten. Dass das nicht nur eine Unterschicht betrifft, sondern auch Intellektuelle mag das Beispiel Aelius Aristides beleuchten, der neben seinen Reden vor großem Publikum (Peregrinus sucht die Massenveranstaltung der Olympischen Spiele als Gelegenheit für seine Rede-Auftritte und schließlich – sich selbst in Zugzwang gebracht – seinen spektakulären Selbstmord) als Hypochonder für seine Gesundheit von Kurort zu Kurort reist und dabei Lobreden hält.

Ein zweites Beispiel ist bei den Ausgrabungen des Demeter-und-Kore-Heiligtum entdeckt worden (Abb. 4). In dem fensterlosen, neu gebauten Raum links vor den Propyläen fanden sich zehn Fluchtäfelchen auf Blei.[68] Dabei verfluchen zwei eine Kranzflechterin Karpime Babbia. Das bedeutet zum einen, dass die Kranzflechterin wohl für den Demeterkult (der Getreidegöttin) Getreidekränze geflochten hatte,[69] aber dabei in Konkurrenz geriet mit einer anderen Anbieterin,

21 (2013): 114–123; Heidi Wendt, *At the Temple Gates. The Religion of Freelance Experts in the Roman Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

66 Vgl. zur Bedeutung von *cultural brokers* bei der Übermittlung und Ausbreitung von Religion und den Restriktionen staatlicher Aufsicht den Artikel von Auffarth, „Mit dem Getreide kamen die Götter;“ vgl. zudem Andreas Bendlin, *Annahme und Ablehnung: Migration und Religion im antiken Rom.* [Vorlesung an der FU Berlin, 15.12.2016] https://www.youtube.com/ watch?v = SOasCs10Tro (10.09.2020).

67 Apuleius, met. 2,12–15, der Chaldäer Diophanes.

68 Vgl. Ronald S. Stroud, *The inscriptions. Corinth,* Vol. 18, 6 (Princeton, NJ: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2013), 81–157. Zwei gegen Babima Nr. 124 und 125/26; zwei gegen Maxima Pontia 130, 131, eines gegen Secunda Postumia 118. S. 154 Anm. 133 skizziert er im Anschluss an Voutiras (1998) und Dickie (2001), dass der Liebeszauber (Stroud Nr. 118) ein wichtiges Element zur Verbreitung von Magie durch Prostituierte in Korinth und anderswo gewesen sei. Die zahlreichen Inschriften aus den Ausgrabungen von Wiseman im Gymnasium sind leider unveröffentlicht, trotz der Chance, die Sironen anbot. Wiseman hat zahlreiche Fluchtäfelchen gefunden, die aber nicht publiziert sind.

69 Das hat das Korn-Symbol für die Rettung aus der Unterwelt in Paulus‘ 1Kor 15,36–38 aufgenommen; vgl. Christoph Auffarth, „Das Korn der Sterblichkeit. Was Paulus von seinen Korinthern im Demeter- und Kore-Heiligtum gelernt hat,“ in *Bestattungsrituale und Totenkult in der römischen Kaiserzeit – Rites funéraires et culte des morts aux temps impériales.* Potsdamer

die ihr alles Böse an den Hals wünschte.[70] Zum andern muss es über drei Jahrhunderte Spezialisten gegeben haben, die die Fluchtäfelchen schreiben konnten, teils mit Wörtern, die nur die Unterweltgötter verstanden.[71] Für diese Ritualspezialisten bedurfte es nur des Selbstbewusstseins, die Erzählung von einer Ausbildung bei einem großen Zauberer, kein Götterbild o. ä., sondern nur Schreibzeug und Blei und Nägel, um die zusammengefalteten Bleirollen an einen Pfosten im dunklen hinteren Raum zu fixieren.[72] Ein günstiger Platz am Eingang des Demeter-Heiligtum konnte mangelndes Charisma wettmachen. Das heißt, man konnte ohne großen Aufwand solch ein Unternehmen betreiben.[73] Auch ohne Priester zu sein, konnten Menschen von Religion leben.[74]

Vielleicht mag es überraschen, dass in diesem Zusammenhang Paulus zu nennen ist. Geht es doch um die ‚Anfänge von Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums.'[75] Aber im Unterschied zum Verständnis des 19. Jahrhunderts, in

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Altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge 27, Hg. Jörg Rüpke und John Scheid (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2009): 113–133.

70 Stroud, *The inscriptions. Corinth*, Nr. 124–125/126; Kranzbinderin: στεφανηπλόκος (prominent in Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazusai* 443–458, die Euripides wegen Atheismus anklagt). Sie wird wegen Hybris verflucht, verbunden mit dem Gebet der Verfluchenden an Demeter, sie selbst möge doch schwanger werden. Der Name führt auf die Familie der Babii, prominent in Korinth. Vielleicht war sie jedoch eine Freigelassene der Familie. Ronald S. Stroud datiert 72/73 n. Chr. oder Anfang des 2. Jahrhunderts; vgl. Stroud, *The inscriptions. Corinth*, 109.

71 Die Rückseite von Stroud, *The inscriptions. Corinth*, Nr. 118. In Nr. 124/25, Zeile 9–14 stehen die ‚großen Namen' der *Ananke* [unausweichliches Schicksal].

72 Jan Bremmer hat 1999/2008 Magier (zunächst) als Flüchtlinge aus Persien der unterlegenen *Magoi* erklärt, was dann zum nicht geschützten Titel für Ritualspezialisten wurde; vgl. Jan N. Bremmer, „The Birth of the Term 'Magic'," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik/ZPE 126* (1999): 1–12 [überarbeitet in Jan Bremmer, *Greek Religion and Culture, the Bible and the Ancient Near East,* (Leiden: Brill, 2008): 235–248].

73 Hier wäre noch zu nennen: Menippus wird von einer Prostituierten-Vampir verführt, aber Apollonius von Tyana kann sie exorzisieren (Philostratos VA 4,25). – Lucian Philopseudes 30 f mit dem Exorzismus eines tödlichen Dämons.

74 Richard L. Gordon, Georgia Petridou und Jörg Rüpke (Hg.), *Beyond Priesthood. Religious Entrepreneurs and Innovators in the Roman Empire,* Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten 66 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017). Berichte über die öffentliche Verbrennung von massenweise magischen Anleitungen in Ephesos (Apg. 19,19), die Johannes Chrysostomos (*In Corinthios*, *MPG* 61,11) in Korinth stattfinden lässt. Für Rom vgl. Sueton Aug 31,1. Tac Ann 4.35,4.

75 Von der Entwicklung zur Weltreligion in der Spätantike her schaut Adolf Harnack auf die Anfänge in Adolf von Harnack, *Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902. [4]1924). Den Blick von den Anfängen her nimmt Wolfgang Reinbold, *Propaganda und Mission im ältesten Christentum: eine Untersuchung zu den Modalitäten der Ausbreitung der frühen Kirche*. FRLANT 188, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000) ein.

dem Mission als ein zentral gesteuertes und mit einem klaren Ziel organisiertes Unternehmen verstanden wurde, reist Paulus (wie auch andere Prediger) durch die Städte, gerät nach erster Fühlungnahme in Konflikt mit dem sehr losen Netz der Synagogengemeinden und schart dann um sich eine Gemeinde. Er schreibt Briefe (keine Evangelien wie Peregrinus Proteus)[76] an Gemeinden, in denen er gerade nicht lebt, um die Gemeinden zusammenzuhalten und Konflikte der Lebensweise zu klären. Später werden diese Briefe gesammelt und wie heilige Schriften vorgelesen. Davon kann man leben, was Paulus jedoch für seine Person ausdrücklich ablehnt – eine Ausnahme.

3 Reichsreligion

Was ich eben als ‚hellenisierte Form des Serapis' benannte, ist ein Kriterium der Reichsreligion. Auch wenn die *Religio Romana* nicht die Religion des *Imperium Romanum* wurde, kein Medium der Herrschaft, so findet man doch ungeschriebene Normen für die Verbreitung von Religionen innerhalb des Herrschaftsgebietes, um im Polytheismus als Religion akzeptiert werden zu können.

Dafür muss Serapis der hellenischen Ästhetik des Göttlichen angeglichen werden. Ein Gott in Tiergestalt ist nach diesem Verständnis unvorstellbar, hier der Stier Apis. Nach hellenischer Ästhetik und hellenischem Geschmack kann der Gott Tiere als Begleiter mit sich führen, aber nicht selbst als Stier auftreten. Stattdessen erhält Serapis die Gestalt des Gottesbildes schlechthin: Er wird als vollbärtiger Gott auf seinem Thron sitzend und auf das Szepter gestützt dargestellt: wie der Zeus des Phidias in Olympia.[77] Die beiden Hunde an seinem Thron sind seine Zeichen, dass er die Mächte des Todes bezwingen kann, ist

76 Lukian, Peregrinos 11: „Von ihren Schriften erklärte und kommentierte er einige, viele verfasste er auch selber und in ihren Augen (sc. der Christen) war er Prophet, Mystagog (θιασάρχης) und Versammlungsleiter."; Jan N. Bremmer, "Lucian on Peregrinus and Alexander of Abonuteichos: A sceptical view of two religious entrepreneurs," in *Beyond Priesthood. Religious Entrepreneurs and Innovators in the Roman Empire,* Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten, 66, Hg. Richard L. Gordon, Georgia Petridou und Jörg Rüpke (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017): 255–275.

77 *Der Neue Overbeck* 235–238 „Die meisten der erhaltenen, vornehmlich in der späteren Kaiserzeit hergestellten Darstellungen des Serapis sind als verkleinerte Nachbildungen der alexandrinischen Statue aufzufassen" des Bildhauers Bryaxis, der in der 2. Hälfte des 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. lebte; *DNO* III (2014): 498. Dazu auch Auffarth, „Mit dem Getreide kamen die Götter.".

seine Apis-Fähigkeit doch kombiniert mit dem auferstehenden Osiris.[78] Ein Torso in Korinth ist genau diesem Typus zuzuordnen (Fundort s. Abb. 1).[79]

Da Religion nicht als Mittel zur Macht dient, ist auch Rom nicht Zentrifuge für Religionen.[80] Vielmehr ermöglichen die offenen Wege des Imperiums zur See und zu Lande die freie Bewegung von Migranten und in ihrem Gepäck ihren Göttern. So verbreiten sich Kulte aus der Peripherie in die Peripherie, während das Zentrum für die Religionen peripher bleibt.[81]

Der Kaiserkult ist keine Religion der Herrschaft oder der Loyalität. Die römische Zentrale verhindert eher den Kaiserkult; sie erlaubt von Fall zu Fall Anträge der provinzialen Eliten, ein Heiligtum einzurichten. Die neuere Forschung betont statt der Romanisierung (oder Romanisation) die Selbst-Romanisierung.[82] Im Normalfall stehen Statuen der Kaiserfamilie in bestehenden Göttertempeln neben den traditionellen Göttern (σύνναοι θεοί).[83] Sie erhalten im Unterschied zu den Hauptgöttern kein (blutiges) Opfer am Altar, sondern werden beweihräuchert und erhalten eine Wein-Spende (*vino ac ture*). Auch diese Mini-Gabe verweigern die bithynischen Christen, als Plinius dies als Geste von ihnen verlangt (Plin., *ep.* 10,96/97).

Bedeutete Monotheismus einen Ausschluss aus der Reichsreligion? Philon von Alexandria vertritt in der *legatio ad Gaium*, also der Schrift zugunsten der alexandrinischen Judengemeinde, die die Gesandtschaft dem Kaiser Gaius (Caligula) vorzutragen plante, einen weichen Monotheismus. Denn von der Göttlichkeit Gottes (er verwendet das griechische Generikum, nicht den jüdischen Namen Gottes) abgeleitet gibt es Stufen des Göttlichen, die von den Göttern der

78 Der ägyptische Name ist *Wsjr-Hp* Osiris-Apis; vgl. Joachim Quack, „Serapis I. Ägypten. Sarolta A. Takacs: II. Griechisch-römische Antike," *DNP* 11 (2001), 445–446; 446–448.

79 Die Statue im Kontext von Tempel D wurde zunächst als Zeus Meilichios/Chthonios identifiziert, weil Pausanias 2.2,8 drei Zeus-Statuen sah, von denen die Korinther die zweite χθόνιον die dritte Ὕψιστον καλοῦσιν. Nach Dennis Edwin Smith, „Egyptian Cults in Corinth," in *Harvard Theological Review* 70 (1977): 218–221 handelt es sich eher um einen Serapis, vielleicht Zeus Serapis. Umfassend dazu Reinhold Merkelbach, *Isis regina – Zeus Sarapis: Die griechisch-ägyptische Religion nach den Quellen dargestellt* (Stuttgart, Leipzig: Teubner, 1995), 71–85.

80 So Aelius Aristides, *oratio* 26,11: „Aller Handel führt über das Capitol in Rom, wie die Speichen eines Rades zur Nabe und wieder zurück zum Reifen führen.".

81 Andreas Bendlin, „Peripheral centers – central peripheries. Religious communication in the Roman empire," in ‚*Reichsreligion*' *und* ‚*Provinzialreligion*,' Hg. Hubert Cancik und Jörg Rüpke (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997): 35–67.

82 *DNP* 10 (2001): 1121–1127 unterscheidet Romanisierung (Greg Woolf) von Romanisation [self-Romanization] (Wolfgang Spieckermann). Tacitus hat das im *Agricola* glänzend beschrieben.

83 Zu Nero als Zeus vgl. Christoph Auffarth, „Herrscherkult und Christuskult," in *Die Praxis der Herrscherverehrung in Rom und seinen Provinzen*, Hg. Hubert Cancik und Konrad Hitzl (Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 2003): 283–317.

Völker über die Halbgötter bis zu den Herrschern gehen. Ähnlich ist Paulus 1Kor 8,1–6 zu lesen. Das heißt, auch im Monotheismus gibt es Brücken zum Polytheismus.

Die römische Verwaltungsordnung stufte die *Christiani* (wie die römische Endung der zuerst in Antiochien gebrauchten Bezeichnung zeigt) als ‚Bande des Christos/Chrestos' ein, also nicht als ‚religiöse', sondern als politische Bewegung, die tendenziell Widerstand gegen die Friedensordnung nach innen und nach außen, die *pax Romana*, leistete.[84] Für ihre Religion konnten Juden – besonders in der Diaspora – auf ein sakrales Gebäude mit Altar, Götterbild und die entsprechenden Rituale der Visibilität von Religion verzichten. Christen brauchen den Tempel nicht mehr.[85] Die Lesbarkeit und die Lehrbarkeit von Religion lag auch bei anderen Kulten im Trend der Zeit: Briefe, Traktate, das Buch in *codex*-Form.

Das führt zu der interessanten Frage nach der Materialität von Kulten in der Migration (s. u.). Was bringt man mit ‚im Gepäck', um die alten Götter bei sich zu haben.

Juden verlegten die Religion, insbesondere nach der Zerstörung des Tempels 70 n. Chr., in die Reinheit der Familie und der Lebensweise: in den individuellen Körper in Form von Beschneidung, Speisetabus und Kleidung. Dazu kam ‚die Schrift' und die Lesung in der Synagoge durch ein Gemeindeglied. Der Lehrer/Rabbi ist keine Autoritätsperson kraft eines Amts-Charismas, sondern mit dem besseren Argument. Im Grad der Strenge oder Laxheit der Halacha unterscheiden sich die Rabbis aber enorm. Rabbi Paulus ermöglicht seinen Gemeindegliedern nahezu unbegrenzt das Leben in der polytheistischen Polis, andernfalls müsste man auswandern (wie die Pythagoreer).[86] Christen in der Schicht, die sich am

84 Antiochien Apg. 11,26. Vgl. den aktuellen Befund bei Bremmer als Appendix zu Margaret L. Laird („The emperor in a Roman town: the base of the Augustales in the forum of Corinth," 67–117) in Birgit van der Lans und Jan N. Bremmer, „Tacitus and the Persecution of the Christians: An Invention of Tradition?" *Eirene. Studia Graeca et Latina 53* (2017): 299–331, hier 317–322.

85 Mit der Joschianischen Kultreform (722 v. Chr.), die allein den Jerualemer Tempel als sakrales Zentrum erlaubt, verändert sich schon Religion. Schon vor der endgültigen Zerstörung des Jerusalemer Tempels durch die Römer 70 n. Chr. endete außerhalb Jerusalems jeder sakrale Kult mit Opfer am Altar. Paulus sorgt sich noch um den Tempel, besucht ihn aber, wie die Diaspora-Juden, ganz selten. Die Metaphorik, Menschen sind der Tempel Gottes, schließt jedoch den gebauten Tempel nicht aus. Dazu etwa Christoph Auffarth, „‚Euer Leib sei der Tempel des Herrn'. Religiöse Sprache bei Paulus," in *Texte als Medium und Reflexion von Religion im Römischen Reich*. PawB 14, Hg. Dorothea Elm-von der Osten, Jörg Rüpke und Katharina Waldner (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2006): 63–80; vgl. zudem Michael Wolter, *Paulus. Ein Grundriß seiner Theologie* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, [2011] ²2015), 299–303.

86 1Kor 5,10. Die These von Larry W. Hurtado, *Destroyer of the gods: early Christian distinctiveness in the Roman world* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2016) ist undifferenziert. Ein inter-

Leben der Polis beteiligten, lebten oft in Familien, in der nicht alle Mitglieder der neuen Religion angehörten. In vielen Fällen mussten sie sich arrangieren, insbesondere bei Bestattungen.[87]

Christen schickten materiell kaum ins Gewicht fallende Briefe, wie die Halacha des Paulus im ersten Korintherbrief. Diese wurden neben der Tora in den Gemeinden aufbewahrt, gesammelt und als Sammlung kopiert.[88] Zum Verständnis brauchte der Brief aber einen Erklärer: den Überbringer oder die Überbringerin des Briefes.[89]

4 *Religio migrans* und *religio translata*

Die alten großen Erzählungen haben sich als falsch erwiesen: Die Zersetzung der alt-römischen Bauernreligion durch hellenistische Einflüsse (Kurt Latte; Ernst Meyer); oder die immer mehr als sinnloses Ritual empfundenen paganen Religionen und das Nachströmen Orientalischer Religionen in das Vakuum (Festugière, Cumont, Nilsson). Vielmehr gibt es von Anfang an die Religion der

essanter Fall ist die Inschrift CIL 6.30752 des 2. Jahrhunderts aus Rom, die Richard Last, „The Silence of a God-Fearer: Anonymus dedication in CIL 6.390a = 30752," *Religion in the Roman Empire 6* (2020), 75–103 interpretiert: Ein ‚Gottesfürchtiger' weiht dem Jupiter Optimus Maximus den kleinen Votiv-Altar. Das Wort *domini metuens* ist untersucht und als worshipper of Christ/κύριος identifiziert.

87 Mary E. Hoskins Walbank, „Unquiet graves. Burial practices of the Roman Corinthians," in *Urban Religion in Roman Corinth*, Hg. Daniel Schowalter und Steven J. Friesen (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005): 249–280; Mary E. Hoskins Walbank, "Remaining Roman in death at Corinth? A debate with K. W. Slane," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 27 (2014): 403–416 antwortet auf Kathleen Walker Slane, "Remaining Roman in death at an Eastern colony," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 25 (2012): 441–455 sowie auf Kathleen Walker Slane, *Tombs, Burials and Commemoration in Corinth's Northern Cemetery*, Corinth XXI. (Princeton, NJ: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2017).

88 Markus Vinzent, *Offener Anfang. Die Entstehung des Christentums im 2. Jahrhundert* (Freiburg: Herder, 2019), 251–283. Zur Schriftrolle (Ezechiel 3,3 aufgreifend und fortschreibend Apk 10, 8–10) versus Buch (mit sieben Siegeln) in der *Apokalypse* 5, 1–4 neben den Briefen der sieben Gemeinden Martin Karrer, *Johannesoffenbarung. Evangelisch-katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament 24, Band 1: Offenbarung 1,1–5,14* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2017), 203–232, 393–472; Larry W. Hurtado, *The earliest Christian artifacts. Manuscripts and Christian origins* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006); Larry W. Hurtado, *Texts and artefacts: Collected essays on early Christian manuscripts* (London: Bloomsbury, 2017).

89 Phoebe aus Korinth-Kenchreai in Röm 16,1; Jörg Rüpke, „Buchreligionen als Reichsreligionen? Lokale Grenzen überregionaler religiöser Kommunikation," *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch 40* (2005): 197–207.

Römer nur als Konglomerat.[90] Migration fördert Urbanisierung.[91] Jörg Rüpke spricht daher von einer ‚Großstadtreligion'[92] mit vielfältigen Vereinen, Diasporas, akzeptablen Gruppenreligionen und Sprachen.

Religionen mit Priestern und eigener originaler Liturgie und Ritualen sind selten. Immerhin leistete sich die Isisreligion mancherorts professionelle ägyptische Priester. Für den Nil, der im Kult eine große Rolle spielt, werden aufwändige Wasserspiele um die Tempel gebaut – oder an die Wand gemalt. Während es in Pompeji sogar einen Isis-Tempel gibt, ist die imaginierte Nillandschaft mit Wasservögeln und weißgekleideten, kahlgeschorenen Priestern in Herculaneum nur an die Wand des Privathauses eines reichen Gönners gemalt.

In der Religion der Kaiserzeit ist eine grundlegende Änderung bemerkbar. Da die Kaiser öffentliche Religion für ihre Zwecke privatisieren und ihre persönliche Religion zur Staatsreligion machen,[93] kommen öffentliche Rituale nur noch selten vor. Stattdessen beschreiben Dichter, wie Ovid, Lucan u. a. „*Rituals in ink*". Opfer werden zunehmend als abstoßend und der Zeit nicht mehr angemessen angesehen – lange vor deren Verbot 392 durch christliche Kaiser. Dagegen werden Religionen als ethische Lehre verstanden mit einem unauslotbaren Kern. Sie nähern sich den Mysterienreligionen (Mysterisation),[94] sodass sie überhaupt mit dem Begriff für Mysterien (τελετή) bezeichnet werden können. Dazu kommen private Anbieter von Religion, die umherreisend ihre Dienste anbieten, sogenannte Peregrinus Proteus, seltener eigene ortsfeste Orakel- und

90 Jörg Rüpke, *Die Religion der Römer* (München: Beck, 2001), 199–207; Jörg Rüpke, *Pantheon* (München: Beck, 2018), 272–280.

91 Vgl. zum Thema ‚Urbanisierung' Martin Ebner, *Die Stadt als Lebensraum der ersten Christen,* Das Urchristentum in seiner Umwelt 1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2012). Als Gegenprobe Christoph Auffarth (Hg.), *Religion auf dem Lande: Entstehung und Veränderung von Sakrallandschaften unter römischer Herrschaft*. Potsdamer Altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge 28 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2009). Die Reise zu spezialisierten Heil-Kultstätten auf dem Lande siehe Annette Hupfloher, „Zur religiösen Topographie: Heil-Kultstätten in der Provinz Achaia," in *Religion auf dem Lande: Entstehung und Veränderung von Sakrallandschaften unter römischer Herrschaft*. Potsdamer Altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge 28, Hg. Christoph Auffarth (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2009): 221–246.

92 Rüpke, *Die Religion der Römer*, 199–207.

93 Marie Theres Fögen, *Die Enteignung der Wahrsager. Studien zum kaiserlichen Wissensmonopol in der Spätantike* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1993). Muster ist Vespasian und die Isis-Religion im *Isaeum Campense*.

94 Christoph Auffarth, „Mysterien (Mysterienkulte)," *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, Band 25 (2013): 422–471. Vgl. auch Nicole Belayche, Francesco Massa und Philippe Hoffmann, Hg., *Les mystères au IIe siècle de notre ère: un tournant*, Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, Section des Sciences Religieuse, 187 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2021); dazu die Rezension von Christoph Auffarth in *Bryn Mawr Classical Review*, *BMCR* 2022.03.39.

Heilkulte anbieten, zu denen man mit einem Anliegen auch längere Reisen unternimmt, wie zu Alexander in Abonou Teichos am Schwarzen Meer.[95]

Weiterhin ist folgender komplementärer Prozess zu bemerken: Zunächst kommen neue Religionen als *religio migrantium* an als ein Stück alter Identität in einer fremden Umgebung. Mit der zweiten und dritten Generation wird die Religion durch die Interaktion mit der neuen Umgebung (Nachbarschaft) verändert zur *religio translata*.[96] Je weniger professionelle, religiöse Virtuosen die Gottesdienste halten, desto schneller findet die Transformation statt. Umgekehrt durchlaufen auch die Religionen in der Herkunftsregion eine rasche Hellenisierung.[97]

Ein Zeichen der Transformation ist die Sprache.[98] Die Sprache der Herkunftsländer dünnt aus als Kommunikationsmedium auch innerhalb der Familie und wird zur Kultsprache, auch noch für Inschriften auf Grabsteinen u.ä. Hebräisch weicht dem Aramäischen/ Griechischen. Die römischen Bürger in Corinthus sprechen und schreiben Inschriften mehr und mehr auf Griechisch.[99]

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95 Beide ausführlich beschrieben von Lukian. Als, wenn auch übertriebene, detaillierte Beschreibung von solchen Kulten werden die Biographien in der neueren religionshistorischen Forschung bewertet, vgl. etwa Jan N. Bremmer, „Peregrinus' Christian career [2007],“ in *Maidens, Magic and Martyrs in Early Christianity*. Collected Essays 1, Hg. Jan Bremmer (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017): 65–80.

96 Christoph Auffarth, „Religio migrans. Die ‚Orientalischen Religionen' im Kontext antiker Religion. Ein theoretisches Modell,“ in *Religioni in Contatto nel mondo antico. Modalità di diffusione e processi di interferenza*, Mediterranea 4, Hg. Corinne Bonnet, Sergio Ribichini und Dirk Steuernagel (Rom: Fabrizio Serra editore, 2008): 333–363; Das Konzept „Nachbarschaft“ wird auch behandelt bei Emiliano R. Urciuoli, „(Good) people next door. Neighbourhoods, Urban religion, and early Christian religion,“ *Religion in the Roman Empire 6* (2020): 20–47.

97 Ted Kaizer, „Religion in the Roman East,“ in *A Companion to Roman Religion,* Hg. Jörg Rüpke (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2007 = 2011): 445–456.

98 Eberhard Bons und Jan Joosten (Hg.), *Die Sprache der Septuaginta*. Handbuch zur Septuaginta Band 3. LXX-H 3. (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2016).

99 Gute Beobachtungen bei Dirk Steuernagel, *Kult und Alltag in römischen Hafenstädten. Soziale Prozesse in archäologischer Perspektive*. Potsdamer Altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge 11 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2004), 155–175 (‚indigene'/römische Kulte). Griechisch oder Lateinisch in Korinth: Kent, *Corinth*, VIII.3, 17–30, hier 19 berechnet: Von den 1500 Inschriften der römischen Zeit stammen 1200 aus den ersten beiden Jahrhunderten n. Chr. Bis Hadrian sind von den 104 Inschriften in Kent's Corpus nur drei auf Griechisch. Während Hadrians Herrschaft (117–138 n. Chr.) kehrt sich das Verhältnis um 10 Latein: 25 Griechisch und nach Hadrian 7: 24. Dabei ist zu beachten, dass offizielle Inschriften auch an Gebäuden lateinisch zu sein hatten. Auch das ändert sich mit Hadrian. Paulus verwendet Mitte des 1. Jahrhunderts selbstverständlich die *lingua franca* des östlichen Mittelmeerraums Griechisch, auch im Brief an die Römer. Das Bild zeigt sich aber anders, wenn man nicht nur die ‚öffentlichen' Inschriften beröcksichtigt: Benjamin W. Millis, „The Social and Ethnic Origins of the Colonists in Early

Andrerseits muss sich Paulus bemühen, die religiösen Metaphern zu finden, die sein angesprochenes Publikum versteht.[100] Für die Ganztod-Konzeption und die Neuschöpfung des Auferstehungskörpers verwendet er das Bild, das in dem populären Kult der Demeter und Kore in Korinth das zentrale Symbol darstellt: das nackte Samenkorn muss in der Erde ganz ‚sterben', damit daraus eine neue Getreidepflanze entsteht.[101]

Für die Untersuchung der räumlich-sozialen Bedingungen gewinnt der Begriff „Nachbarschaft" zunehmend an Bedeutung. Die Möglichkeit, eine Wohnung bzw. Haus neben einem anderen schon bestehenden zu mieten, zu kaufen oder zu bauen, ergibt sich häufig zufällig. Dieses Konzept berührt mehr hermeneutische Fragestellungen als die bisher üblichen von Haus/Familie, Verein oder Kultgemeinschaft. In Korinth scheint auch das Modell von Tangentialgesellschaften weniger zutreffend (wie dies die Bilinguen in Puteoloi, die je nach angesprochenem Publikum auch andere Inhalte übermitteln),[102] schon gar nicht Parallelgesellschaften.[103] Das Modell von Diaspora,

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Roman Corinth," in Steve J. Friesen, Daniel N. Schowalter und James Walters, Hrsg., *Corinth in Context. Comparative Studies on Religion and Society*. Novum Testamentum Supplements 134 (Leiden: Brill, 2010): 13–35.

100 Dieter Zeller hat in seinem Kommentar zum Ersten Korintherbrief die griechisch gedachten Elemente heruntergespielt bis hin zu 1Kor 13,1, wo sogar das *kymbalon* (κύμβαλον) nicht mehr die Zimbel im Isis-Kult meine; vgl. Dieter Zeller, *Der erste Brief an die Korinther* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010).

101 Christoph Auffarth, „Das Korn der Sterblichkeit. Was Paulus von seinen Korinthern im Demeter- und Kore-Heiligtum gelernt hat," in *Bestattungsrituale und Totenkult in der römischen Kaiserzeit – Rites funéraires et culte des morts aux temps impériales*. Potsdamer Altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge 27, Hg. Jörg Rüpke und John Scheid (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2009); Christoph Auffarth, „‚Euer Leib sei der Tempel des Herrn'. Religiöse Sprache bei Paulus," in *Texte als Medium und Reflexion von Religion im Römischen Reich*. PawB 14, Hg. Dorothea Elm-von der Osten, Jörg Rüpke und Katharina Waldner (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2006): 63–80.

102 Dirk Steuernagel, *Kult und Alltag in römischen Hafenstädten. Soziale Prozesse in archäologischer Perspektive*. Potsdamer Altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge 11 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2004); wie Alexander Weiß, „Sozialgeschichtliche Aspekte der Apostelgeschichte," in *Paulus – Das Kapital eines Reisenden*, Stuttgarter Bibelstudien 241, Hg. Stefan Alkier und Michael Rydryck (Stuttgart: KBW, 2017): 37–58.

103 Andreas Bendlin, *Annahme und Ablehnung: Migration und Religion im antiken Rom* [Vorlesung an der FU Berlin, 15.12.2016] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SOasCs10Tro (10.09.2020) spricht von Tangentialgesellschaften: die Migranten und die Aufnahmegesellschaft leben nicht aneinander vorbei, sondern interagieren in begrenzten Bereichen (der türkische Gemüsehändler; Schulen). Zur Einwandergesellschaft Bundesrepublik siehe Alexander K. Nagel (Hg.), *Diesseits der Parallelgesellschaft* (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2013).

das in der Migrationsforschung eine wichtige Rolle spielt, hat dort ihre Negativbedeutung verloren.[104]

5 Migration und Religion in der römischen Reichsreligion

Anders als es das Konzept der „Ausbreitung" von Religionen suggeriert,[105] – verknüpft mit dem Verständnis von Mission, wie es das 19. Jahrhundert (kulminierend in der protestantischen Weltmissionskonferenz in Edinburgh 1910) sich vorstellte,[106] – macht das Modell der *religio migrans* und *religio translata* deutlich, dass im Migrationsprozess Religion sich verändert und in der jeweiligen ‚Nachbarschaft' sich neu kontextualisieren muss: Dabei diversifizieren sich Religionen.[107] Das religionsgeschichtliche Modell von Stifter und Urform einer Religion, das normativ zur Abwehr von Veränderungen ins Spiel gebracht wird, verspricht die Rückkehr zu den ursprünglichen Intentionen, ist aber an dem jeweiligen historischen Ort eine radikale Neuerung. Die religionstypologische Differenz von Monotheismus und Polytheismus wird dogmatisch von den kanonischen ‚Kirchenvätern' scharf gemacht, ist in der Lebenswelt jedoch von geringer Bedeutung. In der Spätantike und vor allem im Mittelalter wandelt sich der Monotheismus zu einem sekundären Polytheismus (die Heiligen als ‚nahe Götter'). Wenn christliche Priester nicht mehr nur als ‚Freizeitpriester' die Rituale ‚wie gewohnt' leiten, sondern auch deren Sinn pflegen, indem sie ihn den Teilnehmern erklären und in einem überlokalen Netzwerk anderen vorschreiben – lebenslange Amtsträger und Theologen in einem, – stülpt sich über Religion als soziale Handlungspraxis eine Religion der Professionellen, die die Praxis normieren und von oben auch kurz-

104 Die Bedeutung von „verstreut", „in kleine Gruppen unter fremder Herrschaft zerschlagen", hebräisch *Galut/Gola*, ist schon bei Philo positiv gewendet. Er deutet den Begriff als „Samen ausgestreut in aller Welt"; vgl. zur Bedeutungsveränderung in der modernen Forschung Robin Cohen, *Global Diasporas: An Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2008).

105 Paradigmatisch in Harnacks Buch *Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902. [4]1924).

106 Christoph Auffarth und Marvin Döbler, „Carrying the Gospel to all the Non-Christian World [1910]: Resolution of the [Protestant] World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh," in *Religious Dynamics under the Impact of Imperialism and Colonialism. A Sourcebook*, Hg. Björn Bentlage, u. a. (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2016): 509–526.

107 Das macht das Buch von Hartmut Leppin, *Die frühen Christen* (München: Beck, 2018) deutlich; vgl. auch Christoph Auffarth, „Die frühen Christentümer als Lokale Religion," *Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum* 7 (2003): 14–26.

fristig ‚reformieren' können. Die *religio migrans* als ‚portatives Vaterland',[108] die möglichst unverändert die Handlungspraxis der Herkunftsorte retten soll, stößt in der neuen Nachbarschaft auf differierende Praxen und Werte. Die Selbstverständlichkeit der Handlungspraxis in der Heimat sieht sich konfrontiert mit Alternativen und fragt nach Adaption. Die Bedeutung von professionell normierenden Priestern und Lehrern kann variieren, hängt auch von der Größe der Diaspora ab.[109] Lebensweltlich ist für die lokale Religion die Nachbarschaft mit den Herausforderungen in Bezug auf Sprache, Essen, Kleiden, Verhalten sowie hinsichtlich der Wahl von Familienbeziehungen mit Ehepartnern anderer Präferenz von Kulten (besonders in der frühen Entwicklung). Die Migranten sind die Akteure und nicht die Religion als essentielle Größe und als handelndes Subjekt (wie sie oft in Forschungsbeiträgen metaphorisch vorkommt). Religion ist nur im Gepäck und hilft etwa die Identität zu behaupten, befindet sich aber im Prozess hin zur *religio translata*.

108 Zu Heinrich Heines Metapher hinsichtlich des Neologismus „portativ" vgl. Heinrich Heine, *Geständnisse* [1854] in: *Sämtliche Schriften* 6/I., Hg. Klaus Briegleb (München: Hanser 1975): 483. Siehe dazu auch Bernd Witte, *Moses und Homer: Griechen, Juden, Deutsche. Eine andere Geschichte der deutschen Kultur* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018), 141–142 mit Anm. 7 (S. 339).

109 In seinem Programm einer *Europäischen Religionsgeschichte* stellt Burkhard Gladigow, „Europäische Religionsgeschichte," in *Lokale Religionsgeschichte*, Hg. Hans G. Kippenberg und Brigitte Luchesi (Marburg: Diagonal, 1995): 289–301 heraus, dass in der europäischen Religionsgeschichte die Professionalisierung von Religion ein zentrales Merkmal darstellt, andrerseits die garantierten Orte von Pluralität von Religionen und Sinnstiftern/Sinnpflege sich immer mehr zeigen.

Katharina Heyden

Western Christians in Palestine: Motivation, Integration, and Repercussions of Migration in Late Antiquity

During the 4th and 5th centuries, a period that saw many cities in the Roman Empire decline, a small town in the *Provincia Palaestina Secunda* called *Aelia* experienced a remarkable urbanistic boom.[1] People from all around the world came to settle in the town and its surroundings, for shorter or longer times. They initiated building projects and filled the streets and places with various languages. Within few decades, the number of inhabitants increased from about 20,000 to 100–150,000,[2] quite contrary to the trend in the rest of the Roman Empire. The reason for this upturn was neither the discovery of raw materials nor other economic factors, but rather the development of a religious landscape of memory and ritual practice that attracted Christians from all over the world. In the year 386, some of them, newcomers from Rome, wrote in a letter to a friend home:

> We came to these places not as the first but as the last ones, to find there the most outstanding people of all nations. [. . .] Whoever was excellent in Gallia, hurries here. The British who is separated from our mainland, if he or she is willing to progress in the religion, after having left the setting sun, goes to the place which is as famous by his reputations as it is because of the reports in the Scriptures. Shall we mention even the Armenians, the Persians, the nations of India and Ethiopia, furthermore the closed Egypt, Pontus, Cappadocia, Koilesyria and Mesopotamia as well as all the crowds from the Orient?[3]

1 A comprehensive overview is presented in the recently published volume by Katharina Heyden and Maria Lissek, eds., *Jerusalem in Roman-Byzantine Times*, COMES 5 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2021).

2 Historical demography relies always on estimates and speculations. The numbers quoted above are proposed in Jon Seligman, "The Economy of Jerusalem from the second to seventh Centuries," in *Jerusalem in Roman-Byzantine Times*: 225–242. Other scholars give lower numbers, the most radical being Hillel Geva who refers exclusively to archeological data and estimates the population of Aelia in the 2nd and 3rd century at 4,000 (or even less), and in Byzantine Times at about ca. 15,000, see Hillel Geva, "Jerusalem's Population in Antiquity: A Minimalist View," *Tel Aviv* 41 (2014): 131–160.

3 Paula, Eustochium and Jerome, "Epistula ad Marcellam" (= Hieronymus, Ep. 46) 10, in *Hieronymus, Epistulae 1–70*, CSEL 54, ed. Isidor Hilberg (Wien: Tempsky, 1910): 339–340: "ad quae nos loca non ut primae, sed ut extremae uenimus, ut primos in eis omnium gentium cerneremus. certe flos quidam et pretiosissimus lapis inter ecclesiastica ornamenta monachorum et

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This passage was handed down as part of the *Epistula 46* of Jerome, the famous ascetic and scholar who spent the last 35 years of his life in Bethlehem. Most probably, however, he composed this letter together with Paula and Eustochium, the two aristocratic women who had followed Jerome from Rome to Jerusalem in 385, accompanied him on the round trip through the Holy Land in the spring of 386 and founded a twin-monastery with him in Bethlehem.[4] The purpose of the letter was to persuade Marcella and her ascetic circle in Rome to leave the city for Palestine as well, or in the language of modern migration discourses: to secure reunification in the country of immigration.

Aelia, or rather Jerusalem,[5] was a centre for gathering people from all around the world – this biblical motive seemed to have become real by the end of the 4th century in the eyes of those Roman Christians.

The case of Jerusalem in late antiquity is both exceptional and paradigmatic when one reflects on the issue of migration and its importance in the history of Christianity. On the one hand, the urban flourishing in an epoch of universal decline points to the unique status of the city within the Christian world. On the

uirginum chorus est. quicumque in Gallia fuerit primus, huc properat. diuisus ab orbe nostro Britannicus, si in religione processerit, occiduo sole dimisso quaerit locum fama sibi tantum et scripturarum relatione cognitum. quid refeeramus Armenios, quid Persas, quid Indiae et Aethiopium populous ipsamque iuxta Aegyptum fertilem monachorum, Pontum et Cappadociam, Syriam Coelen et Mesopotamiam cunctaque orientis examina?".

4 In accordance with this tradition and because of stylistic reasons, most scholars consider Jerome the true author, see Stefan Heid, "Kreuz Jerusalem Kosmos. Aspekte frühchristlicher Staurologie," *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 32 (2000): 41–71; Brouria Bitton-Ashkelony, *Encountering the Sacred: the Debate on Christian Pilgrimage in Late Antiquity*, The transformation of the Classical Heritage 38 (Berlekey: University of California Press, 2005), 66–67; Marianne Sághy, "La notion de 'lieu saint' dans les premières Vies de Saints," in *Pèlerinages et lieux saints dans l'antiquité et le moyen age. Mélanges offerta à Pierre Maraval*, CNRS Monographies 23, eds. Béatrice Caseau, Jean-Claude Cheynet, and Vincent Déroche (Paris: Peeters, 2009): 436–439. Others consider Paula and Eustochium, who are mentioned as senders in the letter itself, more likely: Griet Petersen-Szemerédy, *Zwischen Weltstadt und Wüste. Römische Asketinnen in der Spätantike. Eine Studie zu Motivation und Gestaltung der Askese christlicher Frauen Roms auf dem Hintergrund der Zeit*, Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte 54 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993), 18–21, and Katharina Heyden, *Orientierung. Die westliche Christenheit und das Heilige Land in der Antike*, Jerusalemer Theologisches Forum 28 (Münster: Aschendorff, 2014), 227–232. Andrew Cain, *The letters of Jerome. Ascetism, Biblical Exegesis, and the Construction of Christian Authority in Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 27 presents Paula for the only author of the letter.

5 *Aelia*, the name established by the emperor Hadrian after the Bar Kochba-Revolt in 135 AD, remained the official administrative name of the city throughout the whole Byzantine period, but the Christian sources have quite often the ancient and symbolically loaded name "Hierousalem" resp. "Ierousolyma."

other hand, one can study a lot of typical migration issues with this case because of relatively good source material, especially in the Latin area. In order to cover both perspectives, I will focus on typical aspects of migration while at the same time reflecting on the special status of Palestine as the "Holy Land" and the very first destination for Christian migrants: First, I will discuss motivations to leave the home to settle elsewhere, secondly the integration in the host country and the impact migrants have on the receiving society, and thirdly repercussions of migration for the region of origin. With regard to the source evidence, I will focus on Latin-speaking migrants coming to Palestine from the Western part of the Empire. Compared to migrants from other regions, the Latin newcomers might have been a relatively small group in *Aelia*/Jerusalem, but their impact on life in the host country was considerable[6] and they are well attested in the sources.

The most prominent Western migrants to Palestine were female members of Roman high society. What made them leave their homes and families? What efforts did they make to integrate themselves into the Christian world-community in Jerusalem? What impact did their migration have on the city as well as on their homelands? The literal sources that are to be studied to approach these questions are merely hagiographic ones, written by male ascetics, such as Jerome or Paulinus of Nola, who had a personal relationship to their protagonists. Their works say as much about the ascetic and hagiographic aims of the authors as about the life of the protagonists they portrayed. But despite these tendencies, they are valuable sources, not at least because the authors were migrants themselves. In addition, there are some documents of the migrant women themselves, which is a rare stroke of luck in the study of Ancient Christianity. Last but not least there are archeological and iconographic remains that testify to a vivid cultural and religious exchange between the Holy Land and Western Christianity.

6 The evidence for Latin migrants in Jerusalem is discussed by Leah Di Segni and Yoram Tsafrir, "The Ethnic Composition of Jerusalem's Population in the Byzantine Period (312–638 CE)," *Liber Annuus* 62 (2012): 405–454, esp. 412–418. The authors come to the following conclusion: "Although the Latin community was not very large, its cultural contribution was considerable due to the intellectual activity of Jerome, Rufinus, Pelagius, and their disciples," 416.

1 Motivations for Migration: Social Emancipation, Religious Freedom and the Rhetoric of Existential Pilgrimage

Why would members of Rome's high aristocracy leave their homes for the Orient in the 4th and 5th centuries?[7] Travel and migration to the centres of the Hellenistic-Roman world was a matter of course for educated men in Late Antiquity. However, none of the cities in Palestine belonged to the centres of scholarship like Athens, Alexandria, Constantinople or Antioch. Most likely one could include Caesarea Maritima in this list, the metropolis of *Palaestina Secunda*, with its famous library founded by the Christian scholar Origen in the first half of the 3rd century.[8] But for the Western migrants and pilgrims in Late Antiquity, Caesarea was only a transit station on their way to *Aelia*/Jerusalem. This points to the fact that education, or rather classical education, was not the first or foremost reason for them to come. Christian travellers and migrants were very much concerned with education indeed, but the type of education they were striving for was religiously grounded; it was focused on the knowledge of the Biblical scriptures, the places mentioned therein and an ascetic-liturgical living at those places. Thus, Paula, Eustochium and Jerome, in their letter to their friends in Marcella's ascetic circle, put the rhetorical question: "Why should we assume that someone out of our Athens could reach the summit of erudition?"[9] "Our Athens" in this context clearly means Jerusalem. Furthermore, in this case the migrants and travellers are not young men preparing themselves for a political career, but women, widows, leaving behind their families and their social obligations.

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7 A comprehensive prosopographical study of the topic was recently published by Eva-Maria Gärtner, *Heilig-Land-Pilgerinnen des lateinischen Westens im 4. Jahrhundert. Eine prosopographische Studie zu ihren Biographien, Itinerarien und Motiven*, Jerusalemer Theologisches Forum 34 (Münster: Aschendorff, 2019).

8 On Caesarea as a center of scholarship and encounter between Jewish and Christian scholars see the volumes Osvalda Andrei, ed., *Caesarea Maritima e la scuola origeniana. Multiculturalità, forme di competizione culturale e identità cristiana* (Brescia: Morcelliana, 2013); Joseph Patrich, *Studies in the Archeology and History of Caesarea Maritima. Caput Judaeae, Metropolis Palaestina*, Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity 77 (Tübingen: Brill, 2011); and Avner Raban and Kenneth G. Holum, eds., *Caesarea Maritima. A retrospective after Two Millennia* (Leiden, New York, and Köln: Brill, 1996).

9 "Epistula 46," 9, in *Hieronymus, Epistulae 1–70*, CSEL 54, 339: "cur nos putamus absque Athenis nostris quemquam ad studiorum fastigium peruenisse?".

The first such woman who settled in Jerusalem was Melania the Elder.[10] She probably ended up in Jerusalem only by chance, but with the foundation of a monastic centre at the Mount of Olives, Melania contributed a great deal to Jerusalem's attraction for Western Christians. When she left Rome in 372, this was an act of escape and emancipation from social obligations. A member of one of the most important aristocratic families, the *gens Antonia*, Melania got married at a very young age to Valerius Maximus, one of the richest men of their time. After not only her husband but also two of their three sons died, the 22-year-old Melania decided to spend her life as a Christian ascetic widow in her house at mount Aventin. It was not only the ascetic way of living but, above all, her caritative engagement that provoked the resistance of her family.

Probably influenced by a visit of the Christian bishop Athanasius of Alexandria and his reports about the monastic movement in the Egyptian desert, Melania left Rome in 372 for the Orient. She didn't head to Palestine though, but went to Alexandria and from there to the ascetics in the Nitrian desert. When some of them were exiled by the prefect of Egypt because of their insisting on the confession of Nicaea, Melania, dressed as a man, accompanied them to Palestine. After the rehabilitation of the desert monks and their return to Egypt, Melania stayed in Jerusalem and founded a monastery on the Mount of Olives. There, a monk named Innocentius, a former courtier at the palace of Emperor Constantius II in Constantinople, had already established monastic life some years earlier.[11] The inhabitants of Melania's monastery were about 50 Western, Latin-speaking women, virgins and widows, who probably had accompanied Melania since her departure from Rome. It seems that Melania transferred her household from Mount Aventin to the Mount of Olives. Shortly afterwards her ascetic friend and companion Rufinus of Aquileia, arrived in Jerusalem and joined her with a monastic community for men that was financed by Melania as well. In their twin-monastery, to which was attached a hostel for pilgrims, Melania and Rufinus lived according to their ideal of a strong connection between ascesis and scholarship, hospitality and socio-political engagement. Released from the influence and the resistance of

10 The main sources for Melanias life are Paulinus of Nola, "Epistula 29," in *Paulinus von Nola. Epistulae – Briefe II,* FC 25/2, ed. Matthias Skeb (Freiburg: Herder, 1998) and Palladius of Helenopolis, "Historia Lausiaca" 46 and 54–55, in *Historia Lausiaca. Geschichten aus dem frühen Mönchtum*, FC 67, ed. Adelheid Hübner (Freiburg: Herder, 2016). For secondary literature on Melania's life see Gärtner, *Heilig-Land-Pilgerinnen des lateinischen Westens*, 68–90. On the two Melaniae, the elder and the younger, see most recently the essays in Catherine M. Chin and Caroline T. Schroeder, eds., *Melania: Early Christianity Through the Life of One Family. Christianity in Late Antiquity* (Oakland: University of California Press 2019).

11 See Palladius, "Historia Lausiaca" 44, in *Historia Lausiaca*, FC 67: XX.

Melania's noble family, she could invest her wealth in favour of her ascetic, educational, liturgical and caritative goals – and therefore shape her life in a way that would not have been possible in Rome. Although the Holy Land was probably not her actual travel destination when Melania left Rome, Jerusalem proved to be the ideal environment for her very prominent lifestyle of a noble Christian Matrona – in contrast to Rome, but also to a greater extent than in the Egyptian desert.

Things are different with Paula, at least according to the presentation of Jerome, her ascetic companion and hagiographer.[12] Like Melania, Paula belonged to the highest families of Rome's senatorial aristocracy; she married as befits her status and gave birth to five children. After her husband died, Paula lived as a Christian ascetic under the spiritual guidance of Jerome. In 385, she departed for Palestine, following Jerome who had left the city some months earlier in haste, because resistance to the ascetic circles arose in the city after one of Paula's daughters, Blesilla, died of physical weakness and Paula herself collapsed at the funeral. Jerome and his strict ascetic practice were blamed for these incidents, and after the death of Pope Damasus in 383, a supporter and defender of Jerome, the opposition increased.[13] It seems that Rome had become a more difficult environment for an ascetic Christian widow compared with Melania's time – and one can assume that Melania's decision to leave the city had its impact on the increased opposition to the ascetic circles. In contrast to Melania, the Holy Land was Paula's destination right from the beginning. Jerome, in his consolation letter to Paula after the death of Blesilla, had portrayed Melania living in Jerusalem as a role model for Paula.[14] The Holy Land held the promise of being able to live out the ascetic ideals – and maybe also the personal relationships – self-determined and free from the social demands of families. This promise is also reflected in the Letter 46 that Paula, Eustochium and Jerome sent to Marcella in the hope that she would be the third noble Christian women to turn her back on the city of Rome to migrate to Palestine. In a certain sense, these women and men can be described as

12 For an overview over primary sources and research literature on Paula see Gärtner, *Heilig-Land-Pilgerinnen des lateinischen Westens*, 124–165.

13 The increasing hostility against Jerome is reflected in his Letter 45 to Asella, written on the ship shortly after his hasty departure from Rome. It also appears from this letter that Jerome was accused of having a sexual relationship with Paula. See John Curran, "Jerome and the Sham-Christians of Rome," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 48 (1997): 213–229; Andrew Cain, *The Letters of Jerome, Ascetism, Biblical Exegesis, and the Construction of Christian Authority in Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 114–124.

14 "Epistula 39," 5, in *Hieronymus, Epistulae 1–70*, CSEL 54, 305: "sancta Melanium, nostri temporis inter Christianos uera nobilitas . . . Possessio concessa ingredient iam hieme Hierosolyma nauigauit."

"religious refugees," even if they did not flee from a current legal situation or direct persecution, but from social obligations and political atmosphere.[15]

The sources, however, present those motivations in a language loaded with biblical motives and hagiographical topoi. Paula, Eustochium and Jerome present migration to the Promised Land as imitation of Abraham, as the summit of Christian education and as a contribution to the gathering of the nations at Mount Zion.[16] These are religious rhetorical topoi that motivate people to settle in Israel and Palestine up to the present day. Migration is presented as a symbol of an existential strangeness and pilgrimage of Christians in this world, the travel being an expression of the restless wandering and the arrival a foretaste of arriving in the kingdom of God (in the case of Melania) or merely as a rest on the way to the heavenly home (in the case of Paula). Both, Melania and Paula, are likened to Psalm 120:5 by their hagiographers, with different accentuations though. Paulinus of Nola, a distant relative of Melania's, reports in his *Epistula* 29 to Sulpicius Severus that Melania "during her stay at Rome proclaimed full of longing for her tranquility and seclusion in Jerusalem: 'Woe to me that my stay is prolonged (*incolatus meus prolongatus est*). Have I been far away so long to live now together with the inhabitants of Kedar?'"[17] Jerome, in contrast, tells about Paula in his *Epitaphium* (= *Epistula 108*): "As long as she was in the body, she was wandering away from the Lord *(peregrinata est a domino)* and she was always saying with a plaintive voice: 'My wandering is prolonged *(peregrinatio mea prolongata est)*'".[18] So while the one, Melania, seems to have found peace in

15 Andrew S. Jacobs therefore compared the Western "migrant virtuosi" in Late Antique Palestine to the so-called "Lost Generation" of expatriate American writers and artists living in Paris after World War I: Andrew S. Jacobs, "The Lost Generation," in *Melania: Early Christianity Through the Life of One Family. Christianity in Late Antiquity*, eds. Catherine M. Chin and Caroline T. Schroeder (Oakland: University of California Press, 2019): 207–221. This historical analogy is very inspiring, even though I doubt whether for the Roman Christians the reign of emperor Julian in the 360s was really as "disastrous" as the barbarian invasions around 410. That the reign of Julian was one of "two moments of sharp political destabilization" (208), seems to me more the retrospective view of the Christian sources – and historiography based of them – than of the contemporaries of Julian. On the Christian reaction on Julian see Peter van Nuffelen, "The Christian Reception of Julian," in *A Companion to Julian the Apostate*, Brill's Companions to the Byzantine World 5, eds. Stefan Rebenich and Hans-Ulrich Wiemer (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2020): 360–397.

16 See "Epistula 46," in *Hieronymus, Epistulae 1–70*, CSEL 54, 329–344.

17 Paulinus, "Epistula 29," 13, in *Epistulae – Briefe II*, FC 25/2, 712: "illa quietis et latebrae suae apud Hierusalem in Romanis moto turbis aestuans clamet: 'heu me! Quod incolatus meus prolongatus est. Ideone dilata sum, ut nunc habitarem cum habitantibus Cedar?'".

18 Jerome, "Epistula 108," 12, in *Hieronymus, Epistulae 71–120*, CSEL 55, ed. Isidor Hilberg (Wien: Tempsky), 306: "quamdiu in corpore fuit, peregrinata est a domino et uoce semper

Jerusalem as her new home, for the other, Paula, wandering *(peregrinatio)* is a metaphor for the whole of earthly existence (always in the representation of her male hagiographers). This difference is also reflected in how the two women and their communities integrated in the region of their immigration, as we will see in the following chapter.

Both women, Melania and Paula, had seen some of their children die, both had left living children in Rome when they decided to leave. Interestingly, their two granddaughters Melania the younger and Paula the younger followed their grandmothers on their way to the Holy Land at the beginning of the 5th century. The ascetic motivations of this generation were the same, the anti-ascetic sentiment in Rome had not improved at the turn of the century. On the contrary: in addition to the anti-ascetic sentiment of the noble Christian families there seem to have been a pagan reaction against the Christians as such.[19] To these reasons for migration, however, was now added the invasion of the Visigoths in the surroundings of Rome. These events acted as a catalyst for ascetic Christians, at least for Melania the Younger. Her male hagiographer, the Greek Gerontios, in the first line of his *Vita Melaniae*, describes how she sold her family's enormous real estate holdings in order to use the money first to support various ascetic projects of Christians in the East and then to found monasteries herself in Sicily, North Africa and finally Jerusalem. Gerontios presents this not only as a virtuous act but also as prudent economic management of the family property in face of the invasion.[20]

Economic reasons seem to play a greater role at the beginning of the 5th century than in the first generation of migrants. But also in the first generation of migration to Palestine this aspect was important, at least for the companions of the noble women. The sources indicate that the convents in Jerusalem and

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flebili querebatur dicens: heu mihi, quia peregrinatio mea prolongata est." Interestingly, Jerome quoted this verse already in his consolation letter to Paula on the death of Blesilla, "Epistula 39," 3, in *Hieronymus, Epistulae 1–70*, CSEL 54, 299. Apart from the fact that this is not the only case of self-quotation in Jerome, this is a hint that the understanding of human life as migration *(peregrinatio)* goes back to Jerome the hagiographer rather than to Paula.

19 On the pagan revival of Rome see Alan Cameron, *The last pagans of Rome* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2011); on Jerome's relationship to the city of Rome see Lucia Grig, "Deconstructing the symbolic city: Jerome as guide to late antique Rome," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 80 (2012): 125–143; Stefan Rebenich, *Hieronymus und sein Kreis. Prosopographische und sozialgeschichtliche Studien* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1992), 170–181; Stefan Rebenich, *Jerome* (London: Routledge, 2002), 31–41; Alfons Fürst, *Hieronymus, Askese und Wissenschaft in der Spätantike* (Freiburg: Herder, 2003), 54–59.

20 Gerontios, "Vita Melaniae" 19, in *Vie de Sainte Mélanie*, SC 90, ed. Denys Gorce (Paris: CERF, 1962): XX.

Bethlehem consisted mainly of freedmen and slaves.[21] They probably did not decide to lead an ascetic life of their own free will but could simply not take free decision because they were dependent on the economic security of their patronesses. Melania the Younger recruited many prostitutes for her convent and guaranteed them social security on condition that they no longer met men. This is an important aspect of the impact of migration on the host country.

2 Impacts on the Immigration Country: Urbanization, Competition between Migrants and the Ambivalent Role of Religion

The rapid urbanization of *Aelia*/Jerusalem in the 4th and 5th centuries was mainly the work of Christian migrants from all the world. This observation is not as self-evident as it may seem in a volume on migration. In handbooks and research articles, the urbanization of the city is almost unanimously attributed to the church building activities of the Emperor Constantine and his mother Helena in the 320s.[22] It is undoubtedly true that the imperial family's founding of churches – namely the *Anastasis* and the *Eleona* in Jerusalem, the Church of Nativity in Bethlehem, and a basilica in Mamre – had a great impact on the attraction of the region for pilgrims and migrants. These imperial buildings mark the kick-off for the development of a unique Christian sacred landscape, or as Martin Wallraff put it, a "biblical adventure park"[23] in Jerusalem and its surroundings. The report of an anonymous pilgrim of Bordeaux who was travelling around Palestine in AD 333 gives a vivid impression of how elaborate this sacred landscape was only a few years after the construction of the Constantinian churches, indicating that older local traditions were already well established and Constantine and Helena were most probably not the first ones to recognize the religious and touristic potential

21 Jerome, "Epistula 104" (= Epitaphium Paulae), 14: "cum puellis suis," in *Hieronymus, Epistulae 71–120*, CSEL 55: 325.

22 Christoph Markschies is presenting an in-depth discussion of the connections of Christianization and Urbanization of late antique Jerusalem in id., "Die Christianisierung Jerusalems und ihre Auswirkung auf die Urbanisierung," in *Jerusalem in Roman-Byzantine Times*, COMES 5, eds. Katharina Heyden and Maria Lissek (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2021): 57–90.

23 Martin Wallraff, *Konstantin. Sonnenkönig der Spätantike* (Freiburg: Herder, 2013), 132: "eine in der Jetzt-Zeit erfahrbare religiöse Erlebniswelt."

of the region.[24] However, financing church buildings is not sufficient to change a provincial town into a metropolis and a most important religious centre within a few decades. This was rather the achievement of the numerous migrants, women and men, who settled down in the hilly countryside of the city, unwalled at that time. They established various forms of ascetic living, dwelling in biblical places, both preexisting and newly-invented ones. Their increasing presence in the region had an impact on the resident population, which was itself composed of many immigrants after the re-founding of *Aelia* as a Roman colony in the 2nd century. The descendants of Roman veterans, adherents of Greco-Roman cults, became Christian in the course of time so that in the 5th century *Aelia*/Jerusalem could be seen as a "Christian city" (at least in the eyes of Christian travellers and immigrants). For the end of the 4th century, however, the source evidence is ambivalent with regard to the Christian shape of the city. The Spanish woman Egeria, who travelled around the Orient in the 380s, reported in one of her letters to her friends at home: "You can believe me, my honored ones, that there is no one among the Christians who did not came here to pray, whoever came to the holy places, that is Jerusalem."[25] Similarly, Paula, Eustochium, and Jerome gush in their letter 46: "Among all, there is a competition in humility . . . (*humilitatis inter omnes contentio est*)."[26]

But this was not the only way to look at the situation in the city. Gregory of Nyssa, who stayed in Jerusalem at the same time as Egeria, complained in a letter to monks in his home in Asia Minor about the moral state of the city. There is, he states, "no form of impurity that would not be performed in the city: prostitution, adultery, theft, poison mixing, intrigue and murder."[27] In the

24 On the Bordeaux Pilgrim see Jas Elsner, "The Itinerarium Burdigalense. Politics and salvation in the geography of Constantine's empire," *Journal of Roman Studies* 90 (2000): 181–195. On the question of whether the pilgrim might have been a woman see Laurie Douglass, "A New Look at the Itinerarium Burdigalense," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 4 (1996): 313–333; Susan Weingarten, "Was the Pilgrim from Bordeaux a Woman? A reply to Laurie Douglass," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 7 (1999): 291–297.

25 "Itinerarium Egeriae" 17,2, in *Itinerarium Egeriae*, CCSL 175, eds. Aetio Franceschini and Robert Weber (Turnholti: Brepols, 1958), 58,14–17: "Nam mihi credat volo affectio vestra, quoniam nullus Christianorum est, qui non se tendat illuc gratia orationis, quicumque tamen usque ad loca sancta, id est in Ierusolimis, accesserit." On Egeria see Rachel Moriarty, "Secular Men and Women: Egeria's Lay Congregation in Jerusalem," in *The Holy Land, Holy Lands, and Christian History. Papers read at the 1998 Summer Meeting and the Winter Meeting 1999 of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. Robert N. Swanson (Woodbridge and Rochester: D. S. Brewer, 2000): 55–66.

26 See "Epistula 46," in *Hieronymus, Epistulae 1–70*, CSEL 54, 340, 12–13.

27 See Gregory of Nyssa, "Epistula 2," in *Gregorii Nysseni epistulae*, GNO 8,2, ed. Girogio Pasquali (Leiden: Brill, 1959), 16,8–11: "νῦν μέντοι οὐκ ἔστιν ἀκαθαρσίας εἶδος ὃ μὴ τολμᾶται

eyes of the Christian bishop, the allegedly "holy" city, is in no way different from other metropolises in the Empire. Therefore, it is better for pious people not to go there, because otherwise they could suffer from harm to their souls, Gregory emphasizes.

It is not easy to decide if either of the two statements deserves more credibility than the other. Can we deduce from Gregory's letter that the population in *Aelia* was still pagan to a large extent? Or was the Christian ascetic bishop bothered by the lifestyle of some Christians in the city? Is Egeria representing a specific "Western" perspective on living in Jerusalem, an ancient form of "Orientalism"? In the synopsis of all the source evidence I think we can conclude that by the end of the 4th century, living in Jerusalem offered space for a specific kind of a "middle way" or a synthesis between urban and ascetic lifestyles – a synthesis which could make Jerusalem appear either as the gathering place of the saints or as an urban moloch, depending on personal (and maybe even institutional) experiences and perspectives.

What role the migrants from the West played in establishing this specific "Jerusalem style" of Christian living, can be seen from the *Historia Lausiaca*. This panorama of the ascetic environment in Egypt, Palestine and Syria was written by the Christian ascetic Palladius of Helenopolis and dedicated to Lausos, a high official at the imperial court of Constantinople in the 420s. Although this was not his primary goal, Palladius gives a vivid impression of the living in Melania's twin monasteries on the Mount of Olives where he himself was hosted during his three years sojourn in Jerusalem.[28] According to Palladius, Melania's monastic centre was not only the contact point for pilgrims and visitors from all over the world, but also a centre of education, a transfer point for translating and copying theological works, a diaconical facility and a scene of church politics. All in all, Melania, Rufinus and their adherents established a monastic complex in close connection to the city, both in writing and in person. Palladius emphasizes that they were always "honoring the local clergy and providing them with gifts and food, thus living their lives until the end without causing trouble to anyone."[29] In other words: Palladius presents the western immigrants as role models of integration from whose presence the hosting region benefited in many ways.

παρ'αὐτοῖς, καὶ πορνεῖαι καὶ μοιχεῖαι καὶ κλοπαί καὶ εἰδωλολατρεῖαι καὶ φραμακεῖαι καὶ φθόνοι καὶ φόνοι."

28 On Palladius see Demetrios S. Katos, *Palladius of Helenopolis, The Origenist Advocate* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

29 Palladius, "Historia Lausiaca" 46,6, in *Historia Lausiaca*, FC 67, 272: "τιμῶντες τοὺς κατὰ τόπον κληρικοὺς δώροις καὶ τροφαῖς, οὕτω διετέλεσαν μηδένα σκανδαλίσαντες."

The impression of a peaceful management of inter-Christian diversity is also confirmed by Egeria in her letters to the Spanish homeland. Like Paula, Eustochium and Jerome in their letter 46 to Marcella, Egeria emphasizes the tolerance that prevails toward different lifestyles: "No one demands how much one has to do, but everyone does what he can; there is also no praise for those who do enough and no blame for those who do less. This is the custom here,"[30] she writes referring to the various fasting practices among Christians in Jerusalem. Furthermore, Egeria is impressed by the practice of translation in the liturgy. The Greek scripture readings in the church are translated, according to her report, into both Aramaic (for Egeria: *siriste*) and Latin – the former so that the locals "always learn" (*ut semper discant*), the latter so that the immigrants and visitors from the West "do not become sad" (*ne contristentur*).[31] In other ways, too, Egeria repeatedly refers explicitly to the integrating power of the liturgy when she emphasizes that both clergy and laity, men and women participate in the celebrations.[32] At least in Egeria's and Palladius external perspective, we can conclude, the integration of the immigrants succeeded in an exemplary manner, to which the liturgy and rituals of the church contributed significantly – an example of the potential of religion to integrate linguistic and cultural diversity in migration contexts.[33]

Quite explicitly, Paula, Eustochium and Jerome formulate the integrating role of religion in their Letter 46: "The language is different, but it is one piety (*uox quidem dissona, sed una religio*). There are almost as many psalmody choirs here as there are different nations, and with all this – and this is, after all, the highest Christian virtue – no presumption. [. . .] No one judges the other."[34]

However, in the course of time, the immigrants from the West themselves contributed significantly to the fact that this tolerant and diversity-friendly basic

30 "Itinerarium Egeriae" 28,4, in *Itinerarium Egeriae*, CCSL 175, 75,17–21: "Nemo autem exigit quantum debeat facere, sed unusquisque ut potest id facit; nec ille laudatur, qui satis fecerit, nec ille uituperatur, qui minus. Talis est enim hic consuetudo."

31 "Itinerarium Egeriae" 47,4, in *Itinerarium Egeriae*, CCSL 175, 89,19–24: "Lectiones etiam, quecumque in ecclesia leguntur, quia necesse est grece legi, semper stat, qui siriste interpretatur propter populum, ut semper discant. Sane quicumque hic latini sunt, id est qui nec siriste nec grece nouerunt, ne contristentur, et ipsis exponitur eis, quia sunt alii fratres et sorores grecolatini, qui latine exponunt eis."

32 "Itinerarium Egeriae" 49,1, in *Itinerarium Egeriae*, CCSL 175, 90,2–10.

33 Stephen. J. Shoemaker, "Sing, O Daughter(s) of Zion," in *Melania: Early Christianity Through the Life of One Family. Christianity in Late Antiquity,* eds. Catherine M. Chin and Caroline T. Schroeder (Oakland: University of California Press, 2019): 222–239.

34 "Epistula 46",10,3–4, in *Hieronymus, Epistulae 1–70*, CSEL 54, 340,10–21: "uox quidem dissona, sed una religio. Tot paene psallentium chori, quot gentium diuersitates, et inter haec, quae uel prima in Christianis uirtus est, nihil adrogans. [. . .] nemo iudicat alterum."

atmosphere among the Christian immigrants in and around Jerusalem changed soon after their arrival. Among the effects of migration to Palestine, in fact, is not only the enormous urban growth that the migrants brought to the region in the 4th and 5th centuries and the power of integration through religious rituals, but also an import of conflicts over beliefs and ways of life.

We can presume that Paula and Jerome also lived for a time in the Mount of Olives monasteries after their arrival in the Orient. In the end, however, they chose a more secluded place, Bethlehem, when they settled permanently. If we compare the sources about life in the monasteries on the Mount of Olives and in Bethlehem, we can see two different – and probably competing – monastic lifestyles. Melania lived the active life of a Roman matron, now under Christian ascetic auspices. Paula and Jerome in Bethlehem, on the other hand, followed more the ideal of the secluded "vita rustica." It is true that they too had attached a pilgrims' hospice to their double monastery and were committed to the care of the poor. But the charisma of their monasteries did not reach as far as that of the Mount of Olives monasteries in the region.

Both sides did not spare polemics against each other: On the Mount of Olives, it was rumoured that Jerome had become "an obstacle" (ἐμπόδιον) to Paula in Bethlehem in the development of her ascetic talent, because "he had subjected her to his own purposes."[35] Jerome, on the other hand, was furious about the luxury in which the guests of the monasteries of the Mount of Olives travelled through the Orient, and he did not spare his former friend Melania his taunts: "A great many matrons are in the habit of bestowing gifts upon trumpeters of their largesse and of being profusely generous to a few while ignoring everyone else. She was completely free of this vice."[36] Jerome even raised the sprawling urban life as an argument against the only temporary stay of a pilgrimage: "Praiseworthy is not to have been in Jerusalem, but to have lived in a good way in Jerusalem,"[37] he wrote to the Gallic senator Paulinus of Nola to dissuade him and his wife from a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, after having tried shortly before to convince him to move permanently to Bethlehem. These words are an indication of the disillusionment that had set in, at least for Jerome, a few years after the settlement in the Holy Land. Palestine was not only a place of religious freedom, but also the scene of imported conflicts.

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35 Palladius, "Historia Lausiaca" 41, in *Historia Lausiaca*, FC 67, 256: "ἧς ἐμπόδιον γέγονεν Ἱερωνιμὸς τις ἀπὸ Δαλματίας. Δυναμένην γὰρ αὐτὴν ὑπερπτῆναι πασῶν, εὐφυεστάτην οὖσαν, προσενεπόδισε τῇ ἑαυτοῦ βασκανια ἐλκύσας αὐτὴν πρὸς τὸν ἴδιον αὐτοῦ σκοπόν."

36 Jerome, "Epistula 54," 13, in *Hieronymus, Epistulae 1–70*, CSEL 54, 479,18–480,3.

37 Jerome, "Epistula 58," 2, in *Hieronymus, Epistulae 1–70*, CSEL 54, 529: "non Hierosolymis fuisse, sed Hierosolymis bene uixisse laudandum est."

This becomes particularly clear in the so-called First Origenism Controversy, in which dogmatic conflicts of the Orient were mixed with the competition between the two immigrants from the West. Both Jerome and Rufinus were strongly influenced by Origen in their understanding of Scripture and translated his works into Latin. Their undoing was that Origen had taught a subordinatian Christology – and thus fell *post mortem* under the anathema of the Council of Nicaea (325). Both Rufinus and Jerome worked hard to preserve Origen's legacy and make it fruitful for Latin theology: Rufinus on the Mount of Olives with translations of Origen's works, which in cases of doubt he dogmatically adapted to the prevailing orthodoxy; Jerome in Bethlehem with his own exegetical writings, in which he applied Origen's methodology and hermeneutics while striving to avoid his theological "errors." This competition among scholars escalated into a conflict when in 392 Paulinianus, Jerome's brother, was ordained a priest in Bethlehem – not by the actually responsible bishop John of Jerusalem though, but by Epiphanius of Salamis. Epiphanius was the most prominent opponent of Origen's followers, among whom was also John of Jerusalem. The fact that Epiphanius ordained Paulinianus to the priesthood in Bethlehem on his own initiative was possibly already an act of his campaign against Origenism, which was cultivated and promoted in Jerusalem, namely in the Latin monasteries of the Mount of Olives, supported by the local bishop John. Whether Epiphanius actually saw in the consecration of the immigrant from the West an opportunity to build up an anti-Origenist base in Bethlehem cannot be said with certainty for lack of relevant source evidence. But after Jerome's public confession against Rufinus in 396, the fronts between the Origenist Mount of Olives and the anti-Origenist Bethlehem were clear. The immigrant communities had joined the two opposing parties in the theological conflict over Origen's legacy. Can one go so far as to say that the migrant women were (exploited) by the local authorities for their respective ecclesiastical-political purposes? In any case, both Melania and Rufinus, as well as Paula and Jerome, were dependent on the support of the local authorities, and the stronger the competition between their monastic projects became, the more willing they were perhaps used to promote the interests of their patrons. Because of their diverse networks, this conflict then worked its way back home.

An entirely imported conflict was that over the monk Pelagius who came to Palestine after the Visigoths had plundered Rome in the summer of 410.[38] Pelagius

38 Peter J. van Egmond, "Pelagius and the Origenist Controversy in Palestine," *Studia Patristica* 70 (2013): 631–647.

was kindly received and supported by Bishop John in Jerusalem, but harshly opposed by Jerome in Bethlehem. The conflict escalated when the Spanish presbyter Orosius was sent to Palestine by Augustine to fight Pelagius. In the summer of 415, a Jerusalem local synod dealt with the dispute. At this synod, Orosius tried to present the conflict as a matter for the West, which had to be decided in the West. In his *Liber apologeticus*, written shortly after the Jerusalem synod in preparation for the one in Rome, he quotes himself as exclaiming: "The heretic [i.e., Pelagius] is a Latin, we are Latin, also his heresy is more common in Latin regions and therefore must be debated by Latin judges."[39] In fact, Orosius succeeded in having the case transferred to the West and Pelagius and his followers were condemned at several synods in Carthage, Mileve and Rome. Apparently, the clergy in Jerusalem had no specific interest in embracing this imported conflict on their own. This example shows that Palestine was already no longer a haven of religious freedom for the second generation of migrants. The networks and connections to the West were too strong to offer safe asylum to religious refugees.

3 Repercussions to the Homelands: Migration as a Catalyst for Holy Land Piety in Western Christianity

The Western Christians in the Holy Land also prove to be both outstanding and paradigmatic with regard to the repercussions of migration on the regions of origin. Typical of migration phenomena is the cultivation of networks back home, which can be demonstrated for the monasteries both on the Mount of Olives and in Bethlehem. A special feature is the extraordinary contribution to the transfer of knowledge that both monasteries unfolded through the enormous output of translations from Greek to Latin by Rufinus and Jerome. Without them, many works, especially of Origen, but also of the Jewish historian Josephus, would have remained inaccessible to the Latin world of the Middle Ages. At the same time, through their translation activities, they also had interpretive sovereignty

39 Orosius, "Liber apologeticus" 6,4, in *Historiarum adversum paganos libri 7, accedit eiusdem liber apologeticus*, CSEL 5, ed. Karl Zangenmeister (Wien: Gerold, 1882): 610,14–16: "clamaremus, Latinum esse haereticum, nos Latinos, haeresim Latinis magis partibus notam Latinis iudicibus disserendam."

over these works – and thus power over which Origen and which Josephus were received in the Latin West.[40]

In addition to this cultural transfer, which had a long-term effect, very direct repercussions on the homeland can also be reconstructed, especially in the case of Melania and Rufinus. Both returned to Italy: Rufinus left Jerusalem, possibly under pressure as a result of the disputes with Jerome, in 397 and spent the last years of his life in a monastery in Sicily, where he continued to devote himself to his translation work and lived a much more secluded life than on the Mount of Olives. Only three years later, Melania, now in her sixties, also returned to Italy, but unlike Rufinus she came only to visit her family and encourage them for an ascetic life. The uproar her visit caused in Rome is clear from the report of Palladius, on the one hand, and from a letter written by her relative Paulinus of Nola, on the other.[41] The latter describes in dazzling words the arrival of Melania and her companions in Naples and their stay in Nola, in the monastery of Paulinus. He describes Melania's welcome by her family and likened the journey from Naples to Nola to a spiritual triumphal procession, emphasizing above all the contrast between the wealthy and adorned family members and the poverty and dignity of Melania. And not without astonishment, the host notes that even those who "cultivated a deviant way of life," under the impression of Melania's appearance during their stay in Nola, did not clamour against the pious singing of the children and virgins.[42] Palladius reports on Melania's missionary work in Rome: "Like a wild animal she fought against all the senators and their wives who wanted to prevent her from persuading more families to leave the world."[43] Unfortunately, no report from the opposite side has survived, but it does not take much imagination to conclude from these words that Melania was perceived in Rome as a radicalized religious fanatic from the Orient.

Jerome and Paula, in contrast, never returned to their homeland, but Jerome maintained an intensive and lasting correspondence to Italy and Gaul. Thus he remained one of the most influential theologians in the West even after

40 For the reception of Origen in Latin Christianity see Bernard McGinn, "The spiritual heritage of Origen in the West: aspects of the history of Origen's influence in the Middle Ages," in *Origene maestro di vita spirituale*, ed. Luigi Franco Pizzplato (Milano: Vita e Pensiero, 2001): 263–289; for Josephus see Karen Kletter, "The Christian Reception of Josephus in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages," in *A Companion to Josephus*, eds. Honora Howell Chapman and Zuleika Rodgers (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2016): 368–381.

41 Paulinus, "Epistula 29," in *Epistulae – Briefe II*, FC 25/2: 682–715.

42 Paulinus, "Epistula 29,"13, in *Epistulae – Briefe II*, FC 25/2: 710–712.

43 Palladius, "Historia Lausiaca" 54,5, in *Historia Lausiaca*, FC 67, 292,5–7: "καὶ οὑτῶς πρὸς πάντας ἐθηριομάχησε τοὺς συγκλητικοὺς καὶ τὰς ἐλευθέρας κωλυόντας αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀποταξίᾳ τῶν λοιπῶν οἴκων."

his departure, while he was hardly received in the Orient itself.[44] Since the letters had to be transported by messengers, such an intensive correspondence automatically contributed to increased mobility between East and West. In Rome, Marcella's house on the Mount Aventin was a transshipment point for his writings.

The cultural transfer and exchange can be reconstructed not only from literary sources, however, but has also been reflected in material sources. The many relics (primarily pieces of clothing and bones of ascetics and saints) and pilgrim souvenirs (e.g., ampoules with Jordan water and soil from the Holy Land) that circulated widely in the West are only briefly mentioned here. Less mobile, but of greater and more lasting impact, were monumental works of art – sarcophagi, churches and their mosaics – which testify an interest in the Orient and thus to repercussions on the West of migratory movements originating in the West.

Unfortunately, we do not know anything about the architecture and decoration of the monasteries on the Mount of Olives and in Bethlehem, and therefore we cannot say whether the immigrants adapted to the local formal language or brought Western architectural styles to the country. Of architecture we can say that the great churches endowed by Emperor Constantine in the Holy Land prove some Western influence: The Anastasia in Jerusalem, the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem and the Basilica in Mamre are strongly influenced by Roman buildings.[45] The other way around, there are several relevant examples of the influence of Oriental models on Western architecture and art in the 4th and 5th centuries, even if only in the rarest cases can a very direct connection with literarily attested migrants and pilgrims be reconstructed.[46]

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44 See Jessica van't Westeinde, "Not that Far form a Madding Crowd: Jerome 'Exiled' in Bethlehem," in *Mobility and Exile at the End of Antiquity*, eds. Dirk Rohmann, Jörg Ulrich, and Margarita Vallejo Girvés (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2018): 229–245.

45 See Jürgen Krüger, *Die Grabeskirche zu Jerusalem. Geschichte – Gestalt – Bedeutung* (Stuttgart: Schnell & Steiner, 2000); Jürgen Krüger, "Die Grabeskirche: Entstehung und Entwicklung bis in frühislamische Zeit", in *Jerusalem in Roman-Byzantine Times*, COMES 5, eds. Katharina Heyden and Maria Lissek (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2021): 189–224.

46 The impact of the Holy Land on Christian art was shown in Bianca Kühnel, *From the Earthly to the Heavenly Jerusalem. Representation of the Holy City in Christian Art of the First Millennium* (Rom, Freiburg, and Wien: Herder, 1987); id., "The Holy Land a Factor in Christian Art," in *Christians and Christianity in the Holy Land. From the Origins to the Latin Kingdoms*, eds. Ora Limor and Guy Stroumsa (Leiden: Brepols, 2006): 463–510. See also the essays in honour of Bianca Kühnel in Renana Bartal and Hanna Vorholt, eds., *Between Jerusalem and Europe*, Visualising the Middle Ages 11 (Leiden: Brill, 2015); Galit Noga-Banai, *Sacred Stimulus. Jerusalem in the Visual Christianization of Rome* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), examines the contemporary impact of Jerusalem on Christian Art in the city of Rome assuming a competition between the two cities.

In the case of the church which was built in the first third of the 4th century in Rome, in the *Palatium Sessorianum* in the immediate vicinity of the Lateran, the connection to Jerusalem is already clear from the name: it is called *sancta ecclesia Hierusalem* on an imperial inscription of the 5th century.[47] According to the 6th century *Liber pontificalis*, both the foundation and the naming of the church "Hierusalem" go back to Emperor Constantine.[48] A piece of the relic of the cross was kept in the palace chapel, and possibly its architecture imitated the layout of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and Anastasis in Jerusalem, making it the first in a long line of replicas of that Church complex in Western Europe.[49]

Another example is the apsis mosaic in the church of *Santa Pudenziana* (Fig. 5) on the Esquiline Hill, created shortly after the Visigoths invaded Rome in 410 – and thus also shortly after Melania's stay in Rome.

The mosaic shows Christ teaching his disciples, all dressed like Romans, in front of an elaborately decorated landscape. To the left and right of Christ are architectural depictions, behind him is a mountain with a representative gem cross on top. It is disputed in research whether this is a fantasy landscape or representations of real buildings, and if the latter whether the architecture points to Roman buildings or to the Constantinian churches in Jerusalem and Bethlehem. The distinctive forms of the buildings – a rotunda to the right of Christ, and a pentagon to his left – are, in my opinion, plausible reasons for the assumption that the church buildings in Jerusalem (with the Anastasis rotunda) and in Bethlehem (with the pentagonal apse in the nativity Church) served the artists as models for the background to the assembly of apostles depicted here.[50]

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47 The imperial inscription is running as follows: "Reges terrae et omnes populi principes et omnes iudices terrae laudent nimen domini sanctae ecclesiae Hierousalem Valentinianus Placidia et Honoria Augusti votum solverunt," in Giovanni Battista De Rossi, *Inscriptiones christianae Urbis Romae septimo saeculo antiquiores II* (Rom: Ex Officina Libraria Pontificia, 1888), 435.

48 "Liber pontificalis" 34,22 in *Le liber pontificalis: texte, introduction et commentaire*, ed. Louis Duchésne (Paris: Bibliothèque des Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 1886), 179,10–12: "Eodem tempore fecit Constantinus Augustus basilicam in palatio Sessoriano, ubi etiam de ligno sanctae Crucis domini nostri Iesu Christi in auro et gemmis conclusit, ubi et nomen ecclesiae dedicavit, quae cognominatur usque in hodiernum diem Hierusalem."

49 On such replicas of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre see Michael Rüdiger, *Nachbauten des Heiligen Grabes in Jerusalem in der Zeit von Gegenreformation und Barock. Ein Beitrag zur Kultgeschichte architektonischer Devotionalkopien* (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2003). Rüdiger lists 94 objects for 16th to 18th century Western Europe.

50 For this interpretation see Katharina Heyden, *Orientierung. Die westliche Christenheit und das Heilige Land in der Antike*, Jerusalemer Theologisches Forum 28 (Münster: Aschendorff, 2014), 291–305; Noga-Banai, *Sacred Stimulus*, 142–149. For a comprehensive discussion of the mosaic and all interpretations see Matteo Branconi, *Il Mosaico del Catino Apsidiale di S. Pudenziana. La Storia, i restauri, le interpretazioni* (Todi: Tau Editrice, 2017).

Fig. 5: Apse mosaic in Santa Pudenziana, Rome, 410–417 AD.

Quite explicitly, only a few years later and a few metres away, Jerusalem and Bethlehem were referred to in the apse mosaic of the church of Santa Maria Maggiore. The two city abbreviations to the left and right of the depictions of the birth of Jesus also show distinctive architectural forms and are also inscribed HIERUSALEM and BETHLEEM (Fig. 6a, b). The lambs streaming into the cities also suggest the motif of migration.[51] The effort to transfer the Orient, the Holy Land, to Rome in this way is clearly evident and can be interpreted as a resonance to the movement of travel and migration from the West to the Orient.

The same applies to liturgical forms and ritual customs that have been established in the West since the late 4th century and have their roots in Palestine, such as the Palm Sunday processions or the shaping of the church festival calendar. All of this has had a profound and lasting impact on Western Christianity – so much so that there is little awareness of its historical roots in the travel and migration movements of the 4th and 5th centuries.

51 On the Mosaics of Santa Maria Maggiore see Noga-Banai, *Sacred Stimulus*, 149–157 (with further references).

Fig. 6a, b: City abbreviations of Jerusalem (a) and Bethlehem (b), Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome, Mosaic Triumphal Arch Mosaic (432–440 AD).

We have seen that the Latin Christians in Palestine maintained frequent contact with their homelands in the West. This is testified not only by the rich correspondences in letters and pilgrim reports but also in more fluid ways: many customs, artworks, lifestyles, and narratives that shaped Western Christianity turn out to have been influenced by Palestine. It is often difficult or even impossible to determine whether certain influences from the Orient on the West at this time are due to the permanently resident migrants or the pilgrims. This applies, for example, to the formation of the church year, which has its origins in the late antique liturgy of Jerusalem as it was described by the pilgrim Egeria,[52] but it is true also for many monastic customs and traditions handed down by migrating monks like John Cassian, for legendary traditions like the invention of the true cross and especially for Palestinian influences on Western Christian art.

All in all, there can be no doubt that the idea of Palestine as the Holy Land for Western Christians owes much to the migrants in the 4th and 5th centuries.

52 See Harald Buchinger, "Liturgy and Topography in Late Antique Jerusalem," in *Jerusalem in Roman-Byzantine Times*, COMES 5, eds. Katharina Heyden and Maria Lissek (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2021): 117–188; Daniel Galadza, *Liturgy and Byzantinization in Jerusalem* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

Researchers debate whether the cultural exchange rather led to an orientation of Western Christianity towards Palestine or to a competition between East and West, namely between Jerusalem and Rome. While I myself have argued the thesis of the "orientation" of Western Christianity to the Holy Land in late antiquity,[53] the art historian Galit Noga-Banai in her recently published book *Sacred Stimulus. Jerusalem in the visual Christianization of Rome* pointed to the concurrence between the two cities. She stated that "the Roman Church could not live with the Holy City, but neither could it live without it [. . .]. Jerusalem's history and prestige stood in the way of Rome's claim to primacy."[54] This evoked, according to Noga-Banai, in the first centuries an "eloquent silencing" of Jerusalem in Roman Christian art. Only with the assertion of the primacy of the Roman Church in the West since the 5th century could Jerusalem also be explicitly shown in Rome. Jerusalem had functioned, as Noga-Banai concludes, as a "sacred stimulus" for the visual Christianization of Rome.

Regardless of how one tends to interpret the intention of the commissioners and artists of such works, their effect on the viewers is undoubted: They imagined salvation history and future salvation in the shape of the forms of the real Holy Land in Palestine. Earthly and heavenly reality were superimposed, the heavenly Jerusalem imagined in the form of the earthly one. The impact of such representations and imported customs on the religious imagination of Christians in the West should not be underestimated. In late antiquity, the seeds were scattered for a Holy Land piety, which has shaped the entire church history of the Western Occident, sometimes more, sometimes less explicitly, and is still effective today. The ascetic migrants in the 4th century were at the beginning of this development.

4 Conclusion

In the framework of this volume, migration is understood as "a spatial movement of people with the intention or under the pressure to resettle on a temporary or a more permanent basis" that provokes "processes of transregional interaction and transfer in multiple directions."[55] What does the case of Western migrants in Palestine contribute to a study of religion understood in this broad sense? What is typical and what is unique with *Palaestina* as an immigration country in Late Antiquity?

53 This is the main argument of Heyden, *Orientierung*.
54 Noga-Banai, *Sacred Stimulus*, 4.
55 See the Introduction of the editor, p. 5.

First, the Western migrants in Palestine did not arrive as people in need, at least not in economic terms. On the contrary, as members of the Roman upper class, they brought large amounts of money into the country and invested it in buildings and infrastructure. Even more, they came with the hope for greater freedom to live their lives than they were able to in their homeland. In this respect, the example of Palestine contributes to a broad understanding of migration, in which migrants are not primarily perceived as economically in need. Jerome portrayed himself to his Roman friends as a fugitive who had to fear for his life. But this could also be largely rhetorical exaggeration. The noble women, Melania and Paula, sought social and religious improvement rather than protection or livelihood.

This is also reflected in the terms and concepts that appear in the sources to describe and interpret the motives and outcomes of that type of migration: While Jerome presents himself as an exiled religious refugee, the noble women are described as deliberately exchanging their hometown Rome, as the place of genealogical descent (*patria*), for the place of their citizenship as the place of civic engagement *(civitas)*. They move to leave behind their biological origin and to become fellow citizens of Christ and the saints: *exul civium et civis effecta sanctorum* writes Paulinus about Melania,[56] and Jerome, as always trying to go one better, declares that his Paula *choris comitata uirginensis civis est salvatoris effecta*.[57] At this point, the Christian notion of life as an existential wandering (*peregrinatio*) from earth to heaven is combined with concrete migration from one place on the earth to another. The chosen place of immigration, Jerusalem and its surroundings, then comes into an intermediate position between earth and heaven – and in this sense, it becomes a "holy Land", a land of corporal transit on the way to the real heavenly home. The use of the term *civitas* in this context is instructive. It is biblically given with regard to the heavenly Jerusalem (Hebrews 12:22) and would have a great career only a little later in Augustine's *De civitate Dei*. Unlike Paul and Augustine, however, the ascetic circles in Jerusalem and Bethlehem considered an earthly realization of this civitas possible, at least partially. It is precisely this hope that seems to have been the driving force for their migration.

Second however, even for the purpose of getting more freedom and establishing a new kind of citizenship, the Christian immigrants in Palestine depended on the favour of the local population. With Melania's communities on the Mount of Olives and Paula's in Bethlehem, we have two types of integration before us: the former integrated very strongly into the native Byzantine society and actively

56 Paulinus, "Epistula 29," 10, in *Epistulae – Briefe II*, FC 25/2, 706.
57 Jerome, "Epistula 108," 31,2 in *Hieronymus, Epistulae 71–120*, CSEL 55: 349, 23–24.

determined social and church-political life. The community around Paula and Jerome, on the other hand, lived a very secluded life and maintained more intensive contacts with their homeland. We can also observe two opposing effects with regard to the relevance of religion in migration contexts: On the one hand, Christianity as the common religion of all migrants in Jerusalem facilitated integration and mutual understanding. The liturgy, especially, seems to have had a great integrative function. On the other hand, we have seen that conflicts about the appropriate ascetic lifestyle and about dogmatic issues were imported from the West to Palestine, so that religion also became relevant in its conflict-provoking potential. Since the motivation for immigration was often religious and the migrants were highly religious people, the ambivalent character of religion – unifying on the one hand and divisive on the other – is particularly pronounced in Late Antique Palestine.

Third, unlike other migration destinations, Palestine was characterized by a closely interwoven coexistence of temporary residence and permanent settlement. One is not possible without the other: the first migrants came as pilgrims, and with their permanent settlement and the founding of monasteries they then contributed enormously to the increasing attractiveness of the region as a pilgrimage destination, and this in turn led to further permanent settlements. Migration to Palestine thus caused a great and permanent mobility both physically and culturally between the Orient and the Occident in the 4th and 5th centuries.

Fourth, if we ask about the influence of migration on the transformation of religion, then the importance of migration to Palestine in Late Antiquity for the long-lasting shape of Christianity should not be underestimated. This applies to the character of Christianity in the immigration country itself. Palestinian Christianity was essentially shaped by the immigrants from the entire Christian world. In Late Antiquity, Palestine and especially Jerusalem became an intercultural melting pot of Christianity. The repercussions of the migration area on the countries of origin were just as important. Objects, customs, narratives and ideas found their way from the Holy Land into the Western world and had an enormous influence on piety. It is probably no exaggeration to speak of an "Orientalism" in late antique Western Christianity, at least in monastic circles.

Of course, these observations are not limited to Western Christianity. What I have explained here for the Western Christians as migrants in the Holy Land, applies in a different way also to Armenian, Greek, Georgian Christians. In fact, we have seen at the very beginning that the Latins, according to their own self-representation, came to Jerusalem as "last ones." The special religious status that Jerusalem has for Christianity to this day is, historically, both the reason for and the result of global migration to Palestine in Late Antiquity.

Finally, the idea of Jerusalem as an ideal place for migration both physically and spiritually could also be completely disconnected from the real place. The "New Jerusalems" in America and Africa founded by European emigrants in modern times point to this,[58] as do the various symbolic representations of the new, celestial Jerusalem in countless Christian places throughout the world.

58 See Philip Resnick, "New Worlds, New Jerusalems. Reflections on North American Identities," *Norteamérica* 5 (2010) http://www.scielo.org.mx/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S1870-35502010000100002.

Jonathan Stutz

Glauben in der Verbannung: Exilgeschichten in den *Viten der östlichen Heiligen* des Johannes von Ephesos

Das Thema „Exil“ als erzwungene Form von Migration hat in den letzten Jahren auch in der Forschung zur frühen Christentumsgeschichte die Aufmerksamkeit auf sich gezogen. So hat das an der University of Sheffield beheimatete Forschungsprojekt *The Migration of Faith. Clerical Exile in Late Antiquity* sich erstmalig zur Aufgabe gemacht, das in der altchristlichen Literatur weit bezeugte Phänomen des bischöflichen Exils systematisch zu erfassen und nach den Methoden der Netzwerkforschung zu kartographieren.[1] Gerade im Zusammenhang von religionspolitischen Auseinandersetzungen zwischen dem vierten und dem sechsten Jahrhundert wurde die Verbannung von unbequemen Kirchenführern zu einem probaten Mittel der Konfliktlösung. Auch als Reaktion darauf ist zu beobachten, dass in der zeitgenössischen christlichen Literatur „Exil“ und „Verbannung“ zu einem theologischen Erweis wahrer Frömmigkeit und Autorität hochstilisiert wurden. In der Geschichtsschreibung wie auch in der hagiographischen Tradition der sog. „miaphysitischen“ Kirchen des fünften und sechsten Jahrhunderts gewann dieser *topos* besonders an Prominenz, da er die vielen Einzelschicksale von exilierten Mönchen oder Bischöfen umfassen konnte. Über solche Einzelgeschichten hinaus brachte die Verbannung von Klerikern und Amtsinhabern weitreichende Konsequenzen seelsorgerlicher oder organisatorischer Art für diejenigen Kirchen mit sich, die in den Untergrund verdrängt oder im besten Fall im Abseits der Reichskirche toleriert wurden und somit um den Fortbestand ihrer Strukturen besorgt waren.

1 Zum Projekt siehe Julia Hillner u. a., Hg., „*Migration of Faith: Clerical Exile in Late Antiquity* (325–c. 630),“ https://www.clericalexile.org. Die Liste der Beiträge vor allem zum vierten Jahrhundert kann hier nicht vollständig wiedergegeben werden. Hervorheben möchte ich vor allem Pauline Allen und Bronwen Neil, *Crisis Management in Late Antiquity (410–590 CE): A Survey of the Evidence from Episcopal Letters*, Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae 121 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 37–69; David A. Washburn, *Banishment in the Later Roman Empire, 284–476 CE (*New York: Routledge, 2013); Julia Hillner u. a., Hg., *Clerical Exile in Late Antiquity,* Early Christianity in the context of antiquity 17 (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2016); Jörg Ulrich u. a., Hg., *Mobility and Exile at the End of Antiquity,* Early Christianity in the context of antiquity 19 (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2018) und Jennifer Barry, *Bishops in Flight: Exile and Displacement in Late Antiquity* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2019).

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Mit dem folgenden Beitrag möchte ich dieses Thema am Beispiel der *Viten der östlichen Heiligen* des Johannes von Ephesos behandeln und danach fragen, welche Typologien von Exilgeschichten darin erkennbar werden. Dieses Werk ist natürlich im größeren Rahmen der literarischen Selbstdarstellung der miaphysitischen Kirche auf dem Hintergrund der chalcedonensischen Politik des Kaiserhofs zu verstehen.[2] Dazu kommt, dass die von Johannes gesammelten Erzählungen nicht frei von hagiographischen Stilisierungen und Verallgemeinerungen sind. In diesem Sinne sind die hier besprochenen Geschichten nicht als Beschreibungen von historischen Faktenlagen zu lesen, sondern als Ausdruck von Idealen und Geschichtsbildern der entstehenden Syrisch-Orthodoxen Kirchen. Ich möchte dabei vor allem drei thematische Aspekte hervorheben, welche sich aus der Lektüre dieser hagiographischen Sammlung ergeben. Konkret gemeint ist erstens die Thematisierung des Exils selbst im Sinne einer Neudeutung von Martyrium, durch welche mit der Verbannung verurteilte Asketen, Asketinnen oder Bischöfe zu neuen Helden des Christentums hochstilisiert werden. Zweitens kann man an diesem Beispiel miaphysitischer Hagiographie auch unterschiedliche topographische Wahrnehmungen und Konstruktionen von bestimmten Exillandschaften erkennen, allen voran der ägyptischen Wüste. Drittens bieten einige der von Johannes von Ephesos gesammelten Erzählungen auch Einblick in die Herausforderungen und Überlebensstrategien einer Kirche, deren Führungspersonen und Kleriker in der Verbannung lebten, und als solche sich neu organisieren musste. Dabei hebt Johannes vor allem den Einfluss von Gestalten hervor, die ihr Exil zum Anlass nahmen von Land zu Land zu ziehen und durch geheime Priesterweihen den Mangel an geweihten Klerikern zu beheben versuchten. Somit zeichnet er das Bild einer aus dem Exil her aufgebauten und sich neu organisierenden Kirche. Obwohl in diesem Beitrag die genannte hagiographische Sammlung des Johannes von Ephesos eine zentrale Rolle einnehmen wird, soll – durch einschlägige Querverweise auf weitere zeitgenössische Quellen – deutlich gemacht werden, dass dieser Autor Exponent einer Geschichtsdeutung ist, welche auch in weiteren miaphysitischen Kreisen auf fruchtbaren Boden fiel.

1 Exil und Martyrium

Johannes von Ephesos bzw. von Asien ist eine der bekanntesten Gestalten aus der Geschichte der miaphysitischen Kirche des sechsten Jahrhunderts. Biographi-

2 Siehe dazu Volker Menze, *Justinian and the Making of the Syrian Orthodox Church*, Oxford Early Christian Studies (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

sche Notizen sind uns vor allem aus seinen eigenen Werken bekannt, in erster Linie aus seiner nur zum Teil erhaltenen bzw. überlieferten Kirchengeschichte und vor allem aus den hier zu besprechenden *Leben der östlichen Heiligen*.[3] Aus Ingilene im Norden Mesopotamiens stammend, fand er bereits im kindlichen Alter den Weg ins Kloster und schloss sich seit den 520er Jahren dem Kloster Mar Johannes Urtaya in Amida an. Die miaphysitischen Verfolgungen jener Jahre veranlassten ihn und seine Mönchsgemeinschaft dazu, das Kloster zu verlassen und von Ort zu Ort zu ziehen. Das Leben in der Verbannung brachte ihn auch nach Alexandrien und Konstantinopel, wo er mit geflüchteten Asketen und Asketinnen in Kontakt kam. An beiden Orten haben sich nämlich in der Zwischenzeit ganze Klostergemeinschaften angesiedelt, in der Hauptstadt vor allem dank des ihnen gewährten Schutzes durch Königin Theodora. Hier machte er auch Bekanntschaft mit dem kirchlichen Organisator Johannes von Tella (zu ihm siehe weiter unten), der ihn zum Diakon weihte. Kaiser Justinian, der anders als seine Frau dem chalcedonensischen Glauben anhing, beauftragte Johannes sogar mit der Mission der Heidenbekehrung in Kleinasien, im Zuge derer er auch zum Bischof von Ephesos geweiht wurde.

Den Schriften des Johannes ist es zu verdanken, dass wir über das Leben und Wirken von mehreren seiner Zeitgenossen informiert sind, wenn auch durch die hagiographische Brille des Autors. Dies gilt ebenso für die Darstellung der

3 Zu Person und Werk vgl. Susan A. Harvey, *Asceticism and Society in Crisis. John of Ephesus and the Lives of the Eastern Saints* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 28–42. Für die Edition dieser hagiographischen Sammlung siehe Johannes von Ephesos, *Lives of Eastern Saints*, Patrologia Orientalis [PO] 17, hg. und übers. von Ernst Walter Brooks (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1923), 1–307; PO 18 (1924), 511–698; PO 19 (1925), 151–285. Für Zitate und Verweise werde ich die internen, durchlaufenden Seitenangabe der Edition verwenden. Das zweite Hauptwerk des Johannes von Ephesos, seine Kirchengeschichte, ist nur zum Teil überliefert. Der uns für diese Zeitepoche interessierende zweite Teil ist in größeren Auszügen im dritten Teil der Chronik des Ps. Dionysios von Tell Mahre (auch als „Chronik von Zuqnin“ bekannt) erhalten geblieben. Siehe dazu *Incerti auctoris chronicon Pseudo-Dionysianum vulgo dictum* Bd. 2, CSCO 104, hg. von Jean Baptiste Chabot (Louvain: Peeters, 1933). Die Sektion zu der für uns in Frage kommende Epoche ist auch in englischer Übersetzung erschienen in *Pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-Mahre. Chronicle: Part III*, Translated Texts for Historians 22, übers. von Witold Witakowski (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1996). Eine weitere historiographisch wichtige Quelle für die Zeit der Verfolgungen ist die syrische Adaption der Kirchengeschichte des Zacharias von Mytilene. Siehe dazu *Historia ecclesiastica Zachariae Rhetori vulgo adscripta*, Bd. 2, CSCO 84, hg. von Ernst Walter Brooks (Louvain: Peeters, 1921). Für eine Übersetzung siehe *The Chronicle of Pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor. Church and War in Late Antiquity*, Translated Texts for Historians 55, hg. von Geoffrey Greatrex, übers. von Robert R. Phenix und Cornelia B. Horn (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2011).

kirchengeschichtlichen Ereignisse der Zeit. Während unter den Kaisern Zenon (reg. 474–491) und vor allem Anastasios (491–518) die Gegner Chalcedons die Gunst der kaiserlichen Religionspolitik für sich in Anspruch nehmen konnten, brachten der Regierungsantritt Justins im Jahre 518 und die Wiederannäherung zum Westen (und daher das Ende des sog. akakianischen Schismas) einen Einschnitt im Umgang mit denjenigen Kirchen mit sich, die an ihrer Ablehnung der Glaubensformel von Chalcedon weiterhin festhielten.[4] Diese unter den Kaisern Justin (reg. 518–527) und Justinian (reg. 527–565) vollzogene Neuausrichtung der kaiserlichen Religionspolitik manifestierte sich von Ort zu Ort und zu unterschiedlichen Zeiten durch jeweils andere Maßnahmen. Für Amida sind in der Regierungszeit Justins und Justinians mindestens drei Verfolgungswellen bezeugt, wie wir von Johannes selbst erfahren.[5] Wie in anderen Städten des römischen Reiches zielten die Maßnahmen in erster Linie darauf ab, bleibende Elemente des Widerstands zu beseitigen. Mönche und Bischöfe wurden dabei oft vor die Wahl gestellt zwischen Anpassung oder Exil, wie der folgende Abschnitt zu erkennen gibt:

> Nach dem Ableben des Königs Anastasios, der unter den Heiligen bekannt ist, als Justin über das Reich zum König eingesetzt wurde, kam es in der Kirche Gottes zu Spaltungen und Streitigkeiten wegen der Einführung der gottlosen Synode von Chalcedon. Und von da an kam es durch den Befehl desselbigen spalterischen Königs, dass jeder, der nicht mit der Annahme und der Einführung der Synode einverstanden war, als Verfolgter und als Vertriebener leben musste und infolgedessen wurden Kirchenleute ins Exil in verschiedene Orte verbannt.[6]

Neben der wenig überraschenden negativen Bewertung der Regierungszeit Justins lässt diese kurze historische Notiz bereits erkennen, wie unser Autor die Ablehnung der Synode von Chalcedon zum gemeinsamen Nenner seiner Exilgeschichten macht. Aus semantischer Perspektive ist dabei zu beobachten, dass der syrische Text (ܓܠܘܬܐ) das entsprechende griechische Lehnwort (ἐξορία)

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4 Siehe dazu William H. C. Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement. Chapters in the History of the Church in the Fifth and Sixth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 221–254.

5 Am prominentesten ragt in den von Johannes gesammelten Erzählungen die Verfolgung von 521 hervor, die also kurz nach dem Regierungsantritt Justins einsetzte. In einzelnen Kapiteln werden auch zwei Verfolgungswellen in der Regierungszeit Justinians erwähnt. Siehe dazu Johannes, *Lives of Eastern Saints* xxxv, PO 18, 418 und 420 f. Zum Kontext Amidas siehe auch Volker Menze, *Justinian and the Making of the Syrian Orthodox Church*, Oxford Early Christian Studies (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 111–120.

6 Johannes von Ephesos, *Lives of Eastern Saints* xiii, PO 17, 187,5–10.

wiedergibt.[7] Damit hat Johannes sich noch nicht über die verschiedenen Formen und Bedingungen von Exil geäußert. Über die Unterschiede hinweg steht bei Johannes vor allem das gemeinsame Schicksal der Verbannung im Vordergrund, durch welches seine Heroen und Heroinnen ihren wahren Glauben unter Beweis stellten und sich so von denjenigen unterschieden, die sich aus „Liebe zur Welt und Verlangen nach Macht" mit den Abtrünnigen gesellten.[8]

Ähnlich wie in den sog. arianischen Streitigkeiten des vierten Jahrhunderts waren auch in diesem Fall sehr oft Bischöfe Zielscheibe der kaiserlichen Religionspolitik. Am prominentesten ist in dieser Hinsicht vor allem das Beispiel des Patriarchen Severos von Antiochien, der ab 518 im ägyptischen Exil verweilte. Dementsprechend widmet Johannes ihm und anderen miaphysitischen Kirchenfürsten ein gesondertes Kapitel seiner hagiographischen Sammlung.[9] Ausführlich behandelt wird auch die Geschichte des Mare, des Bischofes von Amida, der mit zwei Mitarbeitern zuerst nach Petra verbannt wurde und nach einigen Jahren nach Ägypten weiterzog.[10] Obwohl die Maßnahmen in letzter Instanz auf die kaiserliche Politik zurückgingen ist es nicht immer klar, wer vor Ort darüber zu entscheiden hatte, unter welchen Bedingungen ein Amtsinhaber das Exil anzutreten habe. So ist bei Addai dem Chorepiskopos lediglich davon die Rede, dass „diejenigen, die eifrig für die Gottlosigkeit der Synode von Chalcedon arbeiteten", Addai vor die Wahl gestellt hätten, entweder mit seinem zuständigen Bischof in Gemeinschaft zu treten oder seine Heimat zu verlassen.[11] Namen von (chalcedonensischen) Bischöfen, die aktiv zur Vertreibung von Miaphysiten beigetragen haben, werden nur vereinzelt genannt.[12]

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7 Siehe dazu J. Payne Smith (Margoliouth), *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1903) 16, aus: https://www.sedra.bethmardutho.org, verschlagwortet durch Jeff Haines, gesehen am 20.08.2020.

8 Johannes von Ephesos, *Lives of Eastern Saints* xiii, PO 17, 187,11–188,2.

9 Vgl. Johannes von Ephesos, *Lives of Eastern Saints* xlviii, PO 18, 482–488. Siehe dazu auch Pauline Allen und Bronwen Neil, *Crisis Management in Late Antiquity (410–590 CE): A Survey of the Evidence from Episcopal Letters*, Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae 121 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 67–69.

10 Vgl. Johannes von Ephesos, *Lives of Eastern Saints* xiii, PO 17, 187–213. Siehe auch Susan A. Harvey, *Asceticism and Society in Crisis. John of Ephesus and the Lives of the Eastern Saints* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 78–79.

11 Johannes von Ephesos, *Lives of Eastern Saints* viii, PO 17, 126,8–127,1.

12 So zum Beispiel der antiochenische Bischof Ephrem im Zusammenhang der Verfolgung von 536. Vgl. zu ihm Johannes, *Lives of Eastern Saints* xxxv, PO 18, 418,11–419,4. Siehe auch *Incerti auctoris chronicon Pseudo-Dionysianum vulgo dictum*, Bd. 2, CSCO 104, 38–44; Übers. Witakowski, *Pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-Mahre. Chronicle: Part III*, 37–41. Siehe auch die Bemerkungen dazu in Harvey, *Asceticism and Society in Crisis*, 62–63.

Prominent treten bei Johannes von Ephesos sowie in der sog. *Chronik* des Ps. Zacharias Rhetor auch Mönche und Nonnen auf. Wie Volker Menze treffend beobachtet hat, dürften sich die Maßnahmen Justins vor allem gegen die Vorsteher einzelner Klostergemeinschaften gerichtet haben.[13] Dass dabei Asketen und Asketinnen auch freiwillig den Gang ins Exil gewählt haben und sich ihren jeweiligen Vorstehern anschlossen, um der neuen konfessionellen Ausrichtung des Klosters zu entkommen, ist damit nicht ausgeschlossen. In den Erzählungen des Johannes von Ephesos steht in der Tat gerade der befürchtete Glaubensverrat am Anfang der Flucht. Über Johannes den Naziriten wird z. B. berichtet, dass er und andere Mitglieder aus Amida auszogen, da ihnen der Verbleib mit den zurückgebliebenen Mönchen eine Verleugnung Christi gleichgekommen wäre.[14] Nicht immer verlief der Weggang aus dem Kloster ohne Gewaltanwendung. So weiß Johannes auch von Asketinnen wie Eufemia zu berichten, die wegen ihrer ablehnenden Haltung eingekerkert und schließlich ins Exil geschickt wurden.[15] Die konkreten Umstände, die jeweils zum Verlassen der eigenen Stadt oder des Heimatklosters geführt haben, werden dennoch eher summarisch genannt. Ein des Öfteren vorkommendes Motiv bildet die Verweigerung der betroffenen Personen, mit den Anhängern Chalcedons die Kommunion zu teilen.[16] In einigen Fällen wird der Kommunionzwang dabei sehr plastisch dargestellt und lässt sogar an Formen der Zwangsernährung denken. Mit Seilen und Stangen hätten die Verfolger den sich widersetzenden Christen die „Opfergaben" (ܩܘܪܒܢܐ) – also die Kommunion – in den Mund befördert.[17] Anhand dieser Berichte hat Christine Shepardson Parallelen mit den Märtyrerberichten aus den ersten Jahrhunderten aufgezeigt, in denen die Verweigerung am Opferkult für die heidnischen Götter oder für den Kaiser zum Anlass des Martyriums wurde.[18] Wir haben es demnach mit Erzählungen zu tun, die bei den zeitgenössischen Lesern die Erinnerungen an vergangene Verfolgungen wieder aktivieren sollen. Die identitätsstiftende Ausstrahlung dieser Narrative wie auch die dahintersteckende politische Botschaft, wie sie gerade in der negativen Darstellung Justins zum Ausdruck

13 Vgl. *Historia ecclesiastica Zachariae Rhetori*, CSCO 84, 80–81; Übers. Phenix und Horn, *The Chronicle of Pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor*, 303–305. Siehe auch die Bemerkungen dazu in Menze, *Justinian and the Making of the Syrian Orthodox Church*, 125–134.

14 Vgl. Johannes von Ephesos, *Lives of Eastern Saints* iii, PO 17, 42,3–8.

15 Vgl. Johannes von Ephesos, *Lives of Eastern Saints* xii, PO 17, 182–183.

16 Vgl. Johannes von Ephesos, *Lives of Eastern Saints* xii, PO 17, 183,3–4.

17 Vgl. Johannes von Ephesos, *Lives of Eastern Saints* v, PO 17, 96,5–6.

18 Vgl. Christine Shepardson, „Martyrs of Exile. John of Ephesus and Religious Persecution," in *Heirs of Roman persecution: Studies on a Christian and para-Christian discourse in Late Antiquity*, hg. von Éric Fournier und Wendy Mayer (London/New York: Routledge, 2020), 277–295, hier 284–85.

kommt, werden somit zurecht hervorgehoben.[19] Aber auch ohne einen Kommunionzwang explizit zu erwähnen, können Exil und Martyrium des Johannes von Ephesos als Synonyme verwendet werden. Er bezeichnet zum Beispiel den Ort des Exils des bereits genannten Johannes des Naziriten als „Ort seines Martyriums“ (ܡܬܩܝܡܐ ܕܫܗܕܘܬܗ ܢܨܝܪܝܐ).[20] So wurden auch die Überreste des im ägyptischen Exil verstorbenen Bischofs Mare von Amida wieder zurück in seine alte Heimat überführt und dort in einem Martyrion bestattet.[21] Und schließlich wird auch das Schicksal des Johannes von Tella, das wir noch weiter unten ausführlicher behandeln werden, mit dem Martyrium des Ignatius von Antiochien verglichen.[22] Somit reiht sich Johannes von Ephesos in die Liste christlicher Autoren aus der Spätantike ein, die die Fluchtthematik mit Rückgriff auf die Bilderwelt und die Sprache der Verfolgungszeit behandelten.[23]

Wie zu den Verfolgungszeiten im dritten Jahrhundert darf man wohl auch für den gegenwärtigen Kontext davon ausgehen, dass viele, wenn nicht die meisten, einen pragmatischen Umgang mit den kaiserlichen Anordnungen oder mit den vor Ort herrschenden Zuständen für sich bevorzugt haben. So berichtet Johannes, wie Sergius einen Gottesdienst in Amida stürmte, an dem sowohl Anhänger Chalcedons wie auch rechtgläubige Christen teilnahmen, und vor der versammelten Gemeinde und dem anwesenden Klerus die Glaubensformel von Chalcedon verurteilte. Erst in Folge dieser vorsätzlichen Provokation und der damit verursachten Unruhen wurde Sergius in Gewahrsam genommen und nach Armenien ins Exil verbannt.[24] Wenn man diesen Bericht gegen den Strich liest, dürfte plausibel erscheinen, dass wohl nur eine Minderheit der nicht-chalcedonensischen Christen

19 Vgl. Shepardson, „Martyrs of Exile,“ 287.

20 Johannes von Ephesos, *Lives of Eastern Saints* iii, PO 17, 43,3–4.

21 Vgl. Johannes von Ephesos, *Lives of Eastern Saints* xiii, PO 17, 197,1–2.

22 Vgl. Johannes von Ephesos, *Lives of Eastern Saints* xxiv, PO 18, 321–323.

23 Vgl. zum Beispiel zu Athanasius Jennifer Barry, *Bishops in Flight: Exile and Displacement in Late Antiquity* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2019), 31–55. Siehe dazu auch Johan Leemans, „The Idea of ‘Flight for Persecution’ in the Alexandrian Tradition from Clement to Athanasius,“ in *Origeniana Octava. Origen and the Alexandrian Tradition. Origene e la tradizione alessandrina*, Bd. II, BEThL 164 B, hg. von Lorenzo Perrone (Leuven: Leuven University Press and Peeters, 2003), 901–910. Für eine ähnliche Interpretation des Exils als Martyrium bei Severus von Antiochien siehe *The Sixth Book of the Select Letters of Severus, Patriarch of Antioch, in the Syriac Version of Athanasius of Nisibis*, 4 Bde. in fortlaufender Seitenzählung, hg. und übers. von Ernst Walter Brooks (London: Williams & Norgate, 1902–1904), Bd. I, 168–169 (Text); Bd. II, 152 (Übers.).

24 Vgl. Johannes von Ephesos, *Lives of Eastern Saints* v, PO 17, 101–104. Zum Umgang mit Konfessionellen Differenzen im syrischen Christentum des 7. Jahrhunderts siehe Jack Tannous, *The Making of the Medieval Middle East. Religion, Society, and Simple Believers* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018), 91–106.

(insofern sie sich überhaupt über die Ablehnung dieses Konzils definierten) den Weg des Martyriums oder des Exils wählten. Das Beispiel des Sergius macht eher deutlich, dass Johannes daran interessiert war, die Grenzmarkierung zwischen Rechtgläubigen und Abgefallenen sichtbar zu machen und mögliche Kompromisse im alltäglichen Zusammenleben als eigentliche Gefahrenquelle zu brandmarken. In diesem Licht erscheint das Leben im Exil auch als letzte Möglichkeit, diese Grenzmarkierung aufrecht zu erhalten.

2 Exil und Askese

In den Erzählungen des Johannes von Ephesos begegnen uns unterschiedliche Arten des Exils. Diese betreffen sowohl die Distanz von der eigenen Heimatstadt, die Dauer des Exils und die konkreten Haft- bzw. Lebensbedingungen vor Ort. Wohl spielte in dieser Hinsicht auch die hierarchische Stellung des Exilierten eine Rolle. Vor allem bei Bischöfen dürfte ein Interesse von Seiten des Kaiserhofs bestanden haben, diese in eine Ortschaft zu senden, wo sie besser überwacht werden konnten. So wurde zum Beispiel Bischof Mare von Amida (zusammen mit seinen Begleitern) in die Gegend von Petra versetzt, wo ihm aber die harschen Bedingungen stark zugesetzt haben. Erst nach einigen Jahren, während der Regentschaft Justinians, konnte dank der Fürsprache seiner Gemahlin Theodora erreicht werden, dass die exilierte Gruppe nach Alexandrien weiterziehen durfte.[25] Noch ausdrücklicher wird die Verbindung von Exil und Gefangenschaft am Beispiel des Theodosius dargestellt, der mit der Unterstützung Theodoras 535 zum Patriarchen von Alexandrien ernannt wurde und sich dort auch gegen den internen Widerstand der Julianisten unter der Führung ihres Gegenkandidaten Gaianus durchsetzen musste.[26] Das war die gleiche Zeit, als sich Severus von Antiochien auf Einladung Justinians in Konstantinopel aufhielt und wegen des Scheiterns der vom Kaiserhof initiierten Versöhnungsgespräche wieder ins ägyptische Exil zurückkehrte.[27] Theodosius hingegen wurde von Justinian, der ihn vermutlich

25 Vgl. Johannes von Ephesos, *Lives of Eastern Saints* xiii, PO 17, 188,5–189,10. Siehe auch *Incerti auctoris chronicon Pseudo-Dionysianum*, Bd. 2, CSCO 104, 32; Übers. Witakowski, *Pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-Mahre. Chronicle: Part III*, 31.

26 Siehe dazu William H. C. Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement. Chapters in the History of the Church in the Fifth and Sixth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 270.

27 Vgl. Johannes von Ephesos, *Lives of Eastern Saints* xlviii, PO 18, 485,6–12, und das dem Johannes bar Aphtonia zugeschriebene *Leben des Severos* 73–76 (M. A. Kugener, *Vie de Sévère. Par Jean, supérieur du Monastère de Beith-Aphtonia*, PO 2, 168–174; Übers. Sebastian Brock

mit dem Versuch, ihn für die chalcedonensische Sache zu gewinnen, persönlich in die Hauptstadt vorlud, mit seiner Gefolgschaft ins Exil in eine Festung (ܩܣܛܪܐ) Namens Derkos verbannt, eine Tagesreise von der Hauptstadt entfernt. Dort wurde mit ihm auch der aus Syrien stammende Mönch Zura eingesperrt (ܙܘܪܐ) und in Verwahrung gehalten (ܡܛܪܪܐ).[28] Wir haben es hier also mit einer besonderen Form von Exil zu tun, die man mit Julia Hillner als „Verbannung in der Festung" (*fortress banishment*) kategorisieren kann und bereits aus früheren Jahrhunderten bekannt war. Wie im syrischen Wort *qasṭrā* noch zu erkennen, hielten sich die verbannten Kirchenoberen in von Soldaten bewachten Festungen auf, was den Vorteil mit sich brachte, den Gefangenen ohne besonderen Mehraufwand überwachen und versorgen zu können.[29]

In der Mehrzahl der Fälle haben wir es aber, zumindest in den Erzählungen des Johannes von Ephesos, eher mit Fluchtgeschichten zu tun, in welchen es für die Betroffenen möglich war, sich in der Ankunftsregion mehr oder weniger frei zu bewegen. Auch hier treten Unterschiede bezüglich Länge und vor allem geographischer Distanz zum Heimatort zutage. Zum einen finden wir Geschichten von Asketen und Asketinnen, die ein Kloster in einer benachbarten Region oder Stadt aufsuchten, um zumindest vorübergehend Schutz vor den Verfolgungen zu suchen. Als repräsentative Beispiele dienen hier der schon erwähnte Johannes der Nazirit und der Mönch Abbi, der sich dem Kloster von Johannes Urtaya aus Amida angeschlossen hat, dessen Mönchsgemeinschaft zu dieser Zeit ebenfalls im Exil lebte und sich in einem benachbarten Distrikt niedergelassen hatte.[30] Bekanntlich widmet unser Autor der bewegten Geschichte dieses Klosters ein ganzes Kapitel und listet dabei die unterschiedlichen Stationen auf (zum Teil auch aus der eigenen Erinnerung greifend), an denen das Kloster sich jeweils neu ansie-

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und Brian Fitzgerald, *Two Early Lives of Severos Patriarch of Antioch*, Translated Texts for Historians 59 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013), 132–136.

28 Vgl. Johannes von Ephesos, *Lives of Eastern Saints* xxv, PO 18, 326,4–327,6. Zu Zura vgl. Johannes von Ephesos, *Lives of Eastern Saints* ii, PO 17, 35,2–5.

29 Julia Hillner, *Prison, Punishment and Penance in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 230–231. Hillner macht dabei zurecht darauf aufmerksam, dass Justinian mit dieser Maßnahme im Widerspruch zu einem von ihm erlassenen Gesetz von 529 stand, im welchem er verordnet hatte, dass in Verbannung geschickte Bischöfe nicht in Verwahrung genommen werden dürften, sondern sich in ihrem Exilland frei bewegen dürfen. Wie die Autorin vermutet, dürfte sich dieses Gesetz vor allem auf Ägypten bezogen und die Eindämmung des Machtmissbrauchs durch lokale Machthaber bezweckt haben; siehe Hillner, *Prison, Punishment and Penance*, 231.

30 Vgl. Johannes von Ephesos, *Lives of Eastern Saints* iii, PO 17, 42,10–11 sowie 214,5–6.

deln musste. Dass man dabei auch „in der Nähe der Provinz von Amida“ blieb, deutet darauf hin, dass man mit einer Rückkehr anscheinend rechnen konnte.[31]

Wer bei der Lektüre der *Leben der östlichen Heiligen* über die konkreten Lebensbedingungen vor Ort etwas in Erfahrung bringen möchte, wird schnell einsehen, dass die topographischen oder klimatischen Gegebenheiten vor allem in Hinblick auf ihren Einfluss auf die asketische Praxis der Exilierten thematisiert werden. So erfahren wir über den bereits erwähnten Addai den Chorepiskopos, dass er sich in der Abgeschiedenheit der Berge, in welchen er Zuflucht fand, von Wurzeln ernährte und in deren Höhlen die Nächte im Gebet verbrachte. In den Wintermonaten hingegen zwang ihn der Schnee tiefer liegende Gegenden aufzusuchen und dort Hütten für sich zu bauen.[32] Nach fünf Jahren fand auch sein in der Zwischenzeit verarmtes Kloster in derselben Umgebung Zuflucht und konnte durch den Anbau eines Weinbergs wieder den nötigen Verdienst für die Armenfürsorge erwirtschaften.[33]

Prominent ist in den Erzählungen des Johannes von Ephesos aber vor allem Ägypten als Ziel der Exilbewegungen vertreten, ein Land, welches sich längerfristig als eine der Hauptbastionen des miaphysitischen Widerstands gegen die kaiserliche Politik etablieren wird. Bereits wenige Jahre nach dem Konzil von Chalcedon fand hier der bekannte Mönch Petrus der Iberer im Enaton Kloster, neun Meilen westlich von Alexandrien entfernt, Zuflucht.[34] In den Jahrzehnten nach dem Herrschaftsantritt Justins fanden dann auch Severus von Antiochien und eine ganze Reihe Asketen und Asketinnen den Weg ins Land am Nil, darunter auch der schon erwähnte Bischof Mare von Amida und seine Mitarbeiter Thomas und Stephanus, die sich nach einem längeren Zwischenhalt in Petra in Alexandrien niederlassen

31 Johannes von Ephesos, *Lives of Eastern Saints* xxxv, PO 18, 405–421, hier 416,12–13. Dass die Übersiedlung in ein neues Gebiet zunächst als temporäre Notlösung angedacht war, zeigt sich auch am Beispiel der Mönche des Thomas-Klosters in Seleukia am Orontes, die um 525 nach Qenneshre am Euphrat geflohen sind und sich dort niedergelassen haben. Siehe dazu *Historia ecclesiastica Zachariae Rhetori*, Bd. 2, CSCO 84, 80. Die Tatsache, dass ihr bekannter Vorsteher Johannes bar Aphtonia weiterhin als Archimandrit des Thomas-Klosters bekannt blieb (wie in einer Handschrift aus dem 6. Jahrhundert bezeugt), kann nämlich auch so verstanden werden, dass man eine Rückkehr zumindest nicht ausschloss. Siehe dazu Menze, *Justinian and the Making of the Syrian Orthodox Church*, 125–126. Zur Bedeutung des Klosters in Qenneshre für die Überlieferung und Übersetzung griechischer Werke innerhalb des miaphysitischen Milieus siehe Jack Tannous, *The Making of the Medieval Middle East. Religion, Society, and Simple Believers* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018), 169–176.

32 Vgl. Johannes von Ephesos, *Lives of Eastern Saints* viii, PO 17, 128,3–129,3.

33 Vgl. Johannes von Ephesos, *Lives of Eastern Saints* viii, PO 17, 129,3–130,1.

34 Vgl. *John Rufus: The Lives of Peter the Iberian, Theodosius of Jerusalem and the Monk Romanus*, hg. und übers. von Cornelia B. Horn und Robert R. Phenix Jr., Writings from the Greco-Roman World 24 (Atlanta: Brill, 2008), 123–124.

konnten, einer Stadt, welche „zur Wohnstätte für Verfolgte aus allen Gegenden“[35] wurde. Hier trennten sich dann aber ihre Wege. Auf einer Erkundungsreise durchs Landesinnere entdeckten Thomas und Stephanus eine von Asketen bewohnte Siedlung in der Nähe des Dorfes Mendis. Hier bewohnten einige Anachoreten, auch sie waren vor den Verfolgungen geflüchtet, einen ehemals als Festung gebauten Turm. Nicht weit davon wurde Thomas auf eine Grube aufmerksam gemacht, die angeblich schon in früheren Zeiten von Asketen benutzt wurde – vermutlich handelt es sich hier um nicht mehr gebrauchte Grabanlagen.[36] Daraufhin entschied er sich, dem Beispiel dieser Asketen zu folgen und sich in die Grube zurückzuziehen, ohne dass Stephanus sich ihm (aus gesundheitlichen Gründen) anschließen konnte. Auch Thomas sah jedenfalls ein, dass er sich nicht verausgaben kann, und hielt sich zuerst nur interwallartig in der Grube auf.[37]

Wie man an der Erzählung erkennt, wird die topographische Umgebung in dem Maße in den Fokus gerückt, wie sie für das asketische Leben von Interesse ist. Der Ort des Exils wird dabei nicht als bedrohlich beschrieben, ganz im Gegensatz zu Petra. Die von Johannes von Ephesos gezeichnete Landschaft ist hingegen durch Elemente geprägt, welche in der asketischen Literatur seit jeher das Wüstenbild Ägyptens prägen.[38] So zieht sich bereits Antonius auf seinem Weg ins Innere der Wüste zurück – zuerst in verlassene Gräber und später in eine nicht mehr benutzte Festung.[39] Auch über den im siebten Jahrhundert lebenden Samuel von Qalamun wird berichtet, dass er sich nach seiner Vertreibung aus der Sketischen Wüste einer Gemeinschaft in Fayum anschloss und dort, um sich die nötige Einsamkeit zu verschaffen, in eine Höhle zurückzog.[40] Andere hingegen konnten sich auch mit einer Klostergemeinschaft arrangieren, ähnlich wie bereits der oben genannte Addai. Der Panegyrikos auf den Archimandriten Abraham von Farshut (einen Zeitgenossen Justinians) weiß zum Beispiel zu berichten, dass dieser sich (nach seiner Trennung von der Klostergemeinschaft in Phbow) mit zwei Mitbrüdern auf einen Berg zurückzog und eine kleine Wohnstätte einrichtete. Als

35 Vgl. Johannes von Ephesos, *Lives of Eastern Saints* xiii, PO 17, 190,1–2.

36 Vgl. Johannes von Ephesos, *Lives of Eastern Saints* xiii, PO 17, 190,3–191,6.

37 Vgl. Johannes von Ephesos, *Lives of Eastern Saints* xiii, PO 17, 192,5–193,4.

38 Siehe dazu Elisabeth R. O’Connell, „‚They Wandered in the Deserts and Mountains, and Caves and Holes in the Ground‘. Non-Chalcedonian Bishops ‚In Exile‘“, *Studies in Late Antiquity* 3 (2019): 436–471, hier 454–457.

39 Vgl. Athanasius von Alexandrien, *Vita Antonii* 8 und 12, hg. und übers. von Peter Gemeinhardt, Fontes Christiani 69 (Freiburg i. Br.: Herder, 2018), 134–136 und 142–144.

40 Vgl. Isaak der Presbyter, *The Life of Samuel of Kalamun* 8–9, hg. und übers von Anthony Alcock (Warminster: Aris & Phillips Ltd, 1983), 82–83. Siehe dazu auch O’Connell, „They Wandered in the Deserts and Mountains,“ 456–457.

sich ihnen anschließend weitere Mönche anschlossen, gründete er am Fuße des Berges ein größeres Kloster mit allen notwendigen Einrichtungen, darunter auch einen Garten für den eigenen Unterhalt und den der Besucher.[41] Zumindest für die Landschaft westlich von Theben sind diese literarischen Zeugnisse einer christlichen Besiedlung von Bergen und älteren Grabanlagen auch archäologisch dokumentiert und weisen auf einen tatsächlichen Prozess der Transformation der ägyptischen Wüstenlandschaft hin. Kleinere syrische Textfunde in dieser Gegend deuten zudem darauf hin, dass auch diese Region Oberägyptens Ziel von Besuchern oder Pilgern war, wenn nicht sogar von Geflüchteten aus Syrien oder dem Zweistromland.[42]

Die Tatsache, dass bereits vor Thomas exilierte Anachoreten den Weg ins Gebiet von Mendis fanden, zeigt auf, dass nicht nur Ägypten oder Alexandrien, sondern auch spezifische Landstriche mit bestimmten topographischen (und baulichen) Voraussetzungen zum Anziehungspunkt von Fluchtbewegungen wurden. Die „Gründung" dieser neuen Kolonien geht nach Johannes von Ephesos angeblich auf die Asketin Susan und ihre Mitschwestern zurück, die selber von außerhalb Ägyptens dorthin geflüchtet sind.[43] Anders als Thomas hat sie bereits in frühen Jahren das monastische Leben angenommen und sich in Palästina zwischen Askalon und Gaza niedergelassen. Mit dem Aufflammen der Verfolgungen stand auch sie vor der Wahl, sich entweder an die neuen Bedingungen anzupassen oder zu fliehen. Sie entschloss sich für die zweite Option und machte sich auf nach Ägypten, um sich in die Einsamkeit der Wüste zurückzuziehen. Auch andere Asketinnen schlossen sich ihr dabei an, obwohl sich Susan zunächst alleine auf dem Weg machen wollte und daher von den

41 Siehe dazu *Panegyrikus auf Abraham von Farshut* 7.1–5, in *Politics, Monasticism, and Miracles in Sixth Century Upper Egypt*, Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum 69, hg. und übers. von James E. Goehring (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 80. Zu Abraham von Farshut und den Untergang des pachomischen Mönchtums im 6. Jahrhundert siehe James E. Goehring, *Ascetics, Society, and the Desert: Studies in Early Egyptian Monasticism*, Studies in Antiquity and Christianity (Harrisburg: Continuum International Publishing Group, 1999), 241–261.

42 Vgl. dazu O'Connell, „They Wandered in the Deserts and Mountains," 457–471, zu den syrischen Textfunden vor allem 462–463. Zu nennen wäre in diesem geographischen Kontext auch der koptische Bischof Pisentios von Koptos (gest. 632). Einige der zahlreichen Rezensionen seiner *Vita* enthalten eine ausführliche Beschreibung der Höhle, in welche er sich zurückgezogen hat. Siehe dazu Elisabeth O'Connell, „Transforming Monumental Landscapes in Late Antique Egypt: Monastic Dwellings in Legal Documents from Western Thebes," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 15 (2007): 239–273, hier 260. Eine Edition des Archives der Schriften von und über Pisentios durch Jacques Van der Vliet ist in Vorbereitung.

43 Vgl. Johannes von Ephesos, *Lives of Eastern Saints* xxvii, PO 18, 339–356. Siehe dazu auch Susan A. Harvey, *Asceticism and Society in Crisis. John of Ephesus and the Lives of the Eastern Saints* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 76–78.

anderen überzeugt werden musste, dass sie ihr Gesellschaft leisten dürfen.[44] Nach der Überfahrt nach Ägypten erreichten sie die eben genannte Ortschaft Mendis. Für sich und ihre Schicksalsgenossinnen richtete sie dabei den aus der obigen Geschichte bereits bekannten Turm ein, um dort das monastische Leben wiederaufzunehmen. Als sie aber auf eine ausgegrabene Höhle aufmerksam wurde, in die sich vor einiger Zeit ein Einsiedler zurückgezogen haben soll, entschloss Susan sich von ihren Mitschwestern zu trennen und in derselben Höhle einzurichten, wo sie sich ohne ihr Mitwissen strengen asketischen Übungen unterzog.[45] Als die Nonnen Susan aufspüren konnten, warfen sie ihr folgendes vor:

> Du weißt, dass wir uns auf dich verlassen haben und unserem Herrn folgend in diese Wüste kamen? Weshalb versucht Du nun, unsere aller Seelen zu vernichten und Dich als einzige zu entrinnen (ܐܬܦܠܛܝܢ)? Weißt Du nicht, dass wir ohne Dich nichts sind?[46]

Das deutsche Verb „entrinnen“ soll hier die Mehrdeutigkeit der Eshtaphal-Form des entsprechenden syrischen Lexems (ܦܠܛ) wiedergeben (welches sich sowohl mit „sich retten“ wie auch „entrinnen“ bzw. „entfliehen“ übersetzen lässt).[47] Damit kann zum einen auf die für die Mitschwestern missliche Lage hingewiesen werden, dass ohne die geistliche Fürsorge ihrer Meisterin das asketische Leben der Frauen nicht zum erwünschten Ziel der Rettung führen kann. Gleichzeitig kann das Wort auch auf ihre gemeinsame Fluchterfahrung hinweisen, welche nun auch in der gemeinsamen asketischen Erfahrung ihre Fortsetzung finden sollte, nun aber durch das eigensinnige Handeln Susans zusätzlich erschwert wurde. Eine Lösung konnte schließlich doch noch gefunden werden, da die Mitschwestern Susan das Versprechen abringen konnten, von dort nicht mehr weiterzuziehen – jedenfalls nicht ohne ihr Mitwissen – und ihnen von Zeit zu Zeit für erbauliche Konversationen zur Verfügung zu stehen.[48] Mit der Zeit strahlte die Bekanntheit dieser Frauen aus und zog weitere Asketen aus Ägypten, Libyen aber auch aus Palästina in die Gegend, angezogen durch die „Ruhe und Annehmlichkeit der Wüste“.[49] Um die Neuankömmlinge von den schon hier lebenden Frauen zu trennen und um den Missmut Susans über die damit verbundenen Gefahren

44 Vgl. Johannes von Ephesos, *Lives of Eastern Saints* xxvii, PO 18, 345,4–12.

45 Vgl. Johannes von Ephesos *Lives of Eastern Saints* xxvii, PO 18, 345,12–346,12. Für die oben erwähnte Grube und die hier erwähnte Höhle werden im syrischen Text unterschiedliche Begriffe benutzt.

46 Johannes von Ephesos, *Lives of Eastern Saints* xxvii, PO 18, 345,1–346,12.

47 Vgl. J. Payne Smith (Margoliouth), *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1903) 16 aus: https://www.sedra.bethmardutho.org, verschlagwortet durch Jeff Haines, gesehen am 20.08.2020.

48 Vgl. Johannes von Ephesos, *Lives of Eastern Saints* xxvii, PO 18, 348,11–13.

49 Vgl. Johannes von Ephesos, *Lives of Eastern Saints* xxvii, PO 18, 349,5–350,3.

zu sänftigen, wurde schließlich ein neues Kloster unweit vom Dorf gebaut.[50] In ihren wichtigsten Etappen scheint die Erzählung also Exil und Weltflucht miteinander verflechten zu wollen. Das Verlassen des eigenen Klosters verbindet Susan mit der Suche nach strengeren Formen der Askese in abgeschiedenen Orten der Wüste Ägyptens. Diese Ambivalenz zeichnet auch ihr Verhältnis aus zu den anderen aus Palästina geflüchteten Asketinnen und den weiter dazu stoßenden Mönchen, insofern Susan fest darin entschlossen war, die Askese selber zum eigentlichen Ziel der Flucht werden zu lassen und somit Exil und Askese zu einem „doppelten Exil" zu verbinden.[51]

Eine ähnliche und doch andersartige Erfahrung von Exil wird derjenigen Gruppe von Asketen zugeschrieben, die während der Verfolgungswellen in die Hauptstadt Konstantinopel geflohen sind. Dieser nur scheinbar widersprüchliche Sachverhalt erklärt sich vor allem durch die Rolle der Kaisergemahlin Theodora, derer Sympathien mit der miaphysitischen Theologie ein wichtiges Gegengewicht zur Religionspolitik Justinians darstellte.[52] Ihr und ihren Bemühungen um den Schutz vieler Verfolgten widmet Johannes ein ganzes Kapitel seines Werks.[53] Den Geflüchteten, die in die Hauptstadt eintrafen, stellte sie sogar einige ihrer Residenzen zur Verfügung. Über den Hormisdas-Palast wird dabei gesagt, dass ihn die Königin wie ein Kloster einrichten ließ, damit dort Mönche aus allen Ecken und Ländern aufgenommen werden konnten. Jede zur Verfügung stehende Räumlichkeit im Palast wurde dabei beansprucht, so auch die Speiseräume und Innenhöfe, wo Bänke und Tische aufgestellt wurden. Einzelne Räume dienten dabei auch speziell zur Aufnahme von älteren Mönchen, von Eremiten oder auch von Säulenheiligen. Den Bewohnern des Palastes war es durch die Fürsorge der Königin somit weiterhin möglich, das asketische Leben „nach der vollkommenen Organisation eines Klosters" zu gestalten, unter der Führung eines Archimandriten und eines Verwalters. Zellen aus Holz, Matten oder Vorhängen wurden für das Gebet eingerichtet oder als Rückzugsort für das Fasten konzipiert, während an mehreren Orten Altäre für den Gottesdienst aufgestellt wurden.[54] Die Bemerkung, dass auch Justinian durch persönliche Besuche seine Ehrerweisung für die Mönche zum Ausdruck brachte, zeigt dabei, dass unser Autor durchaus ein differenziertes Bild des

50 Vgl. Johannes von Ephesos, *Lives of Eastern Saints* xxvii, PO 18, 352,3–353,9.

51 Julia Hillner, *Prison, Punishment and Penance in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 264.

52 Vgl. Harvey, *Asceticism and Society in Crisis*, 80–81. Zu Theodora siehe nun auch Julia Hillner, „Imperial Women and Clerical Exile in Late Antiquity," *Studies in Late Antiquity* 3 (2019): 369–412, hier 394–398.

53 Vgl. Johannes von Ephesos, *Lives of Eastern Saints* xlvii, PO 18, 474–482.

54 Johannes von Ephesos, *Lives of Eastern Saints* xlvii, PO 18, 476,1–477,1.

Kaisers zeichnen konnte.[55] Obwohl Konstantinopel also nicht wie Ägypten die topographischen Voraussetzungen für ein asketisches Leben bot, verwandelt Johannes von Ephesos nun den Palast der Königin in eine Wüste bzw. in eine Landschaft, die Mönche, Eremiten und sogar Säulenheilige aufnehmen konnte. Damit verwirklichte sich für die in der Hauptstadt lebenden Mönche das, was ein Mönch Susan in Ägypten entgegnete, als sie im Begriff war, erneut das Weite zu suchen, und ihr zusicherte, dass für sie jede Stadt, die sie betreten würde, „zu einer Wüste werden würde."[56]

3 Seelsorgerliche Herausforderungen

Eine der schwerwiegendsten Herausforderungen, die sich mit der Verbannung miaphysitischer Bischöfe und Priester aus ihren jeweiligen Städten ergaben, war das Fehlen des kirchlichen Personals vor Ort und dementsprechend die kaum mögliche seelsorgerliche Betreuung des zurückgelassenen Kirchenvolkes. Bekanntlich waren das Leben und das Wirken einiger bekannter Gestalten dieser Zeit, die sich als wirkungsmächtige Organisatoren der syrischen Kirche hervorgetan haben, mit dieser Krisensituation eng verbunden. So erzählt Johannes von Ephesos, wie Jakob (besser bekannt als Jakob Baradai), der 15 Jahre in Konstantinopel als Mönch gelebt hatte, auf Betreiben Theodoras zum Bischof von Edessa geweiht wurde, da an allen Orten „die Partei der Gläubigen abgenommen hatte und dazu der Priesterstand (ܟܗܢܘܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ) für die Partei der Gläubigen im gesamten Reich Verluste einbüßen musste."[57] Gleichzeitig kamen die Initiativen auch „von unten" und nahmen die im Exil lebenden Bischöfe in die Pflicht. Im Kapitel zu Johannes von Tella erzählt Johannes, dass die Gläubigen sich an ihre Bischöfe wandten, damit sie dem Problem der mangelnden Priesterweihen (ܚܢܝܢܘܬܐ) entgegentreten würden. Aus Angst vor weiteren Verfolgungen hätten aber die meisten Kirchenführer solche Anfragen zurückgewiesen. Erst mit dem steigenden Druck der Gläubigen hatten die Bischöfe dann doch eine Versammlung einberufen, um über das weitere Vorgehen zu beraten.

55 Vgl. Johannes von Ephesos, *Lives of Eastern Saints* xlvii, PO 18, 478,4–6.
56 Vgl. Johannes von Ephesos, *Lives of Eastern Saints* xxvii, PO 18, 351,6–7.
57 Johannes von Ephesos, *Lives of Eastern Saints* xlix, PO 18, 490,4–5. Zu Jakob Baradai, dem vielleicht bekanntesten Wandermissionar der Zeit, siehe William H. C. Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement. Chapters in the History of the Church in the Fifth and Sixth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 285–287.

Auch hier schienen sich zuerst die Stimmen durchzusetzen, die zur Vorsicht mahnten.[58] Durch eine feurige Rede des Johannes von Tella konnten sich die übrigen Amtsbrüder schließlich doch noch dazu überzeugen lassen, ihm zumindest die Erlaubnis und Vollmacht zu verleihen, Priester für die einzelnen Diozösen zu weihen.[59] In der Folge kamen Menschen aus allen Provinzen des römischen Reiches zu ihm, um die Weihe zu empfangen. Egal ob er sich gerade in einem Kloster oder in der Wüste aufhielt, suchten ihn täglich Hunderte auf. Johannes war dabei darum besorgt, dass dies mit der nötigen Ordnung durchgeführt werde, und verlangte von den Kandidaten, dass sie Empfehlungsschreiben mit sich führten und im Lesen der Heiligen Schriften, insbesondere der Psalmen, überprüft werden.[60] Damit sollte gewährleistet werden, dass auch in schwierigen Zeiten der Verfolgung eine Mindestanforderung an liturgischen Kenntnissen gewährleistet werden und dadurch ein funktionierendes Gottesdienstleben erhalten bleiben kann.[61]

Wie die versammelten Bischöfe zum Ausdruck gebracht haben, sollte auch der Patriarch – damit ist wohl Severus von Antiochien gemeint – über dieses Unterfangen informiert werden und die Befugnis dazu geben.[62] Somit sollte verhindert werden, dass die ganze Aktion ein Eigenleben entwickeln würde, welches in der Zeit nach der Verfolgung einen Rückgang zur Normalität erschweren könne. Wie wir nämlich aus einem Brief von Severus selber erfahren, konnte er nur mit dem Hinweis auf die gegenwärtige Notlage eine ähnliche Lösung für das Problem der fehlenden Priester im Bassus-Kloster in Aussicht stellen und die Bischöfe von Cyrrhus und Sura damit beauftragen, für das besagte Kloster die notwendigen Weihen vorzunehmen. In Zeiten der Verfolgung sei nämlich jeder Bischof, „der mit uns das gleiche Bekenntnis und die gleiche Kommunion teilt“ in der Lage, diesem Bedürfnis nachzukommen.[63] Ein weiteres Problem, welches sich ange-

58 Vgl. Johannes von Ephesos, *Lives of Eastern Saints* xxiv, PO 18, 314,1–10.

59 Vgl. Johannes von Ephesos, *Lives of Eastern Saints* xxiv, PO 18, 314,10–316,3.

60 Vgl. Johannes von Ephesos, *Lives of Eastern Saints* xxiv, PO 18, 316,3–318,1.

61 Zur oft dürftigen theologischen Bildung von Priestern in den post-Chalcedonensischen Kirchen Syriens siehe Jack Tannous, *The Making of the Medieval Middle East. Religion, Society, and Simple Believers* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018), 31–35. Zur Lage in Ägypten siehe Georg Schmelze, *Kirchliche Amtsträger im spätantiken Ägypten. Nach den Aussagen der griechischen und koptischen Papyri und Ostraka,* Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete, Beihefte, 13 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2002), 70–75.

62 Vgl. Johannes von Ephesos, *Lives of Eastern Saints* xxiv, PO 18, 316,1–3.

63 Severus von Antiochien, *The Sixth Book of the Select Letters of Severus* I, 59: Bd. I, 198 (Text); Bd. II, 178–179 (Übers.). Für eine neue Edition mit englischer Übersetzung dieses Briefes siehe Sebastian Brock, „The Letter of Patriarch Severos to Antiochos, abbot of the Monastery of Mar Bassos,“ *Oriens Christianus* 103 (2020): 24–57. Siehe auch Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement*, 260–261.

sichts des Mangels an geweihtem Personal neu stellte, war die Frage nach dem Umgang mit geweihten Klerikern, die mit der Verbannung oder dem Exil nach Ägypten gelangt waren und somit am Ort ihres Exils ihre Priesterfunktion hätten ausüben können, gerade auch zur Linderung des eben besprochenen Problems. Auch hier scheint Severus angesichts der Notlage eine pragmatische Lösung anvisiert zu haben. Obwohl solche Priester weiterhin im Dienst der Bischöfe ihrer Herkunftsregion standen (und daher eine Ausübung der priesterlichen Aufgaben am Ort des Exils nicht gestattet wäre), sollte für sie dennoch die Möglichkeit bestehen, vom Bischof von Alexandrien die Erlaubnis dazu zu erbeten.[64]

Dass die Gefahren und die Angst vor neuen Verfolgungen, die mit der Fortführung der Priesterweihen gegeben waren, auch zu inneren Kontroversen führen konnten, zeigt sich am Beispiel des gleichnamigen Johannes, Bischof der ägyptischen Stadt Hephaistopolis.[65] Nachdem er einige Jahre als Mönch in Maiuma gewirkt hatte, wurde er 536 vom oben erwähnten alexandrinischen Patriarchen Theodosius zum Bischof geweiht. Auch er war wohl Teil der Gefolgschaft des Patriarchen, als dieser nach Konstantinopel geladen und schließlich ins thrakische Exil verbannt wurde. Die durch die fehlenden Priester bedingte Notlage der Gläubigen brachte Johannes schließlich dazu, nach Konstantinopel zurückzukehren (was ihm durch das Vortäuschen einer Krankheit gestattet wurde), wo er von Theodora aufgenommen und in einer ihrer Stadtresidenzen untergebracht wurde.[66] Im Schutz der königlichen Paläste empfang er Bittsuchende, die zu ihm kamen, um die Weihe zu empfangen. Damit schien er aber gerade die Exilgemeinde der Hauptstadt in Aufruhr versetzt zu haben, darunter auch Bischöfe, die darüber besorgt waren, dass die Aktion die Wut des Kaisers auf sie ziehen würde, falls Johannes damit aufflöge. Und so kam es, dass Theodora nach der Intervention der Miaphysiten dazu veranlasst wurde, dem Bischof zu gebieten, keine weiteren Weihen in der Stadt vorzunehmen.[67] Anstatt aber den Anweisungen der Königin zu folgen, fühlte sich Johannes umso mehr dazu verpflichtet, seine begonnene Mission fortzusetzen, weshalb er nun bei Unwissenheit Theodoras die Stadt verließ und quer durch Kleinasien bis nach Tarsus reiste, um in den einzelnen Städten Weihen vorzunehmen.[68] Auf dieser und weiteren darauf folgenden Missionsreisen war er natürlich darauf bedacht, so wenig Aufmerksam-

64 Severus von Antiochien, *The Sixth Book of the Select Letters of Severus* I, 52: Bd. I, 165 (Text); Bd. II, 149 (Übers.).

65 Vgl. Johannes von Ephesos, *Lives of Eastern Saints* xxv, PO 18, 324–338. Siehe dazu auch Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement*, 287–288.

66 Vgl. Johannes von Ephesos, *Lives of Eastern Saints* xxv, PO 18, 327,5–329,4.

67 Vgl. Johannes von Ephesos, *Lives of Eastern Saints* xxv, PO 18, 329,4–332,10.

68 Vgl. Johannes von Ephesos, *Lives of Eastern Saints* xxv, PO 18, 332,10–334,3.

keit wie möglich auf sich zu ziehen, weshalb er jeweils wenige Tage vor seiner Ankunft die Gläubigen darüber durch Boten in Kenntnis setzte. Dadurch konnte er die Gläubigen bei seiner Durchreise versammeln und in Eile weiterziehen.[69] Auch ordnete er die Gläubigen an, nachts auf ihn zu warten.[70] Gleichzeitig boten sich ihm immer wieder Gelegenheiten, seinen Mut zu erweisen. So kamen in Tralles die Gläubigen zu einer Priesterweihe in der Empore einer Kirche zusammen, während die Chalcedonanhänger im Hauptschiff ihre Liturgie abhielten.[71] Der Angst der in der Hauptstadt lebenden Exilgemeinde stellt Johannes von Ephesos als Gegenbeispiel die Furchtlosigkeit eines Bischofs gegenüber, der das geistliche Wohl der Kirche über die Unversehrtheit und Sicherheit seiner Exilgemeinde setzt. Ein wiederkehrender Begriff, der diese Haltung der furchtlosen Herausforderung der von der kaiserlichen Religionspolitik gesetzten Einschränkungen verkörpert, ist nicht zufällig der der παρρησία: „Er aber war erfüllt von großer *parrhesia* (ܦܪܗܣܝܐ), indem er einen kühnen Eifer offenlegte, welcher mit dem Tod im Wettstreit war."[72] Dieser seit der neutestamentlichen Zeit in der christlichen Literatur bezeugte Begriff findet in den Geschichten des Johannes von Ephesos also eine passende Neuadaptation, indem nun das furchtlose Auftreten von Bischöfen bezeichnet wird, die aus dem Exil heraus nochmals den Weg in den Untergrund wählten um dadurch die sakrale Autorität ihres Amtes nicht durch die Bedingungen des Exils einschränken zu lassen.[73]

4 Schluss

Um die bisherigen Abschnitte mit einer pointierten und etwas paradox anmutenden Schlussbemerkung zu beenden, könnte man sagen, dass die in Betracht gezogenen Geschichten aus den *Leben der östlichen Heiligen* des Johannes von Ephesos von Exilgeschichten handeln und gleichzeitig doch nicht von Exilge-

69 Vgl. Johannes von Ephesos, *Lives of Eastern Saints* xxv, PO 18, 333,12–334,1.
70 Vgl. Johannes von Ephesos, *Lives of Eastern Saints* xxv, PO 18, 337,1–2.
71 Vgl. Johannes von Ephesos, *Lives of Eastern Saints* xxv, PO 18, 336,4–12.
72 Johannes von Ephesos, *Lives of Eastern Saints* xxv, PO 18, 329,10. Für weitere Belege siehe *Lives of Eastern Saints* xxiv, PO 18, 315,9; 318,3.12 (im Kapitel zum oben besprochenen Johannes von Tella).
73 Zur Verwendung dieses Begriffes in der christlichen Literatur der Spätantike siehe Claudia Rapp, *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity: The Nature of Christian Leadership in an Age of Transition*, The transformation of the classical heritage 37 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 260–273. An einer Stelle tritt der Begriff auch im herkömmlicheren Setting der Audienz des Bischofes vor der Königin auf: siehe Johannes von Ephesos, *Lives of Eastern Saints* xxv, PO 18, 331,12.

schichten handeln. Obwohl viele der von ihm dargestellten Heiligen die Strapazen von Verfolgung und Flucht auf sich nehmen mussten, scheint unser Autor nicht vom Bedürfnis geleitet zu sein, die Erfahrung des Exils zum Fluchtpunkt seiner Lebensbeschreibungen zu machen. Schließlich, so könnte man auch einwenden, treten Exilgeschichten in der besprochenen hagiographischen Sammlung zwar prominent auf, bleiben rein quantitativ aber in der Minderheit. Dies muss aber nicht zwangsläufig bedeuten, dass Johannes von Ephesos das Thema des Exils als ein zweitrangiges in Erscheinung treten lassen wollte. Im Gegenteil scheint mir gerade die enge Verflechtung zwischen Exil und Verfolgung bzw. Askese darauf hinzudeuten, dass er das Phänomen der erzwungenen Mobilität mit narrativen Elementen zu deuten versuchte, die diesem Thema überhaupt eine entsprechende Autorität und Gewichtung verliehen. Die Diskurse um Martyrium und Askese stellten in dieser Hinsicht bewährte Bewältigungsstrategien zur Verfügung, womit die Notsituation der Flucht entsprechend eingeordnet werden konnte. Somit treten im Exil die jeweiligen Protagonisten und Protagonistinnen in erster Linie als Verfolgte, Mönche, Nonnen und Bischöfe auf, die sich von den gegebenen Einschränkungen der Verbannung wenig bis nichts anmerken lassen und deshalb darüber auch wenig preisgeben. In den einzelnen Geschichten verwandeln sich Exillandschaften immer wieder in asketische Landschaften, während die durch das Exil geschaffene räumliche Distanz zwischen Gläubigen und Bischöfen im Untergrund bzw. auf den nächtlichen Straßen des Mittelmeerraumes wieder geschlossen wird. Der historiographische Wert der von Johannes von Ephesos zusammengestellten Sammlung besteht also vielleicht gerade darin, den eigenen Erzählgegenstand an diese Dynamik angepasst zu haben. Das Objektiv ist nicht auf einen statischen Gegenstand gerichtet, etwa auf eine bestimmte geographische Einheit (z. B. Antiochien oder Amida) oder auf die vom Kaiserhof ausgehende Religionspolitik, so dass Fluchtbewegungen oder Dissens automatisch von der Bildoberfläche verschwinden. Vielmehr bewegt sich das Objektiv der historiographischen Betrachtung mit ihrem Gegenstand und nimmt somit Anteil an dessen Mobilität. Man könnte diesen Gedanken vielleicht passenderweise mit den Worten abschließen, die Thomas der Armenier an seinen Peiniger richtete, als dieser den Heiligen vor die Wahl stellte zwischen Vertreibung oder Gefängnis:

> Damit Du aber nicht denken sollst, dass ich an ein Land oder einen Ort gefesselt (ܐܣܝܪ) bin, falls Du versuchen solltest, mich aus diesem Land zu vertreiben, werde ich noch an diesem Abend von hier fortziehen, damit Du wissest, dass ich durch nichts gefesselt werden kann außer durch Jesus meinen Gott, in dessen Namen ich gerettet wurde.[74]

74 Johannes von Ephesos, *Lives of Eastern Saints* xxi, PO 18, 295,13–296,3.

Section Two: **Early Modern Period**

Alexander Schunka

Mobility and Religious Practices among Protestants in the Early Modern Age

1 Introduction

The migrations of Protestants often figure as the most prominent intra-European migratory phenomena of the early modern period. Scholars have tended to see these movements as a distinct migratory type (labelled, for instance, as "Confessional Migration", or "*Glaubensflucht*"), where the faith of protagonists was considered instrumental in migratory decisions as well as for the settlement in and adaptation to new surroundings. According to this view, religious belief drove into exile thousands of steadfast Protestants who carried a particular diligence and working spirit to their places of refuge. It has even been argued that Protestant migrants developed their own "theology of exile," especially in a Calvinist context.[1]

The present chapter takes a slightly different approach: It aims to situate the migrations of early modern Protestants within more general patterns of early modern mobility, as well as attempting to shed light upon religious practices within these movements. I also seek to investigate whether (and, if so: in what respect) migrations had a specific potential to influence or even change religious practices among migratory groups and also among receiving societies.

The first part of this essay presents an overview of Protestant migrations in Europe from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. As a second step, religious practices of migrants during their movement will be covered. A third section investigates the consolidation of religious worship and church government during and after settlement, including the formation of Protestant diaspora communities. The fourth and final part briefly summarizes how Protestant migrations may have affected or even transformed religion in the early modern era.

1 Heinz Schilling, "Confessional Migration as a Distinct Type of Old European Long Distance Migration," in *Le migrazioni in Europa, Secc. XIII–XVIII*, ed. Simonetta Cavaciocchi (Firenze: Le Monnier, 1994), 175–189. Alexander Schunka, "Glaubensflucht als Migrationsoption: Konfessionell motivierte Migrationen in der Frühen Neuzeit," *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht* 56 (2005): 547–564. Ulrich Niggemann, "Christliche Konfessionsmigration," in *Europäische Geschichte Online (EGO)*, ed. Leibniz-Institut für Europäische Geschichte Mainz (2019), urn:nbn:de:0159-2019070800. – I am grateful to Max Hochschild and Jasmine Schweizer (Berlin) for technical assistance during the preparation of the present essay.

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2 Overview

In order to set the stage for the next parts of this essay, a short and inevitably sketchy historical overview of early modern migrations among European Protestants is provided here. Although these migrations were triggered by the political and religious upheavals of the Reformation period, migration was an everyday phenomenon whose consequences both migrants and non-migrants experienced.

In the later sixteenth century, the Habsburg-Dutch conflict, together with the French Wars of Religion, led to thousands of migrants seeking refuge in western and especially in central Europe. Apart from English Protestants escaping the Catholic regime of Queen Mary, the refugee crisis in the Holy Roman Empire of these years was predominantly a Dutch and French, that is, a Reformed phenomenon. Places like Geneva and Frankfurt figured as particularly prominent places of refuge, and the city of Emden was termed the "Geneva of the North" (while Wesel turned into the "Geneva on the Rhine").[2]

Today, it is no longer possible to put exact figures on the migrations of these years. All in all it can be assumed that several tens or even hundreds of thousand people left their homeland in order to move elsewhere. Since these numbers far exceeded the population of the largest German cities of the time – Cologne, for example, had around 45,000 inhabitants at the beginning of the century – it becomes clear that the migration waves left strong marks on local communities. Around 1570, for example, forty percent of Wesel's population consisted of refugees.[3] In Emden, at times, the situation was even more dramatic.

Further south, the Re-catholicization policies in the Habsburg Lands made thousands of mostly Lutheran Protestants move into the southern and central parts of the Holy Roman Empire in the early seventeenth century where cities like Nuremberg became important cultural centers of incoming exiles (*Exulanten*).[4] Since the first years of the Thirty Years War, Electoral Saxony had to accommodate large numbers of Protestant exiles from the Habsburg-ruled Bohemian Lands, many of whom settled at strategic spots close to the border or along the river

2 Calvin P. Senning, *Spain, Rumor, and Anti-Catholicism in Mid-Jacobean England: The Palatine Match, Cleves, and the Armada Scares of 1612–1613 and 1614* (New York: Routledge, 2019), 202.

3 On Wesel see Jesse Spohnholz, *The Tactics of Toleration: A Refugee Community in the Age of Religious Wars* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2011). On Emden see Heinz Schilling, *Niederländische Exulanten im 16. Jahrhundert: Ihre Stellung im Sozialgefüge und im religiösen Leben deutscher und englischer Städte* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1972).

4 Werner W. Schnabel, *Österreichische Exulanten in oberdeutschen Reichsstädten: Zur Migration von Führungsschichten im 17. Jahrhundert* (München: C. H. Beck, 1992).

Elbe.[5] In quantitative terms, an influx of probably much more than 100,000 people from the Habsburg Lands during the seventeenth century seems a reasonable guess.[6]

Emigrations in the name of religion (and accompanied with respective propaganda) continued into the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as the famous case of the second *Refuge* of roughly 150,000 to 200,000 Huguenots in the 1680s demonstrates. Now a number of German rulers competed in attracting Huguenot settlers. Many *réfugiés* followed the invitation to Brandenburg-Prussia, where they settled just as Dutch, Swiss, Czech, and other immigrants had done before.[7] Some decades later, emigrants from the archbishopric of Salzburg, who were likewise attracted by the Prussian King Frederick William I in 1731 to repopulate his lands, even progressed through the Empire to northeastern Prussia in several spectacular treks of about 16,000 people altogether. They quickly became a European symbol of political and religious propaganda.[8]

The movements of both Huguenots and Salzburgers remind us of the increasing importance of immigration and of attracting foreign settlers to support the economies of evolving states. Together with a refinement of population theory and demographic scholarship, the idea of *Peuplierung* (population increase) was paramount among numerous territories of the Empire, from Brandenburg-Prussia and other territories to smaller units where sometimes even decidedly heterodox immigrants were allowed to settle.[9] This points to the fact that early modern Protestant migrations in Central Europe included many more than just the larger groups that have been mentioned here: a more comprehensive overview on migrant groups

5 Wulf Wäntig, *Grenzerfahrungen: Böhmische Exulanten im 17. Jahrhundert* (Konstanz: UVK, 2007). Alexander Schunka, *Gäste, die bleiben*: *Zuwanderer in Kursachsen und der Oberlausitz im 17. und frühen 18. Jahrhundert* (Münster and Hamburg: Lit, 2006).

6 Schnabel, *Österreichische Exulanten*, 647. Schunka, *Gäste*, 154–156.

7 Matthias Asche, *Neusiedler im verheerten Land: Kriegsfolgenbewältigung, Migrationssteuerung und Konfessionspolitik im Zeichen des Landeswiederaufbaus: die Mark Brandenburg nach den Kriegen des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Münster: Aschendorff, 2006).

8 Mack Walker, *The Salzburg Transaction: Expulsion and Redemption in Eighteenth-Century Germany* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992).

9 Justus Nipperdey, *Die Erfindung der Bevölkerungspolitik: Staat, politische Theorie und Population in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009). Stefan Volk, "Peuplierung und religiöse Toleranz: Neuwied von der Mitte des 17. bis zur Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts," *Rheinische Vierteljahresblätter* 55 (1991): 205–231. Ulrich Niggemann, "'Peuplierung' als merkantilistisches Instrument: Privilegierung von Einwanderern und staatlich gelenkte Ansiedlung," in *Handbuch Staat und Migration in Deutschland seit dem 17. Jahrhundert*, ed. Jochen Oltmer (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2016): 171–218.

linked to the Reformation would, for instance, include Anabaptists from Württemberg, Alsatians, Bärenthaler, Franconians, Hungarians, 'Donauschwaben,' Dutch Mennonites, Orangeois, Palatines, Scots, Silesians, Schwenckfelder, Swiss, Vaudois, Zillertaler, all of which have been treated more or less exhaustively in the relevant research literature – not to mention Catholic and Jewish migrations, migrations within other parts of Europe and in a wider Atlantic world. Nevertheless, the empirical examples in the following paragraphs are mainly taken from the larger Protestant migrant groups that have been mentioned above.

But how can it be justified to single out certain movements and label them "Protestant" or "Confessional"? Without doubt, large parts of intra-European migration and mobility in the early modern era are in some way or another linked to religious causes, motives, rhetoric and explanations. However, taking into account the overall importance of religious belief in almost all aspects of a pre-modern society, this comes as no surprise. The historiographical prominence of a distinct type of early modern "confessional migration" can be explained by reference to the controversies and polemics originating in the denominational frontlines of the early modern era. Some scholarly works from the nineteenth to the twenty-first century kept a certain confessional bias or at least a sympathy with the victims of Catholic cruelties.[10] Other research derived from a genealogical interest of descendants,[11] or from a socio-historical, 'Weberian' approach that addressed the role of early modern religious minorities in the process of state building and an evolving modernity.[12] Another motivation was the increasing awareness that current migrations have a long history and that they share a number of features with movements of the past even though the confessionalized rhetoric of the seventeenth century may sound alien to us today.[13] Against this backdrop, it is not clear which features

10 Examples include: Georg Loesche, *Die böhmischen Exulanten in Sachsen: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Dreißigjährigen Krieges und der Gegenreformation auf archivalischer Grundlage*. (Wien: Klinkhardt, 1923). Gerhard Florey, *Geschichte der Salzburger Protestanten und ihrer Emigration 1731/32* (Köln et al: Böhlau, 1977). Hans Krawarik, *Exul Austriacus: Konfessionelle Migration aus Österreich in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Münster: Lit, 2010).

11 For example: Christian Adolph Pescheck, *Die böhmischen Exulanten in Sachsen: Zur Beantwortung der von der Fürstlich Jablonowskischen Gesellschaft gestellten historischen Preisfrage* (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1857). Even recent overviews on the history of the Huguenots quite explicitly aim at an audience of Huguenot descendants, see Eberhard Gresch, *Die Hugenotten: Geschichte, Glaube und Wirkung*, 4th ed. (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2009), esp. 216–229.

12 Schilling, *Niederländische Exulanten*.

13 Jason Coy, Jared Poley, and Alexander Schunka, ed., *Migrations in the German Lands: 1500–1800* (New York: Berghahn, 2016).

make up for a "confessional" type, and whether it is appropriate to speak of such a type at all.[14]

While early modern movements of Jews and Catholics have been covered in recent years as additional examples,[15] "confessional migrations" have been – and are still – largely associated with Protestants. One reason for this lies in a committed historiography that has upheld for centuries and sometimes re-invented the memory of Bohemians, Huguenots, Salzburgers and others. Other reasons can be found in the historical realities on the European continent between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries (wars, uprisings, changes of rulers) that included confessional purification attempts and an increase in Protestant publication efforts equating Catholicism with persecution. In several parts of Europe, both state formation and Reformation processes certainly led to a mounting pressure on parts of the population whose beliefs differed from the one of the ruling authorities. One strategy of Catholic rulers to discipline their dissenting subjects was propagating conversion to the dominant faith (either by force or by persuasion). This strategy was not without success, but it often resulted in subtle resistance strategies, sometimes even in violent conflicts or migrations in search of a safer life. However, the authorities hardly attempted to expel their tax-paying population, with the notable exception of pastors and teachers who were considered dangerous propagators of the wrong beliefs. The migrations of others were often the results of deliberate individual or collective decisions based on a combination of religious, political and socio-economic factors that all contributed to the need for a better place to live. Nevertheless, most people remained under their authorities and converted to the majority faith. Thus, only a minority (among the minority of dissenting subjects) was willing or able to move.

While members of nearly all social groups participated in the migrations, they did so in different ways, depending on mobility patterns of the time. Due to their education and professional careers, pastors were an extremely mobile group whose personal and epistolary contacts often existed across large distances.

14 See Alexander Schunka, "Konfession und Migrationsregime in der Frühen Neuzeit," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 35 (2009): 28–63, and recently: Márta Fata, *Migration und Mobilität in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2020), 85–88.

15 Heinz Schilling, "Christliche und jüdische Minderheitengemeinden im Vergleich: Calvinistische Exulanten und westliche Diaspora der Sephardim im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert," *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 36:3 (2009): 407–444. Geert Janssen, "The Exile Experience," in *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Counter-Reformation*, ed. Alexandra Bamji, Geert Janssen, and Mary Laven (London: Routledge, 2013), 73–90. Harm Klueting, "Katholische Konfessionsmigration," in *Europäische Geschichte Online (EGO)*, ed. Leibniz-Institut für Europäische Geschichte Mainz (2012), urn:nbn:de:0159–2012091813.

Clergy also influenced the mobility of larger parties: either involuntarily, because they were expelled as propagators of the wrong faith and had to leave their flock behind, or voluntarily, as organizers of lay migrations. In the Austrian, Bohemian, Hungarian, Huguenot and Vaudois migrations of the seventeenth century, pastors played a particularly important role.[16]

Among lay people, merchants were also influential in directing migrations and settlements, since they often moved to destinations where established personal relations and business contacts already existed. Many of them maintained trade links to their former home countries, as can be seen among the French Huguenots.[17] Another important group were mobile labourers (who were often young and unmarried) who connected different regions through seasonal migration patterns, fostering the exchange of religious ideas and books and paving the way for migrations of other groups. The Alpine context is particularly relevant here, because this region was strongly influenced by seasonal migration patterns.[18]

Another feature that connects early modern everyday mobility with the religious migrations of Protestants was the movement of skilled specialists such as miners, craftsmen and manufacturers, who were sought after by European rulers. Miners in sixteenth-century Saxony and several Alpine regions were influential in spreading the Reformation.[19] Artisans in court cities such as Dresden and Berlin in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were often tolerated regardless of a possibly differing faith.[20] These groups fostered technological innovation and financial transfers across large distances. In the case of the Huguenots and

16 Alexander Schunka, "Migrationen evangelischer Geistlicher als Motor frühneuzeitlicher Wanderungsbewegungen," in *Konfession, Migration und Elitenbildung: Studien zur Theologenausbildung im 16. Jahrhundert*, ed. Herman J. Selderhuis and Markus Wriedt (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2007), 1–26.

17 See, for instance, the overview by Robin Gwynn, *The Huguenots in Later Stuart Britain*, vol. 2: *Settlements, Churches and the Role of London* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2018), 40–102.

18 Pier Paolo Viazzo, *Upland Communities: Environment, Population and Social Structure in the Alps since the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1989), 121–152. Laurence Fontaine, *Pouvoir, identités et migration dans les hautes vallées des Alpes occidentales, XVIIe–XVIIIe siècle* (Grenoble: Presses Universitaires de Grenoble, 2003). Ute Küppers-Braun, "Geheimprotestantismus und Emigration," in *Geheimprotestantismus und evangelische Kirchen in der Habsburgermonarchie und im Erzstift Salzburg (17./18. Jahrhundert)*, ed. Rudolf Leeb, Martin Scheutz, and Dietmar Weikl (Wien: Oldenbourg, 2009): 361–393.

19 See the contributions in Martina Schattkowsky, ed., *Das Erzgebirge im 16. Jahrhundert: Gestaltwandel einer Kulturlandschaft im Reformationszeitalter* (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitäts-Verlag, 2013).

20 See Bernd Roeck, *Migration und Kulturtransfer in der frühen Neuzeit* (Osnabrück: Universitätsverlag, 2010).

others, they also facilitated cultural and religious exchange in the Holy Roman Empire and elsewhere.

What should not be overlooked is the everyday mobility of poorer people. Poverty migration was an early modern mass phenomenon and, as such, part of larger movements, although it can be difficult to obtain information on the individuals involved. The migration of "beggars" and "vagrants" connected distant regions; it fostered the exchange of information but it was frowned upon by local governments. Moreover, migrations not only produced success stories but often caused social decline among Protestants (and others). People in search of financial support mixed with – or presented themselves as – victims of confessional persecution, adapting a rhetoric of confessional exile in order to justify their neediness.[21]

In sum, none of the migrations depicted above can be reduced to strictly religious factors. Rather they need to be put into a broader context of early modern mobility patterns. The reasons why some movements have been labelled as 'religious' often lay in a mixture of confessional-political persecution and an ex post-justification of mobility out of religious causes. Moreover, the abundance of contemporary printed material documenting persecution and flight has played an important role in constructing a particular image of religious refugees. This points to an undeniably Protestant dominance in early modern print culture. Even eyewitness reports written by Protestant migrants can be tricky sources because they often record escapes from a later perspective and aim at specific audiences, namely families, immigrant communities, and receiving societies. Owing to their particular narrative techniques and rhetoric, their content should not be taken at face value.[22] Many writings can be seen as a legitimization of migration and exile, against the backdrop of early modern state formation processes where sedentariness was increasingly considered the norm and mobility a deviation from it. More broadly, the authors of numerous contemporary sources deliberately constructed an image of steadfast Protestant believers vis-a-vis Catholic persecutors, aiming at personal justification, consolation, and devotion, and turning Protestant migrants into the alternative martyrs of Protestantism.

21 Schunka, *Gäste*, 270–321.

22 A case in point is the seventeenth-century Bohemian-German clergyman and writer Georg Holyk, see Marie Ryantová, *Konvertita a exulant Jiří Holík: Příspěvek k dějinám exilu a problematice konverze v období raného novověku* (Pelhřimov: Nová tiskárna Pelhřimov, 2016).

3 The Journey: Mobility Patterns, Objects, and Practices

It needs to be stressed that migrations in the early modern era were not an exception to the rule of sedentariness. Neither did they happen spontaneously but they usually depended on planning, information and previous contacts.[23] As has been researched for Austria and Württemberg, in certain regions everyone seemed to have known one or more (potential) migrants, which means that a lot of (oral) information was available.[24]

What made migration an everyday phenomenon was that most movements took place on a regional scale, namely within only a few miles.[25] Even among the larger migrations on the European continent, journeys to a particular destination were a matter of days or a couple of weeks, but rarely more than this. This differs from overseas migrations which regularly implied months-long ships' passages and could involve a different practical as well as spiritual approach in the face of distance, physical confinement on a ship, and dangers at sea. Some of the religious practices among inter-continental migrants thus included intensive praying, reading of devotional literature, and even catechizing fellow-passengers.[26]

Journeys over land were different but no less dangerous. They often occurred in stages, with family members or small groups travelling together for reasons of safety, and not as a sudden exodus of thousands of people at once. Therefore, the famous late seventeenth-century engraving of the Huguenots' flight by the Dutch artist Jan Luyken (where hundreds of people with coaches, cattle, and food provisions are displayed) has recently been re-interpreted as an attempt to

23 A good example for the degree of planning can be found in the memoir of the Huguenot merchant Jacob Étienne from Metz, see Jochen Desel and Walter Mogk, ed., *Wege in eine neue Heimat: Fluchtberichte von Hugenotten aus Metz* (Lahr-Dinglingen: Deutscher Hugenotten-Verein, 1987), 87–124.

24 Katharina Beiergrößlein and Jürgen Lotterer, ed., *Die Reise der Frau Lotter aus Herrenberg nach America in den Jahren 1786 bis 1787* (Ubstadt-Weiher: Verlag Regionalkultur, 2019), 140, 144, passim. Stephan Steiner, *Reisen ohne Wiederkehr: Die Deportation von Protestanten aus Kärnten 1734–1736* (Wien: Oldenbourg, 2007), 99–105, passim.

25 See the micro-study of a Franconian pastor and "exile" in the seventeenth century: Alexander Schunka, "Migranten als Glaubenszeugen und Vermittler: Zum Verhältnis von religiösem Exil und protestantischer Kommunikation seit der Reformationszeit," in *Entfaltung und zeitgenössische Wirkung der Reformation*, ed. Irene Dingel and Ute Lotz-Heumann (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2015), 214–230.

26 See Anna M. Lawrence, *One Family under God: Love, Belonging and Authority in Early Transatlantic Methodism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 23.

underline the mass character of the Huguenot exodus on a more metaphoric level instead of illustrating an authentic event.[27] There were nevertheless a few exceptions to the rule of small-scale movement: When some 10,000 Germans from the Palatinate and its surroundings reached England in boats in the spring of 1709, contemporaries compared this apparently sudden and uncoordinated mass immigration to the Great Migration Period of late Antiquity.[28] Among other exceptions were the Salzburger treks on their way through the Holy Roman Empire in 1731/2, in addition to the Vaudois at the end of the seventeenth century and a large group of Bohemian migrants following their pastor Jan Liberda from Lusatia to Brandenburg in 1737.[29] In many cases, such groups first sent out emissaries to foreign rulers in order to negotiate settlement options of larger numbers of people.[30]

Another important aspect that distinguishes overseas migrations from overland mobility was that intercontinental journeys were often final while others were not. What influenced travel patterns and religious practices of early modern Protestants on the European continent was the fact that most migrants did not expect to leave for good. Rather they hoped to return to their homes after some years when the situation had improved. This is why many people attempted to stay as close as possible to their former homelands, preferably in border regions, so that they could make use of available contacts and communication structures. Long before their departure, people living near political-confessional borders had visited churches abroad, albeit illegally, in order to receive the sacraments. With increasing confessional pressure at home, these border churches and their adjacent settlements became the first places of refuge for many migrants, as can be seen in Silesia.[31] Staying close to the borders also enabled migrants to retain ties between their places of exile and their places of origin, including back and forth travel as well as

27 Carolyn Chappell Lougee, *Facing the Revocation: Huguenot Families, Faith and the King's Will* (New York: Oxford University Press), 169.

28 Schunka, "Konfession und Migrationsregime," 30–32.

29 Theo Kiefner, *Henri Arnaud: Pfarrer und Oberst bei den Waldensern: eine Biographie* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1989). Gustav Adolph Skalský, "Der Exulantenprediger Johann Liberda: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der böhmischen Emigration," *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für die Geschichte des Protestantismus in Österreich* 31 (1910): 117–379.

30 This was the case for the Orangeois, see Françoise Moreil, "Une arrivée retardée: Les Orangeois à Berlin en 1704," in *Hugenotten und deutsche Territorialstaaten: Immigrationspolitik und Integrationsprozesse / Les États allemands et les huguenots. Politique d'immigration et processus d'intégration*, ed. Guido Braun and Susanne Lachenicht (München: Oldenbourg, 2007): 85–106. Regarding the Salzburgers see: Anton Faber, *Europäische Staats-Cantzley*, vol. 59 (Nürnberg: Weber, 1732), 274–278.

31 On the situation in Silesia see, with further documentation, Alexander Schunka, "Protestanten in Schlesien im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert," in *Geheimprotestantismus*, 271–297, at 286–288.

transfers of money, books and other goods to family members who had stayed behind. Thus, neighboring countries were much more attractive destinations than more distant regions such as Brandenburg-Prussia (that nevertheless attracted Huguenots and Salzburgers by promising them religious security and particularly good settlement options).[32]

But what did people take on their journeys? The expected duration of exile, together with other factors such as the degree of planning, the circumstances of departure, the desired destination, the financial means, and finally the travel infrastructure (roads, paths, rivers) affected the size and content of the migrants' luggage. This material dimension of travel has never been researched in detail. It is nevertheless important here because it had an impact on the religious rituals practiced *en route* and also on the more performative aspects of appearing as a religious refugee. To the amazement of Saxon city dwellers in the 1620s, a number of Protestant noble families arrived with feather beds and other luxury items,[33] but generally only few people went on the road in coaches, with chests and transport barrels (a typical early modern equivalent of suitcases). Instead, most people seem to have travelled light: Where possible, heavier goods were sent in advance.[34] Typically, migrants seem to have carried only few necessary clothes in their small backpacks, as the otherwise highly stylized eighteenth-century depictions of the Salzburger emigrants suggest.[35] It was obviously crucial to bring money (and, if available, jewellery) because the journey and settlement could be expensive.[36] Food was usually purchased along the way, or migrants benefited from the locals' charitable donations of money and groceries.[37] Unlike objects of a certain value and status, items of daily use (tablecloth, drinking bottles) were only rarely mentioned or even preserved over time; occasionally and in retrospect, they seem to illustrate a strong emotional attachment to family history, former homes

32 Short-distance movements across borders are treated in great detail in Wulf Wäntig, *Grenzerfahrungen: Böhmische Exulanten im 17. Jahrhundert* (Konstanz: UVK, 2007).

33 Schunka, *Gäste*, 232.

34 Lougee, *Facing the Revocation*, 170–171; Desel and Mogk, *Wege in eine neue Heimat*, 100.

35 For two characteristic examples see the cover of Coy, Poley, and Schunka, ed., *Migrations in the German Lands*, and Küppers-Braun, "Geheimprotestantismus und Emigration," 379.

36 Lougee, *Facing the Revocation*, 165.

37 Gerhard Gottlieb Günther Göcking, *Vollkommene Emigrations-Geschichte: Von denen aus dem Erzbistum Salzburg vertriebenen und größtenteils nach Preussen gegangenen Lutheranern*, vol. 2 (Frankfurt: Wagner, 1732), 192. Alexander Schunka, "Flucht finanzieren: Ökonomische Aspekte religiöser Migration in der Frühen Neuzeit," in *Religion im Transit: Transformationsprozesse im Kontext von Migration und Religion*, ed. Katharina Muth, Michael Wermke, and Gisela Mettele (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2021): 60–78, at 70–71.

and the journey.[38] Otherwise the majority of material objects that relate to a certain migrant group such as the Huguenots were not carried along but produced after migration, albeit perhaps based on certain visual images, skills and knowledge artisans had brought into exile.[39]

While in general the material culture of Protestant migrants has received little attention in research, this is even more true for its gendered dimensions. We know that male heads of households sometimes carried weapons but, perhaps more importantly, they brought papers. The nobleman Khevenhüller even managed to move the whole family archive from his estate in Austria to Nuremberg.[40] If newcomers were unable to present proper papers or at least credible transcripts "to rematerialize their identity," they would risk their "civil death."[41] Carrying papers, however, would still require migrants to come up with plausible stories on their personal circumstances and piety, so as not to be mistaken for 'ordinary' vagrants and beggars.[42]

What seems to have featured prominently among nearly all Protestant migrants was their attitude towards books.[43] The importance of Bibles, catechisms, and devotional literature can be deducted from numerous contemporary sources as well as from today's holdings of several German libraries, including the Christian Weise Library in Zittau and the Marienbibliothek in Halle which host a significant number of books that had formerly belonged to migrants.[44] While only a

38 See Sabine Benecke, ed., *Zuwanderungsland Deutschland: Die Hugenotten* (Wolfratshausen: Minerva, 2005), 241; Schunka, *Gäste*, 232.

39 See the description of exhibits in *Zuwanderungsland Deutschland: Die Hugenotten*, passim. A fascinating study on knowledge transfers in this regard is Neil Kamil, *Fortress of the Soul: Violence, Metaphysics, and Material Life in the Huguenots' New World, 1517–1751* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), especially part 3.

40 Schnabel, *Österreichische Exulanten*, 79.

41 Lougee, *Facing the Revocation*, 171–172. On an early modern fundraising diary that included transcribed identification documents see Alexander Schunka, "Exulanten, Konvertiten, Arme und Fremde," *Frühneuzeit-Info* 14 (2003): 66–78.

42 Schunka, *Gäste*, especially 102–153.

43 For the Salzburgers see, among others: James Van Horn Melton, "Pietism, Print Culture, and Salzburg Protestantism on the Eve of Expulsion," in *Pietism in Germany and North America 1680–1820*, ed. Jonathan Strom, James Van Horn Melton, and Hartmut Lehmann (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009): 229–270. On books among the Huguenots see Philip Benedict, "Protestant and Catholic Book Ownership in Seventeenth-Century Metz," in *The Faiths and Fortunes of France's Huguenots*, ed. Philip Benedict (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001): 153–190.

44 Ludger Udolph, "Die tschechischen Emigranten und ihre Literatur (1620 bis Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts)," in *Die Oberlausitz im frühneuzeitlichen Mitteleuropa: Beziehungen – Strukturen – Prozesse*, ed. Joachim Bahlcke (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2007): 326–347; Brigitte Klosterberg and Mechthild Hofmann, "'das eintzige zeitliche Vermögen': Bücher als Speicher der Erinnerung in

small number of well-to-do exiles were able to move their complete libraries into exile (in the case of the Habsburg migrations most likely on ships along the Danube),[45] many Lutherans carried a Bible and/or small-size devotional works such as Johann Arndt's *Paradiesgärtlein* and Johann Habermann's immensely popular *Gebetbuch*. Calvinists brought along hymn collections. These books were meant to be more than just reading matter, as they had a highly symbolic value as proof of true belief. Sometimes religious books were even used for seemingly superstitious practices such as healing and divination.[46] At the same time, a number of pastors and scholars in exile lamented on the fact that they had to leave behind their books and libraries.[47] Under early modern circumstances, the loss of books and the abandonment of a library meant spiritual and emotional as well as financial hardship.

However, not all books in the possession of Protestant migrants can be strictly counted as Protestant literature: The seventeenth-century Lutheran noblewoman Esther von Starhemberg, for instance, was so much used to her Roman Catholic calendars that she kept on ordering them from Vienna even during her long exile in Regensburg.[48] We also have abundant evidence that in the early eighteenth century local pastors distributed large numbers of devotional books to the Salzburgers on their way through the Holy Roman Empire "in order to strengthen the beliefs of the foreign guests." This seems to imply that a reinforcement of the Salzburgers' faith was considered necessary.[49] Unlike the several hundred prints that accompanied the Salzburger treks and seemingly illustrated the Salzburgers' Lutheran faith, some statements of contemporaries raise doubts over whether these migrants actually knew much about Lutheranism or whether they rather performed a mix of religious rituals based on unclear denominational backgrounds and local

[sic] Flucht und Exil," in *Wissensspeicher der Reformation: Die Marienbibliothek und die Bibliothek des Waisenhauses in Halle*, ed. Doreen Zerbe (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2016): 172–181.

45 Schnabel, *Österreichische Exulanten*, 77.

46 On these practices see Étienne François, "Das religiose Buch als Nothelfer, Familienreliquie und Identitätssymbol im protestantischen Deutschland der Frühneuzeit (17.–19. Jahrhundert)," in *Hören – Sagen – Lesen – Lernen: Bausteine zu einer Geschichte der kommunikativen Kultur*, ed. Ursula Brunold-Bigler (Bern, Frankfurt: Lang, 1995): 219–230.

47 Schunka, "Migrationen evangelischer Geistlicher," 1–2.

48 Josef Löffler, "Zur Rolle des Transfers von Dingen und Dienstleistungen für soziale Bindungen im Exil: Das Beispiel der österreichischen Exulantin Esther von Starhemberg im 17. Jahrhundert," *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaften* 31 (2020): 24–47, at 41–42.

49 Quote from Christoph Sancke, *Ausführliche Historie derer Emigranten Oder vertriebenen Lutheraner aus dem Ertz-Bißthum Saltzburg*, vol. 3 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1732), 126: "die fremden Gäste in ihrem Glauben zu stärcken." Other examples in Göcking, *Emigrations-Geschichte*, vol. 2, 126, 162, 165, 195, 310.

traditions: A striking example was the possession of Catholic rosaries and scapularies among the Salzburgers on their way to Prussia.[50] To some extent it seems that it was only the Protestant theologians and pastors of the Empire who properly 'Lutheranized' the Salzburgers by accompanying, welcoming and celebrating them, by preaching to them and printing their stories, and by 'discovering' early Christian or Pietist practices such as conventicles among them. Local pastors apparently took some effort to turn the Salzburgers into the desired Protestant believers.[51]

Apart from books and rosaries, other travelling objects point to religious practices as well: Considering the dramatic closures of churches during the Re-catholicization especially in the Habsburg lands, the preservation and transport of church equipment into exile such as chalices had a particular financial and symbolic value. In the case of Bohemia, pastors or nobles occasionally carried church equipment across the border that was later used for private and public religious services in exile.[52] The Huguenot Museum of Berlin even hosts a seventeenth-century communion box suitable for travellers.[53]

As the example of the communion box demonstrates, worship and spiritual care for migrants *en route* largely depended on the available religious infrastructure. Therefore, the choice of travel itineraries depended on the confessional geography of Europe. Usually, lay people either travelled together with pastors or frequented local churches to receive the sacraments. In the Bohemian, Moravian and Hungarian contexts of the seventeenth century, places such as the Silesian Peace Churches (*Friedenskirchen*) served as important stopovers. And whoever travelled from the Austrian lands to Regensburg and Nuremberg, was likely to

50 See Göcking, *Emigrations-Geschichte*, vol. 2, 297–300; Walker, *The Salzburg Transaction*, 185. The forthcoming dissertation of Paul-Simon Ruhmann (Duisburg-Essen) will provide new insights into the religion of the Salzburgers.

51 See Alexander Schunka, "Von Gott gesandt? Die Salzburger Emigranten und Preußen," in *Kreuzwege: Die Hohenzollern und die Konfessionen*, ed. Mathis Leibetseder (Berlin: Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, 2017): 104–117, with the relevant literature.

52 Frank Metasch, "Die religiöse Integration der böhmischen Exulanten in Dresden während des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts," in *Migration und kirchliche Praxis: Das religiöse Leben frühneuzeitlicher Glaubensflüchtlinge in alltagsgeschichtlicher Perspektive*, ed. Joachim Bahlcke and Rainer Bendel (Köln, Weimar, Wien: Böhlau, 2008), 69–94, at 79–80. Schunka, *Gäste*, 173. In the context of Catholic exile, English convents on the European continent tried to express an ecclesiastical continuity through chalices that were allegedly brought from England. See James E. Kelly, *English Convents in Catholic Europe, c. 1600–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 86.

53 See the image in Silke Kamp, ed., *Refuge Berlin Brandenburg: Migration und Leben der Hugenotten 1672 bis heute* (Berlin: Vergangenheitsverlag, 2021), 51

visit the Lutheran enclave of Ortenburg, west of Passau.[54] The arrivals of Salzburger treks during the early 1730s in several German cities and villages regularly elicited welcome ceremonies by officials, the provision of food and accommodation, and sermons on their behalf.[55] When a Salzburger migrant happened to die during the journey, the corpse was buried in the local cemetery.[56] The impression the Salzburgers left on local societies as living examples of Lutheran piety and perseverance must have been enormous. Some Catholics along the way seem to have even converted to Lutheranism and followed the Salzburger treks, while fraudsters imitated the exiles' appearance and behaviour in search of charity.[57]

The Salzburger treks certainly served as striking symbols of Protestant constancy and Catholic cruelty, but individual migrants had to struggle harder for funds from churches and communal authorities. In order to receive a sufficient amount of donations, it was helpful if they arrived at a new place on market days or church days and had a convincing story of persecution to tell.[58] Migrant beggars owned fundraising books where they recorded gifts in cash or kind. These books also served as diaries and proof of identification (they included transcripts of official documents) and sometimes even contained Bible passages. Only few of these books have survived, but they illustrate at least two aspects of the migrations: first, the links between the movement of Protestants and early modern subsistence mobility, and second, the manifold ways of communication and interaction between migrants and locals.[59]

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54 Schnabel, *Österreichische Exulanten*, 77. Küppers-Braun "Geheimprotestantismus und Emigration," 373–374.

55 See the material in Göcking, *Emigrations-Geschichte*, vol. 2, and Sancke, *Historie*, vol. 3, passim. Cf. Walker, *The Salzburg Transaction*, 199–205.

56 As in the Thuringian village of Kleinfahner, see Alexander Schunka, "Lutherische Leitkultur: Migranten und Konvertiten im frühneuzeitlichen Thüringen," in *Im Kampf um die Seelen: Glauben im frühneuzeitlichen Thüringen*, ed. Sascha Salatowsky (Gotha: Forschungsbibliothek Gotha, 2017), 129–137, at 130.

57 On such a remarkable conversion see Sancke, *Historie*, vol. 3, 192. On fraudsters see Alexander Schunka, "Die Grenzen der Solidarität: Armut, Mobilität und Betrug im frühneuzeitlichen Europa," in *Migration als soziale Herausforderung: Historische Formen solidarischen Handelns von der Antike bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Joachim Bahlcke, Rainer Leng, and Peter Scholz (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2011): 233–254.

58 Such begging techniques can be seen, for instance, in the diary of the convert, migrant and beggar Wenzeslaus Altwasser, a former pastor, see Schunka, "Exulanten, Konvertiten, Arme und Fremde," passim.

59 See Alexander Schunka, "Collecting Money, Connecting Beliefs: Fundraising and Networking in the Unity of Brethren of the early Eighteenth Century," *Journal of Moravian History* 14 (2014): 73–92. Idem,"Mit Geld zu Gott: Kollektenreisen zwischen Pietismus und internationalem

Another form of communication was the bodily appearance of migrants. They served as living examples of piety, poverty, perseverance, suffering and martyrdom. While increasingly suspicious of impostors, clergymen and lay officials learned how to utilize the fate of these Protestant migrants to impress their own, allegedly less-disciplined congregations in calls to repentance and charity. In this respect, a good deal of the contemporary and historiographic significance of early modern Protestant migrants seems to lie in the fact that they became important agents of religious interaction already during their journeys.

4 Settlement and the Consolidation of Religious Practice

Several factors connected the movement of Protestants with their arrival and settlement, namely the influence of pastors on administrative and spiritual levels, the significance of confessional print culture, and the importance of charity. All these contributed to the idea among contemporaries that Protestant exiles were a religious elite whose piety, poverty and perseverance distinguished them from others.

It has been stated above that migrants often considered their time in exile as a transitory period, which made them only reluctantly adapt to existing religious and secular structures. They were unwilling to swear oaths of allegiance to their new authorities and often sought legal recognition only when a return home or an onward migration was no longer an option.[60] Over time they slowly began to develop strategies of permanent settlement and adaptation to receiving societies. These accommodation processes were manifold. In certain contexts, migrants kept largely to themselves for several generations – for example, when they looked for marriage partners. This did not preclude an exchange with the native population in economic contexts, even across confessional barriers. A certain amount of flexibility towards the outside world was often necessary for immigrants to survive and to preserve the traditions of their community.

Protestantismus," in *Pietismus und Ökonomie*, ed. Wolfgang Breul, Benjamin Marschke, and Alexander Schunka (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2021): 197–218.

60 On the problem of oaths among the Salzburgers see Walker, *The Salzburg Transaction*, 182; Rainer Walz, "Der Nikodemismus nach der Salzburger Emigration von 1731/32," in *Recht, Religion und Kultur im Wandel der Geschichte: ferculum de cibis spiritualibus. Festschrift für Dieter Scheler*, ed. Iris Kwiatkowski and Michael Oberweis (Hamburg: Kovač, 2008): 443–464, at 460. On similar problems among Bohemians in Saxony see Schunka, *Gäste*, 233–234.

It would therefore be wrong to assume that Protestants simply left a Catholic country and settled among other Protestants where they found the social, political, and religious surroundings they could just adapt to. Differences in theology, church administration, language, and especially the divisions between Lutheran and Reformed Protestantism rarely permitted migrants to melt into existing ecclesiastical structures. The settlement projects of rulers were usually not inspired by religious tolerance toward refugees of other faiths, because the desirable goal within early modern states was the unity of religion in one territory and not the propagation of religious diversity – even if the latter was occasionally accepted in pragmatic ways.

The extent of religious freedom granted to immigrants depended on local conditions as well as on municipal, territorial and ecclesiastical policies. In the Lutheran city of Wesel in the late sixteenth century, far-reaching denominational arrangements were made with newcomers belonging to other faiths. In Frankfurt at the same time, the relationship between local Lutherans and Calvinist immigrants was marked by tension, which contributed to the onward migration of some Calvinists to the newly-founded city of Neu-Hanau. And in a Catholic-dominated municipality like Aachen, Protestant migrants were at best tacitly tolerated.[61]

In the seventeenth century, the evolution of international relations provided new religious opportunities for immigrants. Now many European capitals hosted foreign diplomats who were permitted to employ their own chaplains regardless of whether their faith differed from the one of the local ruler. These private embassy congregations often illegally attracted immigrants who participated in clandestine services. Legally, embassy congregations were situated on extra-territorial space, but they still seemed to undermine the confessional unity of a country. In cities such as Dresden, Vienna and Stockholm their existence occasionally caused troubles that could even reach an international level.[62]

61 On Wesel see Spohnholz, *Tactics of Toleration*. On Frankfurt and Hanau see Alexander Schunka, "1597: Hanau – Einwanderung aus Westeuropa und die Herausforderung religiöser Vielfalt," in *Deutschland: Globalgeschichte einer Nation*, ed. Andreas Fahrmeir (München: Beck, 2020): 214–218; on Aachen see Carsten Brall, *Konfessionelle Theologie und Migration: Die Antwerpener Gemeinde Augsburger Konfession im 16. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2018), 253–274.

62 See Benjamin Kaplan, "Diplomacy and Domestic Devotion: Embassy Chapels and the Toleration of Religious Dissent in Early Modern Europe," *Journal of Early Modern History* 6:4 (2002): 341–361. On Dresden see Alexander Schunka, "Konfessionelle Liminalität: Kryptokatholiken im lutherischen Kursachsen des 17. Jahrhunderts," in *Migration und kirchliche Praxis*: 113–131; on Vienna see Martin Scheutz, "Legalität und unterdrückte Religionsausübung: Niederleger, Reichshofräte, Gesandte und Legationsprediger. Protestantisches Leben in der Residenzstadt Wien im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert," in *Geheimprotestantismus*, 209–236.

The widespread practice of clandestine services under the protection of foreign diplomats points to the more general problem for incoming migrants in finding appropriate space for religious worship. In the sixteenth century, immigrants from Western Europe were often accommodated in former Catholic monasteries where they were given a place for religious services.[63] The partition of churches was another solution, culminating in late seventeenth-century Berlin in the fascinating example of a church being simultaneously used by three parties, namely French Huguenots, German Lutherans and the Reformed state elites.[64] Finally, the Salzburgers in East Prussia benefited from a church-building programme by their monarch.[65]

Wherever immigrants developed their own institutions, this usually happened under the influence of local authorities. From the sixteenth century onwards, hundreds of minority congregations evolved in cities all over Europe, although their legal basis differed and changed over time. London, for instance, hosted numerous foreign churches which served Germans, Italians, Swedes, Dutch, French/Walloons and others as places to perform their services in their mother tongues and according to the rites they were used to. These congregations were often located physically close to one another. In respect to theology and piety they mirrored the intra–confessional divisions of the time. This is evident for the German (Lutheran orthodox, Lutheran Pietist, Reformed) and French (Anglican, Nonconformist) churches that existed in the British capital around 1700.[66]

Minority churches possessed important religious, social and cultural functions for immigrants, contributing to group cohesion and the preservation or even re-invention of traditions. Within these congregations, ethnic, geographic, social and confessional criteria were decisive for cohesion, albeit to varying degrees. The new city of Hanau, for instance, a foundation of the late sixteenth century, attracted Reformed Protestants from the Netherlands who had left Lutheran Frankfurt because of limited confessional freedom. Once in Hanau, Flemish and

63 Alexander Schunka, *Die Hugenotten: Geschichte, Religion, Kultur* (München: C.H. Beck, 2019), 70.

64 Idem, *Ein neuer Blick nach Westen: Deutsche Protestanten und Großbritannien (1688–1740)* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2019), 209.

65 Walker, *The Salzburg Transaction*, 181, follows Göcking, *Emigrations-Geschichte*, vol. 2, 256–266.

66 See the classic study by Andrew Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth Century London* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986). On the ecclesiastical geography of London, c. 1700, see Michael Schaich, "Kontaktzonen: Die religiöse Topographie Londons als Handlungsraum hallischer Pietisten," in *London und das Hallesche Waisenhaus: Eine Kommunikationsgeschichte im 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Holger Zaunstöck, Andreas Gestrich, and Thomas Müller-Bahlke (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2014): 87–110.

Dutch immigrants – often with a merchant background – separated from the French and Walloons who were mainly textile workers.[67] While social context and language (Dutch versus French) were decisive factors here as elsewhere among migrants between western Europe and the Holy Roman Empire, seventeenth-century Nuremberg saw a confessional division between the predominantly Lutheran population (including Lutheran immigrants from Austria) and several hundreds of Reformed refugees from the Upper Palatinate (in addition to a small number of Dutch immigrants). This made joint services and religious integration impossible. The Reformed in Nuremberg had to worship in private and under the protection of a diplomat from Brandenburg until they were provided with their own church in 1650.[68]

To complicate matters, religious divisions evolved not only between immigrants and host societies or among exiles of different denominations but sometimes also among migrants with a similar regional and confessional background. In the Bohemian immigrant communities of seventeenth-century Lutheran Saxony, German-speaking Lutheran exiles opposed Czech-speaking Bohemian Utraquists/Hussites as well as adherents of the more Calvinism-related Bohemian Brethren. Finally, the authorities created a Czech-speaking Lutheran church under the umbrella of the supreme consistory of Saxony, in line with the Lutheran faith of the host country.[69] Some decades later, the Huguenots in Berlin (once invited by the Prince Elector of Brandenburg who had aimed at strengthening the Reformed minority vis-a-vis a predominantly Lutheran population) turned out to be deeply divided between adherents of a strict, predestinarian Calvinism and of a more liberal, "Universalist" or Arminian faith. Both groups were well-connected within the Huguenot diaspora where they occasionally stirred up heated theological debates.[70]

These examples illustrate that the religious situation for Protestant migrants in the course of settlement was complicated, and that troubles could

67 See Schunka, "Hanau," with the relevant literature.

68 Hans Neidinger, "Die Entstehung der evangelisch-reformierten Gemeinde in Nürnberg als rechtsgeschichtliches Problem," *Mitteilungen des Vereins für die Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg* 43 (1952): 225–340, at 257, 276. Ole Peter Grell, *Brethren in Christ: A Calvinist Network in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 146.

69 See Metasch, "Die religiöse Integration." Schunka, *Gäste*, 171–180. An instructive view from the inside is provided by Martina Lisa, *Die Chronik des Václav Nosidlo von Geblice. Aufzeichnungen aus der böhmischen Exulantengemeinde in Pirna zur Zeit des Dreißigjährigen Krieges* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2014).

70 Fiammetta Palladini, *Die Berliner Hugenotten und der Fall Barbeyrac: Orthodoxe und "Sozinianer" im Refuge (1685–1720)* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2011). On the broader context see Schunka, *Die Hugenotten*, 53–54.

well extend into the immigrant communities. Although many migrants had suffered from confessional intolerance during their earlier lives, this did not imply that they turned their new congregations into havens of toleration.[71] Migrants repeatedly demanded from governments and consistories the freedom of religious practice, but within their own groups strict notions of confessional purity and moral discipline applied. In view of the precarious social and economic situation of religious minorities and migrants, efforts toward cohesion and the upkeep of specific traditions may be understandable.

Thus the organization and piety of minority churches in European cities often featured a particular elitist exclusionism.[72] While it seems a general feature, even among today's immigrants, to mark certain boundaries towards their host societies, the elitism of early modern Protestant migrants also reflected the hardships people had endured and the way they interpreted their fate. In line with ideas of Divine providence, French Calvinists, Czech Utraquists and Austrian Lutherans alike tried to make sense of the past by explaining the persecution of Protestants by the sinfulness of their previous communities that had provoked God's wrath.[73] At the same time, they saw themselves as the true elite of the persevering and steadfast believers whom God had rewarded with constancy and exile – unlike the many others who had stayed at home and had adapted to the circumstances. This was one way to legitimize poverty and suffering and to ostracize returning migrants.[74]

The internal cohesion and elitist self-image of minority congregations originated not primarily from host societies but rather from migrants, often under the

71 Alexander Schunka, "Sind Migranten toleranter? Religiöse Freistellung, konfessionelle Migrationen und interkonfessionelle Koexistenz im langen 17. Jahrhundert," in *Duldung religiöser Vielfalt – Sorge um die wahre Religion: Toleranzdiskurse in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Sascha Salatowsky and Winfried Schröder (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2016), 281–302.

72 An early example would be the Lutheran community of Antwerp, see Brall, *Konfessionelle Theologie und Migration*.

73 On the Huguenots see David van der Linden, "A Tearful Diaspora: Preaching Religious Emotions in the Huguenot Refuge," in *Feeling Exclusion: Religious Conflict, Exile and Emotions in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Giovanni Tarantino and Charles Zika (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018): 44–62, at 44–49. On the Bohemians see Vladimír Urbánek, "Patria Lost and Chosen People: The Case Of The Seventeenth-Century Bohemian Protestant Exiles," in *Whose Love of Which Country: Composite States, National Histories and Patriotic Discourses in Early Modern East Central Europe*, ed. Balazs Trencsenyi and Márton Zászkaliczky (Leiden: Brill, 2010): 587–609.

74 For example: Alexander Schunka, "Constantia im Martyrium: Zur Exilliteratur des 17. Jahrhunderts zwischen Humanismus und Barock," in *Frühneuzeitliche Konfessionskulturen*, ed. Thomas Kaufmann, Anselm Schubert, and Kaspar von Greyerz (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2008), 175–200.

influence of charismatic pastors. Once again, migrant clergy acted as intermediaries between their group and local administrations. Pastors also organized communication across a wider European diaspora (via travels and fund collections, epistolary networks and publications) as well as between places of exile and native countries. Exiled clergymen often printed devotional works to be distributed clandestinely among their former flock. In addition, with the help of sermons, letters, travels and other means of networking they contributed to forming a transnational "emotional community" of migrants.[75] Of particular importance were sermons on the occasion of particular rituals such as departure (*Abzugspredigten*), arrival (*Anzugspredigten*) or conversion, because these served to remind the readers of the piety and perseverance of their leaders during the migration process.[76]

Apart from printed works, another important form of creating social and emotional cohesion among immigrants and minority groups was fundraising. In sixteenth-century Emden, poor relief on behalf of the migrants was soon organized along lines of origin, with financially well-off immigrants taking a leading role. This encouraged solidarity among newcomers and also helped relieve the financial burden on local parishes.[77] Fundraising thus fostered group cohesion among migrants. Moreover, it served to strengthen a particular elitist image of poverty and piety, and it convinced local almsgivers to do a pious deed. However, charities could also create envy, which explains why, in late seventeenth-century Brandenburg-Prussia, a state-wide funds collection on behalf of the Huguenots was turned into a compulsory levy.[78] Some minority churches even developed a tradition of Europe-wide fundraising efforts which linked the support of migrant

75 See van der Linden, "A Tearful Diaspora," 50–51 and passim, Lougee, *Facing the Revocation*, 184–185; see also Alexander Bitzel, *Anfechtung und Trost bei Sigismund Scherertz: Ein lutherischer Theologe im Dreißigjährigen Krieg* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2002).

76 Examples include: Fabian[us] Natus, *Vermahnungs-Predigt Zur Christlichen Beständigkeit: Gehalten in der Königlichen Haupt und alten Stadt Praga / bey der deutschen Evangelischen Kirchen zum Salvator genandt / den 11. Martii Anno 1622* [. . .] (Leipzig: Rehfeld & Grosse, 1623). Sigismund Scherertz, *Vale Pragense: Das ist Kurtze vnd gründliche Relation von dem Abzugk der vier Teutschen Evangelischen Prediger von Prag* (Lüneburg: Meyer, 1624). Georg Holi[c]k, *Christliche Anzugs-Predigt* [. . .] (Wittenberg: Meyer, 1669). On revocation sermons of converts see Alexander Schunka, "Transgressionen: Revokationspredigten von Konvertiten im 17. Jahrhundert," in *Konversion und Konfession in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Ute Lotz-Neumann, Jan-Friedrich Mißfelder, and Matthias Pohlig (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2007): 491–516.

77 See Timothy G. Fehler, "Coping with Poverty: Dutch Reformed Exiles in Emden," in *Religious Diaspora in Early Modern Europe: Strategies of Exile*, ed. idem, Greta Grace Kroeker, and Charles H. Parker (London: Routledge, 2015): 121–136.

78 Schunka, *Die Hugenotten*, 86–87.

congregations to the more institutionalized evolution of philanthropy in the eighteenth century.[79]

This is the background of the impressive fundraising initiatives on behalf of the Salzburger emigrants in the early eighteenth century, organized by the Pietist orphanage of Halle and its international supporters. Many Pietists saw (or wanted to see) the Salzburgers as a steadfast group of true confessors whose faith had blossomed outside established church structures and along the lines of early Christian lay congregations. August Hermann Francke's Pietist orphanage in the city of Halle had already made a name for itself in attracting donations from charitable Christians all over the world to support the idea of a Pietist kingdom of God on earth. The donors to the orphanage (and to the Salzburgers) included not just adherents of Pietism in Germany, but also benefactors from London, the Netherlands, Venice, where there was a German-Lutheran community, and even Protestant merchants from Smyrna (Izmir). Their donations often served at least as much for the donors' self-promotion as for providing for the needy.[80] The case of the Salzburgers and the orchestration of their support by Lutheran Pietists illustrate how the involvement of pastors, printed works and charities helped create the prototypical Protestant migrant.

In sum, the choice of destination, settlement, and spiritual as well as material accommodation to a certain degree depended on the socio-historical context as well as on a particular status of being a religious migrant. Rather than simply merging with existing churches or creating new forms of religious practice, migrants often initiated a denominational or intra-denominational plurality with which state and church authorities inevitably had to contend.

5 Summary: A Religion *of* Exiles or a Religion *with* Exiles?

Although the narratives that evolved in the context of Protestant exile do not accurately depict migration procedures, they nevertheless provide information on practices of movement, arrival and settlement. While the actual migrations contain many elements that can hardly be seen as exceptional, a transformative power of Protestant migrants on the religion of host societies is still open to debate.

79 See Sugiko Nishikawa, "The SPCK in Defence of Protestant Minorities in Early Eighteenth-Century Europe," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 56:4 (2005): 730–748.

80 See the material and information provided in Sancke, *Historie*, vol. 3, 26–27, and vol. 4 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1734), 238.

The term *Reformation of the Refugees* has been coined, mainly in reference to Calvinist migrations, to emphasize the creative power of mobility for the transmission of Reformation ideas.[81] In the same vein, researchers have discussed the evolution of a Calvinist "theology of exiles."[82] From a Lutheran angle, the concept of "exile" (*exul*) was originally applied by pastors who had lost their positions in the context of the Interim of 1548. Being an "exile" (*Exulant*) at first did not generally imply physical movement.[83] Later on, the status of a Protestant migrant (*exul, Exulant, réfugié*) pointed at sharing a particular fate with numerous contemporaries who had left their homes for the sake of religion. "Exul" served as a marker on epitaphs, in letters and printed works, during fundraising journeys, in family albums, church registers, petitions and many other documents. In conjunction with social and economic aspects as well as with particular forms of discipline and traditionalism, it contributed to the distinctiveness of a self-defined migrant elite and sometimes to its alienation from locals and other 'outsiders.' This, however, was primarily a communication phenomenon and did not necessarily involve transformations of theology and devotion.

At the same time, early modern Protestant migrant groups transcended the boundaries of evolving territorial states. They did so in several respects: first, regarding the persistence of links between places of origin and refuge, and secondly, in a sense of diaspora and belonging, based on language, culture, traditions, a common heritage, and – what is of particular interest here – theology combined with religious practice. The Arminian "universalism" of some Huguenots provided an important link among their diaspora; orthodox Lutheranism connected German congregations in Gotha, Geneva, and London; Lutheran Pietism spread out among sympathizers in the Levant, England, North America, Scandinavia, Russia, and India, with the orphanage of August Hermann Francke in Halle as its focal point; and the networks of more heterodox groups such as Socinians, French Prophets

81 Heiko A. Oberman, *John Calvin and the Reformation of the Refugees* (Genève: Librairie Droz, 2009).

82 Henning P. Jürgens, "Die Vertreibung der reformierten Flüchtlingsgemeinden aus London: Jan Utenhoves 'Simplex et fidelis narratio,'" in *Religion und Mobilität: Zum Verhältnis von raumbezogener Mobilität und Identitätsbildung im frühneuzeitlichen Europa*, ed. idem and Thomas Weller (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010): 13–40, esp. 38–39.

83 On some sixteenth-century uses of the term see Vera von der Osten-Sacken, "Exul Christi: Konfessionsmigration und ihre theologische Deutung im strengen Luthertum zwischen 1548 und 1648," in *Europäische Geschichte Online (EGO)*, ed. Leibniz-Institut für Europäische Geschichte Mainz (2013) urn:nbn:de:0159-2013041205. See, however, the use of the term by Bartholomaeus Gernhard, *De Exiliis, Christliche Erinnerungen aus Gottes Wort* [. . .] (Eisleben: Gaubisch, 1575).

and other separatist Christians linked various parts of Europe.[84] All these groups were characterized by an impressive mobility of people and ideas. However, not much about their mobility patterns was particularly Protestant. But like Catholics and others, adherents of the Reformation added particular meanings to migration as communication and group cohesion. And while adaptation to local structures of church and society was convenient and often necessary for migrants and minorities, retaining a trans-regional religious heritage was possible only through extended movement.

Willingly or not, Protestant migrants of the early modern age contributed to modifying the norms of sedentary societies.[85] They questioned the ecclesiastical regimes along the way as well as in their new places of settlement. At the same time, these movements cannot be clearly separated from broader processes of mobility and communication. All in all, while the Protestant migrants of early modern Europe may not have created a particular religion *of* exiles, they certainly rendered existing forms of theology and worship into religions *with* exiles.

84 Alexander Schunka, "Pflanzgarten: Thüringische Akteure in der europäischen Reich-Gottes-Arbeit des Halleschen Pietismus seit 1700," in *Pietismus in Thüringen – Pietismus aus Thüringen*, ed. Veronika Albrecht-Birkner and Alexander Schunka (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2018): 243–263; Lionel Laborie, "Radical Tolerance in Early Enlightenment Europe," *History of European Ideas* 43:4 (2017): 359–375.

85 I have tried to elaborate elsewhere on migrants and the evolution of social norms: Alexander Schunka, "Normsetzung und Normverletzung in Einwanderungsgesellschaften der Frühen Neuzeit," in *Normsetzung und Normverletzung: Alltägliche Lebenswelten im Königreich Ungarn des 18. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Karl Peter Krauss (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2014): 29–55.

Bettina Braun

Migration und Diasporabildung im europäischen Katholizismus der Frühen Neuzeit

Eine Kirchengeschichte, die vor allem auf Migration und Diaspora fokussiert und diese als konstitutive oder wenigstens weit verbreitete Elemente kirchlicher Geschichte begreift,[1] stellt gerade für die katholische Kirche eine besondere Herausforderung dar, kollidiert sie doch mehr als bei den protestantischen Denominationen mit dem Selbstverständnis der katholischen, also allumfassenden Kirche. Möglicherweise liegt hierin auch einer der Gründe, weshalb sich die katholische Kirchengeschichtsschreibung bisher kaum mit Migrationsvorgängen beschäftigt hat.[2] Denn während für den Calvinismus eine Interdependenz zwischen der Exilsituation und der Entwicklung der calvinistischen Theologie postuliert wurde,[3] womit Exil und Migration konstitutive Bedeutung für die Entstehung

1 Siehe Ciprian Burlaciou in der Einleitung zu dem vorliegenden Band.

2 Nicht ganz zufällig verweist der Artikel „Diaspora" sowohl in der zweiten als auch in der dritten Auflage des Lexikons für Theologie und Kirche nach der jüdischen Diaspora in den Unterabschnitten „Diaspora der deutschen Katholiken" bzw. „Christliche Diaspora" für die Frühe Neuzeit auf die Folgen des Augsburger Religionsfriedens und berücksichtigt Migrationsvorgänge erst für das 19. und 20. Jahrhundert: „Diaspora," in: LThK, Bd. 3 (2. Aufl. Freiburg i.Br.: Herder, 1959): 343–346; „Diaspora," in: LThK, Bd. 3 (3. Aufl. Freiburg i.Br.: Herder, 1995): 199–203. Die zweite Auflage des LThK besitzt kein Lemma „Migration/Emigration," in der dritten Auflage wird unter dem Stichwort „Migration" zwar auf „Flucht aus begründeter Angst vor Verfolgung aus politischen, rassischen oder religiösen Gründen" als Migrationsursache verwiesen, im Folgenden wird aber ausschließlich auf Migration unter im weitesten Sinne wirtschaftlichen Ursachen eingegangen: „Migration," in: LThK, Bd. 7 (3. Aufl. Freiburg i.Br.: Herder, 1998): 248–249.

3 Erste Ansätze bei Heiko A. Oberman, „‚Europa Afflicta:' The Reformation of the Refugees," in *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 83 (1992): 91–111, v. a. 103. Ausführlicher bei Heinz Schilling, „Peregrini und Schiffchen Gottes. Flüchtlingserfahrung und Exulantentheologie des frühneuzeitlichen Calvinismus," in *Calvinismus. Die Reformierten in Deutschland und Europa. Ausstellungskatalog*, Hg. Ansgar Reiss und Sabine Witt (Dresden: Sandstein, 2009): 160–168; Wolf-Friedrich Schäufele, „Theologen im Exil: Konfessionelle Zwangsmigration und die calvinistische Universitätstheologie in Europa," in *Calvin und Calvinismus: Europäische Perspektiven*, Hg. Irene Dingel u. a. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009): 243–261. Für den lutherischen Bereich siehe zum Zusammenhang zwischen Exilsituation und der Ausbildung einer spezifischen *Exul Christi*-Theologie Vera von der Osten-Sacken, „Exul Christi: Konfessionsmigration und ihre theologische Deutung im strengen Luthertum zwischen 1548 und 1618," in *Europäische Geschichte Online (EGO)*, Hg. Leibniz-Institut für Europäische Geschichte (IEG), Mainz 2013-04-18. URL: http://www.ieg-ego.eu/ostensackenv-2013-de (12.01.2021).

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calvinistischer Kirchentümer zukam und diese eine zentrale Rolle für die Herausbildung einer calvinistischen Identität spielten und damit auch ein besonderes Interesse in der calvinistischen kirchengeschichtlichen Forschung beanspruchen konnten, liegen die Verhältnisse für die katholische Kirche doch erkennbar anders. Allerdings gingen die wesentlichen Impulse für die Erforschung auch der protestantischen Konfessionsmigration eher von Profanhistorikerinnen und -historikern als von Kirchenhistorikerinnen und Kirchenhistorikern aus.[4]

Die älteren, der allgemeinen Migrationsgeschichte und sozialhistorischen Ansätzen verpflichteten Arbeiten fokussierten stark auf den eigentlichen Migrationsvorgang und thematisierten insbesondere auch die Motivation der migrierenden Gruppen. Demgegenüber bietet das Diaspora-Konzept[5] mit seinen ursprünglichen theologischen Implikationen eine Chance, mehr das Leben der Migranten in der Aufnahmegesellschaft in den Blick zu nehmen und nach der Selbstverortung und dem Selbstverständnis der Gruppen zu fragen. Denn gerade für Konfessionsmigranten dürfte es konstitutiv gewesen sein, ihre Exilsituation theologisch zu deuten und daraus Konsequenzen für ihre Lebens- und Glaubenspraxis zu ziehen.[6] Legt man Diaspora als konzeptionellen Rahmen für die Analyse zugrunde, geraten fast zwangsläufig Fragen von Identität und Integration in den Fokus, aber auch praxeologische Ansätze drängen sich auf. Das ursprünglich theologische Diaspora-

4 Für die deutschsprachige Forschung wäre hier vor allem Heinz Schilling zu nennen, in jüngerer Zeit unter anderen Matthias Asche, Susanne Lachenicht, Ulrich Niggemann oder Alexander Schunka. Von kirchenhistorischer Seite haben sich z. B. Judith Becker oder Henning P. Jürgens mit Migrationsvorgängen befasst, wohl nicht ganz zufällig haben beide auch ein historisches Studium absolviert. Im niederländischen Bereich sind die Forschungen von Judith Pollmann oder Geert Janssen einschlägig, die vielfältigen Forschungen zur Geschichte der britischen katholischen Institutionen werden ganz überwiegend von Profanhistoriker*innen betrieben.

5 Siehe dazu die knappe Einführung von Kevin Kenny, *Diaspora. A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

6 Damit befindet sich eine Erforschung von Konfessionsmigration, die von dem Diaspora-Konzept ausgeht, im Einklang mit neueren Forschungen, die betonen, dass Konfessionsmigration sich nur schwer über die – häufig kaum deutlich festzumachende – Motivation der Migranten von anderen Migrationsvorgängen abgrenzen lässt, sondern dass der entscheidende Unterschied eher in der Bedeutung des Glaubensvollzugs im Exil zu suchen ist. Heinz Schilling, „Die frühneuzeitliche Konfessionsmigration: Calvinisten und sephardische Juden im Vergleich," in *Religion und Mobilität: Zum Verhältnis von raumbezogener Mobilität und religiöser Identitätsbildung im frühneuzeitlichen Europa*, Hg. Henning P. Jürgens und Thomas Weller (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010): 113–136, v. a. 115–119; Ulrich Niggemann, „Christliche Konfessionsmigration," in *Europäische Geschichte Online (EGO)*, Hg. Leibniz-Institut für Europäische Geschichte (IEG), Mainz 2019-09-24. URL: http://www.ieg-ego.eu/niggemannu-2019-de (12.01.2021).

Konzept bietet damit ideale Voraussetzungen für die kulturwissenschaftliche Erforschung von Konfessionsmigration.

Allerdings erscheinen die Hürden für eine solche Erforschung katholischer Konfessionsmigration besonders hoch. Das liegt zum einen an der Forschungslage, die zunächst zusammen mit einem Überblick über die wichtigsten Migrationsvorgänge in groben Umrissen skizziert werden soll.[7] Zum anderen aber sind dafür auch einige spezifische Kennzeichen katholischer Konfessionsmigration verantwortlich, denen sodann die Aufmerksamkeit gilt, zumal aus diesen spezifischen Bedingungen teilweise auch die schlechte Quellenlage resultiert. In einem dritten Schritt wird schließlich an einigen Beispielen aufgezeigt, in welche Richtung solche Forschungen zur katholischen Konfessionsmigration gehen könnten.

Die Aufspaltung der Einheit der lateinischen Christenheit in mehrere Konfessionen infolge der Reformation war der Auslöser für die Vorgänge, die man unter Konfessionsmigration[8] zusammenfasst. Die Herausbildung konkurrierender Kirchentümer verbunden mit der Vorstellung, dass konfessionelle Einheit eine unabdingbare Voraussetzung für das Wohl und die Stabilität eines Gemeinwesens sei, führten dazu, dass konfessionelle Minderheiten ihre Heimat verlassen mussten und in Gebiete ihrer eigenen Konfession oder mit einer weniger rigiden Konfessionspolitik flohen, um dort ihren Glauben praktizieren zu können. Damit sind drei Grundvoraussetzungen frühneuzeitlicher Konfessionsmigration genannt: die Existenz verschiedener Konfessionen, das Streben nach konfessioneller Einheit innerhalb der Gemeinwesen und das Vorhandensein von Aufnahmegebieten.[9] Im Verhältnis zu den protestantischen Wanderungsbewegungen ist die katholische Konfessionsmigration durch eine gewisse zeitliche „Verspätung“ sowie durch eine doch deutlich geringere Größe der wandernden Gruppen gekennzeichnet.[10]

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7 Der Überblick konzentriert sich zeitlich auf die Vorgänge bis zur Französischen Revolution, bezieht also die durch die Revolution ausgelösten Migrationsvorgänge, die ganz anderen Bedingungen gehorchten, nicht mehr ein. Räumlich beschränken sich die Ausführungen auf innereuropäische Wanderungsbewegungen. D. h. sowohl die Missionen in außereuropäische Gebiete als auch die Auswanderung nach Amerika (z. B. die Emigration in die von Lord Baltimore gegründete Kolonie Maryland) bleiben außer Betracht.

8 Wenn der Begriff hier weiter verwendet wird, soll damit keineswegs suggeriert werden, dass jeweils konfessionelle bzw. religiöse Faktoren der primäre Auslöser der Migrationsvorgänge waren.

9 Die letztgenannte Voraussetzung bildet den grundsätzlichen Unterschied zum Mittelalter, als die von der katholischen Kirche als häretisch verurteilten Minderheiten innerhalb der lateinischen Christenheit nirgends Zuflucht beanspruchen konnten.

10 An der sehr unterschiedlichen quantitativen Dimension kann kein Zweifel bestehen, obwohl zuverlässige Zahlen weder für die katholische noch für die protestantischen Konfessionsmigrationen zu ermitteln sind. Dies liegt zum einen an der prinzipiellen Fragwürdigkeit

1 Herkunftsländer

Zahlenmäßig, aber auch politisch und kirchenpolitisch kam die größte Bedeutung zweifellos der katholischen Emigration von den britischen Inseln seit der Regierungszeit Elisabeths I. zu.[11] Hier ist zu differenzieren zwischen der englischen, schottischen und irischen Migration, die sich in mancherlei Hinsicht so stark unterschieden, dass sie nicht als ein Vorgang anzusehen sind.[12]

England

Zunächst also zu den Verhältnissen in England: Zwar wurden katholische Laien in England nicht verfolgt, aber die elisabethanische Kirchenpolitik gegenüber der katholischen Kirche wurde zunehmend restriktiver. Umgekehrt wurden auch von päpstlicher Seite die Grenzen immer deutlicher gezogen, insbesondere mit dem 1566 ausgesprochenen Verbot für Katholiken, anglikanische Gottesdienste zu besuchen und der Exkommunikation Elisabeths 1570. Durch die Schließung katholischer Bildungseinrichtungen – von den Schulen bis hin zu den Universitäten – wurde der katholischen Kirche der Nährboden für die katholische Erziehung der Kinder sowie für die Heranbildung ihres Klerikernachwuchses entzogen und damit mittelfristig die weitere Existenz der katholischen Kirche in England in Frage gestellt. Diese Furcht schien sich als berechtigt zu erweisen, als klar wurde, dass die Herrschaft Elisabeths nicht wie die ihrer Vorgänger*innen ein kurzes Intermezzo bleiben würde, auf das dann wieder eine katholische Herrschaft folgen

solcher Zahlenangaben im vorstatistischen Zeitalter, zum anderen aber auch am Problem der Abgrenzung konfessioneller von anderer Migration.

11 Der folgende Überblick fußt – selbstverständlich unter Berücksichtigung seither erschienener Literatur – im Wesentlichen auf: Bettina Braun, „Katholische Glaubensflüchtlinge: Eine Spurensuche im Europa der Frühen Neuzeit," in *Historisches Jahrbuch* 130 (2010): 505–576. Dort finden sich ausführliche Hinweise auf die bis dahin erschienene Literatur, die hier deshalb nicht nochmals aufgeführt wird. Neuere Literatur wird in enger Auswahl in den folgenden Ausführungen genannt. Der Artikel von Harm Klueting, „Katholische Konfessionmigration," in *Europäische Geschichte Online (EGO)*, Hg. Leibniz-Institut für Europäische Geschichte (IEG), Mainz 2012-09-19. URL: http://www.ieg-ego.eu/kluetingh-2012-de URN: urn:nbn:de:0159-2012091813 (12.01.2021) repräsentiert nur sehr eingeschränkt den Stand der Forschung und konzentriert sich zudem fast ausschließlich auf die (zweifellos gerade für den katholischen Bereich wichtige) Priestermigration, berücksichtigt also weder Laien noch Nonnen.

12 Das ist nicht nur die ex-post-Perspektive der modernen historischen Forschung, sondern bereits der handelnden Personen selbst, die sich teilweise sehr stark von Angehörigen der anderen Nationen abgrenzten und z. B. gemeinsame Exilinstitutionen ablehnten.

würde.[13] Spätestens kurze Zeit nach der Thronbesteigung Jakobs I. waren solche Hoffnungen endgültig verflogen. Aber bereits ab 1568 waren auf dem Kontinent weiterführende Bildungseinrichtungen für angehende Kleriker gegründet worden.[14] Als Reaktion auf die Stabilisierung der protestantischen Herrschaft in England folgte dann ab der Jahrhundertwende in den spanischen Niederlanden, in Spanien und in Frankreich die Gründung von Klöstern für Männer und Frauen, denen zumeist Schulen angeschlossen waren. Dabei bildeten die englischen Nonnenkonvente eine Besonderheit des englischen katholischen Exils, das es vergleichbar für kein anderes Exil gab.[15]

13 Sei es durch Maria Stuart, sei es durch einen zur katholischen Kirche zurückgekehrten Jakob I.

14 Die Forschung hat sich zunächst vor allem für diese Männer interessiert, die zum Studium auf den Kontinent gingen und dann als Missionare bzw. Untergrundpriester nach England zurückkehrten, und von denen allein in der Regierungszeit Elisabeths 133 den Märtyrertod erlitten. Godfrey Anstruther, *The Seminary Priests*, 4 Bde. (Ware: St. Edmund's College, 1968–1977). Zuletzt: Thomas M. McCoog, „Construing Martyrdom in the English Catholic Community, 1583–1602," in *Catholics and the 'Protestant Nation:' Religious Politics and Identity in Early Modern England*, Hg. Ethan Shagan (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005): 95–127. Besondere Aufmerksamkeit hat Edmund Campion, einer der ersten Märtyrer, erfahren. Siehe z. B.: James V. Holleran, Hg., *A Jesuit Challenge: Edmund Campion's Debates at the Tower of London in 1581*, (New York: Fordham University Press, 1999); Thomas M. McCoog, Hg., *The reckoned expense. Edmund Campion and the Early English Jesuits: Essays in Celebration of the First Centenary of Campion Hall Oxford (1896–1996)* (Rom: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2007); Gerard Kilroy, *Edmund Campion – a scholarly life* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015). Von den Seminargründungen auf dem Kontinent sind vor allem das 1568 in Douai gegründete Seminar und sein Gründer William Allen früh in den Blick der Forschung geraten, allerdings mit einer zumeist deutlichen konfessionellen Tendenz: *The Letters and Memorials of William Cardinal Allen*, Hg. Fathers of the Congregation of the London Oratory, (London: Nutt, 1882; ND Ridgewood, NJ: Gregg, 1965); Alphons Bellesheim, *Wilhelm Cardinal Allen (1532–1594) und die englischen Seminare auf dem Festlande* (Mainz: Kirchheim, 1885); Stewart Foster, *Cardinal William Allen* (London: Catholic Truth Society, 1993).

15 James E. Kelly, *English Convents in Catholic Europe, c. 1600–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 1. Gerade die Erforschung der Nonnenkonvente ist in den letzten Jahren energisch vorangetrieben worden, angestoßen von dem an der Queen Mary University of London angesiedelten Projekt „Who are the nuns?" [URL: https://wwtn.history.qmul.ac.uk/search/howto.html]. Inzwischen liegen zahlreiche Überblicke und Detailuntersuchungen vor, weshalb hier nur die grundlegenden Monographien genannt werden können: Caroline Bowden, Hg., *English Convents in Exile, 1600–1800*, 6 Bde. (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2012–2013); Katherine S. B. Keats-Rohan, Hg., *English Catholic Nuns in Exile, 1600–1800: a Biographical Register* (Oxford: Prosopographica et Genealogica, 2017); Claire Walker, *Gender and Politics in Early Modern Europe: English Convents in France and the Low Countries* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003). Als wichtige Ergänzung zur Erforschung der Nonnenklöster kann das Projekt „Monks in motion" an der Durham University gelten, das sich mit englischen und walisischen Männerklöstern im Exil beschäftigt [https://www.dur.ac.uk/mim/].

Die englische katholische Migration war in erheblichem Umfang eine Bildungsmigration und damit temporär. Ein zeitlich begrenzter Aufenthalt in einer der englischen katholischen Niederlassungen auf dem Kontinent war für viele englische Katholikinnen und Katholiken, gerade auch des Adels, ein üblicher Abschnitt ihrer Biographie. Durch diesen beständigen Transfer von Menschen, aber auch von nicht unerheblichen finanziellen Ressourcen bildete sich ein stabiles, fast zwei Jahrhunderte überdauerndes Netzwerk des englischen Katholizismus in Westeuropa, das seine Knotenpunkte in diesen Exilinstitutionen besaß. Während die englischen Exilinstitutionen inzwischen recht gut erforscht sind, liegen kaum Informationen zur Migration von Laien vor, die regelmäßig nur im Zusammenhang mit den Klöstern und Kollegs in den Blick geraten. Deshalb lassen sich Fragen wie beispielsweise die nach der Bildung von Diasporagemeinden einstweilen nicht beantworten. Im Gefolge der Französischen Revolution waren die geistlichen Einrichtungen auf dem Kontinent in ihrer Existenz bedroht. Viele ihrer Mitglieder gingen jetzt nach England zurück, wo die antikatholische Gesetzgebung, beginnend mit dem *Papists Act* von 1778, inzwischen gelockert worden war.

Irland

Trotz der Zugehörigkeit Irlands zur englischen Krone, die auch zu einer weitgehenden Angleichung der konfessionsrechtlichen Bestimmungen führte, stellte sich die Lage für die irischen Katholiken doch deutlich anders dar als für ihre englischen Glaubensgeschwister. Der Aufbau klar unterscheidbarer Konfessionskirchen und damit Vorgänge, die als Konfessionalisierung bezeichnet werden können, vollzogen sich in Irland merklich später, vor allem aber blieb die Bevölkerung in ihrer überwiegenden Mehrheit katholisch. Bei allen Wendungen der englischen Konfessionspolitik in Irland wurde der Katholizismus auf der Insel nicht verboten, und sowohl die bischöfliche Hierarchie – und damit die apostolische Sukzession – als auch die Klöster blieben grundsätzlich bestehen, wenn auch unter mancherlei Restriktionen. Allerdings versuchte die englische Politik, die Rekrutierung von Nachwuchs für die geistlichen Berufe zu erschweren, indem Noviziate ebenso verboten wurden wie weiterführende katholische Bildungseinrichtungen. Demzufolge gründeten auch die Iren ein Netz irischer Kollegs und Noviziate von Männerklöstern auf dem europäischen Festland.[16]

16 Siehe die Aufzählungen bei Braun, „Katholische Glaubensflüchtlinge:“ 555, 557; Timothy J. Walsh, *Irish Continental College Movement: The Colleges at Bordeaux, Toulouse, and Lille* (Dublin: Golden Eagle Books, 1973); Thomas O’Connor, „The domestic and international roles

Allerdings dürfte das Zahlenverhältnis von Laien und Angehörigen kirchlicher Institutionen für das irische Exil erheblich anders aussehen als für das englische.[17] Denn im Unterschied zu England besaß für Irland Emigration aus wirtschaftlichen Gründen eine langanhaltende Tradition. Diese hohe Bereitschaft zur Mobilität wurde nun noch durch religiöse Gründe verstärkt. So verlegten zahlreiche irische Kaufleute den Schwerpunkt ihrer Handelsaktivitäten auf ihre Stützpunkte auf dem Kontinent, vor allem nach Spanien und in geringerem Maße nach Frankreich. Im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert verdingten sich Zehntausende Iren in den Armeen auf dem Kontinent.[18] Die konfessionelle Migration im engeren Sinne folgte weitgehend den wirtschaftlichen Verbindungen, d. h. das Gros der irischen katholischen Exilinstitutionen lag lange Zeit in Spanien.[19] Dies änderte sich Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts, als aufgrund der Verfolgungen unter Cromwell viele Iren nach Frankreich flohen. In der Folgezeit wurde Frankreich das Zentrum des irischen Exils, die französische Krone löste die spanische als bedeutendste Schutzmacht der irischen Katholiken ab. In Spanien wie in Frankreich und anderswo auf dem Kontinent bildeten die irischen katholischen Niederlassungen regelmäßig die Zentren einer irischen katholischen Diaspora, die weit über den engeren Umkreis der Klöster und Kollegs hinausreichte und sich auch in eigenen Gemeinden organisierte.[20] Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts sank die Zahl irischer Emigranten infolge des wirtschaftlichen Aufschwungs in Irland stark, gleichzeitig brachte die antijesuitische

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of Irish overseas colleges, 1590–1800," in *College communities abroad*, Hg. Liam Chambers und Thomas O'Connor (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017): 90–114.

17 Überblicke zur irischen Migration in der Frühen Neuzeit finden sich z. B. in: John J. Silke, „The Irish abroad, 1534–1691," in *A new history of Ireland*, Bd. 3: *Early Modern Ireland, 1534–1691*, Hg. Theodore William Moody, Francis X. Martin und Francis J. Byrne (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976): 587–633; Thomas O'Connor, Hg., *The Irish in Europe, 1580–1815* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2001); Thomas O'Connor und Mary Ann Lyons, Hg., *Irish Communities in Early Modern Europe* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2006); Thomas O'Connor, *Irish Voices from the Spanish Inquisition: Migrants, Converts and Brokers in Early Modern Iberia* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).

18 Zu den irischen Söldnern auf dem Kontinent liegen zahlreiche Fallstudien vor. Angaben zu den Zahlen und zur Literatur bei Braun, „Katholische Glaubensflüchtlinge:" 548–549.

19 Der Fokus der Forschung liegt vor allem auf dieser spanisch dominierten Phase des irischen Exils. Hierzu liegen zahlreiche Detailuntersuchungen vor. Siehe als Überblicke Karin Schüller, *Die Beziehungen zwischen Spanien und Irland im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert. Diplomatie, Handel und die soziale Integration katholischer Exulanten* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1999); María Begoña Villar García, „Irish migration and exile in Spain. Refugees, soldiers, traders and statesmen," in *Irish Communities in Early Modern Europe*, Hg. O'Connor und Lyons: 172–199.

20 Vgl. Schüller, *Die Beziehungen zwischen Spanien und Irland*; Éamon Ó Ciosáin, „The Irish in France, 1660–90: the point of no return," in *Irish Communities in Early Modern Europe*, Hg. O'Connor und Lyons: 85–102.

Politik der bourbonischen Mächte die jesuitisch dominierten Kollegs in Schwierigkeiten. Die Französische Revolution bedeutete für das irische katholische Exil demzufolge einen weniger klaren Einschnitt, da verschiedene Entwicklungen davor sowohl in Irland als auch an den Orten des irischen Exils bereits zu einem deutlichen Bedeutungsrückgang des Exils geführt hatten.

Aufgrund der andersgearteten Struktur war der irische Katholizismus weniger existentiell als der englische auf die Exilinstitutionen angewiesen. Katholische Bildung konnte, wenn auch nicht auf hohem Niveau, auch in Irland erworben werden, katholische Priester konnten in Irland geweiht werden.[21] Die Exilinstitutionen mussten also nicht das Fortbestehen des Katholizismus in Irland sichern, sondern sie bildeten eine Option für eine bessere akademische Bildung. Häufig freilich kehrten ihre Absolventen gar nicht nach Irland zurück, sondern blieben auf dem Kontinent und wurden auf Dauer Teil des dortigen irischen Exils, indem sie die Exilgemeinden als Seelsorger betreuten oder als Militärgeistliche in den irischen Regimentern tätig waren.

Schottland

Für Schottland gilt in einem noch höheren Maße als für Irland, dass Auswanderung eine lange Tradition besaß.[22] Nachdem der Protestantismus sich in Schottland rasch weitgehend durchgesetzt hatte bzw. durchgesetzt worden war, war auch das Gros der Emigranten aus Schottland demzufolge nicht katholisch, sondern protestantisch. Die katholischen Schotten, die das Land gerade wegen der dezidiert antikatholischen Politik verließen, trafen auf dem Kontinent deshalb nicht auf ein dem irischen Pendant vergleichbares schottisches Exil ihrer Konfession. Allerdings kann man auch nicht ohne weiteres davon ausgehen, dass sich hier klare Grenzen ziehen lassen, dass also die schottischen katholischen Konfessionsmigranten in katholische Länder zogen, während die protestantischen Kaufleute oder Söldner aus Schottland in protestantischen Territorien ihr Glück versuchten.

21 Denn die Priesterweihe setzte in der Frühen Neuzeit keineswegs ein akademisches Studium voraus, das in Irland eben nicht möglich war.

22 Zahlenangaben sind schwierig, doch geht die Forschung davon aus, dass der Anteil von Emigranten an der Gesamtbevölkerung in Schottland signifikant höher war als in Irland. Thomas Christopher Smout, Ned C. Landsman und T.M. Devine, „Scottish Emigration in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," in *Europeans on the Move, 1500–1800*, Hg. Nicholas Canny (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994): 76–112, rechnet mit 0,2 % der Gesamtbevölkerung pro Jahr für das 17. Jahrhundert (85), während Louis M. Cullen, „The Irish Diaspora of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," in: *Europeans on the Move, 1500–1800*, 113–149 für Irland von 0,1 % ausgeht (139).

Gerade für die beiden letztgenannten Gruppen bildeten die Verdienstmöglichkeiten ein überragendes Kriterium für die Auswahl des Zielorts, und diese Überlegungen konnten schottische, protestantische Militärs in die Armeen der großen katholischen Mächte führen oder Kaufleute veranlassen, die traditionellen Verbindungen nach Frankreich zu nutzen. Während also das irische Exil ein praktisch ausschließlich katholisches Exil war – womit nichts über die Migrationsmotive der Exulanten gesagt werden soll –, stellte die schottische katholische Diaspora nur einen kleinen Teil eines sehr viel größeren schottischen Exils dar.[23] Die katholischen Exilgemeinschaften der Schotten dürften damit auch zahlenmäßig deutlich kleiner gewesen sein als die irischen; in welchem Umfang es zu Gemeindebildungen kam, ist schwer einzuschätzen.

Nachdem sich mit dem *King's College* in Aberdeen 1569 die letzte der schottischen Universitäten der protestantischen Kirche hatte unterwerfen müssen, wurden schottische katholische Kollegs auf dem Kontinent gegründet, zunächst auf Initiative oder zumindest mit Förderung von Maria Stuart und ihrer Beamten oder von hohen Würdenträgern der katholischen Kirche Schottlands. Anders als in England und Irland erfolgte die erste Gründungswelle der schottischen Exilinstitutionen also nicht in Opposition zum Herrscherhaus.[24] Dennoch war das Netz der schottischen Kollegs recht überschaubar und bestand aus Niederlassungen in Paris, Rom, Douai und Madrid.[25] Ein entsprechendes Klosternetzwerk existierte zunächst nicht, zumal die sogenannten Schottenklöster in ihrem Ursprung wie lange auch in ihrer Zweckbestimmung keine Exilinstitutionen waren.[26] Auch

23 Die vergleichsweise wenigen Arbeiten über das schottische Exil in der Frühen Neuzeit gelten vor allem den schottischen Ansiedlungen in protestantischen Zielländern. Am besten aufgearbeitet ist das Engagement von schottischen Militärs in den Armeen auf dem Kontinent, darunter auch im Dienst katholischer Mächte. Siehe z. B. David Worthington, *Scots in Habsburg Service, 1618–1648* (Leiden: Brill, 2003).

24 Erst nach der Hinrichtung Maria Stuarts 1587 glichen die Bedingungen insoweit denen für das englische und irische Exil; Tom McInally, *The Sixth Scottish University. The Scots Colleges Abroad: 1575–1799* (Leiden und Boston: Brill, 2012), 31–32.

25 Aber nicht nur junge katholische Schotten gingen zum Studium auf den Kontinent, dies taten in großem Umfang auch protestantische Schotten aufgrund des schlechten Rufs der schottischen Universitäten. Auch bei der schottischen Bildungsmigration bildeten die Katholiken also nur einen Teil einer umfangreicheren schottischen peregrinatio academica; McInally, *The Sixth Scottish University*, 62–64.

26 Adam Marks, „The Scots colleges and international politics, 1600–1750," in: *College communities abroad*, Hg. Liam Chambers und Thomas O'Connor (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017): 115–141. Marks fasst unter „colleges" auch die Schottenklöster, was den Unterschieden zwischen den verschiedenen Gruppen nicht gerecht wird. Ihn interessieren die Kollegs freilich allein als Akteure der internationalen Politik, nicht als Teile eines katholischen Exils; vgl. McInally, *The Sixth Scottish University*; Tom McInally, „Scottish Catholics Abroad,

wenn die Kollegs von ihren Gründern vor allem als Seminare zur Vorbereitung auf den Priesterberuf gedacht waren, wurde nur eine Minderheit von ungefähr 600 der rund 2000 Studenten, die die Kollegs im Laufe ihres Bestehens besuchten, zu Priestern geweiht.[27] Diese hatten sich zu Beginn ihres zweiten Studienabschnitts, des Quadriviums, zu einem mindestens dreijährigen Dienst in der schottischen Mission, d. h. in der schottischen Untergrundkirche, verpflichtet – eine Verpflichtung, der freilich nicht alle nachkamen.[28] Die anderen übernahmen Ämter in Gemeinden mit einem hohen Anteil schottischer Bevölkerung oder in schottischen Regimentern auf dem Kontinent.[29] Diejenigen, die nicht einen geistlichen Beruf ergreifen wollten, gingen nach Schottland zu ihren Familien zurück oder entschieden sich für eine militärische Karriere.

Das Zentrum des schottischen katholischen Exils lag eindeutig in Frankreich. Entscheidend hierfür waren die politisch-dynastischen Verbindungen der Stuarts zu den Guise bzw. zum französischen Hof. Vollends nach der Etablierung des Exilhofs der Stuarts in St.-Germain-en-Laye im Gefolge der *Glorious Revolution* von 1688 war dieser zusammen mit dem Kolleg in Paris der unbestrittene Anlaufpunkt für die katholischen Schotten auf dem Kontinent.[30] Damit besaß das schottische katholische Exil für einige Jahrzehnte eine quasi natürliche Spitze, ein grundlegender Unterschied zu den englischen und irischen Pendants. Zugleich bedeutete dies, dass das schottische katholische Exil eng mit dem Erfolg oder Misserfolg der Stuarts verknüpft war.

Zu den Gebieten, aus denen Katholiken in nennenswerter Zahl auswanderten, gehörten neben den britischen Inseln vor allem die Niederlande. Um einen zeitlich eng begrenzten Vorgang handelte es sich bei der Flucht von Katholiken

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1603–1688: Evidence derived from the Archives of the Scots Colleges," in *British and Irish Emigrants and Exiles in Europe, 1603–1688*, Hg. David Worthington (Leiden: Brill, 2010): 261–277.

27 McInally, *The Sixth Scottish University*, 2, 39, 132–133, 155–156. Allerdings enthalten die Studentenzahlen auch die Studenten in Douai, wo nur das Trivium absolviert wurde und von wo aus diejenigen, die weiter studieren wollten, nach Rom oder Madrid wechselten. Erst zu diesem Zeitpunkt mussten sich die Studenten zum Dienst in der schottischen Mission verpflichten.

28 McInally, *The Sixth Scottish University*, 155 und die Grafiken 156, 157 und 168–169.

29 Allerdings ist man diesbezüglich weitgehend auf einzelne Hinweise angewiesen, die kaum Rückschlüsse auf konsolidierte Gemeindestrukturen erlauben; McInally, *The Sixth Scottish University*, 159–163 und zu den Militärpriestern 204.

30 Edward T. Corp, *A court in Exile: the Stuarts in France, 1689–1718* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004). Nach dem Umzug des Hofes nach Rom konnte der Hof nicht mehr an seine frühere Bedeutung anknüpfen; Edward T. Corp, *The Stuarts in Italy, 1719–1766: a royal court in permanent exile* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011). Die enge Verbindung von Hof und Kolleg zeigt sich z. B. auch auf der personellen Ebene. Lewis Innes, seit 1682 Direktor des schottischen Kollegs in Paris, war gleichzeitig Außenminister und Almosenier des Königs und residierte als solcher am Hof.

aus etlichen Städten der südlichen Niederlande, nachdem dort 1577/78 radikale Calvinisten die Herrschaft übernommen hatten. Die Emigranten fanden in habsburgtreuen Städten der nördlichen Niederlande, aber auch in Köln oder Lüttich Zuflucht und kehrten nach der Rückeroberung ihrer Heimat durch den Herzog von Alba im Jahre 1585 zurück.[31]

Die nördlichen Niederlande

In den nördlichen Niederlanden hingegen verschlechterten sich die Bedingungen für die katholische Glaubensausübung dauerhaft, wenn auch mit erheblichen Unterschieden zwischen den einzelnen Provinzen. Eine freie Glaubensausübung wurde nur den Calvinisten zugestanden, alle anderen Kirchen waren mehr oder weniger großen Einschränkungen ausgesetzt. Allerdings kam es – nach den ersten Unruhen – nicht zu einer direkten Verfolgung von Katholiken. Dass sie noch misstrauischer beäugt wurden als z. B. die Lutheraner, lag vor allem auch daran, dass sie der Sympathie für Spanien, gegen das die Republik um ihre Unabhängigkeit kämpfte, verdächtigt wurden. Noch lange aber war ein erheblicher Teil der Bevölkerung katholisch, für die Zeit um 1600 wird man von ungefähr der Hälfte der Bevölkerung ausgehen müssen.[32] Das heißt, es kam weder zu einem Massenexodus von Katholiken noch zu einer Massenkonversion.[33]

Allerdings unterschied sich die Lage der Katholiken in der Republik der Vereinigten Niederlande insofern grundlegend von der der britischen Katholiken, als die Niederländer über ein in jeder Hinsicht naheliegendes Exil verfügten: die unter habsburgischer Herrschaft gebliebenen Provinzen im Süden. Dass die Katholiken aus dem Norden dort nicht in dem Maße Fremde waren wie Engländer in den spa-

31 Am besten untersucht ist das Exil der Antwerpener in Köln: Fernand Donnet, „Les Exilés Anversois à Cologne (1582–1585),“ in *Bulletin de l'Academie Royale d'Archéologie de Belgique* 1898, 288–355; Jos Andriessen, „De katholieken te Antwerpen (1577–1585),“ in *Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis* 70 (1987): 61–75. Siehe auch die Zusammenfassung bei Braun, „Katholische Glaubensflüchtlinge:“ 508–512.

32 Henk van Nierop, „Sewing the bailiff in a blanket: Catholics and the law in Holland,“ in *Calvinism and Religious Toleration in the Dutch Golden Age*, Hg. Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia und Henk van Nierop (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002): 102–111, hier 108.

33 Nachdem die katholische Migration aus den Niederlanden von der Forschung lange überhaupt nicht behandelt worden ist, auch weil sie nur schlecht in das Bild der toleranten Niederlande passte, hat sich das zuletzt vor allem dank der Forschungen von Geert H. Janssen geändert: Geert H. Janssen, „Quo Vadis? Catholic Perceptions of Flight and the Revolt of the Low Countries, 1566–1609,“ in *Renaissance Quarterly* 64 (2011): 472–499; id., *The Dutch Revolt and Catholic Exile in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

nischen Niederlanden oder Schotten in Frankreich, macht aber ihre Erforschung umso schwieriger, insbesondere für die Laien. Deutlicher fassbar sind die Kleriker, und von ihnen wiederum vor allem die Angehörigen des höheren Klerus wie Bischöfe oder Domherren. Diese gingen bevorzugt nach Köln oder eben in die südlichen Niederlande. Diese Verbundenheit der nördlichen mit den südlichen Provinzen dürfte auch ein Grund dafür sein, dass es nur in geringem Maße zur Ausbildung spezieller Exilinstitutionen kam. Immerhin wurde im Jahr 1602 ein Missionsseminar in Köln errichtet, das ähnlich wie die englischen Seminare Priester für die Missionierung der nördlichen Niederlande ausbilden sollte. Das Seminar wurde 1670 nach Löwen transferiert, wo bereits seit 1617 ein Seminar für angehende Priester der Diözese Harlem bestand.[34] Das flandrische Löwen war ohnehin der wichtigste Ort für die universitäre Ausbildung von Katholiken aus den Generalstaaten. Auch die nach dem Frieden von Münster 1648 von Berne (heute Gemeinde Heeswijk) nach Vilvoorde bei Brüssel verlegte Prämonstratenserabtei kann als Exilinstitution angesehen werden. Sie blieb bis Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts von Nord-Niederländern dominiert.[35] Üblicherweise aber traten katholische Männer und Frauen aus den Generalstaaten, die sich einem geistlichen Leben widmen wollten, in ein Kloster im Süden ein.[36]

Ähnlich wie die Niederlande wird auch Frankreich vor allem mit calvinistischer Konfessionsmigration in Verbindung gebracht, genauer: mit dem Exodus der Hugenotten nach der Revokation des Edikts von Nantes im Jahre 1685, also der frühneuzeitlichen Konfessionsmigration par excellence. Knapp hundert Jahre zuvor war es allerdings auch zu einer nennenswerten Flucht von Katholiken aus dem Land gekommen, weil sie Heinrich von Navarra und seinem Übertritt zur katholischen Kirche im Vorfeld seiner Thronbesteigung 1589 nicht trauten. Diese radikalen Anhänger der katholischen Liga fanden Aufnahme in den spanischen Niederlanden. Vom spanischen König Philipp II. erhielten sie finanzielle wie militärische Unterstützung, die freilich nach dem Frieden von

34 Die Gründung war eine Reaktion auf Spannungen mit den Verantwortlichen des ehemaligen Erzbistums Utrecht; Charles H. Parker, *Faith on the Margins. Catholics and Catholicism in the Dutch Golden Age* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2008), 79. Diese Zuordnung zu einzelnen Diözesen unterschied die niederländischen Seminare von den britischen Institutionen.

35 Die Abtei bestand in Vilvoorde bis 1797, als die Prämonstratenser infolge der Französischen Revolution auch diesen Ort verlassen mussten und fortan im Verborgenen lebten; vgl. https://www.abdijvanberne.nl/abdij-van-berne-heeswijk/.

36 Paul Arblaster, „The Southern Netherlands connection: networks of support and patronage," in *Catholic communities in Protestant states. Britain and the Netherlands, c. 1570–1720*, Hg. Benjamin Kaplan u. a. (Manchester und New York: Manchester University Press, 2009): 123–138, hier 130–131.

Vervins 1598 rapide zurückging. Auch wenn manche dieser Migranten, vor allem Geistliche und Militärs, sich auf Dauer in den spanischen Niederlanden niederließen, verlieren sich die Spuren dieser Gruppe alsbald und sie sind kaum als Gemeinschaft zu fassen.[37]

Schweden

Auch in Schweden gingen konfessionelle und dynastische Auseinandersetzungen eine enge Verbindung ein. Im Zusammenhang des Kampfs um die Nachfolge des 1592 verstorbenen Königs Johann III. zwischen dem lutherischen Karl von Södermanland und seinem katholischen Neffen Sigismund, der seit 1587 auch polnischer König war, wurden die Katholiken 1595 des Landes verwiesen und die katholische Messe verboten. Die katholischen Schweden siedelten sich am südlichen Ufer der Ostsee an, in Danzig und Riga, aber auch in der Nähe des königlichen Hofes in Krakau. Freilich handelte es sich nur um eine kleine Gruppe, die sich auch kaum als katholische Exilgemeinde fassen lässt. Eine solche Identifizierung wird auch dadurch erschwert, dass sich unter den Gegnern Karls nicht nur Katholiken, sondern auch protestantische Adlige befanden. Wie für andere Gruppen lässt sich auch für die schwedischen Katholiken beobachten, dass gerade der Wunsch nach Ausbildung an einer katholischen Bildungseinrichtung zu Wanderungsbewegungen führte. In diesem Fall war das Ziel der jungen Männer vor allem das 1578 gegründete päpstliche Seminar in Braunberg (Ermland), das für gut zwei Jahrzehnte als „schwedisches Seminar“ galt.[38]

37 Zu den ligistischen Exulanten vgl. Robert Descimon und José Javier Ruiz Ibáñez, *Les ligueurs de l'éxil. Le refuge catholique français après 1594* (Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 2005); Barbara B. Diefendorf, „Entre la ligue et les dévots: les ultra-catholiques Français face à la paix de Vervins,“ in *Le Traité de Vervins*, Hg. Jean-François Labourdette, Jean-Pierre Poussou und Marie-Catherine Vignal (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2000): 431–453; sowie als knappe Zusammenfassung Braun, „Katholische Glaubensflüchtlinge:“ 567–574.

38 Stanisław Herbst, „Swedish emigrants in Poland at the turn of the 16th and the 17th centuries,“ in *Poland at the XIth International Congress of Historical Sciences in Stockholm* (Warschau: Pánstwowe Wydawn. Naukowe 1960): 205–215; Oskar Garstein, *Rome and the Counter-Reformation in Scandinavia until the Establishment of the S. Congregatio de Propaganda Fide in 1622*, Bd. 2: 1583–1622 (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1980); Bd. 3: *Jesuit Educational Strategy, 1553–1622* (Leiden: Brill, 1992).

2 Charakteristika katholischer Konfessionsmigration

Die Erforschung der katholischen Konfessionsmigration entspricht der hier gewählten Darstellung nach der nationalen Herkunft der Migranten. Es existieren kaum Arbeiten, die Gruppen unterschiedlicher Herkunft in einem Zielgebiet in den Blick nehmen und diese vergleichend oder unter der Fragestellung nach möglichen Kontakten oder eventueller Netzwerkbildung untersuchen.[39] Ebenso wenig liegen systematische Untersuchungen zu speziellen Aspekten katholischer Konfessionsmigration vor, die mehr als eine nationale Gruppe berücksichtigen. Dennoch soll im Folgenden versucht werden, einige Charakteristika katholischer Konfessionsmigration zu identifizieren, die für alle oder die meisten der gerade vorgestellten Gruppen gelten und die die katholischen Migranten von den verschiedenen protestantischen Gruppen unterscheiden.

1. Katholische Konfessionsmigranten suchten und fanden Exil in Gebieten ihrer Konfession. Ihnen bot sich – anders als zumindest für lange Zeit bei protestantischen Migranten – die Option, sich in bestehende katholische Gemeinden im Zielland zu integrieren. Gleichzeitig bedeutete dies, dass sie sich nicht vor die Notwendigkeit gestellt sahen, eigene Fremdengemeinden zu gründen, wie es beispielsweise für calvinistische Flüchtlinge lange Zeit typisch war. Damit konnte sich auch die Erwartungshaltung gegenüber den Exulanten verbinden, sich rasch in die bestehenden Verhältnisse und Gemeinden zu integrieren.[40] Ein solches Aufgehen in bestehenden Strukturen und Gemeinden an Stelle der Ausbil-

39 Erste Ansätze in diese Richtung im Band von Benjamin Kaplan u. a., Hg., *Catholic communities in Protestant states*, wobei die einzelnen Beiträge freilich erneut entweder das britische (fast immer: englische) oder niederländische Beispiel in den Blick nehmen. Siehe aber im selben Band den programmatischen Beitrag von Willem Frijhoff, „Shifting identities in hostile settings: towards a comparison of the Catholic communities in early modern Britain and the Northern Netherlands," 1–17, der ebenfalls das Desiderat umreißt. Auch die Beiträge in David Worthington, Hg., *British and Irish Emigrants and Exiles in Europe, 1603–1688* (Leiden: Brill, 2010) behandeln jeweils englische, schottische oder irische Beispiele.

40 Anette Baumann und Alexander Jendorff sprechen sogar davon, dass diese „genaugenommen zwanghaft integriert" worden seien; vgl. Anette Baumann und Alexander Jendorff, „Einleitung: soziale Praxis, politische Entscheidungsfindung, rechtliche Ausgestaltung der Migration und der Integration religiöser Minderheiten im vormodernen Europa – Versuch einer Anamnese", in *Religion – Migration – Integration. Studien zu Wechselwirkungen religiös motivierter Migration im vormodernen Europa*, Hg. Anette Baumann, Alexander Jendorff und Frank Theisen (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2019): 1–34, hier 19.

dung eigener Strukturen erschwert freilich die Sichtbarkeit und damit auch die Erforschung der katholischen Diaspora.

Wenn die Gruppen eine eigene Identität bewahrten oder ausbildeten, so war diese folgerichtig stark national ausgeprägt, da nur die Betonung der nationalen Zugehörigkeit die Abgrenzung von der ebenfalls katholischen Umwelt möglich machte.[41] Dies konnte so weit gehen, dass die Gruppen sich selbst von anderen Exilgruppen abgrenzten. So weigerten sich beispielsweise englische, irische und schottische Frauen und Männer, in Klöster bzw. Kollegs einzutreten, deren Mitglieder überwiegend einer anderen (britischen) Nationalität angehörten, oder Beichtväter einer anderen Nation zu akzeptieren.[42] Nur vor diesem Hintergrund ist die Ausbildung einer ganzen Landschaft national definierter Exilinstitutionen zu verstehen.[43]

2. Kleriker und Ordensangehörige spielten in und für die katholische Konfessionsmigration eine herausragende Rolle. Ähnlich wie bei den Hugenotten waren auch bei den Katholiken Geistliche einem besonders hohen Verfolgungsdruck ausgesetzt, was ihren hohen zahlenmäßigen Anteil unter den Migranten teil-

41 Protestantische Exulantengruppen hingegen unterschieden sich üblicherweise in konfessioneller wie nationaler Hinsicht von ihrer Umgebung; z. B. die hugenottischen Gemeinden im lutherischen Frankfurt oder Brandenburg, oder die reformierte Fremdengemeinde im anglikanischen London.

42 Siehe die Beispiele bei James E. Kelly, *English Convents in Catholic Europe, c. 1600–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 178–182, die zeigen, dass die Nonnen nur im Notfall auf einen Beichtvater einer anderen britischen Nation zurückgriffen und dass die Kontakte zwischen englischen, schottischen und irischen Klöstern und Kollegs minimal waren, selbst wenn sie in derselben Stadt in unmittelbarer Nachbarschaft zueinander lagen. Auch die Bemühungen der Kurie, die englischen, irischen und schottischen Kollegs organisatorisch zusammenzufassen, trafen auf den entschiedenen Widerstand der Betroffenen; Tom McInally, *The Sixth Scottish University. The Scots Colleges Abroad: 1575–1799* (Leiden und Boston: Brill, 2012), 163.

43 Dies setzte freilich eine gewisse Größe und Dauer des Exils voraus, weshalb dieses Phänomen vor allem bei den britischen Diasporen zu beobachten ist. Für die schottischen Kollegs hat McInally ermittelt, dass 90 % der Studenten aus Schottland kamen: Tom McInally, „Scottish Catholics Abroad, 1603–88: Evidence derived from the Archives of the Scots Colleges," in *British and Irish Emigrants and Exiles in Europe, 1603–1688*, Hg. David Worthington (Leiden: Brill, 2010): 261–277, hier 261. Claire Walker hat für die von ihr untersuchten Klöster einen Anteil von 94 % Engländerinnen errechnet: Claire Walker, *Gender and Politics in Early Modern Europe: English Convents in France and the Low Countries* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 38. Die nationale Exklusivität der Klöster war allerdings teilweise auch darauf zurückzuführen oder wurde dadurch gefördert, dass die lokalen geistlichen Autoritäten in den Exilländern nur bereit waren, ein ausländisches Kloster zu genehmigen, da sie andernfalls Konkurrenz für die bestehenden einheimischen Einrichtungen fürchteten. Vgl. Kelly, *English Convents in Catholic Europe*, 16; Caroline Bowden, „The English Convents in Exile and Questions of National Identity, c. 1600–1688," in *British and Irish Emigrants and Exiles*: 297–314, hier 298.

weise, aber nicht vollständig erklärt.[44] Anders als dies teilweise für die Hugenotten oder die Salzburger Protestanten ermittelt worden ist, gingen die katholischen Geistlichen freilich nicht an der Spitze ihrer Gemeinden ins Exil, um sich dort dann eventuell wieder gemeinsam niederzulassen.[45] Katholische Geistliche oder Menschen, die einer geistlichen Berufung folgen wollten, verließen eher individuell das Land, um der Verfolgung zu entgehen oder katholische Bildungseinrichtungen zu besuchen.

Sowohl für die im Heimatland verbliebenen Katholiken als auch für ihre katholischen Landsleute im Exil kam den Geistlichen große Bedeutung zu, da katholische Glaubenspraxis ohne Priester nicht in vollem Umfang möglich war. Während protestantische Gemeinden mit ihrer Betonung des Priestertums aller Gläubigen prinzipiell auch längere Zeit ohne kirchlich bestallte Würdenträger auskommen konnten, benötigten katholische Gemeinden für den Vollzug der Sakramente geweihte Priester. Das hatte Folgen für das Ursprungsland wie für das Exil. In der Heimat konnte der Katholizismus nur fortbestehen, wenn wenigstens eine minimale Versorgung mit Sakramenten sichergestellt war. Das machte die „Zufuhr" von Priestern notwendig, die idealerweise der eigenen Nation entstammten. In dieser Notwendigkeit liegt die wichtigste Ursache für den Aufbau der Bildungseinrichtungen im Exil. Neben ihrer primären Funktion als Bildungseinrichtungen bzw. geistliche Institutionen dienten sie auch als Knotenpunkte und Anlaufstellen für ihre Landsleute. In dieser Form bildeten sie eines der Spezifika des katholischen Exils. In den katholischen Exilländern standen Geistliche den Exulanten hingegen problemlos zur Verfügung. Falls die Menschen in der Diaspora aber Geistliche ihrer eigenen Nation bevorzugten, waren sie auf die Exilkleriker angewiesen, denen deshalb eine große Bedeutung für das geistliche Leben und den Fortbestand der Diasporagemeinden zukam.[46]

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44 Die Aussage von Klueting, „katholische Konfessionsmigration [...] war vor allem Klerikeremigration" und der anschließende Hinweis, dass diese Emigration auf die „Verfolgungssituation in nichtkatholisch beherrschten Räumen" zurückzuführen sei, blendet erhebliche Teile der katholischen Konfessionsmigration aus, so z. B. die Laienmigration, aber auch die gerade bei Klerikern zu beobachtende Rückkehr in das Heimatland, um dort ihrem Missionsauftrag nachzukommen. Gerade die Klerikermigration beschränkte sich also nicht nur auf eine Emigration; Harm Klueting, „Katholische Konfessionmigration," in: *Europäische Geschichte Online (EGO)*, Hg. Leibniz-Institut für Europäische Geschichte (IEG), Mainz 2012-09-19. URL: http://www.ieg-ego.eu/kluetingh-2012-de URN: urn:nbn:de:0159–2012091813 (12.01.2021).

45 Die Emigration ganzer Gemeinden oder auch nur Familien stellte jedenfalls für die britischen Inseln eher die Ausnahme dar, da vielfach Teile der Familie in der Heimat blieben, um den Besitz zu verwalten, der bei Auswanderung der gesamten Familie konfisziert worden wäre.

46 So findet sich z. B. in den Testamenten Antwerpener Katholiken, die in Köln im Exil lebten, der Wunsch, dass ein Priester aus der Heimat das Requiem für sie abhalten solle: Fernand

Sowohl die Säkularkleriker als auch die Klöster und Seminare garantierten aber auch die fortdauernde Verbindung zwischen dem Heimatland und dem Exil. Dies war vor allem dann wichtig, wenn dieses länger andauerte, wie im Falle der Katholiken, die die britischen Inseln verlassen hatten. Denn die beiden Teile der jeweiligen katholischen Gemeinschaft waren aufeinander angewiesen: Die Katholiken im Heimatland benötigten die Dienste der Geistlichen, also des Exils, weil allein diese zum Spenden der Sakramente berechtigt waren. Die vornehmste Aufgabe der Geistlichen, auf die sich die jungen Männer auch vielfach beim Eintritt in ein Seminar verpflichten mussten, war deshalb die Rückkehr in ihr Heimatland. Die Menschen und Institutionen im Exil wiederum waren in erheblichem Maß auf die finanzielle Unterstützung aus der Heimat angewiesen.[47] Die dadurch ausgelösten finanziellen Transfers und Transaktionen erforderten viele Reisen zwischen Heimatland und Exil und dürften stark zur Kohärenz der Gemeinschaften beigetragen haben.

3. Charakteristisch für katholische Konfessionsmigranten war zudem ihr Verständnis als erste Christen, womit sie sich von den aus der Reformation hervorgegangenen Strömungen abgrenzten und unter Verweis auf ihre Anciennität eine höhere Dignität beanspruchten.[48] Daraus folgte eine Interpretation des historischen Geschehens, die davon ausging, dass nach Jahrhunderten der Zugehörigkeit zur allein wahren römischen Kirche ihr Heimatland in die Hände von Häretikern gefallen sei. Aus diesem Geschichtsbild leiteten sie den Auftrag ab, ihr Heimatland für die römische Kirche zurückzugewinnen. In diesem Kampf setzten sie zum einen auf die dynastische Karte, zum anderen auf die Mission, wobei das Verhältnis und die Gewichtung der beiden Strategien durchaus variabel waren. Diese Missionstätigkeit konnte auf der Voraussetzung aufbauen, dass die eigene Konfession im Heimatland tief verwurzelt war bzw. gewesen war, auch wenn ihre institutionellen Strukturen mehr oder weniger gründlich beschädigt oder beseitigt worden waren.

Dieses Grundverständnis des eigenen Exils führte dazu, dass die katholischen Migranten zumeist von einer baldigen Rückkehr ausgingen – eine Hoffnung, die sich freilich nur für wenige, wie z. B. die Niederländer aus den südniederländi-

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Donnet, „Les Exilés Anversois à Cologne (1582–1585),“ in *Bulletin de l'Academie Royale d'Archéologie de Belgique* 1898, 310 und 315. Und in der Gegend um Bordeaux gab es wohl mehrere Gemeinden mit einem hohen Anteil irischer Bevölkerung, in denen irische Geistliche tätig waren: Timothy J. Walsh, *Irish Continental College Movement: The Colleges at Bordeaux, Toulouse, and Lille* (Dublin: Golden Eagle Books, 1973), 108–109.

47 Zu diesen intensiven Kontakten über den Kanal hinweg siehe jetzt für die englischen Nonnenklöster James E. Kelly, *English Convents in Catholic Europe, c. 1600–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 102–104.

48 Frijhoff, „Shifting identities in hostile settings:“ 15–16.

schen Städten, erfüllte, die nach dem Sieg Herzog Albas Mitte der 1580er Jahre in der Tat zurückkehren konnten. Die anderen Gruppen leiteten aus der zunehmenden Dauer des Exils die Notwendigkeit ab, für Strukturen zu sorgen, die nicht nur ihre Existenz im Exil, sondern zugleich auch die Missionierung und Rückgewinnung der Heimat ermöglichten. Sie besaßen damit einen über ihre eigene Existenz hinausgehenden Auftrag, der nicht jedem Einzelnen bewusst gewesen sein muss, der aber die Diaspora insgesamt kennzeichnete.

4. Eine institutionelle Verankerung fand dieser Missionsauftrag durch die Errichtung der *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* im Jahre 1622. Ihr unterstanden die sogenannten Nordischen Missionen, also diejenigen Gebiete im nördlichen Europa, in denen katholische Glaubensausübung nicht oder kaum mehr möglich war und in der die kirchliche Hierarchie nicht mehr intakt war.[49] Die Kongregation unterstützte die Exilinstitutionen finanziell, erwartete dafür aber auch eine entsprechend hohe Zahl von Absolventen, die bereit waren, in die Mission in ihrem Heimatland zu gehen.[50] Die Missionare wiederum berichteten über ihre Erfolge nach Rom, indem sie – vergleichbar den Jesuitenannalen – die Zahlen der durch ihre Tätigkeit ausgelösten Konversionen und Taufen übermittelten.[51] Zumindest für die Schotten sind die engen Kontakte zwischen führenden Mitgliedern der schottischen Diaspora und der *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* ansatzweise erhellt.[52] Mit der Kongregation besaßen die Katholiken im Exil, d. h. Menschen aus einem den Ungläubigen anheimgefallenen und deshalb zu missionierenden Land,

49 Die benachbarten Nuntien erhielten deshalb die notwendigen rechtlichen Fakultäten, so z. B. der Warschauer Nuntius für Schweden. In den Niederlanden übernahm diese Funktion die 1592 gegründete *Missio Hollandica* unter der Leitung eines Apostolischen Vikars, der wiederum dem Nuntius in Köln bzw. Brüssel unterstand. Dazu siehe Charles H. Parker, *Faith on the Margins. Catholics and Catholicism in the Dutch Golden Age* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2008); Christine Kooi, *Calvinists and Catholics during Holland's Golden Age. Heretics and Idolaters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 18, 47–63. 1596 wurden die holländische und die englische Mission zusammengelegt und dem von Köln nach Brüssel transferierten Nuntius übertragen; Paul Arblaster, „The Southern Netherlands connection: networks of support and patronage," in *Catholic communities in Protestant states*: 128.

50 McInally, *The Sixth Scottish University*, 155.

51 Für Schottland z. B. 6600 Konversionen und 3000 Taufen; McInally, *The Sixth Scottish University*, 186.

52 So war z. B. William Leslie, dessen Bruder das schottische Kolleg in Douai leitete, der erste Archivar der *Propaganda Fide*, und das insgesamt 40 Jahre lang; McInally, *The Sixth Scottish University*, 45–46, 189.

einen für sie zuständigen Ansprechpartner an der Kurie, über dessen Aktivitäten für diese Gruppen freilich noch kaum etwas bekannt ist.[53]

5. Damit ist ein weiteres Spezifikum der katholischen Konfessionsmigration angesprochen: die Zugehörigkeit zu einer universalen Kirche, die auf eine Spitze, den Papst, hin ausgerichtet war. Während die Universalität den Emigranten die Möglichkeit eröffnete, sich in Gemeinden im Zielland zu integrieren, bedeutete der hierarchische Aufbau, dass die Gruppen über einen Adressaten verfügten, von dem potentielle Hilfe zu erwarten war, sei es politischer, finanzieller, personeller oder ideeller Art. Einen vergleichbaren Akteur konnte die protestantische Diaspora nicht aufweisen. Welche Bedeutung dies für die einzelnen Gruppen praktisch hatte, ist freilich einstweilen völlig unklar. Offensichtlich ist allerdings, dass die Kurie sich nicht allein von religiösen Motiven, die regelmäßig eine bedingungslose Unterstützung der Exulanten nahegelegt hätten, sondern auch von politischen Erwägungen leiten ließ, bei denen andere Gesichtspunkte eine größere Bedeutung haben konnten als die Hilfe für vertriebene Glaubensbrüder und -schwestern. Für die Kurie stellte das Exulanten-Netzwerk zugleich einen wertvollen Brückenkopf in diese Länder dar, in die die üblichen institutionellen Verbindungen unterbrochen waren.[54]

6. Auffallend bei einer Beschäftigung mit katholischer Konfessionsmigration ist außerdem, welch herausragende Rolle der *Societas Jesu* bei der Organisation der katholischen Diaspora zukam. So wurde ein erheblicher Teil der Bildungseinrichtungen im Exil von Jesuiten betrieben. Dabei dürfte den Jesuiten zugute gekommen sein, dass sie örtlich ungebunden und selbst noch im Aufbau begriffen waren. In dieser Expansionsphase konnten sie flexibel auf neu aufkommende Bedürfnisse reagieren – ein erheblicher Vorteil gegenüber den alten, auf die *stabilitas loci* verpflichteten Orden. Katholische Glaubensflüchtlinge konnten damit, neben „nationalen" Verbindungen, auf ein hervorragend funktionierendes internationales Netzwerk zurückgreifen, das ihnen vielfältige Dienstleistungen, wie den Zugang zu katholischer Bildung und Versorgung mit Geistlichen, aber auch finanzielle Unterstützung und wirtschaftliche Kontakte bot. Ganz offensichtlich entsprachen die Angebote der Jesuiten den Bedürfnissen der Migranten in hohem Maße, indem sie deren Ausnahmesituation ernst nahmen und nicht einfach ihr

53 Die Forschungen über die *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* konzentrieren sich zumeist auf die klassischen Missionsgebiete in Übersee.

54 So versorgte der aus Schottland stammende und an den schottischen Kollegs in Douai, Paris und Rom ausgebildete Patrick Con als Bucheinkäufer Kardinal Francesco Barberini, den Kardinalnepoten Papst Urbans VIII., nicht nur mit Büchern, sondern auch mit Informationen über die politische Lage auf den britischen Inseln; vgl. McInally, *The Sixth Scottish University*, 41.

Aufgehen in der lokalen katholischen Gemeinschaft voraussetzten.[55] Damit war freilich auch eine religiöse Richtungsentscheidung sowie eine spezifische Definition der Aufgabe der Exilinstitutionen verbunden, die in der jeweiligen Diaspora nicht immer unumstritten war.[56] Denn die Jesuiten förderten und forderten dezidiert katholische Frömmigkeitsformen, wie z. B. die Marienverehrung, die sie durch die Gründung entsprechender Sodalitäten unterstützten.[57] Sie leisteten damit einen Beitrag zur Stärkung des konfessionellen Bewusstseins der Exulanten und beförderten damit eine Tendenz, die unter religiösen Migranten ohnehin häufig zu beobachten ist, nämlich eine Konfessionalisierung im Exil.[58] Für die Exilklöster bedeutete das z. B., dass sie sich durch eine besonders strikte Regeltreue und eine konsequente Umsetzung der tridentinischen Bestimmungen auszeichneten.[59]

3 Offene Fragen und Forschungsperspektiven

Eine auf die Zusammenhänge von Migration und Diaspora ausgerichtete Erforschung katholischer Konfessionsmigration in der Frühen Neuzeit könnte genau bei diesen allgemeinen Charakteristika ansetzen. Dabei wäre es wichtig, den Blick über die Einzeleinrichtungen und eventuell auch über die einzelnen nationalen Gemeinschaften hinaus zu erweitern.

Eine über die einzelnen Institutionen hinausgehende Forschung könnte die Orte in den Blick nehmen, in denen sich mehrere Institutionen derselben Nation befanden wie beispielsweise Douai oder auch Lissabon für die englische Diaspora. Hier wäre zu fragen, ob die Institutionen nur auf sich und die Sicherung ihrer eigenen Existenz konzentriert waren oder ob sie darüber hinaus auf die nationale

55 Diesen Zusammenhang betont Janssen für die niederländischen Exulanten; Geert H. Janssen, *The Dutch Revolt and Catholic Exile in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 83–87.

56 Zu den Auseinandersetzungen unter den englischen Katholiken knapp John Bossy, *The English Catholic Communitiy, 1570–1850* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1975), 42–48.

57 Janssen, *The Dutch Revolt and Catholic Exile*, 84–87.

58 Siehe z. B. die Marian Exiles, also die Protestanten, die England während der Regierungszeit Marias I. verlassen hatten und die bei ihrer Rückkehr aus Genf oder Straßburg dezidiert reformierte Vorstellungen mitbrachten.

59 James E. Kelly, *English Convents in Catholic Europe, c. 1600–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 16 und 67. Für die englischen Nonnenkonvente äußerte sich das in einer genauen Beachtung der vom Tridentinum geforderten Klausur. Das fand auch zeitgenössisch bereits Anerkennung und mündete z. B. in die Aufforderung an englische Nonnen, bei der Reform anderer Klöster mitzuwirken: 71.

Diaspora ausgerichtet waren.[60] Noch einen Schritt weiter gingen Untersuchungen, die in den Gebieten ansetzten, in denen sich mehrere nationale Diasporen angesiedelt hatten. Hierfür drängen sich vor allem die spanischen Niederlande auf, wo sich beispielsweise Douai als ein Zentrum des englischen und schottischen und in geringerem Maße auch irischen Exils mit mehreren Institutionen herausbildete, während sich Iren und Nordniederländer verstärkt in Löwen einfanden.[61] Auch Paris mit seinen schottischen und irischen Institutionen sowie Rom kämen für eine solche Untersuchung in Frage. Während Forschungen, die von den einzelnen Institutionen oder nationalen Gemeinschaften ausgehen, schon von dieser Voraussetzung her dazu tendieren, nationale Identitäten und Eigenheiten zu betonen,[62] könnten Untersuchungen, die den Exilort in den Mittelpunkt stellen, die Perspektive eher auf die Netzwerke und Kontakte der einzelnen Institutionen bzw. nationalen Gemeinschaften untereinander und mit der Aufnahmegesellschaft richten. Erst deren Einbeziehung, d. h. vor allem die Berücksichtigung der örtlichen Kirchengemeinden, könnte auch Aufschluss geben über das religiöse Leben der Laien im Exil, darüber, ob sie sich eher an den nationalen (oder verwandten) Exilinstitutionen ausrichteten, Teil einer nationalen Diaspora waren oder in den örtlichen Gemeinden aufgingen. Zu fragen wäre dann auch, ob die Diasporagemeinden sich eventuell durch eine besondere religiöse Ausprägung auszeichneten, indem sie z. B. die in den Exilinstitutionen zu beobachtende verstärkte Orientierung am Tridentinum übernahmen und insofern als Vorreiter tridentinischer Religiosität gelten können.

Zunächst etwas weiter wegführend von dem Fokus auf die Diaspora, aber trotzdem lohnend könnten außerdem Untersuchungen sein, die die jeweiligen Exulantengruppierungen als Akteure oder Objekte internationaler Politik betrachten. Denn die politischen Implikationen dieser Wanderungsvorgänge sind evident, sei es, dass sich die schottischen Katholiken von einem Sieg der Stuarts oder die schwedischen Katholiken von einem Sieg Sigismunds die Rückkehr in die Heimat versprachen oder die Iren sich den spanisch-englischen Gegensatz zunutze machten. Und die englischen Agenten oder Gesandten in Brüssel beobachteten ihre

60 Kelly, *English Convents*, 161.

61 Paul Arblaster, „The Southern Netherlands connection: networks of support and patronage," in *Catholic communities in Protestant states. Britain and the Netherlands, c. 1570–1720*, Hg. Benjamin Kaplan u. a. (Manchester und New York: Manchester University Press, 2009): 123 und 129.

62 So z. B. Kelly, *English Convents*, 178–185, der die nationale Isolierung betont, aber immerhin auch konstatiert, dass die Kontakte zwischen englischen und irischen Institutionen doch etwas häufiger zu beobachten seien als zwischen englischen und schottischen und dass die Abgrenzung mit der Dauer des Exils und der Stabilisierung der Gemeinschaften im Exil eher etwas zurückging: 179–181, 184.

katholischen Landsleute vor Ort auch deshalb ganz genau, weil sie in ihnen Verbündete Spaniens vermuteten.[63] In diesem Zusammenhang käme auch der Papst als ein Akteur der internationalen Politik ins Spiel. Dann wäre auch zu fragen, in welchem Maße die Verflochtenheit mit der internationalen Politik im Fall der katholischen Konfessionsmigration eine andere Ausprägung annahm als bei den protestantischen Bewegungen. Diese Auswirkungen der „großen Politik" wären dann in ihren Folgen für den Alltag in der Diaspora zu untersuchen.

Dass gerade das erstgenannte Charakteristikum katholischer Konfessionsmigration, also die Ansiedlung in Gebieten gleicher Konfession mit einem eventuellen Aufgehen in den kirchlichen Strukturen der Aufnahmegesellschaft, für solche Forschungen eine besondere Herausforderung darstellt, steht außer Frage. Für eine genauere Kenntnis des Zusammenhangs von Migration und Diaspora wären sie gleichwohl vielversprechend und notwendig.

63 Bettina Braun, „Englische katholische Inseln auf dem Kontinent: Das religiöse Leben englischer Exilnonnen im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert," in *Praktiken. 10. Arbeitstagung der Arbeitsgemeinschaft Frühe Neuzeit*, Hg. Arndt Brendecke (Köln, Weimar und Wien: Böhlau, 2015): 256–266, hier 256. Die „State papers" 77 in den *National Archives* des Vereinigten Königreichs in Kew, London enthalten unzählige einschlägige Berichte.

Christian Büschges

Colonial Christianity. Migration, Ethnicity, and Religion in Early Modern New Spain

1 Christians of the New World

When Christopher Columbus set off on his second voyage of discovery across the Atlantic from the Spanish port of Cádiz on 25 September 1493, three Franciscan friars were also on board. The Franciscan monastery of Santa María La Rábida had already been assisting the Italian navigator since the beginning of 1492 in his efforts to obtain the support of Queen Isabella of Castile for his first voyage. The intertwining of private enterprise, church missionary endeavours and the claim to royal power was to have a decisive influence on Spain's colonial expansion in the New World in the decades to come. In continuation of the "reconquest" of the Iberian Peninsula, which ended with the surrender of the Muslim kingdom of Granada in January 1492, the Spanish conquerors overseas strove for dominion, wealth and social advancement, while various Spanish monastic orders set off for the spiritual conquest of the New World.

In contrast to the early modern expansionist endeavours of France, England or the Netherlands in the North of America, in Africa or Asia, the Spanish Crown started as early as the beginning of the 16th century to establish a comprehensive legal and administrative order, integrating the new American territories into the Spanish Habsburg Empire.[1] The status of the overseas regions and the indigenous population was by no means a matter of course in the 16th century and led to controversial discussions among Spanish legal scholars and at the royal court.[2] In legal terms, the overseas territories were integrated into the Spanish monarchy as new realms and provinces, and the indigenous population was given the status of free, tributary vassals of the king. In view of the centre of power remaining in Europe, the strict control of overseas trade and the subjugation and exploitation of

1 For a typology of the forms of early modern European colonialism see Jürgen Osterhammel, *Colonialism: a theoretical overview*, translated from German by Shelley L. Frisch, foreword by Robert L. Tignor (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2005), 23–38, 49–57.

2 James Muldoon, *The Americas in the Spanish world order. The justification for conquest in the seventeenth century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994); Alain Milhou, "Die Neue Welt als geistiges und moralisches Problem (1492–1609)," in *Handbuch der Geschichte Lateinamerikas*, vol. 1, ed. Walther L. Bernecker et al. (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1994): 274–296; Lewis Hanke, *The Spanish struggle for justice in the conquest of America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949).

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the indigenous population, the Spanish overseas territories must be considered as colonies from a historical perspective. The notion of a colonial status of the New World spread only in the second half of the 18th century in contemporary political discourse. This was due on the one hand to the reform policies of the Spanish Bourbon dynasty aimed at strengthening the mother country and on the other hand to criticism from the American-born Spaniards, called Creoles (*criollos*), who felt disadvantaged by the reforms in many places.[3]

Church, clergy and religion were of crucial importance for the colonial Spanish social order that developed in the 16th century. Pope Alexander VI had granted Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon, the "Catholic Kings", the sole right to missionize the heathens in the New World in five bulls in 1493. The evangelization of the indigenous population of America thus became the core of the legitimation of Spanish colonial rule. Therefore, only three years after the fall of the Aztec capital Tenochtitlan in 1521, the emblematic arrival of twelve Franciscan missionaries, the twelve Apostles, in New Spain served as the starting point of missionary activities on the American mainland. Between 1501 and 1518, the Spanish monarchy had secured for itself through several papal bulls the patronage over the church of the New World, the *Real Patronato*, which, in addition to the right of proposal for the allocation of church offices and benefices, provided extensive powers in church administration.[4] In the course of the 16th century, the Spanish crown established numerous archbishoprics and dioceses in Central and South America, while entrusting the missionary work of the indigenous population to various religious orders.

The extension of the rule of the Spanish monarchy to the conquered overseas territories led to a considerable emigration of Spanish settlers and a systematic evangelization of the local population. In contrast to most other European colonies of the early modern period, there was no emergence of a religious diaspora in Spanish America. Rather, Spanish migration to and mission in America led to an expansion of the Christian community beyond the borders of Europe, paving the way for the rise of Christianity as one of the great world religions. Spanish colonial rule in the New World is thus a decisive stage in the emergence of what

3 Anthony Pagden, "Identity Formation in Spanish America," in *Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World, 1500–1800*, eds. Nicholas Canny and Anthony Pagden (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987): 51–94; Christian Büschges, "De reinos, virreinatos y colonias. Las relaciones centro-periferia en la monarquía hispánica y la Independencia de Hispanoamérica," *Procesos. Revista Ecuatoriana de Historia 27* (2008): 121–126.

4 On the development of the *Real Patronato* in Spanish America see Robert C. Padden, "The Ordenanza del Patronazgo of 1574: An Interpretative Essay," in *The Church in Colonial Latin America*, ed. John F. Schwaller (Wilmington: Scholarly Resources, 2000): 27–47.

in recent church history is understood as *World Christianity*, whose local expressions are at the centre of current research.[5]

This chapter addresses the impact of migration and ethnicity on the debates about Christianity, Christians and the Christian clergy in colonial Mexico from the 16th to the 18th century. I will first focus on the extension of the Spanish concept of *limpieza de sangre* to the colonies and the measures taken by the Crown and local royal and ecclesiastical institutions to make the New World a place of religious purity. Secondly, I will discuss the progressive ethnicization of the originally religious concept of *limpieza de sangre*, due to the process, which the colonial authorities and the Spanish upper class perceived as biological and cultural miscegenation (*mestizaje*) between Spaniards, the indigenous population and African slaves and their descendants. Finally, I will trace the emergence of Creole patriotism and local Catholicism among American-born Spaniards during the 18th century.

2 The New World as a Place of Religious Purity

On the Iberian Peninsula, the coexistence of different cultural and religious groups had been an established fact since the early Middle Ages. The so-called *convivencia* of Christians, Jews and Muslims had produced different legal systems and social practices in the Christian and Islamic dominated dominions, which, depending on time and space, brought about different forms of economic, social and political inclusion and exclusion of the religious groups concerned.[6] In fact, the constantly shifting border between the Arab caliphates and the kingdoms that emerged from the former Visigothic empire since the 8th century had produced various forms of cultural contact between Muslims, Christians and Jews, oscillating between cooperation, toleration and oppression. The various changes of rule in turn led to rather pragmatic conversions between the different religions in the populations of many regions.

5 Wolfgang Reinhard, *Globalisation of Christianity?* (Heidelberg: Winter, 2007); Bernd Hausberger, ed., *Im Zeichen des Kreuzes. Mission, power and cultural transfer since the Middle Ages* (Vienna: Mandelbaum, 2004); Ulrich van der Heyden and Heike Liebau, eds., *Mission History, Church History, World History* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1996).

6 Mark T. Abate, ed., *Convivencia and Medieval Spain. Essays in Honor of Thomas F. Glick* (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2019); Chris A. Lowney, *A Vanished World. Medieval Spain's Golden Age of Enlightenment* (New York: Free Press, 2005); Klaus Herbers, *Geschichte Spaniens im Mittelalter. Vom Westgotenreich bis zum Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2006).

The continuing power struggle of the Iberian kingdoms with the Arab rulers was increasingly reinterpreted in the 13th century as a Christian Reconquista.[7] After the various Christian kingdoms had long been in mutual competition for the extension of their rule, the unification of the kingdoms of Castile and Leon in 1230 in particular led to a sustained military advance towards the south. At the same time, the Papacy tried to impose the Christian crusade against Islam on the Iberian Peninsula. Here, it was a number of prominent church representatives, above all the papal legate, Archbishop of Toledo, commander and historian Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, who propagated the idea of a unified Christian empire on the Iberian Peninsula. This was accompanied by a rise in religious intolerance, which was mainly directed against the Jewish population, especially after the pogroms of 1391. From then on, the Jewish population was subjected to increased pressure to convert. A few months after the surrender of the last Muslim kingdom on the Iberian Peninsula, the Catholic Monarchs, in their Alhambra Edict of March 1492, ordered the expulsion of all Jews who refused to convert from the territories of the Catholic Monarchs. Afterwards, the Spanish Inquisition, established in 1478, took a close look at the Jewish converts (*conversos*) remaining in Spain.

In the 16th century, prejudices against converts who actually or supposedly continued to practise their Jewish faith led to their increasing discrimination in the occupation of secular and church offices in favour of the so-called Old Christians (*cristianos viejos*).[8] Proof of a purely Christian line of descent, that is *limpieza de sangre* or *limpieza de toda mala raza*, was also essential for obtaining nobility status (*hidalguía*) or joining a noble order of knights. Muslims who converted before 1492 were initially exempt from this discrimination, but from the middle of the 16th century to the expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain in 1609, Jewish and Islamic converts were largely subject to the same exclusion criteria. In the early 16th century, proof of *limpieza de sangre* was still limited to two preceding generations. From the 1530s onwards, this restriction was removed in the statutes of most secular and church institutions in favour of a fundamental exclusion of any Jewish or Islamic ancestor. In practice, however, these inclusion and exclusion criteria were observed with varying degrees of stringency right up to the royal court. Furthermore, the numerous corporate rights and regional laws (*fueros*) prevented the enforcement of a legal regime applicable to all realms, social groups and institutions in Spain.

7 For a recent overview over the history and the concept of *reconquista* see Carlos de Ayala Martínez et al., eds., *La Reconquista. Ideología y justificación de la Guerra Santa peninsular* (Madrid: La Ergástula, 2019).

8 Max Sebastián Hering de Torres, *Rassismus in der Vormoderne. Die "Reinheit des Blutes" im Spanien der Frühen Neuzeit* (Frankfurt/New York: Campus, 2006), 64–131.

The interweaving of faith, morality and descent underlying the concept of purity of blood was based on various medieval theories about the biological predisposition and inheritance of character and behaviour, from which the idea of a heresy passed down through the generations was derived. In contemporary writings, however, the connection remained quite diffuse, and the "blood" often served as a metaphor for education and socialisation.[9] Accordingly, in contrast to modern racial theories, the religious and thus also the social status determined by descent was not insurmountable, making conversion conceivable and possible in the first place. Regardless of its biological connotations, the *limpieza de sangre* thus remained essentially a cultural concept which, in the course of the 16th century, established itself as an elementary element of the social order in which converts were increasingly perceived as a social group in its own right.[10]

The extension of Spanish rule to the New World and the integration of the indigenous population into the colonial order led to a new, complex social order in the overseas realms. After the early conquests had led to a rapid decline and in some places – especially in the Caribbean – to an almost complete extinction of the indigenous population, the Spanish crown issued various laws during the first half of the 16th century to protect the indigenous population from exploitation by the Spanish settlers. The "Indians" were declared free vassals of the king, but were given a lesser legal status at the level of minor children.[11] In addition, they paid tribute to the Crown and were obliged to perform various forms of forced labour. The special legal status of the indigenous population was also reflected in the colonies' early administrative order, which was divided into two political communities, the *república de españoles* and the *república de indios*. The majority of the indigenous population continued to live in their rural communities or in assigned neighbourhoods in the newly emerging Spanish cities. The spatial and administrative separation of the Spanish and indigenous communities served on the one hand to control the indigenous population and in particular to organise tribute payments and labour services. On the other hand, it aimed to protect the indigenous people from exploitation

9 María Elena Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions. Limpieza de Sangre, Religion, and Gender in Colonial Mexico* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011), 46–54.

10 Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, *La clase social de los conversos en Castilla en la edad moderna* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1955).

11 Christian Büschges, "Die Erfindung des Indianers. Kolonialherrschaft und ethnische Identität im spanischen Amerika," in *Barrieren und Zugänge. Die Geschichte der europäischen Expansion*, eds. Thomas Beck and Marília dos Santos Lopes Hanenberg (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2004): 82–97.

by Spanish settlers, who were forbidden to live in the indigenous rural communities and urban districts.

The evangelization of the indigenous population was approached with great optimism in the early stages of missionary activity by the religious orders.[12] The Franciscan Order in particular saw the New World as an opportunity to realise a religious utopia. The cultural difference of the indigenous population, which was perceived from the very beginning, was initially interpreted as a sign of naturalness and innocence that was intended to facilitate evangelization. At the same time, parallels and points of contact between the Christian faith and the religious ideas of the indigenous population were sought in the course of missionary work.[13] In the attempt to integrate the indigenous population into the Christian history of salvation, the search was also conducted for corresponding evidence in the Bible, which led to the assumption that the Indians could be one of the lost tribes of Israel or descended from them.[14] The myth of the early presence of Apostle Thomas in the form of the Aztec deity Quetzalcoatl even experienced a late flowering in the second half of the 18th century in the context of creole patriotism.[15]

The central importance of evangelization for legitimizing the rule over the indigenous population was reflected in the rapid establishment of a comprehensive church administration. While the secular clergy took over the ministry for the towns and villages, the regular clergy were primarily responsible for the pastoral care of the indigenous population living outside the Spanish centres of settlement and rule. However, in the course of the colonial period, the two

12 Bernard Lavallé, *Au noms des Indiens. Une histoire de l'évangelisation en Amérique Espagnole* (Paris: Payot, 2014), 13–37; Antonio Rubal García, "La evangelización novohispana (1523–1750)," in *La invención del catolicismo en América. Los procesos de evangelización, siglos XVI–XVIII*, ed. Fernando Armas Asín (Lima: Fondo Editorial de Facultad de Ciencias Sociales de la UNMSN, 2009): 45–67. With regard to the Franciscan order see John Leddy Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1956); cf. the recent critical appraisal of Julia McClure, *The Franciscan Invention of the New World* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017).

13 See for example Eva Stoll, "La exportación de los santos al Nuevo Mundo – modelos, motivos y malentendidos," in *Esplendores y miserias de la evangelización de América*, eds. Wulf Oesterreicher and Roland Schmidt-Riese (Berlin and New York: De Gryter, 2010): 24–43.

14 For a general analysis of European conceptions of native population's religious connections to Christianity and the bible in the age of expansion see Edmondo Lupieri, *In the Name of God. The Making of Global Christianity* (Grand Rapids and Cambridge: William B. Erdmanns Publishing, 2011), here particularly 25–58.

15 David A. Brading, "Myth and Images in Mexican History: Foundations and Legitimacy," *Anales del Ínstituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, XXXIII:99* (2011): 18–19. On the religious aspects of late colonial creole patriotism see the final section of this paper.

church groups competed with each other for responsibility for the indigenous population as a result of the expansion and consolidation of colonial rule. In the larger cities, various religious orders, above all the Jesuits, established schools (*colegios*) for the education of the Creole upper class, from whose ranks various members entered the Jesuit and other religious orders.

Apart from the separation of the secular and ecclesiastical administration of the Spanish and overseas indigenous populations, it was in particular the control of immigration that the Spanish Crown sought to ensure the social order and the missionary endeavour in the New World. The subjugation of the indigenous population and evangelization as its central legitimizing factor made the overseas territories a "privileged place of purity" in the eyes of the Crown and the clergy.[16] The first central authority of the colonial administration, the *Casa de la Contratación*, set up in 1503 at the instigation of Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca, Archbishop of Burgos (1451–1524) and influential advisor to King Ferdinand, took control of all human and goods traffic between the motherland and the American territories via the monopoly port of Seville. It was accordingly entrusted with checking the *limpieza de sangre* of potential emigrants.

From 1522 onwards, the Crown issued several decrees prohibiting the emigration of Jews and Muslims, Jewish and Muslim converts, gypsies (*gitanos*) and heretics (mainly Protestants) to the New World. Converts were officially only allowed to travel to the New World with a royal licence. This restriction was aimed at keeping the Spanish and especially the indigenous population overseas away from converts who were considered suspicious in the stability of their faith.[17] In addition, slaves deported from Africa to the New World played a special social role.[18] According to the guidelines of the Crown, slaves were usually baptised after their arrival in the Americas, but unlike the indigenous population, they were not considered neophytes due to their African origin. On the plantations, which were largely cut off from the rest of the colonial society, the slaves were largely under the control of the Spanish owners. The servant slaves living in urban Spanish households, on the other hand, were more integrated into urban society. During the colonial period, this also applied to the increasing number of "free blacks" (*negros libres*), whose former slave status, as well as any ancestry of slaves, represented a permanent social stigma.

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16 María Elena Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions. Limpieza de Sangre, Religion, and Gender in Colonial Mexico* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011), 128.

17 Esteban Mira Caballos, "Los prohibidos en la emigración a América (1492–1550)," *Estudios de Historia Social y Económica de América 12* (1995): 46–50.

18 Herman L. Bennett, *Africans in Colonial Mexico. Absolutism, Christianity, and Afro-Creole Consciousness, 1570–1640* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003).

The administrative separation between Spaniards and Indians, the control of immigration from the Iberian Peninsula and the legal discrimination against African slaves and their descendants promoted a strong feeling of social distinction among the Spanish settlers, based on a "pure" Spanish, Christian descent in the tradition of *limpieza de sangre*. The continuity of genealogical criteria of social order recognisable in this led to the emergence of local, aristocratic upper classes within the Spanish population. Among the Spanish leaders of the conquests in the New World, some had been *hidalgos*, that is members of the lower Spanish nobility, while the troops had been recruited largely from the common people. To prevent the emergence of a Spanish feudal class in America, the Spanish crown refrained from rewarding the conquerors' deeds with jurisdictional rights. Members of the Spanish titled nobility, on the other hand, remained largely absent from the companies of conquest in the New World and were also a minority among subsequent generations of Spanish settlers. During the 17th century, however, the Crown began to grant privileges of nobility (*hidalguía*), memberships of the Spanish orders of knights and titles of nobility to its American subjects in return for a monetary payment. No politically or economically significant privileges were associated with this. As a symbolic capital, however, aristocratic status played a decisive role in the development of local aristocracies, whose social distinction was increasingly based less on membership of respected Spanish noble families and more on descent from the conquistadors and first settlers of the New World.[19] While the dream of social advancement in the New World was far from being fulfilled for all Spanish immigrants and their descendants, in many places the status of nobility became the outstanding feature of belonging to the colonial upper class.

Among the indigenous population, it was the members of the old imperial and local ruling families who sought to maintain a privileged position in colonial society.[20] This was entirely in the spirit of the Crown, which recognised the old indigenous ruling class as mediators between their communities and the Spanish colonial administration, exempting them from tribute payments and recognising them as indigenous nobility in equivalence to the Spanish *hidalguía*.[21] In addition,

19 Christian Büschges, *Familie, Ehre und Macht. Konzept und soziale Wirklichkeit des Adels in der Stadt Quito (Ecuador) während der späten Kolonialzeit, 1765–1822* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1996); Hugo G. Nutini, *The wages of conquest. The Mexican aristocracy in the context of Western aristocracies* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan press, 1995).

20 Bradley Benton, *The lords of Tetzcoco. The transformation of indigenous rule in postconquest central Mexico* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

21 Peter B. Villella, "Indian Lords, Hispanic Gentlemen: The Salazars of Colonial Tlaxcala," *The Americas, 69:1* (2012): 1–36; from the same author, *Indigenous Elites and Creole Identity in Colonial Mexico, 1500–1800* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

in the early 16th century, the colonial authorities set up various educational institutions serving the cultural instruction and evangelization of the indigenous nobility, most notably the Colegio de Tlatelolco, opened in 1536 near the city of Mexico, which also became a place of exchange between Spanish and indigenous culture. Various members of the indigenous nobility, mainly from Mexico City, Tlatelolco, and Tlaxcala gained also access to the secular and regular clergy or served as scribes or translators in the royal administration.[22]As late as the first half of the 18th century, the Crown created other ecclesiastical institutions for the indigenous nobility, including the convent of *Corpus Christi*, founded in Mexico City in 1724 for noble indigenous women.[23] This monastery housed various members of the family of the last Aztec ruler Moctezuma and the nobility of the city of Tlaxcala, which had supported Hernán Cortés' conquest of the Aztec capital Tenochtitlán.[24] Between 1768 and 1822, 89 indigenous nobles entered the University of Mexico City, all of whom had come from seminaries or former *Colegios* of the Jesuit order, which had been expelled from the Spanish dominions in 1767.[25]

3 Religious Purity, Migration, and *Mestizaje*

The idea of the New World as a "place of religious purity," cultivated by the crown, royal officials and the clergy, was undermined by various processes in the course of the 16th century. For example, the control of emigration in Spain could not prevent *conversos* from migrating to the New World in the long term. Apart from the granting of individual dispensations from the emigration ban, some converts passed unnoticed through the control mechanisms of the Spanish authorities or reached the Spanish overseas provinces via Portugal and Brazil and settled

22 Norma Angélica Castillo Palma, "Informaciones y probanzas de limpieza de sangre. Teoría y realidad frente a la movilidad de la población novohispana producida por el mestizaje," in *El peso de la sangre. Limpios, mestizos y nobles en el mundo hispanico*, ed. Nikolaus Böttcher et. al. (Mexico: El Colegio de México, 2011): 230–231.

23 María Elena Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions. Limpieza de Sangre, Religion, and Gender in Colonial Mexico* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011), 249.

24 Ann Miriam Gallagher RSM, "The Indian Nuns of Mexico City's *Monasterio* of Corpus Christi," in *Latin American Women. Historical Perspectives*, ed. Asunción Lavrin (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1978): 150–172.

25 Norma Angélica Castillo Palma, "Informaciones y probanzas de limpieza de sangre. Teoría y realidad frente a la movilidad de la población novohispana producida por el mestizaje," in *El peso de la sangre. Limpios, mestizos y nobles en el mundo hispanico*, ed. Nikolaus Böttcher et. al. (Mexico: El Colegio de México, 2011): 231; cf. Margarita Memegus and Rodolfo Aguirre, *Los indios, el sacerdocio y la Universidad en Nueva España* (Mexico: UNAM, 2006).

in various places, including Cartagena de Indias in present-day Colombia.[26] With the unification of the crowns of Spain and Portugal in 1580, the number of Portuguese converts leaving for the New World also rose sharply.

The evangelization of the indigenous population also remained a challenge. The initial euphoria of the first missionaries regarding the instruction of the indigenous population in the Christian religion was soon exhausted.[27] Although Pope Paul III's bull *Sublimis Deus* of 1537 confirmed the indigenous population's talent for reason and their ability to accept Christianity, contact and communication with the indigenous population continued to be a difficult task for the monks, despite their learning of indigenous languages and ethnographic curiosity. The complaints about the problems of communicating the Christian faith and the indigenous population's adherence to their traditional beliefs were therefore increasingly seen as an obstacle to successful evangelization, thus legitimizing directly or indirectly the subjugation of the indigenous population to colonial rule.[28] In this context of growing doubts and disillusion, the gates of the *Colegio de Tlatelolco* closed at the end of the 16th century, even though the privileges of the indigenous nobility were maintained.

In addition to the immigration of *conversos* and the problems of evangelizing the indigenous population, it was the steady growth of a "mixed population" that threatened the social order and the "religious purity" of the New World in the eyes of the ecclesiastical and royal authorities. In the early 16th century, some marriages had been made between Spanish conquistadors and indigenous aristocratic women. The crown had welcomed these marital unions as an element of indirect rule over and acculturation of the indigenous population.[29] However, these marriages remained the exception. In contrast, from the beginning of the conquest, sexual contacts between the Spanish and indigenous population – initially often forced, but increasingly consensual – took place and spurred social and cultural exchange. The first so-called "mestizos"

26 Jonathan Schorsch, *Swimming the Christian Atlantic. Judeoconversos, Afroiberians and Amerindians in the seventeenth century* (Leiden: Brill, 2009).

27 Stafford Poole, C.M., "The Declining Image of the Indian among Churchmen in Sixteenth-Century New Spain," in *Indian-Religious Relations in Colonial Spanish America*, ed. Susan E. Ramírez (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1989): 11–19.

28 Manuel Aguilar-Moreno, "Evangelization and Indigenous Religious Reactions to Conquest and Colonization," in *The Cambridge History of Religions in Latin America*, ed. Virgina Garrard-Burnett et. al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016): 87–106.

29 Barbara Potthast, „'Women are more Indian' – Zum Verhältnis von Rasse / Ethnie / Stand / Klasse und Geschlecht in der hispanoamerikanischen Kolonialzeit," in *Interethnische Beziehungen in der Geschichte Lateinamerikas*, ed. Heinz-Joachim Domnick (Frankfurt/M.: Vervuert, 1999): 115–130.

that emerged from these sexual relationships were mostly illegitimate, but in the course of the 17th century, marriages across ethnic boundaries as well as between mixed offsprings increased steadily, a process, which was supported by the Catholic Church in its struggle against widespread concubinage. By the end of the colonial period in the early 19th century, the mestizos had become the second largest social group after the indigenous population and numerically superior to the Spaniards.

While the secular and ecclesiastical authorities of the Spanish Middle Ages had accepted the coexistence of different, religiously defined social groups within the framework of the *convivencia* of Christians, Jews and Muslims, marriages between members of these religious groups were prohibited. Person of "mixed blood", so called "híbridos", remained a comparatively marginal social phenomenon, including the *mozárabes*, a term originally used to designate persons with both Christian and Islamic ancestors. In the Christian kingdoms, the term *mozárabes* eventually established itself as a designation for those Christians who had lived under Islamic rule and had maintained corresponding cultural traditions.[30]

In the New World, the ever-increasing number of mestizos and mulattoes, that is persons of Spanish and African descent, not only undermined the crown policy of the two republics, but was also seen as a threat to the Christianization of the indigenous population. In particular, the demographically strongest group of mestizos was considered a destabilizing element of the social order by the colonial administration and the local social upper classes, which increasingly became the subject of legislation and administrative measures.[31] Despite this, sexual relations crossing official ethnic boundaries continued to progress steadily, which is reflected also in the parish registers. In the first half of the 16th century, mestizos were not even perceived and classified as such, but were entered in the *libros de españoles* or *libros de indios*, depending on the ethnic status of the father. In the first half of the seventeenth century, however, most parishes began to keep separate books, *libros de castas*, which recorded the increasing number of children with parents of different ethnic status.[32]

The term *casta*, which refers to biology and lineage, was common in the Spanish Middle Ages, as was the originally largely synonymous term *raza* to designate groups of plants, animals and humans. Up to the 16th century, however, the meaning of the two terms became more differentiated. *Casta* was now reserved

30 María Elena Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions. Limpieza de Sangre, Religion, and Gender in Colonial Mexico* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011), 142.

31 Jean-Paul Zuñiga, "La voix du sang: du métis à l'idée de métissage en amérique espagnole," *Annales 54:2* (1999): 425–452.

32 Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*, 146.

for the Old Christians and was thus an expression of the *limpieza de sangre* or *limpieza de toda mala raza*.[33] The concept of *raza* became established primarily as a socially derogatory term for the descent of Jews and Muslims. In contrast to the Iberian Peninsula, the term *casta* referred in the Americas primarily to persons of mixed ethnic descent.[34] Accordingly, Spanish American colonial society was characterized by an official social differentiation between Spaniards, natives, African Americans (*negros*), and different groups of mixed descent (*castas*), identified as mestizos, mulattoes, etc. The Spanish notion of *limpieza de sangre* was thus extended under the colonial conditions of the New World to a principle of social difference and hierarchy based on ethnicity.

In the face of the erosion of the early colonial social order based on the control of immigration and the legal separation of Spanish and indigenous communities, the Crown and the royal and ecclesiastical institutions of the New World began to pursue forms of religious dissidence more vigorously. After the Spanish Crown had established the tribunal of the Inquisition in Mexico City in 1571, New Spain soon experienced a wave of persecution directed against the *conversos*, which continued until the end of the Union of the Crowns of Spain and Portugal in 1640.[35] Foreign Protestants and other groups accused of heresy, such as the *alumbrados*, were also increasingly targeted by the Inquisition.[36] In the provinces of New Spain, the Inquisition tribunal in the city of Mexico was supported by *familiares* recruited from the local upper classes.

Under the control of the archbishops and bishops, systematic campaigns to eradicate idolatry among the indigenous population began in the 1550s and 1560s.[37] Representatives of the Inquisition, in turn, repeatedly urged that idolatry be classified as heresy and that the indigenous new Christians be placed under

33 Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*, 161–162.

34 Laura A. Lewis, "Between 'Casta' and 'Raza'. The Example of Colonial Mexico," in *Race and Blood in the Iberian World*, ed. Max S. Hering Torres et. al. (Münster etc.: Lit, 2012): 99–123.

35 Stanley M. Hordes, "The Inquisition and the Crypto-Jewish Community in Colonial New Spain and New Mexico," in *Cultural Encounters. The Impact of the inquisition in Spain and the New World*, eds. Mary Elizabeth Perry and Anne J. Cruz (Berkeley etc.: University of California Press, 1991): 207–217.

36 Joël Graf, *Die Inquisition und ausländische Protestanten in Spanisch-Amerika (1560–1770). Rechtspraktiken und Rechtsräume* (Köln, Wien and Weimar: Böhlau, 2017).

37 Kenneth R. Mills, *Idolatry and its Enemies. Colonial Andean Religion and Extirpation, 1640–1750* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997); id., "The Limits of Religious Coercion in Midcolonial Peru," in *The Church in Colonial Latin America*, ed. John F. Schaller (Wilmington: Scholarly Resources, 2000): 147–180; Richard Greenleaf, "The Inquisition and the Indians of New Spain. A Study in Jurisdictional Confusion," *The Americas* 34 (1978): 315–344.

the jurisdiction of the Inquisition.[38] In the debates of the time about the character of the indigenous population, there were also links to contemporary anti-Jewish representations.[39] Since the African slaves and their descendants as well as the increasing mulatto population were not considered neophytes, they increasingly came into the focus of the Inquisition from the late 16th century onwards. Starting in the 1570s, the Crown also issued various laws concerning the legal status and often discrimination of mestizos and mulattos.[40]

In an increasingly complex colonial society, the "pure descent" of Spanish Old Christians served from the end of the 16th century onwards as the central criterion for qualification for higher secular and ecclesiastical offices and dignities as well as for access to respected merchant and craftsmen guilds. The successive addition of ethnic criteria to the religious understanding of the original Spanish concept of *limpieza de sangre* is also evident in the development of the purity statutes of the diocesan seminaries, religious orders and the Inquisition of New Spain. In the early 16th century, the evangelization of the indigenous population was not only viewed very optimistically; good Christians among the indigenous population should rather be able to receive church ordinations.[41] From the 1520s to the 1550s, the diocese of New Spain intensively pursued plans for the ordination of indigenous candidates, which were to be carried out at the *Colegio de Tlatelolco*. A New Spanish Apostolic Junta determined in 1539 that indigenous candidates could receive the lower four ecclesiastical ordinations (porter, lector, exorcist, and acolyte) in support of Spanish priests, which seems to be the practice at the time. Around the middle of the century, however, this project came to a halt, and in the following decades the possibilities for the ordination of indigenous people as well as mestizos and especially mulattos became increasingly limited. As early as the 1st Provincial Council of New Spain in 1555, on which the first legal basis for the province's church structure was worked out, revoked the junta's decision of 1539. From then on, not only the descendants of Moors and parents and grandparents who had been condemned or pardoned by the Inquisition were excluded from ordination, but also all indigenous people, mestizos and

38 Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*, 149.

39 Richard H. Popkin, "The Rise and Fall of the Jewish Indian Theory," in *Menasseh ben Israel and his World*, eds. Yosef Kaplan, Henry Méchoulan, and Richard H. Popkin (Leiden: Brill, 1989): 63–82; Henry Méchoulan, *Le sang de l'autre pour l'honneur de Dieu* (Paris: Fayard, 1977), 54–58.

40 Richard Konetzke, "El mestizaje y su importancia en el desarrollo de la población hispanoamericana," *Revista de Indias 7:23–24* (1946): 7–44 and 215–237.

41 Stafford Poole, C.M., "Church Law on the Ordination of Indians and Castas in New Spain," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 61:4 (1981): 637–650.

mulattos. The indigenous population considered as neophytes was thus placed in the classical Spanish concept of the "maculated lineage" (*linaje maculado*).[42]

However, the Crown's attitude towards the issue of the ordination of indigenous people and their descendants remained vague. In 1575, King Philip II sent an instruction to the bishops and archbishops of the New World to avoid the ordination of "unsuitable" mestizos.[43] Two years later, the King also rejected the implementation of the bull *Nuper ad Nos* issued by Pope Gregory XIII for the unrestricted ordination of suitable indigenous and mixed people, referring to the Royal Patronage of the Church. However, in 1588 Philip II revoked this and other relevant laws at the persistent insistence of the papacy.

The further development of canon law overseas remains somewhat in the dark. The original Spanish text of the decisions of the 3rd Provincial Council of New Spain in 1585 confirmed the rules on ordination issued at the 1st Council of 1555. However, the much more open attitude of the papacy with regard to the ordination of indigenous people, as well as the widespread lack of priests in New Spain, meant that both the council decisions published in 1591 and their later editions considered the ordination of indigenous people, mestizos and mulattos possible, while maintaining "great caution."[44] The decisive factor in these cases should be the impeccable conduct of the person concerned. The background to these considerations was also the contemporary debates on whether the original status of the indigenous population as neophytes would be extinguished in subsequent generations.[45] According to this understanding, it should be possible for the descendants of the indigenous population to be recognised as Old Christians through continuous "reproduction" with "pure" Spaniards and with an exemplary Christian way of life. This idea was closely linked to the concept of voluntary conversion of the indigenous population, which legitimised the Spanish conquest of America. The free descendants of slaves deported from Africa were largely denied this path to salvation, regardless of their legally prescribed baptism, even though criticism of the slave trade and slavery was occasionally voiced from Spanish church circles.[46] Since the Spanish Crown did not adopt an official position on the

42 Poole, "Church Law": 641 and 647.

43 Poole, "Church Law": 642.

44 For the persistent ambiguities of the new rules as regards the original wording, various translations from Spanish into Latin and the later printed versions of the decisions, see Poole, "Church Law": 643–648.

45 Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*, 154–161. Cases of the enslavement of the indigenous population were accordingly largely confined to the period of conquest and the border regions of the Spanish expansion on the continent.

46 Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*, 163–165.

purity status of the African American population, its assessment was a matter for the colonial institutions, which tended to exclude persons of African descent in principle. Apart from the religious impurity manifested not least in (former) slave status, the African American population was also discriminated against on the basis of physical characteristics, which was also reflected in the more frequent categorisation as "race" (*raza*).

The implementation of the 1585 decisions of the Church's Provincial Council on *limpieza de sangre* with regard to the indigenous population was subject to different cycles and regional differences. It is undisputed that from the end of the 16th century onwards, individual indigenous people and some mestizos were ordained as priests or accepted into religious orders, even if no systematically recorded figures are available.[47] In the diocese of Puebla, for example, the criterion of *limpieza de sangre* was less strictly observed in the early 1640s. This was due to various jurisdictional disputes between the then Bishop Juan de Palafox y Mendoza (1640–1653) and the religious orders of New Spain, especially the Jesuits. In 1640 and 1641, Palafox ordered the withdrawal of various religious orders from the mission territories of the diocese and in return established various new parishes. Faced with the resulting need to ordain priests with knowledge of indigenous languages in a short time, Palafox founded two *Colegios* and a seminary. In the election process of the candidates, the social reputation was the main focus, while research into descent was less intensive, with the result that some indigenous candidates who were not from the old nobility were also ordained.[48] The case of the Diocese of Puebla must be considered an exception, however, as the *Colegios* set up by Palafox, and above all the seminary, returned to strict observance of the purity statutes as early as the 1650s, a practice that was to last until the 18th century.

The religious orders of New Spain had already enforced stricter observance of the *limpieza de sangre* in the selection of novices since the early 17th century, such as the *Colegio de San Ignacio* of the Jesuits in the city of Puebla or the New Spanish Franciscan Province. The Franciscan Order had first established *limpieza de sangre* regulations in Spain in 1523 for the admission of novices, which provided for the rejection of persons with Jewish ancestors up to four generations.

47 With regard to the Franciscan Order see Francisco Morales, O.F.M., E*thnic and Social Background of the Franciscan Friars in Seventeenth-Century Mexico (*Washington: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1973).

48 Norma Angélica Castillo Palma, "Informaciones y probanzas de limpieza de sangre. Teoría y realidad frente a la movilidad de la población novohispana producida por el mestizaje," in *El peso de la sangre. Limpios, mestizos y nobles en el mundo hispanico*, ed. Nikolaus Böttcher et. al. (Mexico: El Colegio de México, 2011): 223–234.

However, these regulations were not incorporated into the Order's statutes until 1583, and two years later they were also adopted by the new Spanish Franciscan province.[49] From that year on, candidates for novitiate in the local convents in Mexico City and Puebla had to present *informaciones de limpieza, vida y costumbres* in their applications. Accordingly, persons of illegitimate birth, children of priests, monks or nuns, married men as well as highly indebted persons and convicted murderers were excluded from admission. The *limpieza de sangre* was examined with regard to two groups of persons, on the one hand the descendants of "Moors," Jews or recently converted persons, and on the other hand persons who had been convicted by the Inquisition or other ecclesiastical courts. In addition to the self-declaration of the persons concerned, the convents conducted their own investigations, such as checking documents from church registers and questioning witnesses, procedures which were usually limited to the social status of parents and grandparents.

In 1614, the purity statute of the New Spanish Franciscan Province was finally amended to explicitly exclude "Indians" and "mestizos". Here, the extension of traditional religious criteria by ethnic categories in the definition of the *limpieza de sangre*, which can also be seen elsewhere, becomes clear. However, the selection process was still subject to a certain flexibility. Thus, candidates from the family of the last Aztec ruler Moctezuma or from the indigenous nobility of the city of Tlaxcala were accepted into the Franciscan Order. Like the New Spanish diocesan seminaries, however, the Franciscan province excluded "blacks" or "mulattos" from the novitiate on principle.[50] Exceptions seem to have been possible here as well, but parallel to the increase in the slave population in the course of the spread of plantation slavery in the 18th century, an increasing rigidity can be observed. The ever-growing concern with ethnic criteria in the definition of *limpieza* is reflected in the archival practices, interview processes and the genealogical formulas developed in the course of the purity tests, which increasingly excluded indigenous and African descent from the status of *limpieza* in view of their "pagan" origin.[51]

There is also evidence of an increasing consideration of ethnicity in the admission criteria of the Inquisition of Mexico City and in the selection of *familiares* in the provinces from the early 17th century onwards. The increased immigration of Portuguese converts to New Spain from 1580 onwards had led to a rising

49 Cf. Morales, E*thnic and Social Background*; Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*, 215–220. See also David Rex Galindo, *To Sin No More. Franciscans and Conversion in the Hispanic World, 1683–1830* (Stanford: University of Stanford Press, 2017), 71–116.

50 Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*, 221–224.

51 Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*, 224–225.

number of inquisitors and *familiares*, given the intensification of the work of the tribunal.[52] Both in the review of candidacies of *familiares* and in the persecution activities, after a phase of urgent examination of *conversos*, from the middle of the 17th century at the latest, the religious devotion and lifestyle of mulattos and mestizos became the focus of the review. Once again the mulattos were particularly suspicious and persecuted by the Inquisition, with cases of simple fornication, bigamy, blasphemy and witchcraft being the main focus of persecution.[53] At the same time, both the mulattos and the mestizos were largely excluded from recruitment as *familiars*.[54]

The changes in the definition of the *limpieza de sangre* reflect the gradual emergence of what has been called caste society (*sociedad de castas*), in which specific rights and duties were assigned to the various ethnically defined social groups. These were established and reviewed by royal legislation and the specific statutes of secular and ecclesiastical institutions. Ethnic status was usually verified by public reputation and physical characteristics, above all skin colour or hairstyle.[55] However, during the course of the 18th century it became apparent that the increasing "mixing" of the different population groups had not only led to an erosion of the original idea of the "two republics" of indigenous and Spanish people, but also made the ethnic identification of individual persons increasingly difficult. This development did not lead necessarily to higher social mobility, but rather to a tightening of the screws of inclusion and exclusion, and a multiplication of ethnic labels.[56] In view of the increasingly ambiguous physical differences, various cultural and social attributions documented by testimony were used to verify the ethnically defined social status of individuals, such as language, occupation and income, clothing or social relations.[57]

52 Nikolaus Böttcher, "Inquisición y limpieza de sangre en Nueva España," in *El peso de la sangre. Limpios, mestizos y nobles en el mundo hispanico*, eds. Nikolaus Böttcher, Bernd Hausberger, and Max S. Hering Torres (Mexico: El Colegio de México, 2011): 193.

53 Böttcher, "Inquisición y limpieza de sangre:" 205; Stuart B. Schwartz, "Pecar en las colonias. Mentalidades populares, Inquisición y actitudes hacia la fornicación simple en España, Portugal y las colonias americanas," *Cuadernos de Historia Moderna 18* (1997): 51–67.

54 Böttcher, "Inquisición y limpieza de sangre:" 212–215.

55 Palma, "Informaciones y probanzas de limpieza de sangre": 237–241.

56 Ben Vinson, B*efore Mestizaje: The Frontiers of Race and Caste in Colonial Mexico* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 70–90.

57 Patricia Seed, "Social Dimensions of Race: Mexico City, 1753," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 62:4 (1982): 569–606.

4 *Mestizaje*, Creole Patriotism, and Local Catholicism

The progressive "mixing" of the Spanish American colonial population and the establishment of social categories based on ethnic criteria led to a strengthening of genealogical thinking among the Creole population. This attitude was further nourished by the European theories emerging in the 18th century about the influence of climate and environment on man and society. The pejorative judgment of the American population in the writings of Cornelius de Pauw, Abbé Raynal and other representatives of the Enlightenment was not limited to the indigenous population, but also affected the American-born Spaniards and the *castas*.[58] Moreover, in the second half of the 18th century, the Creole population saw itself increasingly disadvantaged by the reform policies of the Spanish crown. The reforms introduced by King Charles III (1759–1788) and José de Gálvez, the king's Inspector General of New Spain (1764–1772) and Royal Councillor (1775–1787), were of decisive importance. Various measures to strengthen the royal administration resulted, among other things, in the ousting of Creole candidates for high secular and ecclesiastical posts overseas.[59] In many city councils and religious orders, this also led to conflicts between Creoles and *peninsulares* over the occupation of offices and dignities.

In a petition addressed to Charles III in May 1771, the city council of Mexico deplored the widespread prejudices against the "American Spaniards" and their increasing discrimination against the "European Spaniards."[60] The members of the city council called instead for the preferential consideration of Creole candidates, whose love of their homeland and knowledge of local circumstances would qualify them better than candidates from mainland Spain, when granting secular and ecclesiastical offices and dignities. The petition places particular emphasis on the "limpieza" and "nobleza" of the Creole population, which goes back to their Spanish ancestors, and reaffirms their opposition to mixing with the indigenous and, in particular, African-American population.

58 Martínez, *Genealogical* Fictions, 137–139.

59 David A. Brading, "Bourbon Spain and its American Empire," in *The Cambridge History of Latin America, vol. I, Colonial Latin America*, ed. Leslie Bethell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984): 389–439.

60 "Representación que hizo la Ciudad de México al rey don Carlos III en 1771 sobre que los criollos deben ser preferidos a los europeos en la distribución de empleos y beneficios de estos reinos," in *Colección de documentos para la historia de la guerra de independencia de México de 1808 a 1821*, vol. 1, ed. Juan Evaristo Hernández y Dávalos (México: Imprenta de José María Sandoval, 1877): 439–455.

The letter from the Mexican city council manifests the high importance of the concepts of lineage and ethnicity for the self-image of the Creoles as a colonial upper class. Various paintings created in the second half of the 18th century in New Spain also show the contemporary idea of a social order based on ethnic criteria.[61] In these so-called *cuadros de castas* or *escenas de mestizaje*, a variety of parents of different ethnic classifications (*español*, *indio*, *negro*, *mestizo*, *mulato*, etc.) are represented with their child and are characterised by different physical characteristics (especially skin colour) and cultural attributes (clothing, everyday objects, natural or domestic environment, etc.). The painting by the Creole painter Ignacio María Barreda y Ordóñez from 1777, commissioned by a local officer (Fig. 7), shows the hierarchical arrangement of different types and degrees of biological and cultural "mixing" of the New-Spanish population, typical of this genre. The term "morisco" for the representation of a child of a Spanish mother and a mulatto father (first couple from the left in the second row) refers to the supposed Muslim descent of African slaves. The inclusion of a "castizo" boy, a term used frequently for children of a Spanish and a mestizo parent (second couple from the left in the first row), reflects the original Spanish concept of *casta* meaning pure descent. Therefore, the term "castizo" refers to the idea, discussed in church circles since the 16th century, that the original proportion of "indigenous blood" could be "erased" in subsequent generations through the continuous election of Spanish spouses and the status of *limpieza* could be regained.[62] For the Creole population of the colonies, this view was all the more important because various travellers of the 18th century questioned the pure Spanish descent claimed by the Creoles.[63] The landscape scenes at the bottom of Barreda's painting show in the centre the original native population, depicted in their naturalness and simplicity, framed by representations of various representatives and buildings of the secular and ecclesiastical authorities, which underline the "civilising" achievement of the Spanish conquest of the New World.

Creole patriotism, which is reflected in the above-mentioned petition of the City Council of Mexico in 1771, also took on a religious connotation during the 18th century. This can be seen in another *casta* painting that Luis de Mena,

61 Ilona Katzew, *Casta painting. Images of race in eighteenth-century Mexico* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).

62 Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*, 197–199.

63 See for example the travel report of the Spanish naval officers Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa of the 1740s, in *Epoca, genesis y textos de las "Noticias secretas de América," de Jorge Juan y Antonio de Ulloa*, vol. 2, ed. Luis J. Ramos Gómez (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1984): 335.

probably also a Creole, made around 1750 in Mexico City (Fig. 8).[64] The representation of the colonial social hierarchy is supplemented here in the upper central area of the painting by the image of the Virgin of Guadalupe. According to contemporary legend, the Virgin Mary appeared to an indigenous convert in 1531 on the hill of Tepeyac, just outside the city of Mexico. In the 17th century, the legend became increasingly popular in New Spain, and in the late 18th century, it formed an integral part of local Catholicism.

5 Final Remarks

The evangelization of the indigenous population of the New World and the struggle against Protestantism on both sides of the Atlantic had shaped the religious policy of the Spanish king and Emperor Charles V (1516/19–1556) and his conception of a Christian universal monarchy. By adapting the Spanish religious concept of *limpieza de sangre* to a colonial multi-ethnic situation, the Crown and the royal and ecclesiastical institutions in New Spain and other areas of Spanish America introduced a hierarchically organized caste system based on an ethnic categorization of the population. Consequently, during the 17th Century, religion and confession declined in favour of ethnicity as the key concept in defining social status and hierarchy. At the beginning of the century, the *limpieza de sangre* was still understood as a religious and genealogical concept that referred to the descent of Jews, Muslims or heretics, while indigenous people and sometimes even persons of African descent were considered "immaculate" in this respect. The purity statutes were then increasingly extended to exclude the indigenous population, the (enslaved and free) African-American population and people of mixed ancestry. In the colonial context, the idea of an Old Christian descent, which had been handed down from the motherland, developed into the idea of a purely Spanish descent without indigenous and African ancestors. Even though the religious dimension of the *limpieza de sangre* retained its importance in the allocation of offices and dignities, especially in ecclesiastical institutions, there too purely Spanish descent became the central element of social distinction. In the second half of the 18th century, even in the diocesan seminaries and religious

64 Sarah Cline, "Guadalupe and the Castas: The Power of a Singular Colonial Mexican Painting," *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos* 31:2 (2015): 218–247. For a critical assessment of the role of the virgin of Guadalupe in Creole patriotism see Cornelius Conover, "Reassessing the Rise of Mexico's Virgin of Guadalupe, 1650s–1780s," *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos* 27:2 (2011): 251–279.

orders, the examination of an applicant's ancestry was replaced by the assessment of the social status of the persons concerned.

The migration of people and ideas from the Iberian Peninsula to the American colonies challenged traditional Spanish ideas of Christianity, Christian subjects and clergy. From the 16th century onwards, colonial notions of ethnicity not only undermined the original concept of religious purity but, as the emergence of a Creole Catholicism shows, it also led to new local expressions of Christianity. Together with enduring indigenous and African spiritual traditions in the New World, which could not be sufficiently considered in this paper, the "polycentric monarchy" of the Spanish Habsburgs of the 16th and 17th centuries and their Bourbon successors in the 18th century represented an important stage and space in the formation of the "polycentric structures" of World Christianity.[65]

65 Pedro Cardim et al., eds., *Polycentric monarchies. How did early modern Spain and Portugal achieve and maintain a global hegemony?* (Eastbourne: Sussex Academic Press, 2014); Klaus Koschorke, "Polycentric Structures in the History of World Christianity (Inaugural Lecture)," in *Polycentric structures in the history of world Christianity / Polyzentrische Strukturen in der Geschichte des Weltchristentums*, eds. Klaus Koschorke and Adrian Hermann (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2014): 15–28.

Fig. 7: Ignacio María Barreda y Ordóñez, "Las castas mexicanas" (1777), oil on canvas, Real Academia Espanola de la Lengua, Madrid.

Fig. 8: Luis de Mena, “Castas” (ca. 1750), oil on canvas, Museo de América, Madrid.

Hacik Rafi Gazer

Streifzüge aus dem Leben der armenischen Diaspora

Das Fallbeispiel Polen-Litauen-Ukraine

1 Einige Vorbemerkungen zur armenischen Diaspora

Die Armenier lebten und leben nicht nur im Land Armenien, sondern seit Jahrhunderten auch in der „Diaspora". Seit dem 11. Jahrhundert befinden sie sich in einem mehr oder weniger ständigen Zerstreuungsprozess. Für ihr Leben in der Diaspora verwenden die Armenier das Wort „Diaspora" erst in der jüngsten Zeit ihrer Geschichte, nämlich nach dem Genozid im 20. Jahrhundert. Ansonsten wird seit dem Mittelalter von den Armeniern selbst das armenische Wort *Gaut*, abgeleitet vom Hebräischen Wort *kalut*, für die armenischen „Kolonien" und „Siedlungen", die sich außerhalb des Stammlandes befinden, verwendet. An dieser Stelle soll auf die Forschungen des Instituts für Diaspora- und Genozidforschung an der Ruhr-Universität Bochum hingewiesen werden. Seit den 1990er Jahren befasst sich dieses Institut in Deutschland schwerpunktmäßig mit vergleichenden Fragestellungen des Völkermords und der Diaspora der Armenier.[1] Zu der Geschichte der armenischen Diaspora und Kolonien wird auch am Leibniz-Institut für Geschichte und Kultur des östlichen Europa in Leipzig geforscht.[2] Zum Thema „armenische Diaspora" liegen auch weitere kleinere und größere Studien vor.[3] Des Weiteren gibt es Untersuchungen, die spezielle Aspekte wie die

1 Mihran Dabag und Kristin Platt, Hg., *Verlust und Vermächtnis. Überlebende des Völkermords an den Armeniern erinnern sich* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2015; 2. Aufl. 2016); Kristin Platt und Mihran Dabag, Hg., *Generation und Gedächtnis* (Opladen: Leske und Budrich, 1995); Mihran Dabag und Christin Platt, Hg., *Identität in der Fremde* (Bochum: Brockmeyer, 1993).

2 Tamara Ganjalyan, Bálint Kovács und Stefan Troebst, Hg., *Armenier im östlichen Europa: eine Anthologie* (Köln: Böhlau, 2018); Máté Tamáska, *Armenian townscapes in Transylvania* (Köln: Böhlau, 2018); Tamara Ganjalyan, *Diaspora und Imperium. Armenier im vorrevolutionären Russland (17. bis 19. Jahrhundert)* (Köln: Böhlau, 2016); Tamara Ganjalyan, „Armenische Kolonien und imperiale Politik im vorrevolutionären Russland: Das Beispiel Astrachan, Teil 1," in *Armenisch-Deutsche Korrespondenz ADK*, 2012, Heft 3: 36–40.

3 Martin Tamcke, „Die Präsenz und Rolle der Armenier unter den Indischen Christen," in *Bibel, Byzanz und Christlicher Orient,* FS Stephan Gerö, Hg. Dimitrij Bumazhnov u.a. (Leuven: Peeters, 2011): 467–485; Vladimir Barxutaryan, *Moskvayi ev Peterburgi Haykakan Gałut´neri patmut`iwn (XVIII dari kes – XX dari skizb), Die Geschichte der armenischen Kolonien in Moskau*

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der armenischen Sprache in der Diaspora behandeln.[4] Insgesamt wenig beachtet werden aber die sehr umfangreichen historischen Quellensammlungen sowie die einzelnen Studien der Wiener Mechitaristen zu der Geschichte der Diasporagemeinden der Armenier in den jeweiligen Ländern und Regionen. Sie sind durch die Studien von Vardges Mik'ayelyan in den letzten Jahren ergänzt und erweitert worden.[5]

Bereits beim Konzil von Ferrara-Florenz-Basel-Rom (1431–1445) wurde das armenische Volk als ein in der Diaspora lebendes Kollektiv wahrgenommen und dargestellt. In der 8. Sitzung vom 22. November 1439 vereinbarten die Konzilsteilnehmer in Florenz mit den Armeniern eine Kirchenunion. In der Einleitung der Unionsbulle der Armenier, der *Bulla unionis Armenorum*, heißt es: „*hodie vero hanc ipsam Armenici populi, quie per septentrionem et orientem in magna copia diffusus est*".[6] Die in Florenz vereinbarte Kirchenunion war nicht die erste ihrer Art, welche die Römisch-Katholische Kirche mit den „verstreuten" Armeniern geschlossen hatte. Bereits seit dem 11. Jahrhundert gab es zahlreiche Unionsversuche von Seiten Konstantinopels und seit dem 12. Jahrhundert auch zunehmend von Seiten Roms.[7] Die ungünstige geographische sowie politische Lage der Armenier zwangen diese immer wieder auf die Suche nach Verbündeten.

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und Petersburg (Mitte des XVIII bis zu Beginn des XX. Jahrhundert) (Erevan: Tabakian, 2010); Nadia H. Wright, *Respected Citizens. The History of Armenians in Singapore and Malayisa* (Victoria: Amassia Pub, 2003); Yaroslav Dashkevych, *Armenia and Ukraine* (Lviv, New York: Edition M.R. Kots, 2001); Hermann Goltz, „Armenien und Hayastán," in *Armeni syn die menschen genant. Eine Kulturbegegnung in der Staatsbibliothek*, Hg. Meline Pehlivanian (Berlin: Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, 2000): 9–40; Vladimir Barxutaryan und Zaven Ekawean, Hg., *Ějer Hay Gałut´neri patmut`ean* (Seiten aus der Geschichte der armenischen Kolonien) (Erevan: Tabakian, 1996).

4 Jasmine Dum-Tragut, *Die armenische Sprache in der Europäischen Diaspora*, Grazer linguistische Monographien 13 (Graz: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Graz, 1997).

5 Mik`ayelyan Vardges: Հայ գաղթաշխարհի պատմություն: (միջնադարից մինչև 1920 թ.); եռհատոր սկ Hay gaǵt'ašxarhi patmowt'yown: (mijnadaric' minč'ev 1920 t'.) Die Geschichte der armenischen Auswanderung, vom Mittelalter bis 1920, in drei Bänden. Bd. 1: Slavonakan ašxarhi ev Hyowsisayin Kovkasi Haykakan gaǵowťnerę, (Die armenischen Kolonien in der slavischen Welt und im Nordkaukasus) (Erevan: Gitutiwn/Verlag der Armenischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2003); Bd. 2: Asiayi ev Afrikayi Haykakan gaǵowt'nerę, (Die armenischen Kolonien in Asien und in Afrika) (2003); Bd. 3: Evropayi ev Amerikayi haykakan gaǵowťnerę, (Die armenischen Kolonien in Europa und in Amerika) (2013).

6 „[H]eute sicherlich noch diese Völker der Armenier selbst, welche zur Seite des Nordens und des Ostens in viele Teile verstreut sind", in *Dekrete der ökumenischen Konzilien, Bd. 2.: Konzilien des Mittelalters vom Ersten Lateran Konzil (1123) bis zum fünften Laterankonzil (1512–1517)*, Hg. Josef Wohlmuth (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2000): 535.

7 Peter Halfter, *Das Papsttum und die Armenier im frühen und hohen Mittelalter. Von den ersten Kontakten bis zur Fixierung der Kirchenunion im Jahre 1198* (Köln: Böhlau, 1996).

Der Papst mit Sitz in Rom und der Ökumenische Patriarch mit Sitz in Konstantinopel hatten andere Interessen und Motive. Für die Vereinbarung einer Union mussten jedoch gerade die in der „Diaspora“ lebenden christlichen Armenier immer wieder theologische Forderungen ihrer Unionspartner erfüllen bzw. ihre „Orthodoxie“ durch die Annahme von Lehren und Bräuchen ihren Gegenübern nachweisen. Die für eine Union erforderlichen Forderungen betrafen dogmatische, rituelle und kirchenrechtliche Bereiche. Sie erstreckten sich von der Anerkennung Chalkedons 451, der Vermischung von eucharistischem Wein mit Wasser, bis hin zur Feier des Weihnachtsfestes am 25. Dezember. Die Kirchenunionen mit den Armeniern wurden immer wieder mit den in der Diaspora lebenden Armeniern beschlossen.

Auf die Begriffsgeschichte von „Diaspora“ geht Tamara Ganjalyan sehr informativ ein. Hier soll auf ihre Studie von 2016 hingewiesen werden:

> Der Begriff »Diaspora« als Bezeichnung einer mittlerweile nur mehr schwer zu überblickenden Anzahl von ethnischen, kulturellen und/oder religiösen Minderheiten oder Migrantenpopulationen hat sich im Verlauf der vergangenen etwa drei Jahrzehnte zu einem in Medien, Politik und nicht zuletzt in den verschiedenen Disziplinen der sozial-, geistes- und kulturwissenschaftlichen Forschung oft bemühten Modewort entwickelt, welches sowohl von außen in deskriptiver wie auch interpretativer Art als auch von Vertretern entsprechender Gruppen in Form der Eigendefinition, dabei nicht selten geknüpft an kulturelle, politische oder rechtliche Ansprüche, anscheinend nur allzu gerne reklamiert wird.[8]

Für die theologische Verwendung des Wortes „Diaspora“ soll auf die Zusammenfassung in einer Studie von Albrecht Philipps hingewiesen werden.[9]

In den ersten Jahrhunderten beschreibt die Bezeichnung „Diaspora“ die Situation der damaligen Christen, die in einer glaubensfremden Umwelt zerstreut lebten. Dabei hatte die Kirche die Mission, jene Gläubige mit dem Ziel der Kirchenbildung zu sammeln. Ausgeweitet wurde der Diaspora-Begriff zunächst auf das Verständnis einer Minderheitenkirche in einer glaubensfremden Umwelt. Lange Zeit charakterisierte die jüdische Zerstreuung in der Welt die „Diaspora.“ Das Leben als Diaspora bedeutet für eine Glaubensgemeinschaft danach, durch die Auswirkungen von Gewalt – etwa durch Kriege, religiöse Verfolgungen, Naturkatastrophen oder wirtschaftliche Krisen – sich aus der ursprünglichen Heimat oder dem jeweiligen Stammland gezwungenermaßen in eine Fremde zu bewegen,

8 Tamara Ganjalyan, *Diaspora und Imperium. Armenier im vorrevolutionären Russland (17. bis 19. Jahrhundert)* (Köln: Böhlau, 2016), 17.

9 Albrecht Philipps, *Diaspora im Münsterland. Vorgeschichte, Gründung und Entwicklung evangelischer Kirchengemeinden in Westfalen im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert am Beispiel Ochtrups* (Bielefeld: Luther-Verlag, 2015).

aus der es kein Zurück zu geben scheint. Die Lebensgestaltung in der Diaspora ist geprägt vom Spannungsverhältnis zwischen der ursprünglichen, verlorenen Heimat und dem Lebensalltag in der neuen Heimat.[10]

2 Kurzer Überblick über die Geschichte des armenischen Volkes und des armenischen Christentums

Das armenische Volk blickt auf eine beinahe 3000-jährige Geschichte zurück. Das um den Berg Ararat lebende Volk der Armenier und ihre Ethnogenese nimmt Mitte des 9. Jahrhundert v. Chr. Konturen an. Die historischen Eckdaten sind wie folgt: Von 570 v. Chr. bis 191 v. Chr. herrschte die Dynastie der Jervandiden als Statthalter der Meder und Perser in Armenien. Es folgten die Artaschiden 191 v. Chr. bis 95 v. Chr. und Pahlavi Arschakiden 53 n. Chr. bis 428 n. Chr. Bereits in den ersten christlichen Jahrhunderten verbreitete sich das Christentum einerseits von Antiochien aus über Edessa und anderseits über Kappadokien auch in Armenien. 301 erfolgte die Christianisierung Armeniens. Die Armenisch-Apostolische Kirche blickt heute auf eine 1700-jährige Geschichte zurück. Im Jahre 406 entstand die armenische Schrift durch den Mönch Mesrop Maschtoz. Damit setzt im 5. Jahrhundert ein christlich aufgefasster Kulturprozess ein, nämlich die Schaffung einer christlichen Literatur in armenischer Sprache und Schrift. In der ersten Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts wurde sowohl die Bibel ins Armenische übersetzt als auch die Geschichte Armeniens von den Chronisten niedergeschrieben. Die Armenier nahmen am ersten Ökumenischen Konzil in Nizäa 325 teil und erkannten dann auch die Beschlüsse der folgenden beiden Ökumenischen Konzile an. An dem vierten Ökumenischen Konzil in Chalkedon 451 konnten die armenischen Bischöfe nicht teilnehmen. Die Beschlüsse dieses Konzils wurden sogar 506 und 554 in Armenien durch eigene Synoden abgelehnt. Damit blieb die Kirche Armeniens von der Reichskirche getrennt. Der ersten politischen Aufteilung Armeniens im Jahre 387 zwischen dem Oströmischen und dem Persischen Reich folgte 591 die zweite. Während der arabischen Invasion von 640 bis 885 herrschten in Armenien arabische Statthalter. In Nord- und Ostarmenien regierte von 885 bis 1045 die armenische Bagratiden-Dynastie und von 908 bis 1021 in Südwest Armenien die armenische Ardzruniten-Dynastie. Ab 1080 bis 1375 über-

10 Isolde Charim und Gertraud Auer Borea (Hg.), *Lebensmodell Diaspora. Über moderne Nomaden* (Bielefeld: transcript, 2012); Gottfried Klapper, *Das ärgerliche Wort Diaspora. Aufsätze zum Thema* (Erlangen: Martin-Luther-Verlag, 1997).

nahm die Rubeniden-Dynastie die Herrschaft über das armenische Volk, nun aber außerhalb des Stammlandes, in Kilikien. In den folgenden Jahrhunderten herrschten über das Stammland Armenien die Perser und die Türken, später kam das zaristische Russland dazu. Im Jahre 1555 folgte erneut eine politische Aufteilung Armeniens zwischen den Osmanen und Persern. Eine weitere Aufteilung Armeniens folgte 1639. Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts wurde Ostarmenien von Russland erobert.

Aus der hier sehr kurz skizzierten Geschichte wird deutlich, dass die Armenier sowohl in ihrem Stammland als auch auf den Territorien zahlreicher anderen Staaten und Völker lebten. Im 20. Jahrhundert wurde das armenische Volk aus seinem Stammland deportiert und beinahe ganz vernichtet. Nach dem Genozid und der Gründung der ersten unabhängigen Republik 1918 bis 1920 entstand zunächst die Sowjetarmenische Republik und schließlich nach der Wende 1989 die Unabhängige Republik Armenien. Heute leben in dieser nur ein Drittel der Armenier. Die anderen zwei Drittel sind in der ganzen Welt zerstreut.

Die Armenisch-Apostolische Kirche ist innerhalb der langen Geschichte dieses Volkes die einzige kontinuierlich fortbestehende Institution. Sie trug zur Bildung und Bewahrung der als christlich verstandenen Identität ihrer Angehörigen Jahrhunderte lang bei. Die Kirche der Armenier wandelte stets mit dem Volk und bildet bis heute eine der wichtigsten Stützen für die Identität der Armenier. Neben der seit 1700 Jahren bestehenden Armenisch-Apostolischen Kirche existiert seit 1742 eine mit Rom unierte Katholisch-Armenische Kirche sowie eine seit 1846 bestehende Evangelisch-Armenische Kirche. Im Laufe der 1700 Jahre währenden Kirchengeschichte Armeniens haben sich inner- und außerhalb Armeniens mehrere geistliche Zentren herausgebildet, die bis heute existieren:

1. Das Katholikosat aller Armenier in Etschmiadzin in Armenien (Stammland).
2. Das Katholikosat des Großen Hauses von Kilikien nach dem ersten Weltkrieg mit Sitz in Antilyas-Beirut im Libanon.
3. Das armenische Patriarchat von Jerusalem in Jerusalem seit dem 5. Jahrhundert und seit 1311 im Status als Patriarchat.[11]
4. Das armenische Patriarchat von Konstantinopel in Istanbul in der Türkei seit 1461.
5. Das Katholikosat der Katholischen Armenier mit Sitz in Bzomar-Beirut im Libanon.
6. Die Evangelisch-Armenische Kirche, organisiert in verschiedenen Konferenzen im Nahen Osten, in Europa sowie in Nord- und Südamerika.

11 Bezalel Narkiss, Hg., *Armenische Kunst. Die faszinierende Sammlung des armenischen Patriarchats in Jerusalem* (Stuttgart und Zürich: Belser, 1980).

Von diesen Zentren aus wurden und werden die Angehörigen der armenischen Kirche weltweit betreut. Die Missionsgebiete der armenischen Kirche erstrecken sich in der Geschichte und in der Gegenwart über die Grenzen des Stammlandes Armenien hinaus über die fünf Kontinente der Welt.[12]

Nach der Zerstörung der Hauptstadt Ani 1064 begann die Geschichte der Auswanderung der Armenier aus ihrem Stammland. Zunächst waren es kleinere Gruppen, also Kaufleute, Pilger und Gelehrte, die das Land verließen. Ab dem 11. Jahrhundert sind es immer mehr größere Gruppen, die aus politischen und wirtschaftlichen Gründen sowie in Folge von Naturkatastrophen gezwungen waren, das Stammland in Richtung Kilikien, in die süd-, west- und osteuropäischen Regionen Galizien, Transsilvanien, Krim oder Moskau und in die unmittelbaren Nachbarregionen Georgien, Iran und Irak, später auch nach Astrachan und auch nach Indien, zu verlassen.

Die Kirchenleitung der Armenisch-Apostolischen Kirche wanderte mehrfach unter der Führung des Obersten-Patriarchen, dem Katholikos aller Armenier, bis zum 11. Jahrhundert innerhalb des Stammlandes Armenien. So residierten die Obersten-Patriarchen von 301 bis 484 in Etschmiadzin, von 484 bis 931 in Dvin, von 931 bis 944 in Achtamar, von 944 bis 992 in Argina und von 992 bis 1065 in Ani. Nach der Zerstörung Anis im 11. Jahrhundert wanderte die Kirchenleitung in den folgenden Jahrhunderten mit dem Volk zusammen aus dem Stammland nach Kilikien in die „Diaspora“. Dort – in der „Zerstreuung“ – setzte sich die Wanderung der Kirchenleitung fort. Die Verlegungen des Sitzes der Katholikoi waren wie folgt: Von 1066 bis 1105 nach Camendav bei Sebaste, von 1105 bis 1116 nach Sevler Karadag, von 1116 bis 1149 nach Covk, von 1149 bis 1292 nach Hromkla am Euphrat, von 1293 bis 1441 nach Sis in Kilikien. Eine Rückverlegung des Katholikosats nach Etschmiadzin in Armenien erfolgte 1441. In Sis blieb das kilikische Katholikosat parallel bis 1915 bestehen. So gehört zu den Eigentümlichkeiten dieser Kirche, dass sie seit 1441 bis heute zwei Katholikate hat.

Die türkischen und mongolischen Eroberungen des 11. und 12./13. Jahrhunderts beschleunigten die erste Auswanderung der Armenier. Im Laufe des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts wurde das Stammland Armenien zwischen dem Osmanischen und dem Persischen Reich aufgeteilt. Es folgten in dieser Zeit staatlich gelenkte Zuwanderungen der Armenier in das Osmanische und das Persische Reich. In Istanbul und in Isfahan wurden Handwerker benötigt. So wuchs die

12 Zu der Geschichte der armenischen Diaspora und Kolonien: Mihran Dabag und Christin Platt, Hg., *Identität in der Fremde* (Bochum: Brockmeyer, 1993); Tamara Ganjalyan, *Diaspora und Imperium. Armenier im vorrevolutionären Russland (17. bis 19. Jahrhundert)* (Köln: Böhlau, 2016); Nadia H. Wright, *Respected Citizens. The History of Armenians in Singapore and Malayisa* (Victoria: Amassia Pub, 2003).

Gemeinschaft der Armenier in den Metropolen des Osmanischen und des Persischen Reiches kontinuierlich an. Bereits seit 1461 existierte in Istanbul ein eigenes armenisches Patriarchat.[13] In Persien wurde die Stadt Nor Djulfa das wichtigste geistige, geistliche, kulturelle und wirtschaftliche Zentrum der Armenier, von wo aus die Armenier ihre Kontakte nach Indien und nach China gepflegt haben.[14]

Bis in die Zeit des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts sind weitere Auswanderungen und Umsiedlungen zu beobachten. Eine kleine Zahl von Studenten gehen ins Baltikum, wofür die Universität in Dorpat einen Schwerpunkt bildet. Die Neuformierungen hinterlassen ihre Spuren: In Venedig und Wien werden armenische Klöster des Mechitaristenorden gegründet.[15]

Zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts erfolgte die größte Auswanderung in der Geschichte der Armenier. Diese Auswanderungswelle zog im Gegensatz zu den bisherigen Auswanderungen nicht in irgendwelche umliegenden Metropolen wie Istanbul oder Isfahan, sondern in die syrische Wüste. Der Auslöser für jene besondere Form der Migration war die Deportation der Armenier in den Tod. Infolge der Deportationen verloren über 1,5 Millionen Armenier im Osmanischen Reich in den Jahren 1895/96 sowie 1915 bis 1920 ihr Leben. Nur wenige Armenier haben diesen ersten – bis heute vom Nachfolgestaat Türkei verleugneten – Genozid des 20. Jahrhunderts überlebt.[16] Festgehalten werden kann, dass in allen diesen Auswanderungszeiten und -wellen die armenische Kirche die Institution war, die mit dem Volk gemeinsam wanderte und immer noch als Bindeglied zum Stammland diente.

3 Einige Streifzüge in die Länder der Zerstreuung

Die Armenier verstanden sich als eine vorwiegend christliche Gemeinschaft – auch in der Diaspora. In zahlreichen Orten lebten die Armenier als christliche Konfession bzw. Religionsgemeinschaft angesiedelt an ihre eigenen Kirchengemeinden und deren jeweilige Infrastruktur. Letztere bestand aus Bildungseinrich-

13 Markus Rahn, *Die Entstehung des armenischen Patriarchats von Konstantinopel* (Münster: LIT, 2002).

14 Christian Windler, *Missionare in Persien Kulturelle Diversität und Normenkonkurrenz im globalen Katholizismus im 17.–18. Jahrhundert*, EXTERNA Geschichte der Außenbeziehungen in neuen Perspektiven 12 (Köln: Böhlau, 2018).

15 Mari Kristin Arat, *Die Wiener Mechitaristen. Armenische Mönche in der Diaspora* (Wien: Böhlau, 1990); Hacik Rafi Gazer, „Mechitaristen," in *RGG*[4] (2002), 948–949.

16 Raymond Kévorkian, *The Armenian Genocide. A Complete History* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2011).

tungen, wie Schulen und karitativen Einrichtungen, sowie kulturellen Einrichtungen, wie Theater, bis hin zu Krankenhäusern in der Umgebung. Die Kirchengemeinden bzw. deren kirchlichen Behörden waren auch für die Rechtsprechung ihrer Angehörigen zuständig. Je nach wirtschaftlicher Lage wuchsen diese Kirchengemeinden in den geschlossenen Stadtteilen. Hinzu kamen Straßenzüge, manchmal sogar eigene Dörfer oder Städte, in denen ausschließlich Armenier lebten. Freilich gab es auch ethnisch-konfessionell gemischte Stadteile und Ortschaften. Im Folgenden soll ein Überblick zu den armenischen Kirchengemeinden zusammengestellt werden. Damit sollen anhand einer Auswahl die Verbreitung und die Vielfalt der armenischen „Diaspora“ vorgestellt werden.

Kaukasus

Georgien

Die ersten armenischen Siedlungen in Georgien gehen auf das 5. Jahrhundert zurück. In Tiflis wurde 754 eine erste armenische Kirche gegründet. Das Kloster Haranc Vank wurde im Jahr 931 gegründet. Seit dem 12. Jahrhundert wanderten Armenier nach Georgien aus. In Tiflis entwickelte sich sogar ein eigener armenischer Dialekt. Die Stadt Tiflis war das kulturelle Zentrum der armenischen Gemeinschaft. Um 1900 gab es in Tiflis über 40 Kirchengemeinden.

Südosteuropa

Bulgarien

Seit dem 12. Jahrhundert leben Armenier in Bulgarien. Nachgewiesen ist für diese Zeit auch ein armenisches Kloster, das sich in Plovdiv befindet. Im Laufe des 17. Jahrhunderts entstanden weitere Kirchengemeinden, so im Jahre 1675 in Plovdiv und 1673 in Sofia. In Bulgarien fanden die Überlebenden des Genozids eine neue Heimat und gründeten 1936 erneut in Sofia eine Kirchengemeinde.

Rumänien

Seit dem 14. Jahrhundert leben Armenier in Rumänien und seit 1365 unterstehen sie dem armenischen Bistum in Lemberg. Moldauer Fürsten erlaubten den Armeniern ein eigenes Kloster in Suceava zu bauen. Das Kloster wurde am 30. Juni 1401

eingeweiht. Ab 1565 wurde Jassy (Iași) das wichtigste Zentrum der Armenier. In Bukarest ist seit 1638 eine armenische Kirche nachgewiesen. In den Jahren 1911 bis 1915 wurde dort die Kirche erneuert. Seit den 1920er Jahren kamen zudem die Überlebenden des Völkermords nach Rumänien. Auch in der Bukovina und Siebenbürgen sind zahlreiche armenische Gemeinden nachgewiesen.

Westeuropa

Großbritannien

Seit dem 19. Jahrhundert leben Armenier in Großbritannien. In den Jahren 1863 bis 1870 entstand in Manchester die erste armenische Kirchengemeinde. In London wurden seit 1885 Gottesdienste gefeiert. Nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg wurde 1922 eine eigene Kirche in London gebaut. 80 Jahre danach folgte 2001 die Gründung einer weiteren Gemeinde.

Frankreich

Die Verbindungen der Armenier nach Frankreich gehen in die Zeit des kilikischen Königreichs zurück. Nach der Eroberung der Hauptstadt Sis wurde der letzte regierende König von Kleinarmenien, Leon VI. (Haus Lusignan), von den Mamluken gefangengenommen. Der König konnte gegen Zahlung freigelassen werden und starb 1393 in Paris. Er wurde in Saint Denis begraben. Im Laufe des 19. Jahrhunderts lebten Armenier auch in Paris, wo 1854 die erste eigene armenische Kirche gebaut wurde. Seit 1870 benutzten sie zusätzlich als Gastgemeinde eine protestantische Kirche in der Rue de Wien. 1904 spendete Großmäzen Mantaschyan aus Tiflis einen repräsentativen Kirchenbau für die armenische Kirchengemeinde in Paris. Im Laufe des 20. Jahrhunderts entstanden vor und nach dem Genozid armenische Kirchengemeinden: 1904 in Lyon, 1930 in Alfortville bei Paris, 1931 in Marseille. In diesen Gemeinden versammelten sich die Überlebenden des Genozids.

Niederlande

Seit dem 17. Jahrhundert lebten armenische Kaufleute mit ihren Familien in den Niederlanden. Die Kaufleute stammten aus dem osmanischen und persischen sowie russischen Reich. 1660 gründete Mattheos Carezin in Amsterdam auf eine

kirchliche Initiative hin eine Druckerei. Es kamen mehrere armenische Theologen in die reformierten Niederlande. Hier erschien 1666 bis 1668 die erste armenische Bibel im Druck. Es folgten weitere Drucke: Hymnarium-Bücher, Kirchenkalender, aber auch Landkarten. In Amsterdam wurde 1713–1714 die erste armenische Hl.-Geist-Kirche eingeweiht. Diese Kirchengemeinde löste sich im Laufe des Jahres 1874 auf. Die Gebäude wurden damals verkauft. 1989 konnte diese armenische Kirche wiedereingeweiht werden.

Südeuropa

Italien

Seit dem 6. Jahrhundert lebten Armenier als Kaufleute sowie als Mönche in Italien. Bis zum 14. Jahrhundert sind 40 armenische Kirchengemeinden in den Städten Venedig, Triest, Ravenna, Genua, Rom und Neapel nachgewiesen. In Neapel werden die Reliquien vom armenischen Hl. Gregor, dem Erleuchter, aufbewahrt. Er gilt als Schutzheiliger der Stadt. In Milano gibt es seit dem 11. Jahrhundert armenische Spuren. Hier lebten von 1342 bis 1650 die Mitglieder des armenischen Mönchsordens der Basilianer. In Venedig sind die Armenier seit 1348 erwähnt. Hier wurde 1512 das erste armenische Buch gedruckt. Auf der Insel San Lazaro in Venedig leben seit 1717 die Brüder des gelehrten Ordens der Mechitaristen als Angehörige der Armenisch-Katholischen Kirche.

Österreich

Die armenischen Gemeinden in Österreich bestanden aus Kaufmannsfamilien und wurden von Suceava aus betreut. In Wien eröffneten die Mechitaristen aus Venedig ein Kloster. Der gelehrte Orden besaß neben Venedig die größte armenische Bibliothek und Handschriftensammlung und eine der größten armenischen Druckereien in Europa. Von Wien aus bauten die Mitglieder des Ordens eine Schulmission in den Ländern des Nahen Ostens, Lateinamerika und Europa auf. Bereits am 17. Januar 1685 erhielt ein aus Istanbul stammender Armenier, Johannes Theodat (Asdvazadour), von Kaiser Leopold I. in Wien die Erlaubnis, Kaffee auszuschenken. Er war der Besitzer des ersten Kaffeehauses in Österreich.

Naher Osten

Zypern

Bereits im 5. Jahrhundert trifft man auf die Spuren der Armenier in Zypern. 560 wurde das Hl.-Makar-Kloster gebaut. Der byzantinische Kaiser Maurikius siedelte im ausgehenden 6. und am Anfang des 7. Jahrhunderts zahlreiche Armenier nach Zypern um. Unweit von Limassol lebten die Armenier in dem Ort Armenochori. In Nikosia wurde die Kirche der Hl.-Gottesgebärerin bereits 1116 erbaut.

Iran

Im Iran sind die Armenier seit dem 4. Jahrhundert anzutreffen. Vor allem seit dem 17. Jahrhundert leben dort zahlreiche Armenier, die nach Persien umgesiedelt wurden. In Isfahan, Täbriz, aber auch Teheran entstanden eigene Diözesen. Über 180 Kirchengemeinden sind auf dem persischen Gebiet nachgewiesen.

Irak

Im Irak leben Armenier seit dem 8. Jahrhundert in Basra und Bagdad. Hier wurde 1639–40 eine erste armenische Kirche mit eigenem Friedhof gebaut. Im 19. Jahrhundert wuchs die Zahl der Armenier in Mossul, im 20. Jahrhundert auch in Kirkuk.

Syrien

In Syrien bilden die Städte Aleppo und Damaskus die wichtigsten Zentren. Im 13. Jahrhundert entstanden armenische Kirchengemeinden in Aleppo. Die Kirchengemeinde in Damaskus diente auch für die Jerusalem-Pilger als Zwischenstation und wurde vom armenischen Patriarchat in Jerusalem betreut. Die Hl.-Sergius-Kirche stammt aus dem 15. Jahrhundert. Syrien wurde im 20. Jahrhundert Zufluchtsort für die Überlebenden des Genozids.

Ferner Osten und Australien

Indien

Bereits 1547 ist in Madras eine armenische Kirche gebaut worden. Die Stadt spielt auch für die Geschichte der armenischen Presse eine wichtige Rolle. In Madras erschien 1794 die erste armenische Zeitung „Azdarar." Herausgeber war ein Priester namens Harutyun Schmavoyan. In Bombay wird 1796 eine Kirche gegründet, in Kalkutta 1724. Weitere Kirchengemeinden in Fernost wurden erbaut in Honkong (1862), in Jakarta (1852), in Bangladesch (1781) sowie in Singapur (1885).

In *Australien* entstehen die frühesten Gemeinden erst in den 1950er Jahren in Sydney und Melbourne.

Nord- und Südamerika

In Nordamerika sind die ältesten Kirchengemeinden in den 1890er Jahren entstanden. 1891 bis 1898 in Usder, Massachusetts und 1923 in Boston. 1927 wurde die armenische Ost-Diözese von Amerika mit Sitz in New York gegründet. In Fresno entstand 1927 der Sitz der West-Diözese der Armenisch-Apostolischen Kirche. Der Sitz wurde 1957 nach Los Angeles verlegt. In Kanada sind die ersten Gemeinden bereits 1918 entstanden.

Die südamerikanische Diözese der armenischen Kirche ist 1938 entstanden und betreute die Kirchengemeinden in Argentinien, in Uruguay, in Brasilien, in Chile und Venezuela. Seit 1983 ist Argentinien eine eigenständige Diözese.

Afrika

In Afrika leben Armenier vor allem in Ägypten, seit dem 10. Jahrhundert in Kairo und Alexandrien. Bereits im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert existierten in Ägypten 30 Kirchengemeinden, sieben allein in Kairo. In Äthiopien, in Desie, ist seit 1527 eine Kirchengemeinde nachgewiesen. In den 1920er Jahren wurden weitere Kirchengemeinden in Dieretaw und in Adis Abeba gegründet, im Sudan 1957.

Das kurz skizzierte Bild über die Zerstreuung der Armenier zeigt, dass die Kirche einen zentralen Sammelpunkt bildete und immer noch bildet.

4 Eine besondere Problematik der Diaspora: Unionsversuche mit der Römisch-Katholischen Kirche

Unionsvereinbarungen zwischen Teilen der Armenisch-Apostolischen Kirche und der Römisch-Katholischen Kirche wurden bereits im 12. Jahrhundert beschlossen. Bereits zu diesem Zeitpunkt befand sich die Kirchenleitung der Armenisch-Apostolischen Kirche außerhalb des Stammlandes. Der Sitz des Obersten-Patriarchen war nach Kilikien verlegt. Hier beschloss Katholikos Krikor IV. (1195–1203) im Jahre 1198 eine Kirchenunion mit Rom. Papst Innozenz III. (1198–1216) verlieh ihm das Pallium. Diese „kilikische Union" war eine Teilunion, denn sie blieb auf das Territorium von Kilikien begrenzt. Insgesamt war die im 12. Jahrhundert beschlossene Union nicht von langer Dauer. Zwar wurden in den mehreren Lokalsynoden von 1243 bis 1342 theologische Lehren und liturgische Bräuche aus der Römisch-Katholischen Kirche übernommen, doch wurde unter dem Einfluss der Vertreter des armenischen Patriarchats von Jerusalem die Union mit Rom spätestens 1361 gekündigt. Die Unionsbemühungen mit den Armeniern wurden danach im 15. Jahrhundert fortgesetzt. Während des Unionskonzils von Ferrara-Florenz-Basel-Rom (1431–1445) wurde in Florenz ein Übereinkommen mit den Armeniern in der Bulle *Exultate Deo* vom 22. November 1439 vereinbart. Diese Vereinbarung brachte nicht wie erhofft eine dauerhafte Union zustande. Denn nach nur zwei Jahren lehnte 1441 eine Synode der armenischen Kirche in Etschmiadzin (Armenien) diese Union mit Rom ab. Die Geschichte einer anderen Teilunion soll später am Beispiel der armenischen Diaspora in Polen-Litauen-Ukraine skizziert werden.

Unabhängig davon kam im Laufe des 18. Jahrhunderts im Osmanischen Reich erneut eine Union der Armenier mit Rom Zustande. In Anlehnung an die alte, aufgelöste „kilikische Union" (12. bis 14. Jahrhundert) wurde im 18. Jahrhundert der ehemalige armenisch-apostolische Bischof von Aleppo, Abraham Ardzivian, nach einigen Streitigkeiten 1740 zum katholischen Katholikos der Armenier erklärt und erhielt 1742 von Papst Benedikt XIV. (1740–1758) das Pallium. Abraham Ardzivian erhielt den Namen Bedros I. und residierte im Libanon. Der Sitz dieses Patriarchats wurde nach der Anerkennung durch den Osmanischen Staat 1830 erst im Jahre 1867 nach Konstantinopel verlegt. Nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg verlor die Armenisch-Katholische Kirche ihre zahlreichen Mitglieder auf dem Gebiet des Osmanischen Reiches. Der Sitz wurde 1919 nach Rom und von dort 1929 nach Beirut im Libanon verlegt. Für die Angehörigen dieser Kirche wurden neue „Diaspora-Diözesen" errichtet: 1954 in Bagdad, 1986 in Paris und 1989 in Buenos Aires.

5 Ein Fallbeispiel der armenischen Diaspora: Polen-Litauen-Ukraine

Im Fallbeispiel der Geschichte der Armenier in Polen und in der Ukraine[17] kann Vieles über das kirchliche Leben in der Diaspora gezeigt werden. Je nach politischen, wirtschaftlichen, aber auch kirchenpolitischen Interessen – einerseits innerhalb der armenischen Gemeinschaft und andererseits innerhalb der römisch-katholischen Kirche Polens, Litauens und der Ukraine – schmolzen die ethnisch-konfessionellen Grenzen und wurden zum Teil aufgelöst.

Seit dem 11. Jahrhundert leben Armenier vor allem in der Gegend Ani in Galizien, Podolien und Wolhynien. Bis 1367 bildete dabei die im Nordwesten der heutigen Ukraine gelegene Stadt Luck/Luzk einen Mittelpunkt der armenischen Gemeinschaft. Dort war auch der Bischofsitz, also die armenische Kirchenleitung, ansässig. Im 14. Jahrhundert verlagerte sich der Sitz der armenischen Kirche nach Lemberg. Hier, im Fürstentum Galizien-Wolhynien, und später in Polen und in der Ukraine lebten die Armenier in über 70 Ortschaften, u.a. in Bar, Barek, Bazar, Bolszowce, Brody, Brzezany, Czortkow, Dubno, Hanczarow, Horodenka, Jampol, Jaroslawl, Jaslowiec, Kamieniec Podolski, Kazimirez Dolny, Kiew, Kolanki, Kolomyja, Kosow, Krakau, Kuty, Lemberg, Lublin, Luck, Lysiec, Mikulince, Mohylow am Dnjestr, Obertyn, Ormianie, Ormianiki, Podhajce, Podwysokie, Raszkow, Satanow, Studzienica, Sniatyn, Tysmienica, Warez, Warschau, Wilno, Zabudrowce, Zamosc, Zloczow, Zezawa, Zolkiew und Zukow.[18]

1340 fielen größere Teile des Fürstentums Halytsch und Cholm an Polen. Wolhynien und Podlachien gingen an Litauen über. So blieb die Stadt mit der armenischen Kirchenleitung in Luck unter litauischer Herrschaft. Der polnische König Kasimir III. verlegte 1367 die armenische Kirchenleitung von Luck nach Lemberg und entzog sie dem Einfluss der litauischen Fürsten. In Lemberg hatten die Armenier bereits 1183 in der nördlichen Stadt eine Holzkirche, die der Hl. Anna geweiht war, errichtet. Sie wurde 1251 erneuert. Kasimir III. gewährte 1344 den Armeniern in Kamenenc und 1356 in Lemberg Privilegien. Sie wurden freigestellt, sich dem Magdeburger Recht anzuschließen oder eine eigene Gerichtsbarkeit zu etablieren.[19] Der sogenannte Richterrat bestand aus 12 Richtern. Bis 1784 wurde nach dem armenischen Rechtsbuch Recht gesprochen.

17 Vgl. Yaroslav Dashkevych, *Armenia and Ukraine* (Lviv und New York: Edition M.R. Kots, 2001).
18 Vgl. Hamazasp Oskian, *Die polnischen Armenier und ihr Erzbischof Andreas in Jazlowiec* (Wien: Mechitaristen-Buchdruckerei, 1963), 3–4.
19 Vgl. Ferdinand Bischoff, *Urkunden zur Geschichte der Armenier in Lemberg* (Wien: K.K. Hofbibliothek Wien, 1864).

Bereits 1363 war die armenische Mariä-Entschlafens-Kirche durch die Spenden der armenischen Kaufleute Jakob von Kaffa (Feodosija) und Abraham von Halytsch erbaut worden, in der die armenischen Bischöfe ihren Sitz hatten. Bischof Grigor amtierte ab 1364 als erster Bischof der armenischen Diözese von Polen, Moldau und der Walachei. Kasimir III. bestätigte diese seinerseits 1367 als selbständige Diözese. Die armenischen Bischöfe verbrachten die eine Hälfte des Jahres in Lemberg und die andere Hälfte in Kamieniec-Podolski, wo es ebenfalls eine bischöfliche Residenz gab. Darüber hinaus bestand dort bereits seit 1250 eine armenische Kirche. In den Jahren 1394, 1498 und 1522 entstanden darin weitere Kirchen. Die Zahl der Kirchen erreichte um 1600 über 22.

In Lemberg selbst befand sich in der Nähe der Kathedrale eine eigene armenische Bank sowie das armenische Gerichtsgebäude. Um 1400 wurde eine zweite armenische Kirche, die dem Hl. Jakob von Nissibis gewidmet war, erbaut. 1629 folgten weitere Kirchengründungen. Bereits 1616 entstand in Lemberg eine eigene armenische Druckerei.

In der Zeit der Gegenreformation kam es auf dem Gebiet Polen-Litauen (*Rzeczpospolita*) zu neuen kirchlich-konfessionellen Machtkämpfen. Hier lebte neben der römisch-katholischen Bevölkerung auch eine orthodoxe Bevölkerung in der byzantinisch-slavischen Prägung. Die Sorge Roms, die Orthodoxen gegen die neuen Häretiker – die Protestanten – zu verlieren, war sehr groß. Nun setzte man auf eine Union mit den auf dem Gebiet Polen-Litauen lebenden Orthodoxen. Bei der Synode in Brest wurde am 6. Oktober 1596 die Union zwischen der ruthenisch-orthodoxen Kirche, die durch sechs Bischöfe vertreten wurde, und der römisch-katholischen Kirche beschlossen. Die Kirchengemeinden unterstellten sich der Jurisdiktion des römischen Papstes, behielten aber ihren byzantinisch-slavisch-orthodoxen Ritus. Nur wenige Jahre zuvor war die bis dahin autokephale russisch-orthodoxe Kirche vom Ökumenischen Patriarchat von Konstantinopel zum Patriarchat erhoben worden. Doch blieb ein Teil der nicht unierten ruthenisch-orthodoxen Kirche jurisdiktionell beim Ökumenischen Patriarchat von Konstantinopel.

Angesichts dieser Entwicklungen war Rom nun auf dem Gebiet Polen-Litauen auch um eine Union mit den Armeniern sehr bemüht. Mit den Armeniern strebte Rom seit dem 12. Jahrhundert eine Kirchenunion an.[20] Römisch-katholische Unions- und Missionsbestrebungen unter den Armeniern waren seit dem 11. Jahrhundert verbreitet. Sowohl in Kilikien als auch in Südostarmenien wurden die Unionsbestrebungen vorangetrieben. Die für diese Mission eigens zu den Arme-

20 Vgl. Peter Halfter, *Das Papsttum und die Armenier im frühen und hohen Mittelalter. Von den ersten Kontakten bis zur Fixierung der Kirchenunion im Jahre 1198* (Köln: Böhlau, 1996).

niern gesandten Orden *Fratres Unitores* setzten sich sehr erfolgreich dafür ein. Schon im 13. Jahrhundert hatten sich Franziskaner und Dominikaner in den Kreuzfahrerstätten niedergelassen. In Kilikien kamen sie mit den Armeniern in Berührung.[21] Noch intensiver wurden die Kontakte der Armenier mit der Römisch-Katholischen Kirche durch Begegnungen und Bekanntschaften mit den Mitgliedern der bereits in den Jahren 1300 bis 1304 gegründeten Kongregation *Congregation Societas seu Fratrum peregrinantium propter Christum inter gentes* in Südostarmenien.

Die im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert beschlossene Union war nicht von langer Dauer. Sie wurde von den Armeniern wiederholt gekündigt. Schließlich erbrachte das oben erwähnte Konzil von Basel-Rom-Ferrera-Florenz 1439 für Rom nicht die erhoffte Union mit den Armeniern.

Im 17. Jahrhundert war es die Gunst der Stunde für Rom, mit den Armeniern eine Union in Lemberg zu schließen. Nach dem Tode des armenischen Bischof Mesrop war der armenische Bischofsitz in Lemberg seit 1623 vakant. Im Jahre 1626 kam der armenische Koadjutor Melchisedek aus Etschmiadzin nach Lemberg. Er war in Armenien mit den *Fratres Unitores* in Verbindung gekommen und danach mit dem Katholikos David sowie dem dortigen armenischen Klerus in Konflikt geraten. Melchisedek war 1626 nach Lemberg geflohen.

Nun weihte er eigenmächtig 1627 in der Hl.-Kreuz-Kirche zu Lemberg den 22-jährigen Mönch Nikolaus Torosean zum Priester und zum Bischof der Armenier in Lemberg und setzte sich damit über das Recht der örtlichen armenischen Gemeinden hinweg. Laut dem armenischen Kirchenrecht hätte bei der Weihe eines Bischofkandidaten die Gemeinde zusammen mit dem örtlichen Priester das Vorschlagsrecht gehabt. Sigismund III. bestätigte 1629 Torosean als Bischof der armenischen Diözesen von Polen, Moldau und der Walachei. 1634 reiste er nach Rom, um dort Unionsverhandlungen zu führen. Dabei konnte er die Kardinäle von der abweichenden liturgischen Praxis der armenischen Kirche nicht überzeugen. Die Zugabe von Wasser bei der Eucharistiefeier war bei den Armeniern unüblich. Außerdem feierten die Armenier das Weihnachtsfest traditionell am 6. Januar und nicht am 25. Dezember. Torosean musste

21 Odulphus Van der Vat, *Die Anfänge der Franziskanermissionen und ihre Weiterentwicklung im nahen Orient und in den mohammedanischen Ländern während des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Werl in Westfalen: Franziskus-Druckerei, 1934), 117–123; Peter Halfter, *Das Papsttum und die Armenier im frühen und hohen Mittelalter. Von den ersten Kontakten bis zur Fixierung der Kirchenunion im Jahre 1198* (Köln: Böhlau, 1996); Katherine Walsh, „Zwischen Mission und Dialog: Zu den Bemühungen um Aussöhnung mit den Ostkirchen im Vorfeld des Konzils von Ferrara-Florenz," in *Toleranz im Mittelalter*, Hg. Alexander Patschovsky und Harald Zimmermann (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1998): 297–333.

sich den Bedingungen Roms fügen. Die Zugabe von Wasser in den eucharistischen Wein und das Weihnachtsfest am 25. Dezember sollten demnach in den unierten „armenischen Kirchengemeinden“ neu eingeführt werden. Nach der Annahme der „neuen“ Praxis durch Torosean ernannte Papst Urban VIII. diesen in Rom zum armenischen Erzbischof von Lemberg. Ihm wurden die armenischen Bistümer von Kamenec und Mogilev unterstellt. Als Torosean zurück nach Lemberg kam, zelebrierte er dort unter Protest der Armenier den römischen Ritus, also die römische Messe für die Armenier. Nach langen andauernden Auseinandersetzungen wurden von Toroseans Nachfolger Vardan Hunanian die „Liturgischen Reformen“ 1699 offiziell eingeführt und von August II. dem Starken bestätigt. Anders als bei den Angehörigen der Brester Union durften die Armenier ihren Ritus nicht beibehalten. Dies führte innerhalb der Kirchengemeinden zunehmend zu Unzufriedenheit. Viele Armenier zogen in die Nachbarregionen der Walachei, der Moldau und der Bukowina. Deren Geschichte bedarf einer eigenen Darstellung.

Section Three: **19th and 20th Centuries**

David Maxwell

Christianity, Mobility, and Frontiers of Change in Africa

The frontier is a crucial idea for understanding the primary achievement of Africans in peopling a continent known for its harsh environment. In particular, the notion is useful for tracing the dramatic spread of the Bantu-speaking peoples from West Africa through the equatorial forests into South and Central Africa over the past 5,000 years. Deployed by John Iliffe in his enormously influential history of the continent, the idea of the frontier is an important corrective to Eurocentric models of the African past in two senses. First, the history of borders is a short one, and mobility across territories occurred long before the colonial boundaries were imagined or established. Historians have been too quick to project the modern world of nation-states, with strict controls over movement, onto eras and regions where no such barriers existed.[1] Secondly, there were also many internal colonizing frontiers within African regions, which experienced the spread of ideas and technologies as peoples moved. Iliffe reminds us that, contrary to popular opinion, Christianity (and Islam) preceded professional missionaries by over 1,000 years, reaching Africa across the Sahara in the hands of traders and migrants before it had entered much of Europe.[2]

This chapter demonstrates how African mobility was key to religious expression prior to colonialism and how it was subsequently important in the construction of new Christian identities. Standing in a long tradition of religious movement in pilgrimage, and cults of possession and cleansing within traditional religious practice, Christian movements led by Africans were a strong feature of the nineteenth century before the establishment of colonial borders, and continued with even greater force in the twentieth century. Taking a variety of forms from bands of returning freed Christian slaves, refugees, and labour migrants to the prophets, evangelists and catechists who led movements of mass conversion and renewal, all of these groups pushed the Christian frontier ahead of the missionary frontier bringing significant religious and cultural change in their wake. The chapter examines the relations between mobility, enlargement of scale and religious conversion in the context of rapid and far-

1 Sunil Amrith, *Migration and Diaspora in Modern Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 1.

2 John Iliffe, *Africans. The History of a Continent* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 1–5, 37–61.

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reaching social change that began with the increase of internal African slavery and intensified with formal European occupation and the establishment of a colonial economy. New technologies and diseases, novel social structures, the rapid enlargement of horizons that accompanied labour migration, trade, and eviction from ancestral lands, all shattered pre-existing structures of meaning, causing Africans to turn to world religions for new means of conceptual control over what was happening around them, and for new tools to help them relate to colonial modernity. Nevertheless, in spite of, or perhaps because of increased mobility and social flux, African Christians fashioned local expressions of the Christian faith in their home communities, which were often sustained by women. As in other transnational histories, mobility was deeply gendered. While men possessed far greater ability to move and proselytize, it was women and the elderly who brought permanence to the resulting local Christianities.

1 Pre-colonial Mobility in African Religious Expression

In an important essay examining the scale and locus of religious interaction in Southern Africa, Terence Ranger argued that the long-held notion that pre-colonial Africans lived in "tribally homogenous, ritualized traditional local religious world" was the "invention of administrators, missionaries, African organic intellectuals, and African 'religious leaders' themselves."[3] In the nineteenth century, an era of much economic and ecological change, and social dislocation, there was much movement and regrouping. Ranger envisaged how a "hypothetical man" [sic] in pre-colonial southern Africa could belong successively, or even simultaneously, to overlapping networks of religious relationship: "he could express his control of his household through a localized ancestral cult, carry tribute to a distant territorial shrine, belong to a gun-hunter's guild, and be an initiate of a spirit possession cult that linked him to the men and women who lived along a

3 Terence O. Ranger, "The Local and the Global in Southern African Religious History," in *Conversion to Christianity. Historical and Anthropological Perspectives on a Great Transformation*, ed. Robert Hefner (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993): 72. There is now a considerable literature on the invention of a traditional localism and the creation of notions of ethnic identity that often accompanied it. Important texts have been Leroy Vail, ed., *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa* (London: James Currey, 1989) and Thomas Spear, "Neo-Traditionalism and the Limits of Invention in British Colonial Africa," *Journal of African History* 44 (2003): 3–27.

trading route."[4] Ranger himself wrote at length about the Mwari High God cult located in the Matopos Hills of southwest Zimbabwe, which drew pilgrims in search of healing, cleansing, and fertility. Although under state surveillance in the colonial era the shrine continued to draw clients from across distant territorial borders, especially in times of drought.[5]

The Mwari cult was an institution served by a permanent religious hierarchy of priests, but there were also more ephemeral African religious movements that cut across precolonial polities and colonial borders. Using Portuguese sources, it is possible to reconstruct a centuries-long tradition of witchcraft eradication movements in Central Africa. Led by prophets who sought to challenge corrupt chiefs and cleanse societies of socially divisive witchcraft, these movements often began at a local level but spread as adjacent communities wanted to partake in purifying medicines, destroy polluted objects, and restore social harmony.[6] One notable example of this phenomenon was the Mchape Movement whose prophets traversed Nyasaland and Southern Rhodesia dispensing medicine to villagers divided by the inequalities thrown up by the Great Depression in the late 1920s.[7]

Some missionary organizations arrived in Southern, Central and West Africa before formal colonial occupation, and from the outset they were assisted by or worked with mobile African Christian agents. Growing scholarly recognition of the significance of African agency does not, however, devalue the significance of foreign missionaries in instituting social and cultural change. They pioneered literacy and schooling, biomedicine and healthcare and did important work in knowledge creation: linguistics, ethnography, and collecting for museums and botanical gardens. But, with some exceptions, they were not particularly effective proselytizers. Pioneer missionaries were few on the ground, often responsible for the 100s even 1,000s of square miles and 1,000s of souls. The need to build mission stations, learn the language and produce vernacular scriptures, survive disease, and administrate, threw them into reliance upon local evangelists, creating much room for indigenous agency and modified practice. Christianization was low key, spontaneous, and haphazard, often moving rapidly beyond the horizons of missionaries, who struggled to control it.

4 Ranger, "The Local and the Global:" 74.

5 Ranger, "The Local and the Global:" 72–74.

6 Willy De Craemer, Jan Vansina, and Renée C. Fox, "Religious movements in Central Africa: A theoretical study," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 18, 4 (1976): 458–75.

7 David Maxwell, *Christians and Chiefs in Zimbabwe. A Social History of the Hwesa People c.1870s–1990s* (Edinburgh: International African Library, 1999), 59–67.

Christianized freed slaves were some of the earliest agents. The most prolific example was the more than 70,000 slaves freed by the Royal Navy in Sierra Leone following the abolition of the slave trade in 1807. Dispersed into Christian villages around Freetown, many of these *Saro*, as they were known locally, adopted Christianity and subsequently returned home along the West African coast with their new faith.[8] The most prominent example was Samuel Crowther, a Yoruba who became Anglican Bishop in 1864. A similar movement occurred in the far South of the Continent where a group of well over 10,000 slaves, captured along the East African coast were released in Cape Town between 1808 and 1885. Members of this Christianized immigrant community, known as Mozbiekers, subsequently led Anglican missionaries back into Central Africa. Most notable was Bernard Mizeki who played a leading role in the founding of Anglican Christianity in Manicaland, Southern Rhodesia, for which he was later martyred.[9]

My own research has examined the case of Luba, Lunda, and Songye former slaves who returned to Katanga, Belgian Congo. It sheds light on their conversion and on the social and cultural change they brought about. Issues of mobility were key to these processes.[10] In 1910 Portuguese Decree set free slaves who had been captured by Ovimbundu and Afro-Portuguese slavers several decades earlier and marched to the Angolan Coast.[11] While labouring in plantations in Bié they had been evangelized by missionaries from the British Open Brethren, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Mission and Canadian Congregationalists. On receiving their papers of manumission many returned to their ancestral home in Katanga and Kasai in the Belgian Colony. There were strong material reasons for the ex-slaves' return. The underlying factor was that the massive slave population in Bié became unsustainable

8 John David Yeadon Peel, *Religious Encounter and the Making of the Yoruba* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000), 24.

9 Patrick Harries, "Making Mozbiekers: History, Memory and the African Diaspora at the Cape," in *Slave Routes and Oral Tradition in Southeastern Africa*, eds. Allen Isaacman, Edward Alpers, and Benigna Zimba (Maputo: Filsom, 2005).

10 Below I draw upon several of my own articles to reconstruct the story of the Luba returnees: David Maxwell, "Freed slaves, missionaries and respectability: The expansion of the Christian frontier from Angola to Belgian Congo," *Journal of African History* 54, 1 (2013): 79–102; David Maxwell, "The Creation of Lubaland: Missionary Science and Christian Literacy in the making of the Luba Katanga in Belgian Congo," *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 10, 3 (2016): 367–392; David Maxwell, "Remaking Boundaries of Belonging: Protestant Missionaries and African Christians in Katanga, Belgian Congo," *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 52, 1 (2019): 59–80.

11 Belgian Congo was known as the Congo Free State for the period 1885–1908.

as tree cover diminished and fragile soils eroded.[12] But in the short term, Ovimbundu livelihoods were undermined by the imposition of hut tax, state restrictions on hunting, the curtailment of the slave trade by the Portuguese and Belgians, the falling price of rubber, and a settler land-grab. Conditions worsened with a series of natural disasters ending with a severe drought in 1914, which pushed Ovimbundu from outlying areas into Bié in search of food and work. Amid these hardships, former Ovimbundu traders turned to peasant farming and labour migrancy, leaving few opportunities for ex-slaves.[13] Labour shortages in Belgian Congo made possible their crossing of the imperial border.

But the ex-slaves were also impelled homewards by a strong ideological imperative. They understood themselves as missionaries to their own people, arriving in Katanga with a strong sense of vocation and a reluctance to subordinate themselves to Euro-American missionary schemes. Reading their own experiences of slavery and redemption into the Hebrew scriptures, they gained a sense of dignity and restored honour, seeing themselves as beneficiaries of God's providence and agents of a black Manifest Destiny to bring salvation to Africa. They appropriated the Exodus narrative, which sustained them as they journeyed back to Katanga and faced hunger, illness, random violence, and the corruption of colonial officials. Once re-located, the story of Israel provided them with a vocabulary to reimagine their identity in a new and often hostile environment. Those who had been forced to participate in the slave trade also found expiation of guilt and the rhetoric of renewal in evangelical conversion narratives.[14]

The former slaves' impact was immediate and profound, catalysing a Luba conversion movement. The majority attached themselves to what became the Congo Evangelistic Mission (CEM) founded in Katanga in 1915. But others stayed with the Open Brethre or worked with the American Methodist Episcopal Church. They actively proselytized their non-Christian kin and neighbours and exhibited a deep iconoclasm toward local ancestor and possession cults. Jealously guarding their respectability, they asserted moral and spatial boundaries between themselves and pagan 'others'. Closely related to their respectability came a

12 Joseph Miller, "The Paradoxes of impoverishment in the Atlantic zone," in *History of Central Africa*, vol. 1., eds. David Birmingham and Phyllis Martin (London: Longman, 1983): 202.

13 William Gervase Clarence-Smith, *Slaves, Peasants and Capitalists in Southern Angola, 1840–1926* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 63–64, 70, and 77; Linda M. Heywood, *Production, trade, and power: the political economy of central Angola, 1850–1930*, (PhD Thesis, Columbia University, 1984), 290–402.

14 For comparative work on the attraction of evangelical ideas to those caught up in slavery and the slave trade see Elizabeth Elbourne, *Blood Ground: Colonialism, Missions and the Contest for Christianity in the Cape Colony and Britain, 1799–1853* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 2002).

commitment to a Christian modernity. The notion of being 'modern' was deployed as a distancing strategy to separate them from non-moderns and to claim membership in a new Christian community alongside missionaries. Like ardent Christians across the globe and other aspirational African communities, they approached the ideological and institutional formations of modernity selectively, taking new tools for governing social arrangements while rejecting many of the values of cultural modernism. They valued literacy, schooling, biomedicine, bureaucratic forms of church government, urban organization, and mechanical reproduction but shunned wage labour to retain their independence.

Intrinsic to being modern was the adoption of a Luba ethnic identity, which the former slaves played a key role in fashioning. Their prior experience of dislocation and movement meant that their spatial attachment operated on a larger scale. While their claims to new types of literate authority made them less dependent on 'traditional' bases of power and identification. Thus, their horizons extended well beyond their villages, meaning that they were responsible for the pioneering or maintenance of no fewer than twenty stations or outstations across Luba territory for the CEM alone.[15] They taught in new schools across the territory and married elite, missionized women, raised on stations. Exhibiting limited attachment to their new denominations, they operated in the spirit of low church Protestant ecumenism across mission territories. Missionary modernity remained key in its emphasis on literacy and schooling. Much effort, missionary and African, had been expended on the production of standardized vernacular scriptures and thus, as in the case of the Yoruba, the ethnic message "was wrapped up in the language of literacy", as the basis of a new supra-local identity.[16] The standardized vernacular and with it Luba ethnic identity was rapidly disseminated at grassroots level via preaching, reading, heated discussion, and the frenetic copying and adaption of missionary sermons and Bible studies. It moved along a network of mission stations and Christian villages across Luba territory, connected by runners and carriers and a regular diet of conventions and meetings, forming a network of congregations to rival territorial cults of old.[17]

15 See map entitled "Ex-Slaves" in David John Garrard, *History of the Zaire Evangelistic Mission/ Communauté Pentecôtiste au Zaire 1915–1982* (PhD Thesis, University of Aberdeen, 1983), 117.

16 John David Yeadon Peel, "The Cultural Work of Yoruba Ethnogenesis," in *History and Ethnicity*, eds. Elizabeth Tonkin, Maryon McDonald, and Malcolm Chapman (London: Routledge, 1989): 201.

17 William F. P. Burton, *Congo Sketches* (London: Victory Press, 1950), 165.

2 Movements of Mass Conversion in Colonial Africa

The Luba conversion movement occurred alongside similar movements of proselytism that traversed much of sub-Saharan Africa.[18] The first major example happened in Catholic Buganda, East Africa, in the closing fifteen years of the nineteenth century. The decision of a group of pages in the royal court to convert in the early 1880s, followed by their martyrdom and civil conflict, led to the full-scale Christianization of the kingdom by 1900. From Buganda, the movement spread into surrounding territories. Some of its impetus flowed from Ganda imperialism but it was also marked by a sincere African missionary commitment to the propagation of Anglican and Catholic traditions. Inspired by a local revival in 1893—4, Ganda Protestants volunteered to proselytize in places as distant as Toro, Bunyoro, Acholi, Teso and Sukuma.[19] In 1896 the Ganda, Apolo Kivebulaya, arrived on the Semeliki escarpment, North East Congo Free State, devoting the next 37 years of his life to the extension of the Anglicanism of the *Church Missionary Society* (CMS) which he had encountered in Uganda. Although claimed and lionized by the CMS as evidence of the fruit of missionary labours, Kivebulaya worked alone for much of his career, establishing the African roots of the Anglican church in Belgian territory.[20] Not to be upstaged, Ganda Catholics launched their own initiatives, founding popular Catholicism in Bunyarunguru twenty years before the White Fathers arrived there. Along the West African coast a series of conversion movements began around 1910. The most prolific of these occurred in the Ivory Coast and was led by the dynamic Liberian Grebo, the Prophet, William Wadé Harris. He travelled with a cross, calabash and Bible, baptizing tens of thousands.

A good deal is known about the larger mass movements of conversion, led by healing prophets and evangelists but there was a myriad of minor figures who played a part in the founding of popular Christianity in the first decades of the twentieth century. Many of these were labour migrants who either carried their Christianity to and from their place of work, converting fellow workers, neighbours, families and kin in the process. Their effect was profound in Central and Southern Africa, which formed a vast pool of migrant labour, which

18 The broad parameters of these movements have been outlined in Adrian Hastings, *The Church in Africa, 1450–1950* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 438–86.

19 On the dynamics of East African movements see Thomas Spear and Isaria N. Kimambo, eds., *East African Expressions of Christianity* (Oxford: James Currey, 1999).

20 Emma Wild-Wood, *Migration and Christian Identity in Congo (DRC)* (Leiden: Brill, 2008).

generally travelled southwards towards the mines, farms, and cities of Southern Rhodesia and South Africa from the 1840s onwards. In Nyasaland (contemporary Malawi) the labour migrants participated in a two-way process of proselytism. A poor agricultural region, particularly in the North, the colony actively exported its inhabitants, collectively known as Nyasas, to pay the costs of its development. Supposedly 'martial' ethnic groups such the Yao and Ngoni came to view labour migration as an initiation into manhood through providing formative experiences of travel and adventure. Benefitting from high-quality schools, provided by Scots Presbyterian missionaries, Nyasas flocked to the rapidly expanding colonial city of Salisbury in Southern Rhodesia, to take positions as clerks and other highly skilled workers. They pressured missionaries to build churches and schools in which Chinyanja was initially the language of instruction, and, for a while, they formed the second-largest denomination in the city after the Anglicans. Connection with the Presbyterian church allowed Nyasas to maintain ties with rural kin back home while associating them with a modern institution that enhanced their respectability as aspirant educated elites.

By the 1950s pressure on land and dissatisfaction with government economic policies had pushed Southern Nyasas into the migrant labour economy.[21] In Southern Rhodesia and South Africa, many of this second wave of Malawian labour migrants encountered Anglo-American derived Pentecostalism, returning home to inaugurate what Matthew Schofeleers described as the second Christianization of Nsanje District. Taking a particularly adversarial stance towards possession cults which they deemed demonic, these new Pentecostals undercut these traditional religious expressions via their own therapeutic practices of exorcism and divine healing. Locally led and resourced, they also emptied longstanding Catholic and Evangelical Churches in the area.[22] A similar process occurred in the North of Manicaland, Southern Rhodesia where returning labour migrants from the South African derived Apostolic Faith Mission invited British Elim Pentecostal missionaries to join them in their work, in the absence of their own missionaries. The arrival of Pentecostalism in Northern Manicaland had the same effect on adherence to traditional religious cults and to the historic mission churches as it did in Malawi.[23] Within Africa, low-level informal evangelism by Pentecostal labour migrants has steadily become formalized

21 Zoë Groves, *Malawian Migration to Zimbabwe, 1900–1965. Tracing Machona* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2020).

22 Jan M. Schoffeleers, *Pentecostalism and Neo-Traditionalism: The Religious Polarization of a Rural District in Southern Malawi (*Amsterdam: Amsterdam Free University Press, 1985).

23 David Maxwell, *Christians and Chiefs in Zimbabwe. A Social History of the Hwesa People c.1870s–1990s* (Edinburgh: International African Library, 1999), 75–76.

as Pentecostalism has grown in numbers of adherents and resources. In its early life the *Zimbabwe Assemblies of God, Africa* (ZAOGA), expanded into Mozambique, Malawi and Zambia via labour migrants. But as movement increased and prospered so it followed up these connections with formal evangelistic campaigns led by 'celebrity' evangelists, accompanied by musicians and dancers in venues as large as football stadia and show grounds. By the 2000s ZAOGA had expanded into much of sub-Saharan Africa and North America, Britain and Australia. Outside of Africa, it followed Zimbabwe's large diaspora in flight from the state's economic decline and political instability, sending missionaries to support lay founded local assemblies in European and North American cities. These relatively wealthy western based congregations were used in turn to finance ZAOGA's transnational plants in African countries.[24]

But returning labour migrants could also exhibit great loyalty to expressions of historic mission Christianity they encountered. Like the lake region of Malawi, Manicaland in Southern Rhodesia had a rich concentration of mission stations founded by Catholics, American Methodists and Anglicans. Benefiting from mission schooling and their 'high sounding English', Manyika labour migrants were in high demand across the region. One such migrant was Patrick Kwesha, who proved a committed exponent of the virtues of the faith he had encountered under the first Catholic missionaries to enter his home area around Triashill. These were German Trappist Missionaries of the Mariannhill Order who instilled in him a devout Marianism and fervent Franciscanism, which he carried to Johannesburg. There, working as a gardener, he joined the Third Order of St Francis and founded a Manicaland Guild of St Francis amongst Manyika in the city, keeping alive the Mariannhill vision, while Jesuits occupied Triashill. Returning home in 1931 he worked with Irish Carmelite missionaries to extend Manyika folk Catholicism across the region, constructing a Marian shrine amongst the rocky outcrops of Manga reserve. Another returned migrant Enoch Sanahwe, consolidated Kwesha's work.[25] Having connected with Trappist missionaries in Natal, Sanehwe also returned devout in his Marian faith, ready to conduct services in front of the rocky shrine.[26]

As the above suggests, Christianity in Manicaland, and elsewhere across Africa often took vernacular form. No matter how culturally arrogant foreign

24 David Maxwell, *African Gifts of the Spirit: Pentecostalism and the rise of a Transnational Religious Movement* (Oxford: James Currey, 2006).

25 Terence O. Ranger, "Taking on the Missionary's Task: African Spirituality and the Mission Churches of Manicaland in the 1930s," in *Christianity and the African Imagination. Essays in Honour of Adrian Hastings*, eds. David Maxwell and Ingrid Lawrie (Leiden: Brill, 2002): 93–126.

26 Maxwell, *Christians and Chiefs in Zimbabwe*, 119–147.

missionaries were, they still collaborated with African Christians to seize hold of the land and create new centres of spiritual power. The African landscape was full of religious significance. Trees, rocks, pools streams were often sites of invocation to the ancestors, whilst caves and mountains often had particular significance as burial places of great dead chiefs and kings. As Terence Ranger has shown, these locations were re-sacralized in a Christian fashion. Catholics took hold of every feature of the land through the constructions of shrines and grottos in which statues of the saints were placed. On certain religious days of the year, processions of devout Catholics would perambulate up the mountainsides for special prayers to Mary or St Therese, giving Manicaland Catholicism a particularly feminine character. The American Methodists had quite a different technique. Their holy ground developed out of the sites where their annual camp meetings were held at which the Holy Spirit came down. And the Anglicans created Christian cemeteries as the focal point of their religion, stimulating the remembrance of new Christian ancestors in the process.[27] Further north, Pentecostals seized hold of the land in a typically more aggressive manner, making mountain shrines associated with 'past' traditional leaders into places of prayer, and turning sacred pools into sites of baptism.[28] Christian possession of the landscape increased the range of religious topographies, adding new forms such as the grotto or the camp meeting. But these forms of sacralization were often more localized. Whereas pilgrims could travel hundreds of miles to the caves of the Mwari Cult in Western Zimbabwe, Catholic religious practitioners constructed Marian Shrines in their own vicinity.

3 Missionaries and African Christians

With some notable exceptions, few missionaries were confident that capitalist urban industrial development was part of a divine plan. Their embrace of symbolic localization often combined with enthusiasm for settled peasant societies in the form of Christian villages. Labour migrants carried these local Christian expressions with them as they travelled to work. And they embraced them when they returned home as a source of status and religious legitimacy through leadership in local society. The Manyikas' loyalty to their various forms of popular Christianity was evident when many were evicted during Southern Rhodesia's second colonial occupation in the 1950s. Pushed hundreds of miles north into barren

27 Terence O. Ranger, "Taking Hold of the Land: Holy Places and Pilgrimages in Twentieth Century Zimbabwe," *Past and Present* 117 (1987): 158–97.
28 Maxwell, *Christians and Chiefs in Zimbabwe*, 86–88, 198.

reserves they took their statues, scapulars, efficacious Latin Masses and prayers with them, creating new Christian landscapes in the process. These communities of faith subsequently survived a violent liberation war in the 1970s, when missionaries were withdrawn. Because a widespread severance of the African church from missionary roots had taken place before decolonization Christianity was able to transition to the post-colonial era without the stigma of being a Western religion.[29]

Nevertheless, although it appeared like African autonomy, migrant popular Christianity often avoided colonial hostility because it took local form. This was in keeping with a traditional localism that underpinned indirect rule and retained an association with missionaries. Protestant Christianity engendered disruptive generational struggles between youth and elders, but these often remained localized and were encouraged by missionaries who saw possession cults, which were dominated by elder males, as rival institutions to the church. To the official colonial mind, far move subversive were the movements of healing, exorcism led by the Prophets, Johana Maranke and Johana Masowe in Southern Rhodesia and by Simon Kimbangu in Belgian Congo in the interwar period. These stood in the tradition of personal security movements such as Mchape but increasingly operated in the Christian idiom. They cut across territories, threatening multi-ethnic assimilation when colonial authorities were intent on dividing and ruling Africans in 'tribes'. And they challenged the authority of chiefs and missionaries, who were pillars of colonial rule at local level.[30]

But many African-led conversion movements and churches were not anti-missionary. Their leaders simply saw themselves as supplementing missionary work or making up for missionary failures. The prophet Harris only founded churches in West Africa where there were no mission churches available. One of his acolytes, John Swatson, delivered his following to the embryonic Anglican Church of Ghana, forming the basis of what became the Diocese of Accra. It is significant that numerous African-led healing and revival movements appeared during the Great Depression when mission organizations were retrenching, and their modernizing promises of widespread health and education appeared to be failing.[31]

Indeed, missionaries were often acutely aware of the potential of movements of African peoples, Christian or not, and did their best to capture them for the church. Some pioneering missionaries in the nineteenth century possessed a broad vision of their mission, including a clear spatial strategy, locating their

29 Maxwell, *Christians and Chiefs in Zimbabwe*, 119–147.

30 Karen Fields, *Revival and Rebellion in Colonial Central Africa* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985).

31 Terence O. Ranger, "Taking on the Missionary's Task:" 93–126.

stations on highways or natural frontiers with little concern for the continent's eventual colonial borders. The founding of the Universities Mission to Central Africa station on Likoma Island in Lake Malawi in 1876 was a prime example. Here the UMCA missionaries fashioned their missionary practice from their own church history, mindful that northern England and Scotland had been initially evangelized from the offshore Islands of Lindisfarne and Iona respectively. Open Brethren missionaries saw the potential of the Ovimbundu traders who moved far into the African interior from Angola and so sought to convert them to legitimate trade and evangelism instead of slaving. The Brethren also situated their stations on the so-called 'Beloved Strip', the slaving and trading route, from Central Africa to the Angolan Coast. They worked closely with Lunda, Luba, and Songye Christian ex-slaves returning to the Congo, furnishing them with letters of introduction and providing the protection of mission stations as they travelled. Other mission societies saw the potential of urban missions that engaged with labour migrants. The *Methodist Episcopal Church* (MEC) from North America made use of Zambian Christians to found churches on the Congolese part of the Copper Belt. And Zambian Christians worked as some of the first MEC evangelists amongst the Lunda and Luba in rural Katanga.[32]

And when African Christians were evicted from their ancestral lands or were forced to flee as refugees, missionaries followed them with schools, hospitals and churches. This was certainly the case for Manicaland, Zimbabwe where Carmelite Catholic and Anglican missionaries followed their evicted flocks into the north of the province. In the process, the missionaries reaped the unexpected benefit of the conversion of the autochthonous Hswea peoples who imitated the 'sophisticated' Manyika in their dress, plough cultivation, construction in brick, and in their Christian practice. Some Hwesa even took on a Manyika identity to improve their chances in the migrant labour economy. Once the missionaries had constructed schools, the Hwesa flocked to their stations to formalize their church membership and gain access to literacy, a prized source of social mobility.[33] Alternatively, in times of political violence and instability, mission stations could become refuges ('Caves of Adullam') for peoples in flight, with the missionary finding himself the *de facto* 'big man' in the region. The most famous example was the Open Brethren, Dan Crawford, of Luanza Mission, Belgian Congo, who

32 Jeffrey Hoover, "*Siplingas*: Interregional African Initiatives and the United Methodist Church in Katanga, 1910–1945," in *The Objects of Life in Central Africa. A History of Consumption and Social Change, 1840–1980*, eds. Robert Ross, Marja Hinfelaar, and Iva Peša (Leiden: Brill, 2013): 69–91.

33 Maxwell, *Christians and Chiefs in Zimbabwe*, 110–117.

was known as, *Konga Vantu*, the gatherer of peoples.[34] Across, Africa leaders of autonomous African Christian groups sought out missionary 'supervisors' in order to gain state recognition and access to resources. But the relationship was not purely instrumental. Some of the best written sources on African Christian leaders are the loving hagiographies missionaries wrote about them in order to demonstrate their success in creating *self-governing*, *self-supporting* and *self-propagating* African churches – the mantra of evangelical Protestant mission.[35] This is certainly the case for copious sources that document Apolo Kivebulaya's life.[36]

By implication, the model I have been advancing needs to be gendered. The movement of men was more prevalent in the above transnational histories because men often migrated first. And as the boundaries of nation-states and colonial states came to be drawn in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries official documentation, the passport or labour pass, validated predominantly male patterns of movement. Until industrialists required a skilled 'stabilized' workforce, colonial cities remained deeply gendered environments that drew upon a pool of low skilled, poorly paid male migrant labour. Once men were given permanence in their working contracts their wives could practice 'marital migrancy', keeping home in the city until it was time to return home to plant and harvest. But as a black middle class emerged, its moral parameters were maintained by the respectable women of Christian sororities such as the Methodist *Manyanos* of Southern Africa, who taught domesticity to their poorer counterparts, cared for the sick, and guarded their menfolk against the dangers of single predatory females and the allure of the city.[37] Processes of mobility and stasis, with attendant implications for religious change, are equally manifest, in situations of war and flight when certain social categories 'get stuck'. The elderly can feel compelled to tend ancestral graves or are too infirm to move, while women often have to stay to care for children or ageing parents.[38] Nevertheless,

34 Ruth Slade, *English Speaking Missions in the Congo Independent State – 1878–1908* (Brussels: Duculot, 1959), 126.

35 The notion derives from nineteenth century missionary thinkers Henry Venn of the *Church Missionary Society* and Rufus Anderson of the *American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions*.

36 Emma Wild-Wood, "The Making of an African Missionary Hero in the English Biographies of Apolo Kivebulaya (1923–1936)," *Journal of Religion in Africa* 40, (2010): 273–306.

37 Terri Barnes, *'We Women Worked so Hard:' Gender, Urbanization, and Social Reproduction in Colonial Harare, Zimbabwe, 1930–1956* (Oxford: James Currey, 1999).

38 Sunil Amrith, *Migration and Diaspora in Modern Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 195–96; Joya Chatterji, "On Being Stuck in Bengal: Immobility in the 'age of migration'," *Modern Asian Studies* 51, 2 (2017): 511–41.

as in urban contexts women have proved crucial in sustaining local Christian communities through prayer, fund-raising, charity and evangelism. It has been women in combination with youth who been responsible for instituting revival when elder male hierarchies grow stale.

Many of the issues discussed in this chapter, including gendered processes of religious change, were apparent in the conversion of the Dinka people of Sudan during its Second Civil War 1983–2005, and have been reconstructed in Jesse Zink's, *Christianity and Catastrophe in South Sudan*.[39] The very recency of the war allowed Zink access a wealth of oral and archival data that made possible a particularly insiderly account of the conversion movement's dynamics.

Living in a stateless and a relatively homogenous society, the Dinka were untouched by Catholic and Protestant mission work and the movements of mass conversion that traversed Africa at the beginning of the twentieth century. In these movements, the strong association between Christianity and Western modernity – bio-medical healing, western clothing, nuclear families, wage labour, and especially literacy made little impact on the Dinka's pastoral existence. And there were few inequalities between rich and poor through which missionaries might form alliances and converts. Moreover, the Dinka proved unmoved by Judaeo-Christian notions of a creator God, since they already possessed their own monotheistic cult. Later still in the 1930s, the Dinka, with one or two exceptions, remained untouched by the East African revival. It was not until the third decade of independence in the 1980s that the Dinka began to convert when their pastoral existence was made impossible by the violence, famine, and forced migration of the Second Civil War. The Dinka converted in refugee camps in Sudan and neighbouring countries and the movement was completely unmediated by missionaries. Young people, especially men, supplemented a handful of poorly trained indigenous clergy, in launching the movement. Educated in night schools in towns such as Omdurman and Khartoum, and in the refugee camps of Ethiopia, they became literate in order to teach the Bible in Dinka. They served in the rebel Sudan People's Liberation Army, or they organised schools and churches in refugee camps and in remote areas of the South. They were aided by Christian prophets who bore resemblance to Dinka prophets of old. But women provided the movement with backbone, as evangelists, church-builders, prophets, and hymn-writers. In their distinctive coloured uniforms, the Mothers' Union was present at each service, their long wooden crosses rising and falling, as they animated the

39 Jesse A. Zink, *Christianity and Catastrophe in South Sudan: Civil War, Migration and the Rise of Dinka Anglicanism* (Waco, Tx: Baylor University Press, 2018).

movement in song and dance. Although British Anglican *Church Missionary Society* (CMS) missionaries were mostly absent during the decades of conversion, they were still remembered in the church's oral traditions as exemplars of prayer and persistence, and for their commitment to evangelism. Tracing its lineage back to the pioneering work of the CMS was also an important means by which this young and vulnerable church gained both recognition and funds through its connection with global Anglicanism.

This essay has concentrated on exploring themes of mobility and migration and their relation to Christianity *within* the African continent. But as the Sudanese example above reminds us, African Christians have reached out to their brethren overseas in order to be part of something bigger: a global Christian communion. Such connections generate inspiration and solidarity through membership of a collectivity that aspires to be universal. And, crucially, they can bring new resources. The desire to connect with a larger transnational network led Catholics living in the sixteenth-century Kingdom of Congo to establish relations with Rome in a web of correspondence and through committing their children to European holy orders. That same aspiration, this time to be part of the global Born-Again community, led evangelist, Abel Sande, co-founder of the *Zimbabwe Assemblies of God, Africa*, to send a portion of his meagre salary in support evangelistic campaigns organized by *Christ for the Nations*, Dallas, USA. These global networks were often conceived of and established through migration. And they are, for instance, key to understanding the dynamics of the Rwandan Anglican Church in the post-colonial era.

Although, a Belgian colony, Rwanda had strong Anglophone connections through its Anglican Church, which until the 1950s had its base amongst the Tutsi elite that lead the country. This English-oriented network became more multi-stranded when, following the 1959 Revolution against the Tutsi monarchy and aristocracy, Anglican elites migrated into surrounding countries to flee the incoming Hutu establishment. The majority fled to southern Uganda, organizing as a clearly defined refugee community, deeply committed to evangelical Anglicanism. In the intervening three and half decades between the Revolution and the post 1994 Genocide take-over by Paul Kagame's Tutsi-dominated *Rwandan Patriotic Front* (RPF), some members of the Tutsi Diaspora trained for Anglican ministry in evangelical colleges located in the United States of America. When they returned with the RPF to Rwanda to lead the Anglican Church their Anglophone evangelical sensibilities melded with Kagame's desire to reorientate the country away from its Francophone colonial roots to become a dynamic English-speaking state aspiring to be the Singapore of East Africa. Two remarkable transnational networks that embraced conservative American Christianity were established.

First, in the 2000s the Rwandan Anglican Primate, Archbishop Mbona Kolini, played a key role in the founding of *Anglican Mission in the Americas* (AMIA), a separatist 'province' of the American Episcopal Church under Southern Episcopal jurisdiction. He subsequently extended his Diocese into the USA to shepherd evangelical Episcopalians, fleeing what they believed to be the apostasy of liberal Christianity. As the AMIA connection with Rwandan Anglicanism diminished with Kolini's retirement, a second bilateral network developed with north American mega-churches, in particular, the Saddleback Church, located in Orange County, California, led by Rick Warren, author of the best-selling book, *The Purpose-driven Life*.[40] Following Kagame's friendship with Warren and his desire to make Rwanda a 'Purpose Driven Nation', Saddleback sent resources and numerous Christian motivators to Kigali to work with the Anglican Church.[41]

4 Conclusion

J. D. Y. Peel has done the most to develop the conceptualization of the relations between mobility, enlargement of scale, and conversion. His model of 'opportunity costs' used to account for conversion amongst the Yoruba of West Africa has explanatory value for many other instances of mass conversion across the Continent. As we have observed, initial converts were often those on the social periphery such as ex-slaves, or young men, who put themselves outside of local society through labour migration. These groups were more religiously biddable than 'natives'. They had lost the spiritual support of home communities and, in the absence of relatives, were more at liberty to make revolutionary religious choices. The wider horizons that travel, enslavement and relocation engendered made Christianity more metaphorically appealing. The first major social category beyond ex-slaves, to adopt Christianity was often young men, and through their agency, it often became a mass movement. They bore the brunt gerontocratic power in many societies and were least locked into existing religious institutions prior to their first marriage. Beyond an exit strategy, Christianity offered in its

40 Rick Warren, *The Purpose Driven Life: What on Earth Am I Here For?* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 2002).

41 Here I have summarised current doctoral research at the University of Cambridge by David Bagnall entitled "Collusion or Confusion? Anglican Religious Discourse and Identity Formation in Post-Genocide Rwanda."

ideology of individualism "a ready legitimation to the new cultural choices which now beckoned."[42]

In keeping with other transnational histories of diaspora and labour migrants we have seen the manner in which those who fled, relocated or migrated acted as what Sunil Amrith describes as "conduits of capital, cultural practice, trust and information."[43] In particular, we have seen that they spread new religious ideas and practices to such extent that they have proved as significant actors in the Christianization of the continent as Euro-American missionaries. They advanced frontiers of change that had an internal dynamic long preceding formal colonialism. Central to the successful transfer of the Christian faith from one region to another was the role African prophets and evangelists, formal and informal, took on as culture brokers, encouraging their followers to adopt strands of Western modernity while simultaneously affirming aspects of African culture. Crucial to their mediating function was their status as insiders and outsiders. As Peel has shown, as outsiders they were under less pressure from kin and community to conform to pre-existing views and were freer to make new ideological choices. Moreover, their travel and external connections gave them "prestige in the eyes of their stay-at-home fellows."[44] As insiders, they were embedded in their own societies as critics of local culture. When they opposed widely held beliefs and practices they did so with the knowledge of an insider, and with passion.[45]

Scholars have long been mindful of the issue of mobility as they have sought to explore the agency of creativity of the laity in the making of African Christianity. Bengt Sundkler and Christopher Steed begin their extensive survey of the African Church with arrival of the Holy Family in Egypt as refugees from Bethlehem as a metaphor for much of what follows.[46] In a similar vein, the labour migrant, trader, refugee, returnee and roving evangelists, catechists and prophets were key agents of religious change in Adrian Hastings' *The Church in Africa, 1450–1950*. But there remains the need to reconstruct the complex patterns of

42 John David Yeadon Peel, *Religious Encounter and the Making of the Yoruba* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000), 238, 242–244. Here Peel was building on the work of Robin Horton, "African Conversion," *Africa* 41 (1971): 85–108.

43 Sunil Amrith, "Empires, diasporas and cultural circulation," in *Writing Imperial Histories*, ed. Andrew S. Thompson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013): 217.

44 John David Yeadon Peel, *Religious Encounter and the Making of the Yoruba* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000), 242–244.

45 Peggy Brock, "New Christians as Evangelists," in *The Oxford History of the British Empire, Companion Series. Missions and Empire*. ed. Norman Etherington (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005): 151.

46 Bengt Sundkler and Christopher Steed, *A History of the Church in Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 7.

Christianization that have occurred since African independence. The opening of previously highly regulated colonial borders has allowed for the mobility of formal evangelistic teams, diaspora and refugees on a regional and international scale. These movements of African Christians have facilitated the creation of multistranded transnational solidarity and cooperation that nineteenth century missionaries would have found hard to imagine.

Andrew E. Barnes

"The Hand of God Was Upon Them" – Emigration, Diaspora Formation, and Christian Evangelization across the Black Atlantic

> Doubtless it was a great trial to the children of Israel to leave that land [Egypt], which time had now succeeded in making their home [. . .] But the hand of God was upon them; and when his hand is upon a people, it is destiny, and they cannot resist it.[1]

1 New World Diasporas in Africa

This chapter offers a discussion of the connections between Christian faith, Christian identity and Christian evangelism that can be construed as operating in the minds of the people of African descent who migrated to Africa across the Atlantic Ocean during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Some individuals from Brazil and some initial groups of migrants from England and Canada sailed to Africa in the eighteenth century. They were added to in the nineteenth century by groups from Anglophone North America, Lusophone South America, the Anglophone Caribbean and eventually, from Cuba, the Hispanophone Caribbean. For all these peoples, Christianity was an essential part of the identity they brought with them and sought to build upon once settled in Africa. Because of the essentiality of Christianity to their identities, and the New World character of the Christianity they embraced, community building in Africa for them was a process of forming New World diasporas. In Africa they did their best to remain New World peoples.

One question prompted by recognition of the drive of we will call generically "African returnees" to retain their cultural affiliations with the New World societies they left behind is how did this drive shape their interaction with indigenous African peoples? Most important, how did the determination of returnees to build faith communities coterminous with ones on the other side of the Atlantic shape the returnees' views of building faith communities with local African

1 Alexander Crummell, "Emigration, an Aid to the Evangelization of Africa. A Sermon to Barbadian Emigrants at Trinity Church, Monrovia, Liberia, West Africa, May 14th, 1865," in *Africa and America: Addresses and Discourses*, ed. Alexander Crummell (Springfield, Mass: Willey & Co., 1891): 409.

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peoples? The chapter will focus on responding to this question. Two different approaches will be taken towards an answer. The first approach will be an investigation of returnees' ideas about Christianity and about sharing their Christian identity with indigenous African folks. A case will be made that there was an exploitative relationship between returnees and indigenous Africans, and that the Christianity of the returnees both promoted and reinforced the exploitation. The argument will be that in that part of Africa that fronted the Atlantic Ocean, New World African migration got in the way of New World African evangelism. This argument in turn will be built upon a broader argument that the Christianity that people of African descent brought with them across the Atlantic had evolved in the New World where Christian migration had even more powerfully gotten in the way of the spread of the Christian faith.

The goal of the first part of the chapter will be to offer an idea of how returnees endeavored to keep Christianity to themselves. Towards that end, some brief consideration will be offered of two emerging research literatures. The first literature investigates the impact of the development of the Atlantic world on European thinking about race and Christianity in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This literature talks about the evolution of master race patterns of thought in European settler Christianity and European efforts to limit the practice of master race Christianity to Europeans. One problem with this literature is that it takes the European aspiration to limit the practice of settler Christianity at face value. Europeans had some, but not complete success in making master race ideologies of Christianity a "whites only" proposition in the New World. And Europeans never established hegemonic control over the practice of Christianity by peoples of African descent in either the New World or in Africa. The second of the emerging research literatures explores the worlds created by African returnees to the West African coast over the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This literature reveals the extent to which New World African peoples brought master race Christianity back across the Atlantic with them. The literature makes clear the painful fact that African returnees looked upon indigenous African peoples as sources of profit and labor in much the same way that Europeans did. New World whites evolved ideas of Christianity that both justified racial exploitation and claimed Christianity as a racial birthright. African returnees made these same ideas work in Africa on more of a cultural, less of a racial gradient. Just as white master race Christianity recognized a space for Christians of color only on the bottom rungs of a ladder of racial hierarchy and insisted that to the extent to which Christians of color could climb, it was through a positive embrace of servile labor, so also the African returnees who coopted this ideology invited indigenous peoples into their churches only as servants and slaves.

The second approach taken to answering the question of what were African returnees's views about building faith communities with indigenous African peoples will be to review and discuss the writings of an African American theologian preoccupied with shaping the African American response to exactly this question. The Episcopalian minister and missionary Alexander Crummell, conscious of what today would be call the cognitive dissonance between the Christian high ground returnees wanted to see themselves as claiming versus the exploitative realities of settler life in West Africa, developed a theological justification for African American migration that presented returnees in a number of heroic personas, but of greatest pertinence here, as evangelists despite themselves. In the context of the African American "back-to-Africa" movement of the nineteenth century, in a series of sermons, letters and addresses presented over the 1860s, Crummell fashioned a conception of settlers as de facto missionaries that so resonated in the minds of African Americans interested in migrating to Africa that it became for them the implicit assumption of the religious impact African Americans would have once they set foot on African soil.

Crummell's conception retained this influence up the 1920s, when it was appropriated and augmented by Marcus Garvey's "back-to-Africa" movement. As represented by Garvey's *Universal Negro Improvement Association* (UNIA), the twentieth century movement operated on a different set of conceptions compared to the nineteenth-century movement.[2] The goal of the second part of the essay will be to understand the Christian evangelism underpinning the nineteenth-century version, but not necessarily the twentieth-century one. Alexander Crummell's writings provide the key. The case will be made that Crummell used the idea of "providential design," the idea that the God of Abraham had sent Africans as slaves to the New World on a Promethean quest to acquire civilization, to build an argument for African Americans as agents of Ethiopianism.[3] Ethiopianism was a term

2 See Edmund David Cronin, *Black Moses: The Story of Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968); Tony Martin, "Some Reflections on Evangelical Pan Africanism or Black Missionaries, White Missionaries and the Struggle for African Souls," in *The Pan-African Connection: From Slavery to Garvey and Beyond,* ed. Tony Martin (Dover, Mass: Majority Press, 1984): 31–46; Colin Grant, *Negro with a Hat: The Rise and Fall of Marcus Garvey* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008); Maulana Karenga. "The Moral Anthropology of Marcus Garvey: In the Fullness of Ourselves," *Journal of Black Studies* 39, no. 2 (2008): 166–193; Adam Ewing, *The Age of Garvey: How a Jamaican Activist Created a Mass Movement and Changed Global Black Politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014).

3 On the notion of providential design see Andrew E. Barnes, "'Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race': E. W. Blyden, African Diasporas and the Regeneration of Africa," in *Redefining the African Diaspora: Expressive Cultures and Politics from Slavery to Independence*, eds. Toyin

that had mostly negative connotations for Christians of European descent, but mostly positive connotations for Christians of African descent. Focusing on the term's meaning for this second group, Ethiopianism is best understood as a line of thinking that featured peoples of African descent taking the lead in the Christian evangelization of Africa.[4] While most strains of Ethiopianism accepted and welcomed the agency of all peoples of African descent, most strains also articulated the case for the agency of a specific group of African-descended peoples. For Crummell that group was African Americans, though his scope was broad enough to recognize New World African peoples from Brazil, Spanish America and the Caribbean under the umbrella of this term. Crummell's argument for returnees as agents of Ethiopianism claimed and rethought the ideology of master race Christianity to fit the needs of African Americans. For African Americans, Crummell crafted an image of the act of migration to Africa as the fulfilment of their covenant with God. Crummell was not the first African American Ethiopianist, but he was the first to provide African American versions of Ethiopianism with a social development agenda, with a strategy for "uplifting the race," with what was called, in eighteenth and nineteenth century Christian discourse, a plan for the "regeneration of Africa." Crummell's plan retained the settler obliviousness to indigenous consciousness. It also kept returnees looking back across the Atlantic for community. As will be illustrated, however, Crummell's plan did make social development for African returnees in Africa coterminous with social development for indigenous Africans. The Christian God meant for African returnees to get ahead economically, socially and politically in Africa, but he also meant for them to bring indigenous African peoples along with them.

2 Master-Race Christianity

African returnees can be argued to have appropriated and applied the attitudes and actions of New World European settlers in Africa. Therefore, to understand the attitudes and actions of African returnees as settlers confronting indigenous populations, it is helpful to say something about the attitudes and actions that evolved among European settlers in response to populations of Native American

Falola and Danielle Porter Sanchez (Amherst, New York: Cambria Press, 2016): 225–254; Jeannette Eileen Jones, "'The Negro's Peculiar Work': Jim Crow and Black Discourses on US Empire, Race, and the African Question, 1877–1900," *Journal of American studies* 52, no. 2 (2018): 330–357.

4 See Andrew E. Barnes, *Global Christianity and the Black Atlantic: Tuskegee, Colonialism and the Shaping of African Industrial Education* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2017).

and African descent in the New World. At the core of settler thinking in both the New World and Africa was a conception of Christianity as empowering, it would not be too strong to say obligating the exploitation of populations of people designated as non-Christians. Christianity as practiced in medieval and early modern Europe could be indicted as mandating the same thing. Old World Christian "othering," however, was built upon a gradient of orthodox versus heterodox belief, with orthopraxis, the right performance of ritual, being the observable measure of correct belief. New World European societies can be seen to have taken Old World Christian thinking and recalibrated it according to a gradient of race and racial purity, with phenotypic "whiteness" being the observable measure of Christian faith. African returnees took this New World idea of Christian othering back across the Atlantic but replaced the racial gradient with a new cultural one that emphasized the New World ideas of faith and civilization they brought with them.

One of the more illuminating directions in which historical studies of New World Christianity has evolved has been towards a clearer understanding of the impact the discovery and development of the New World had on European Christianity. Scholars have detailed what European settlers did to make the Christianity they brought with them from Europe fit their needs in the New World. One line of such research has focused on how European settlers redrew the lines that to their minds divided Christians from non-Christians. As this new research shows, from the beginning the reconceptualization was pushed by economic and political ambitions. Christians (in theory) should not exploit and enslave other Christians, so the settler definition of Christianity had to be rethought to make a distinction between authentic Christians (Europeans) and other, less authentic and therefore exploitable Christians (peoples of Native American and African descent). Race, or more specifically "whiteness" – a bundle of phenotypical features Europeans associated with themselves – supplied the needed gradient. Europeans, because of the whiteness of their features, were the most authentic Christians. Africans, because of the blackness of their features, were the least authentic Christians. As the catalogs of "castas," that is, the pictorial idealizations of the offspring of various interracial unions that adorned the walls of homes in early modern Mexico attested, all other peoples, all other phenotypes, fit the gradient somewhere between these two poles. The ideal that Christians should not oppress each other now could be maintained building on the premise that Europeans were the only true Christians. The flaws in the logic of this rationalization were evident even during the era when it was being formulated, but since the rationalization was meant to ease whatever ethical concerns European Christians had about coercing and enslaving non-European Christians, it gained increasing support as the basis of a *modus vivendi* between European Christians comfortable with ignoring the souls of non-Europeans – slave plantation owners being prominent in this

group, and European Christians conscious of the Christian obligation to bring every soul to Christ.[5]

Settlers used the racialization of Christianity as a sword to dominate peoples of Native American and African ancestry. Another line of the new research has emphasized, however, the extent to which the exclusive association settlers posited between whiteness and Christianity served as much as a shield as it did as a sword. The rethinking of the racial character of Christianity was pushed in part by political and economic ambitions, but also in part by economic and political anxieties prompted by non-European peoples responding to the Christian gospel. Just as in African history the idea that the Christianization of Africa was an outcome of European missionary agency has been challenged by the research on the role of African missionaries in evangelizing the continent, so too the idea that the Christianization of Native Americans and Africans in the New World was an outcome of European missionary agency is being contested by the evidence of Native American and African Christian evangelism. Peoples of Native American and African descent were becoming Christians and assimilating European ways as attributes of faith with or without European missionary assistance.[6] Since European ways involved participation, ideally as property owners, in the Atlantic economy, and aspirations towards leadership roles as befitting those who had imbued the Christian ethic, peoples of Native American and African descent progressively threatened the monopolies of wealth and power European settlers hoped to maintain. Defining Christianity as white protected these monopolies.[7]

There were no notions of civil rights in medieval and early modern Europe. But there was what the historian John Bossy called the social miracle, the Christian mandate that Christians seek to be at peace with one another, and, under the aegis of church and state, to build communities together.[8] Peoples that Christians did not recognize as Christian, however, were outside this pale and thus fair game for conquest and enslavement. Conversion to Christianity could offer some political protection and some social and economic opportunities for outsiders seeking

5 Colin Kidd, *The Forging of Races: Race and Scripture in the Protestant Atlantic World, 1600–2000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006). Travis Glasson, *Mastering Christianity: Missionary Anglicanism and Slavery in the Atlantic World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011); Jonathan Schorsch, *Swimming the Christian Atlantic: Judeoconversos, Afroiberians and Amerindians in the Seventeenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2009).

6 Sylvia R. Frey and Betty Wood, *Come Shouting to Zion: African American Protestantism in the American South and British Caribbean to 1830* (Chapel Hill [N.C.]: University of North Carolina Press, 1998).

7 See Katharine Gerbner, *Christian Slavery: Conversion and Race in the Protestant Atlantic World* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018).

8 John Bossy, *Christianity in the West, 1400–1700* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985).

inclusion. Through conversion, individual Jews and Muslims gained entry into Christian societies. Likewise, the embrace of Christianity offered enslaved peoples from Eurasia a pathway towards freedom and social inclusion.[9] Most important for this discussion, beginning in the fifteenth century, communities of freed and enslaved Africans became a feature of the urban Southern European landscape. Sometimes individually, sometimes as members of confraternities – i.e., lay brotherhoods, Africans endeavored to use Christian conversion as a portal towards social incorporation.[10]

In the Old World, non-European populations seeking social inclusion through Christian conversion were never large enough to challenge European dominion over European Christian societies. In the New World, the situation was different. There, where Europeans often made up only a small proportion of the population of a community, some Native Americans, some Africans, but mostly people of mixed racial descent embraced Christianity and aspired to leadership roles in local communities. European settlers turned to laws and to legal definitions of race to limit the threat the latter posed to European control. Settlers legally limited citizenship in their communities to Christians, and then legally limited Christian identity to Europeans, i.e., white people. Further, early versions of "one drop" laws, laws that excluded any individual with any publicly recognized or phenotypically discernible non-European ancestry from citizenship and church membership, legislated away any claim to whiteness made by individuals of mixed racial parentage. Gradually over time European Christian missionaries came to validate such definitions of Christian identity as a means of placating the European fears about the social and political costs of proselytizing non-Europeans.[11]

European Christianity in the Old World built upon and reinforced notions of social dichotomy, of dividing the population into masters and non-masters, churches confirming and reinforcing claims masters made to exclusive access to some status, occupation or privilege. There was the dichotomy between clergy and laity. There was the dichotomy between nobles (first and second estates) and commoners (third estate). There was the dichotomy between guild masters and all other laborers in a craft. These dichotomies did not disappear in the New World, but they did become overlain with presumptions of racial exclusivity. To

9 Hannah Barker, *That Most Precious Merchandise: the Mediterranean Trade in Black Sea Slaves, 1260–1500* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019).

10 Linda Heywood, "The Angolan-Afro-Brazilian cultural connections," *Slavery & Abolition*, 20:1 (1999): 9–23; T. F. Earle and K. J. P. Lowe, eds., *Black Africans in Renaissance Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 213–300.

11 Katharine Gerbner, *Christian Slavery: Conversion and Race in the Protestant Atlantic World* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018), especially chapter 4.

the greatest extent possible, access to any status associated with European life was reserved for Europeans as members of a master race. Christianity, as practiced by Europeans, reified the new racial dichotomy. One debate that preoccupied white Christian thinkers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was the question of what happened to the resurrected bodies of people of African descent if and when they reached heaven. Given that heaven was populated by white people, did the bodies of these black people turn white?[12] This debate was a reflection of the patterns of thought that, in spite of the vast array of peoples who populated the Atlantic world, visualized Atlantic societies as composed only of Europeans. Heaven, to the minds of white Christian thinkers was an analog to their communities, their churches, where everyone not recognized as white was on the outside looking in. Whatever later appropriation of Enlightenment and scientific reasoning settlers used to rationalize their exploitation of non-Europeans, these were but secularizations of Christian ideas.

3 African Returnee Christianity

How did Native American and African peoples acquire an understanding of master-race Christianity from the master-race perspective? Master-race Christianity struggled to adjust itself to the Christian obligation to evangelize peoples from what Europeans considered lesser races. In master-race Christianity the Christian expectation of fellowship, even when it allowed for the possibility of interracial communion, expressed itself only in notions of caste and social hierarchy with Christians from what Europeans deemed as lesser races on the lowest rungs. These two traits of master-race Christianity make it difficult to identify the processes through which white Christians communicated their notions of Christianity to people they did not consider white. Contact and interpersonal interaction cannot be presumed to have worked as vectors of communication. In neither Catholic nor Protestant New World territories did European migrants play much of a role in the evangelization of non-European populations. In Catholic lands, European settlers left the evangelizing of Native American and African peoples to religious orders. In Protestant lands, European settlers open to the idea of proselytizing subjected peoples contributed to the latters' evangelization primarily though the construction of mission schools and through the maintenance of missionary teacher-proselytizers. Catholic religious orders and Protestant missionary teacher-proselytizers in turn

12 Christopher Trigg, "The Racial Politics of Resurrection in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World," *Early American literature*, 55, no. 1 (2020): 47–84.

introduced red, brown and black peoples to versions of Christianity deemed by whites as distinct from the Christianity they themselves practiced.[13] As already suggested, while European evangelists played a role in the propagation of Christianity, the spread of Christianity among New World peoples was not dictated solely by European initiative. It is becoming increasingly clear that Native American and African evangelists played a crucial role. What evidence that exists, however, makes it doubtful that these evangelists acknowledged the chasms Europeans insisted separated the faith of Europeans from that of non-Europeans. So, the question remains what version of Christianity did they preach?[14]

To turn the question around and frame it from the subaltern perspective, how and through what processes did red, brown and black peoples in the New World grasp that there was much more to Christianity than what racist whites were allowing them to learn? There are two historically observable responses to the question as framed in this fashion. Not all European Christians were racists. There were European Christians with an inclination to dismiss master-race Christian thinking and some red, brown and black Christians sought communion with and learned from them. There was an inclusivist undercurrent in European Christianity that gradually matured into the abolitionist movement. Christians of Native American and African descent who participated in this movement shared with Christians of European descent a vision of a non-racialized Christian world.[15]

There were other red, brown and black Christians, however, who listened to the master-race Christianity enunciated by white Christians but then rejected the racial boundaries whites insisted on imposing on its tenets. These Christians took master-race Christianity as the modern articulation of Christian faith and adapted it to their needs. Many, if not most of the New World people of African descent who migrated to Africa in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries did this. To speak primarily about returnees from Protestant lands, it can

13 Travis Glasson, *Mastering Christianity: Missionary Anglicanism and Slavery in the Atlantic World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011); Jonathan Schorsch, *Swimming the Christian Atlantic: Judeoconversos, Afroiberians and Amerindians in the Seventeenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2009).

14 Sylvia R. Frey and Betty Wood, *Come Shouting to Zion: African American Protestantism in the American South and British Caribbean to 1830* (Chapel Hill [N.C.]: University of North Carolina Press, 1998); Edward E. Andrews, *Native Apostle: Black and Indian Missionaries in the British Atlantic World* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013).

15 See John Stauffer, *The Black Hearts of Men: Radical Abolitionists and the Transformation of Race* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004); Rita Roberts, *Evangelicalism and the Politics of Reform in Northern Black Thought, 1776–1863* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2010); Manisha Sinha, *The Slave's Cause: A History of Abolition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016).

be said that they adhered to the proto-nationalist line of thought that took from the Hebrew Testament the idea that part of the covenant the Christian God offered his chosen peoples was a physical territory, a land of their own, where they could fulfill their covenant through the societies they built. In this vision of Christianity, Christians were expected to view all attributes of the promised land, including its non-Christian human populations, as elements of the wilderness from which they were commanded to take and construct communities. The vision was hegemonic, demanding that everything and everybody be assigned a niche in the new Christian land. And that which was not explicitly recognized as Christian or Christianized, was explicitly recognized as evil. African returnees approached indigenous African populations from this perspective. It was the land, not the people, they returned to Africa to claim, and the land was important to them primarily as a venue, as a theater where they could pursue the holiness to be found in living a Christian life akin to that first formulated by European settlers in the New World. Indigenous African peoples for African returnees were, like Native American peoples for European settlers, either exploitable resources or environmental hazards.[16]

It was difficult for African returnees to see indigenous African peoples as potential brethren. Perhaps the most pernicious legacy of European master-race thinking in African returnee thought was an instinct towards keeping the boundaries between Christian and non-Christian identities hard and fast. African returnees sought ways to keep their communities exclusive. Returnees used European languages and education towards this effect. More broadly important was the returnees' determination to keep the lived experience of Christian identity to themselves. The contemporary European observers who complained about the returnees' copying of European mannerisms and patterns of consumption, about the returnees' insistence on calling the United States, England and Brazil "home," missed a crucial point. So also have the scholars who have followed the observers in seeing these practices as measures of returnee self-alienation. Actually, in doing these things, returnees were asserting hegemonic control over the qualifiers to their claims to superiority relative to indigenous populations, such control being crucial to their aspired-to roles as intermediaries between Europeans and Africa.[17]

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16 See Wilson Jeremiah Moses, *Classical Black Nationalism: from the American Revolution to Marcus Garvey* (New York: New York University Press, 1996).

17 Michael J. Turner, "Les Bresiliens: the impact of former Brazilian slaves on Dahomey" (PhD dissertation, Boston University, 1975); Pierre Verger, *Trade Relations between the Bight of Benin and Bahia from the 17th to 19th century* (Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 1976); Kristin Mann and Edna G. Bay, *Rethinking the African Diaspora: The Making of a Black Atlantic World*

To look once again at developments back across the Atlantic, New World master-race Christianity postulated for settlers a two-front challenge, with a civilized home front on one side and a frontier in the wilderness on the other. Ideally settlers were to draw inspiration from the Christian culture and society that existed on the home front to inform their lives out on the frontier. More essential in the lives they lived was that they use patterns of behavior and consumption identified as derived from culture and society on the home front to distinguish themselves as civilized, that is, not from the frontier. For Christian culture and society to serve this purpose, access to its features had to be reserved in as exclusive a manner as possible. Following this line of thinking, returnees did their best, for as long as they could, to present themselves to indigenous peoples as both agents of Atlantic economic expansion and agents of European culture and civilization. At the center of both these personas was facility with the attributes of European Christian culture. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, returnees were progressively pushed out of these personas by European imperialists. Before that, however, orienting themselves towards their metropolitan spiritual "homes" allowed returnees to both view "bush" people, i.e., indigenous Africans, as commodities and to keep at bay the indigenous permeation of the boundaries of their communities.

4 African Returnees and Indigenous Africans

The research on African returnees and the diasporas they built is large and growing. Space does not permit any systematic investigation of this research. Still, there are several comparative points worth noting about how the relationship between emigration, diaspora formation and evangelization differed among North Atlantic Protestant versus South Atlantic Catholic returnees. Protestant returnees confronted indigenous peoples in large numbers at a few specific places of contact; Sierra Leone, Liberia and to a lesser extent, Nigeria, typically with some support from a North Atlantic white government. Only in Liberia, however, can a clear sense be gained of how Protestant notions of master-race Christianity impacted relations between African returnees and indigenous Africans.

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in the Bight of Benin and Brazil (London: F. Cass, 2001); Kwesi Kwaa Prah, ed., *Back to Africa: Afro-Brazilian returnees and their communities,* vol. 1 (Rondebosch: CASAS, 2009); Solimar Otero, *Afro-Cuban Diasporas in the Atlantic World* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2010); Kwesi Kwaa Prah, ed., *Back to Africa. The Ideology and Practice of the African Returnee Phenomenon from the Caribbean and North-America to Africa*, vol. 2 (Rondebosch: CASAS, 2012); Jose C. Curto and Renee Soulodre La-France, eds., *Africa and the Americas: Interconnections During the Slave Trade* (Trenton, NJ and Asmara: Africa World Press, 2016).

The British colony of Sierra Leone was the first locus of returnee settlement, yet it is difficult to use it as a guide on how returnees envisioned the evangelization of indigenous peoples. The colony was established in the 1780s as a territory where Britain could send its "black poor," that is, people of African descent living in England. Some of these people had lived in the New World. Some had not. This original group soon was augmented with two other populations. First were settlers from Nova Scotia in Canada. These were freed black loyalists who had sided with the British in the American War of Independence and like white British loyalists had been sent to settle in the British portion of Canada. A group among the freed people, dissatisfied by life in Nova Scotia, opted to migrate to Sierra Leone. This group of returnees probably articulated the clearest notion of settler Christianity in Sierra Leone. A second new group were maroons from Jamaica. Maroon was the term used for Africans who escaped slavery, built communities remote from European settlements and lived independent lives, often for generations. A group of maroon communities from the Blue Mountains region of Jamaica chose to stop fighting the British, and after a brief unhappy moment of living in Nova Scotia, likewise opted to come to Sierra Leone. Since maroon communities typically were not Christians, and in fact evolved as counters to settler ideologies of Christianity, there is little reward for investigating them for their views of evangelizing indigenous folks. The black poor from Britain, the Nova Scotians and the Jamaican maroons, known collectively as Creoles or "Krios," created a settler's world around Freetown, Sierra Leone's main port. As just suggested, however, the exposure to and the embrace of the New World Christian settler ethos was unevenly spread among them. And before this ethos could be said to have solidified and become more uniform in its hold, life in Sierra Leone was disrupted by the British decision to abolish the slave trade, and to position a squadron of naval vessels in the South Atlantic to stop the transit of slaves from Africa to the New World. The slaving ships stopped by the British were forced to return to the African coast and to release their cargoes in Freetown. "Recaptives," as these new returnees were labeled, had never lived before outside of Africa and therefore had no knowledge of life in the New World. While some were Muslims, few were Christian. None was in a position to assert rank above indigenous peoples. All became targets of British missionary efforts, mounted in particular by the *Church Missionary Society* (CMS), the missionary wing of the Church of England, who made the Christian conversion of recaptives a priority. Because of the European missionary presence in Sierra Leone, Krios were never able to foist any presumptions of Christian superiority they harbored on either local peoples or recaptives. And Christianized recaptives, or "Saros" as they were called, became an exception that proved the rule. Saros were the only group

of Christian Africans living in West Africa committed to evangelizing indigenous people, as illustrated by the life and career of Bishop Samuel Ajayi Crowther, the great Anglican leader who emerged from among the Saros.[18]

In Liberia on the other hand, beyond indigenous resistance, settlers had no restraints on implementing their dreams of a new Christian society. The colony was founded in the 1830s through the efforts of the *American Colonization Society* (ACS), an organization of wealthy American whites and plantation owners, as a place to send free and freed African Americans and ideally freed peoples from elsewhere in the New World. The ACS saw itself as a Christian philanthropy with the goal of reducing racial tensions in the New World by providing a venue where freeborn and freed Christian people of African descent could seek the citizenship privileges whites were determined not to grant them in Anglophone New World polities.[19] The original groups of settlers who traveled across the Atlantic were free-born mulattoes, victims of "one drop" laws that denied them citizenship in the United States. They migrated to the new colony fully expecting to occupy there the status denied to them in the United States. In contrast, most of the African Americans who followed them to the colony were freed peoples of predominantly pure African descent. These later generations of settlers were perhaps even more imbued with visions of manifest destiny than the original settlers. The population of Liberia was added to once more when the United States government, which had become active in attempting to suppress the slave trade by patrolling the Atlantic in the British fashion, landed the Africans they took from slave ships in Liberia as recaptives. Lacking the protection of European missionaries like those who played such a crucial role in recaptive life in Sierra Leone, the

18 James W. St. G. Walker, *The Black Loyalists: The Search for a Promised Land in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone, 1783–1870* (New York: Africana Pub Co, 1976); Gibril R. Cole, *The Krio of West Africa: Islam, Culture, Creolization, and Colonialism in the Nineteenth Century* (Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2013). Bronwen Everill, "Experiments in Colonial Citizenship in Sierra Leone and Liberia," in *New Directions in the Study of African American Recolonization*, eds. Beverly C. Tomek, Matthew J. Hetrick, Stanley Harrold, and Randall M. Miller (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2017): 183–205; Suzanne Schwarz, "'A Just and Honourable Commerce': Abolitionist Experimentation in Sierra Leone in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries," *African Economic History*, 45,1 (2017): 1–45; Nemata Amelia Blyden, *West Indians in West Africa, 1808–1880: the African Diaspora in Reverse* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2000).

19 Eric Burin, Stanley Harrold, and Randall M Miller, *Slavery and the Peculiar Solution: A History of the American Colonization Society* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003); Marie Tyler-McGraw, *An African Republic. Black & White Virginians in the Making of Liberia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007); Matthew Spooner, "'I Know This Scheme Is from God': Toward a Reconsideration of the Origins of the American Colonization Society," *Slavery & Abolition* 35, no. 4 (2014): 559–575; Samantha Seeley, "Beyond the American Colonization Society," *History Compass*, 14, no. 3 (2016): 93–104.

people landed in Liberia became another exploitable layer of indigenous Africans. There were racial tensions between the two groups of American born settlers. The early generations of mulattoes essayed to establish a pigmentocracy with themselves as an oligarchy on top. The later generations of black people sought to create a more democratic political structure with opportunities for individuals like themselves to gain political office. In the early 1870s, the racial tensions exploded into a civil war, with the outcome that, while the mulattoes won in the short term, in the long term they ultimately had to accept shared governance. Alexander Crummell lived in Liberia during this era and got involved in the political battles on the side of the black settlers. The political reversals the black settlers experienced during the 1870s placed him in danger for his life and was the prompting factor in his decision to leave the life of a missionary behind and head back to the United States.[20]

While the settlers fought among themselves, they were in agreement over the idea that indigenous peoples were outsiders who needed to be kept outside. The Liberian Constitution, signed into law in 1847, described citizens as "originally the inhabitants of the United States." Outside the pale of these people and their descendants there were only "heathen tribesmen," and "savage Negroes."[21] Settlers pictured themselves as living on a frontier between civilization and barbarism, where confrontations with indigenous people made faith, life and community precarious. A more historically viable image would be that they exploited the indigenous people living within contact of their settler communities. Indigenous people were forced into involvement with the settler economy at the bottom end as unskilled laborers and domestic servants. Further, indigenous peoples living inside of settler communities did not go out at night "because of the brutality of the Americo-Liberians," who "constantly intimidated and disparaged [them], ridiculing [them] for anything and everything."[22] Indigenous peoples remained non-citizens in the land of their birth deep into the twentieth century. They did not gain the right to vote in the country until 1951.

20 Tom W. Shick, *Behold the Promised Land: a History of Afro-American Settler Society in Nineteenth-century Liberia* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980); Andrew N. Wegmann, "'Upon this rock we shall build our home': the development of the Americo-Liberian community, 1822–1980," in *Back to Africa. The Ideology and Practice of the African Returnee Phenomenon from the Caribbean and North-America to Africa*, vol. 2, ed. Kwesi Kwaa Prah (Rondebosch: CASAS, 2012): 60–77; Bronwen Everill, "'Destiny Seems to Point Me to That Country': Early Nineteenth-Century African American Migration, Emigration, and Expansion," *Journal of Global History* 7, no. 1 (2012): 53–77.

21 Wegmann, "'Upon this rock we shall build our home:'" 66.

22 Wegmann, "'Upon this rock we shall build our home:'" 67.

Liberians emphasized their American connections. They constructed and renamed the landscape around them to remind them of the American South. They stayed abreast of the news and fashions in America. They invested in schools and trained their children to speak "settler," i.e., American English. They continued to look to the ACS to recruit and send out new colonists, and when the ACS was dissolved, they turned to African American church leaders like Bishop Henry Turner of the African Methodist Episcopal church to promote a "back-to-Africa" movement among African Americans.

Liberia struggled to attract colonists from the beginning, even though the ACS hired people like Crummell, Edward W. Blyden and Turner to travel across the United States trying to convince African Americans of their Christian duty to come to Africa. What Liberians never did was turn to conversion of indigenous peoples as a means of building up the colony. The slave trade in West Africa remained a clandestine reality behind all the European rhetoric about shutting it down. While Brazilians and other returnees had few scruples about making a living through participation in the trade, Liberia's settlers collectively stood out for their determination not to turn to the slave trade as a means to prosper. That said, they retained the New World Christian conviction that coercion was the only means to "civilize," subjected peoples, that is, to impose a labor regime on peoples understood to be unfamiliar with sustained, systematic labor. The apprenticeship system established in Libera should be viewed from this perspective. Having features in common with both the *encomienda* system that operated in Spanish America and the indentured servant system that operated in British America, the Liberian apprentice system was the primary way Liberian Christians sought to evangelize indigenous peoples. The assumption was that adult native peoples were too old to be helped, and that only children could be saved. So Liberian law mandated that indigenous children be taken from their parental homes to be raised as "apprentices" in the households of settlers. The children would learn how to work and to pray under settler tutelage and ideally also go to school to learn how to think like a settler. After many years at the bottom of some settler household, the children would be both civilized and Christian. The potential for exploitation in the system should be obvious. Children were being raided from native communities to serve as coerced laborers in settler communities. The system favored the settler elites who originally set it up, hence the accusations of later generations of settlers that it was a covert, de facto system of slavery. The system remained in place, however, until 1930 when charges that settler elites were using the system to export slave labor to other colonies prompted an investigation

by the League of Nations, an investigation that forced the Liberian elite to discontinue the system.[23]

Protestant returnees confronted indigenous peoples in large numbers at a few specific places of contact. In contrast, Catholic returnees confronted indigenous peoples in small numbers spread over a much larger field, along the African coast from Ghana to the Cameroons, and then along the coast of Angola. This remained the case when later in the nineteenth century ships leaving Brazil began to stop in Havana and pick up returnees from Cuba as well. Catholic returnees used their Brazilian and Portuguese connections to their advantage, but they were also much more effective than Protestant returnees in inserting themselves into local, indigenous power structures. One factor behind this effectiveness was the Catholic returnees's willingness to help local rulers evade British suppression of slaving activities. Brazilian returnee settlements initially grew up around slave ports, Africans freed from slavery in Brazil ironically gaining a foothold in Africa through enslaving other Africans to send back to Brazil. From the beginning of Portuguese slaving activity in Africa, Portuguese authorities had insisted on Christianizing African captives either on the coast before they embarked or once they were on board the ships taking them off to slavery in the New World. Brazilian returnee Catholicism in Africa retained an association with the strategy of conversion through slavery, most of the indigenous people baptized via returnee agency being slaves. Brazilian Catholic communities were as exclusive as North Atlantic Protestant communities, but with the added condition that the indigenous peoples outside the Brazilian community, and the indigenous peoples outside of identified Brazilian networks of patronage and clientage, were enslavable.[24]

23 See Shick, *Behold the Promised Land:* 60–72; Wegmann, "'Upon this rock we shall build our home:'" 66–68.

24 Michael J Turner, "Les Bresiliens: the impact of former Brazilian slaves on Dahomey" (PhD dissertation, Boston University, 1975), 85–212; Pierre Verger, *Trade Relations between the Bight of Benin and Bahia from the 17th to 19th Century* (Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 1976), 532–565; Robin Law, *Ouidah: the Social History of a West African Slaving "Port", 1727–1892* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2004), 155–188; Monica Lima, "Between Shores: Brazil and the Return of Former Slaves to Africa, 1830–1870," in *Back to Africa: Afro-Brazilian Returnees and their Communities,* vol. 1, ed. Kwesi Kwaa Prah (Rondebosch: CASAS, 2009): 59–74; Elisee Soumonni, "The Aguda of Benin: From the Memory of Brazil to the Construction of a Community Identity," in *Back to Africa*, vol. 1, ed. Kwaa Prah: 261–273; Marco Aurelio Schaumloeffel, "Afro-Brazilian Diaspora in West Africa: The Tabom in Ghana," in *Another Black Like Me: the Construction of Identities and Solidarity in the African Diaspora*, eds. Ellaine Pereira Rocha and Nielson Rosa Bezerra (Newcastle upon Tyne, England: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015).

Like returnees from the United States, returnees from Brazil marked their territory by reshaping Africa to look like, to be like Brazil as much as possible. Spoken Portuguese was one such marker. Brazilian style clothing and architecture were two others. The most definitive of these markers was Brazilian style Catholicism, two features of which merit some brief explanation. First is the confraternal structure that undergirded the Christian Afro-Brazilian lived religious experience both in Brazil and Africa. Confraternities were a key feature of Portuguese Catholicism that spread to Brazil where they became the primary institutions through which African peoples, both enslaved and free, participated in Catholic religious life. Confraternities fostered a form of voluntary piety considered distinct from the confessional obedience believers were expected to display towards the Roman Catholic Church and its teachings. Once they had fulfilled their duties as Christians as mandated by the Church, within the boundaries of orthodoxy, confraternal memberships were free to supplicate and celebrate the heavenly intercessors they most admired. This freedom remained even where and when there were no church structure or personnel to facilitate the fulfilment of the duties demanded by the church. The attraction of the Catholicism practiced in confraternal chapels was that it did not require the regular attentions of a priest to flourish, an important advantage in both early modern Brazil and nineteenth century Africa where the lack of parochial and diocesan development meant that there were few priests available to tend the spiritual needs of Africans. Leaving to the side for the moment the performance of the sacraments, which required a priest to officiate, the prayers and devotions regularly performed by a brotherhood could be led by laypeople. And there could be considerable pastoral space for the leader who led these prayers to minister the spiritual needs of fellow confraternity members, as demonstrated by the life and career of Padre Antonio, the returnee who shepherded the Brazilian community in Lagos until the arrival of Catholic missionaries in the last decades of the nineteenth century.[25]

Confraternities chose the saints they supplicated and the devotions they celebrated. The second feature of Brazilian Catholicism to consider is the nature and character of the devotional life constructed and maintained by the brotherhoods. African confraternities in Brazil were founded upon ethnic affiliations, which were summed up most broadly in the designations "Mina" – peoples originally captured in the region fronting the Bight of Benin where the original

25 James H. Sweet, *Recreating Africa: Culture, Kinship, and Religion in the African-Portuguese World, 1441–1770*, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 170–200; Joao Jose Reis, "The Bahian Background of the African Returnees," in *Back to Africa*, vol. 1, ed. Kwaa Prah: 33–58.

Portuguese slaving port "El Mina" operated; versus "Angola" – peoples originally captured from the Kongo/Angola region who left from ports along the coast of Angola. These ethnic affiliations were further defined by "nations," i.e., language or tribal groupings such as "Nago" (Yoruba); "Jeje" (Twi); "Benguela" (Bakongo). Each of these groups recognized a distinct African religious tradition. In the context of their confraternities, each of these groups syncretized that religious tradition with Catholicism, creating as a result for confraternity members a unique set of patron saints, devotions and celebrations. An important attribute of all these "national" forms of confraternal worship was the incorporation of syncretic elements such as dancing, masquerades and totems drawn from the African religious tradition they recognized. For Brazilian African Christians, confraternal life was a series of celebrations of African heritage remembered in a Catholic religious framework. For Africans in Brazil these confraternal devotions were the substance of Catholicism. And until the arrival of missionary priests who sought to change things, the Brazilian returnees who began to come to Africa in significant numbers in the 1830s faced no obstacles in the transfer of their confraternity-based ideas of Catholicism back to Africa. They used the affluence granted them by the slave trade to establish and elaborate in Africa versions of Brazilian Catholicism remembered in its Africanized form.[26]

These Africanized forms of Catholicism could have served as doorways through which indigenous peoples were invited to pass. They did not. For Brazilian returnees, their processions, their devotions, their public festivals served the purpose of asserting to indigenous onlookers both the returnees' Brazilian identity and that identity's inaccessibility to those lacking Brazilian heritage. To return to the point about performance of the sacraments, returnee Catholicism did not take as a given any regular participation in the rites of the Church, so returnee Catholicism did not routinely require the services of a priest. Most returnees went years, perhaps decades between making confession, receiving absolution and then receiving communion, the cycle of rites in which, going back to Lateran Council IV in 1215, all Catholics were required to participate. Brazilian returnees had strategies for maintaining their Catholic self-identity without participation in most of the sacraments. But the rite of baptism, which conferred entry into the Catholic church, and in this case, membership in the returnees' world, was indispensable.

Not much research has been done on the sacramental life of Catholic returnees in Africa, but in a very helpful article, Luis Nicolau Pares has examined a set of three public mass baptisms staged in the town of Agoue in Dahomey

26 John K. Thornton, *A Cultural History of the Atlantic World, 1250–1820* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2012), 313–463.

between 1846 and 1857, the period just before the arrival in the region of missionary priests belonging to the Society of African Missions (SMA Fathers). The baptisms were arranged by Joaquim d'Almeida, a former Brazilian slave who had risen to become the chief slave trader in the town. D'Almeida brought in Afro-Brazilian priests from Ouidah (Whydah) to perform the rites which took place in a chapel he had built, supplemented by devotions made by one of confraternities to which d'Almeida belonged. Of the many fascinating things that the study talks about, the one point worth mentioning is the demographic makeup of the baptisms. All those baptized were children. Baptism of adults seeking conversion was not permitted. Of the 360 children baptized, 183 were slaves. Of these 183 slaves, only 5 were males. All of the remaining 177 children baptized in the three services were offspring of Brazilian returnees. There were male slaves owned by the returnees, but they were not baptized. Pares speculated that the extraordinary gender imbalance was a reflection of the concern on the part of slave owners to ensure that all of their progeny be recognized as Christians. Children born of a slave owner father and a baptized slave mother would have two Christian parents and would be automatically considered as Christians (awaiting baptism). Clearly baptism was being used to maintain the Brazilian identity of the group with the only entry of outsiders being through the institution of slavery.[27]

5 Alexander Crummell: Emigration and Evangelism

As Ciprian Burlăcioiu suggests in the introductory chapter to this volume, while evangelism may become a trait of a diaspora, evangelism is not a necessary trait of a diaspora. Indeed, working forward from the Jewish Diaspora, the paradigm for the understanding of all other diasporas, the primary concern of the diasporas created by group migration is the reestablishment of an existing identity in some new space and time. Incorporating outsiders into that identity is simply not a priority. From this perspective the exclusivity displayed by both the Protestant North Atlantic diasporas and Catholic South Atlantic diasporas established in Africa has to be recognized as normative. The question then is why do scholars in looking back expect the behaviors of these diasporas to have been different, for these diasporas to have been more than just open to

27 Luis Nicolau Parés, "Afro-Catholic Baptism and the Articulation of a Merchant Community, Agoué 1840–1860," *History in Africa*, 42 (2015): 165–201.

outsiders, but to have been aggressive in their recruitment of outsiders for inclusion. The answer to this question may be that this expectation is a legacy of Ethiopianism.[28]

Ethiopianism garnered part of its energy, part of its impetus from its rebuttal of the necessity of European agency in the evangelization of people of African descent. It was the antithesis to a previous presumption by Europeans that only Europeans could claim what evangelical Protestants call "the Great Commission" to evangelize the non-European world. In that sense, it could, as it did, operate as a call for race conscious ministry and missionary endeavor. It could be, as it was, the driving force behind the black missionaries who left the New World determined to preach Christianity to African peoples they identified as brethren. Undeniably there was some overlap between New World black people who went to Africa as missionaries, and those who went to Africa as settlers, but one of the points of this chapter is that it is historically inaccurate to conflate the two. Yet this is exactly what Alexander Crummell and others, most importantly Edward W. Blyden, did in the context of the back-to-Africa movement over the last decades of the nineteenth century. In terms of overall influence, Blyden had a far greater role in shaping the trans-Atlantic understanding of Ethiopianism. This was in part because in his seven trips across the Atlantic to the United States from the 1860s to the 1890s, Blyden tirelessly pursued a crusade to convince African Americans to emigrate to Africa. This is in part also because Blyden did a great deal more in West Africa, among African church people, to reconcile African American and African ideas of Ethiopianism.[29] Yet Crummell, or more specifically Crummell's conception of the settler as evangelist, made a much greater impression on African American audiences for emigration. Crummell himself did not preach or publish much about emigration after his return to America in the 1870s. His ideas were taken up and broadcast across the United States, however, by the *African Methodist Episcopal* (AME) bishop Henry McNeal Turner. Through Turner, Crummell's ideas became commonplace assumptions about the evangelical dimension of the life African American settlers would lead in Africa.[30]

28 On Ethiopianism see Andrew E. Barnes, *Global Christianity and the Black Atlantic: Tuskegee, Colonialism and the Shaping of African Industrial Education* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2017), especially pages 55–80.

29 See Andrew E. Barnes, "'Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race': E. W. Blyden, African Diasporas and the Regeneration of Africa," in *Redefining the African Diaspora: Expressive Cultures and Politics from Slavery to Independence*, eds. Toyin Falola and Danielle Porter Sanchez (Amherst, New York: Cambria Press, 2016): 225–254.

30 On the connection between Crummell and Turner see Edwin S. Redkey, *Black Exodus: Black Nationalist and Back-to-Africa Movements, 1890–1910* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969).

Alexander Crummell held the distinction of being the first African American to obtain a degree from Cambridge University. After his education in England, Crummell spent twenty years proselytizing as an Episcopalian minister/missionary in Liberia. After his time in Liberia, Crummell returned to the United States, where he served for most of the rest of his life as the rector to the Episcopalian parish of Saint Luke's in Washington D.C. During this time, beyond his pastoral duties, Crummell worked ceaselessly to promote the development and recognition of African American intellectual achievement, an effort crowned by the establishment of the American Negro Academy in 1897. Crummell was elected by the members as the first president of the Academy. He died the following year, 1898, but not before making a lasting impression on the Academy's first vice president, W. E. B. Du Bois, who memorialized Crummell in his collection of essays published as *The Souls of Black Folks*. Crummell continues to be venerated by American Episcopalians with a feast day on September 10th.[31]

It helps, when making an effort to contextualize Crummell's ideas about emigration and evangelism, to keep two things in mind. First is that when Crummell was formulating these ideas in the 1860s he thought of himself as a settler and citizen of Liberia. According to one of his biographers, Oldfield, Crummell and his family claimed Liberian citizenship in 1853, the same year they arrived in the colony from England.[32] He presented his writings in promotion of Liberia as entreaties for other New World African peoples to follow his lead. How Crummell thought about his abandoned Liberian citizenship after he returned to the United States in 1873 is not known. The second thing to keep in mind is that most of Crummell's writings about emigration and evangelism were written with publication under the auspices of the American Colonization Society. According to Oldfield and another biographer, Wilson Moses, Crummell became an agent of the ACS during his first trip back to the United States in 1861, and from that point began to lecture under the organization's aegis whenever he came back to the United States over the next decade.[33] Crummell did more than this. He used the ACS as a clearing house for his ideas connecting emigration with missiological schemes built upon the presumption of settler evangelism. Over the middle years of the 1860s Crummell's name was regularly mentioned in the pages of *The African Repository*, the monthly journal published by the ACS, sometimes as an

31 For biographical information on Crummell see Wilson Jeremiah Moses, *Alexander Crummell a Study of Civilization and Discontent* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989); John R. Oldfield, *Alexander Crummell (1819–1898) and the Creation of an African-American Church in Liberia* (Lewiston: E. Mellen Press, 1990).

32 Oldfield, *Alexander Crummell (1819–1898)*, 62.

33 Moses, *Alexander Crummell*, 135; Oldfield, *Alexander Crummell (1819–1898)*, 68–74.

author, sometimes as an eyewitness to all the wonderful things supposedly taking place in Liberia. One takeaway from these two points is that Crummell, like Frederick Douglass, like Booker T. Washington, like all of the great black voices of the nineteenth century, was capable of speaking to multiple audiences simultaneously. Crummell spoke in strident terms about black nationalism in the pages of *The African Repository*, yet he was conscious of the fact that white audiences reading the journal heard in his voice the promise that if given support, he and other black nationalists would take their ambitions some place far away from the United States.

6 "The Relations and Duties of Free Colored Men in America to Africa"

Three of the pieces written with ACS sponsorship in mind can be spotlighted as having shaped the conception of the settler as evangelist so important for the nineteenth-century back-to-Africa movement in the United States. First was Crummell's, *The Relations and Duties of Free Colored Men in America to Africa*, published first in pamphlet form in Connecticut in 1861, and then published as part of *The Future of Africa*, an anthology of sermons and addresses, in New York in 1862.[34] Both editions acknowledged the support of Crummell's patrons in the ACS. *The Relations and Duties of Free Colored Men* was nominally a letter addressed to an African American medical doctor, Charles C. Dunbar from New York, who had decided to emigrate to Liberia and who had queried Crummell about what he should do once he got there. Crummell's answer to Dunbar and by extension all New World black people interested in Africa was a fifty plus page treatise arguing the case for African American financial investment in Liberia's economic development.[35] The text resembled and perhaps was modeled upon Thomas Fowell Buxton's *The African Slave Trade and Its Remedy*, first published twenty years earlier.[36] Buxton's treatise had made the case to British investors that there was

34 Alexander Crummell, *The Relations and Duties of Free Colored Men in America to Africa* (Hartford: Press of Case, Lakewood and Company, 1861), and in *The Future of Africa: Being Addresses, Sermons, Etc., Etc., Delivered in the Republic of Liberia* (New York: Scribner, 1862): 212–281.

35 For alternative treatments of *Relations and Duties*, see Moses, *Alexander Crummell*, 130–134; Oldfield, *Alexander Crummell (1819–1898)*, 67.

36 Compare Crummell, *The Relations and Duties*, 221–239 with Thomas F. Buxton, The *African Slave Trade and Its Remedy* ([s.l.]: John Murray, 1840), part II, chapters 2–4.

money to be had in replacing the slave trade with "legitimate" trade in agricultural and mineral commodities. Crummell's treatise made a similar case but to potential African American investors, who, Crummell cautioned, should grab hold of the "treasures" of Africa before these treasures were all claimed by Europeans.[37] Decades before the Austrian social scientist Joseph Schumpeter romanticized the entrepreneur as the driving force behind the development of capitalism, Crummell was suggesting to African American Christians that, acting as entrepreneurs, they could be the driving force behind the Christian evangelization of Africa. As Crummell explained, he was addressing his appeal to "adventurous, enterprising and aspiring men." And the instinct he sought to cultivate in these men was "the principle of SELF-LOVE which spurs men on to self-advantage and self-aggrandizement." As he went on, "I address myself to all that class of sentiments in the human heart which creates a thirst for wealth, position, honor and power." This was because Africa needed "skill, enterprise, energy, worldly talent to raise her." Those skills applied in Africa would "prove the handmaid of religion and will serve the great purposes of civilization and enlightenment through all her borders."[38]

Intentions were important if the profit motive was to serve as a "handmaid of religion." African American entrepreneurs needed to have "high souls and lofty resolves." They needed to possess "strong moral proclivities, equal to the deep penetration and the unyielding tenacity of their minds." "No greater curse could be entailed upon Africa," Crummell argued, then the appearance from the New World of "heartless black buccaneers." Crummell characterized these buccaneers as the evil twins of his entrepreneurs. They were men who "sharpened by letters and training," and "filled with feverish greed," would look at Africa only as "a convenient gold-field from which to extract emolument and treasure to carry off to foreign parts."[39]

As to where African Americans would find the capital that was to be invested, Crummell noted the "unproductive" wealth free blacks had at their disposal and spent several pages talking about the wealth of African American churches, especially the AME church. But seeking to spur migration, Crummell offered as an alternative to church-backed investment, the idea that small groups of men should pool their resources: "If one has not sufficient capital, four or six united can make a good beginning. If a few persons cannot make the venture (i.e., go to Africa), then a company can be formed."[40] At this juncture

37 Crummell, *The Relations and Duties*, 222.
38 Crummell, *The Relations and Duties*, 221.
39 Crummell, *The Relations and Duties*, 234–235.
40 Crummell, *The Relations and Duties*, 233.

Crummell digressed to wax eloquently on how the British East India Company got its start from such humble beginnings, and then went on to not only provide England with many of its greatest statesmen (Robert Clive offered as one example), but also to make possible the careers of some of England's greatest churchmen (Henry Martyn offered as one example). Africa proffered similar possibilities to African Americans if the latter be "men who will not suffer themselves to be outrivaled in enterprise and vigor."[41]

African Americans were to come to Africa to get wealthy and to facilitate its evangelization. Crummell never explicitly explained how the two were to be connected. At one point he did suggest that the African emulation of African American actions would be all that was needed to trigger the civilizing process:

> The kings and tradesmen of Africa, having the *demonstration* of negro capacity before them, would hail the presence of their black kinsmen from America, and would be stimulated to a generous emulation. To the farthest interior, leagues and combinations would be formed with the men of commerce; and thus civilization, enlightenment, and Christianity would be carried to every state, town and village of interior Africa.[42]

As Crummell explained in another of his sermons published in *The African Repository*, "God's Dealing with the African Race," the best way for a people to acquire civilization was to imitate people who already had civilization. Crummell argued further that the capacity to imitate others was an outstanding attribute of the African race. The point to his argument was that all indigenous peoples had to do was observe African Americans going about the tasks associated with civilized life in the communities African Americans were to build, and that would be sufficient to precipitate the formers' social evolution.[43]

This said, in another place in *Relations and Duties of Colored Men*, speaking about indigenous African resistance to the civilizing influence of colonizing powers, Crummell was very much the settler in advocating for the use of force against recalcitrant indigenes: "And thus you see that, for the establishment of a strong black civilization in Central Africa, a strong and bloody hand must be used."[44] Crummell went back and forth about the strengths and weaknesses of the indigenous African population, about its spiritual and cultural capabilities, about its capacity for civilization. Yet the one overriding strength to which Crummell regularly returned was the indigenous population's propensity for

41 Crummell, *The Relations and Duties*, 234.
42 Crummell, *The Relations and Duties*, 242–243.
43 See Alexander Crummell, "God's Dealing with the African Race," *The African Repository*, vol. 44 no. 9 (September 1862): 269.
44 Crummell, *The Relations and Duties*, 250.

labor. All they needed in order to evolve was to have this propensity harnessed. As Crummell noted in speaking about the potential profits that could come from introducing New World style sugar plantations to the African mainland, indigenous farmers in Liberia were already growing sugar for local consumption deep into the interior. As such, he concluded:

> What a germ have we here for systematic labor, plodding industry, the proper direction of the acquisitive principle, and thereby of civilization and Christianity, if only a company of right-minded men were . . . prepared for the production of sugar, willing to stimulate the native energy, and at the same time to uplift and enlighten the heathen![45]

Crummell postulated two ideas, both mentioned in this last passage from *Relations and Duties*, that were to remain part of the American conception of the African American settler. First that settlers would come to Africa not as individuals, but as parts of companies, i.e., members of communities. As mentioned above, what he had in mind were the British enclaves constructed in India. Crummell was hoping for a diaspora more explicitly religious than the British one that went to India. He even suggested that existing African American churches should come together and jointly cobble together communities of settlers to send to Africa.[46] The second idea was that, employed in the process of generating profits for Christian African Americans, Africans would learn on their own how to become virtuous profit-making Christians. Crummell was still very much in an Adam Smith way of thinking in the treatise, so Divine Providence is pictured as a *deus ex machina*, working like an "invisible hand," making the African American thirst for profit work for the purposes of the "uplift and enlighten[ment] of the heathen."[47]

This last argument was not very convincing. Crummell struggled in the treatise to show how indigenous peoples would gain from African American migration. His long years of exposure to settler ambitions made it difficult for him to persuade himself that the level of altruism he postulated emigrants would display had any correlation with reality. In the sermon to be considered next, written five years later, Crummell moves away from any identification of entrepreneurship as an agent of social amelioration. Rather, Crummell builds a new case, one which pictured African American emigrants as colonizers, and colonization as an act of Divine Providence.

45 Crummell, *The Relations and Duties*, 229–230.
46 Crummell, *The Relations and Duties*, 271–272.
47 Crummell, *The Relations and Duties*, 230.

7 "Emigration: An Aid to the Evangelization of Africa"

There is some confusion about when the sermon "Emigration: An Aid to the Evangelization of Africa. A Sermon to Barbadian Emigrants at Trinity Church, Monrovia, Liberia, West Africa," was first preached. The version of the sermon available in *Africa and America: Addresses and Discourses by Alex Crummell*, published in 1891, list the sermon as having been preached in May 1863. In its October 1865 issue, however, *The African Repository* notes the arrival in Liberia of 300 settlers from Barbados as having taken place in May 1865, and Crummell's sermon commemorating the event as having been preached on that occasion. The October and the November 1865 issues of *The African Repository* offered a shortened, serialized, thirteen pages version of the sermon. *WorldCat* listed a longer, twenty-four-page version of the sermon as having been preached in 1863 but only published in 1865. The version of the sermon published in 1891 was a reprint of the 1865 publication. Articles published over the years in *The African Repository* make a firm case for the 1865 date as the correct one. The version of the 1865 sermon (re)published in 1891 will be used as the basis of the discussion below.[48]

It is remarkable how little scholarly attention "Emigration: An Aid to Evangelization" has drawn. The sermon offered perhaps Crummell's most developed argument for providential design. Many African American and African Ethiopianists besides Crummell characterized African Americans in Old Testament terms, but here as well Crummell provides one of the most articulated comparisons to be found of the analog between Jews and New World African peoples. The sermon opens with Crummell arguing that emigration and colonization, which he treats as the two ends of the same process, arise from "an instinctive tendency of human nature," and as such are "almost coeval [in time] with humanity itself."[49] Crummell went on to list the great migrations of human history, starting with the dispersal of the offspring of Noah after the Great Flood and ending with the spread of European peoples across the globe occurring in his own time. But then he got to the crux of his argument which is that emigration "is not a casual or fortuitous thing." "There is no such thing as chance." Crummell insisted. "All

48 Alexander Crummell, "Emigration, an Aid to the Evangelization of Africa. A Sermon to Barbadian Emigrants at Trinity Church, Monrovia, Liberia, West Africa, May 14th, 1865," in *The African Repository*, vol. 41, issue 10 (October 1865): 291–296; issue 11 (November 1865): 321–326. Reprinted in *Africa and America: Addresses and Discourses*, ed. Alexander Crummell (Springfield, Mass: Willey & Co., 1891): 405–430.

49 Crummell, "Emigration, an Aid to the Evangelization:" 410.

human events have their place in that grand moral economy of God, in which He himself is an ever present, ever active agent." "The will of God," Crummell concluded, "overrules all the deeds, the counsels, and the designs of men, tracks them from their unseen germs . . . to those manifest and notable deeds which rank among historical facts." Emigration and colonization, whenever and wherever they have occurred, needed to be recognized as outcomes of "the Spirit of God, resting upon, entering into the hearts of men."[50]

Applying this principle to the story of the Jews, Crummell demanded that his audience:

> Look, for instance, at the early history of the Israelites. See the way in which God brought them into Egypt. Note their four centuries of servitude there; and then at length, their triumphal exodus therefrom under Moses. And now can *you*, or *you*, or any other man, blind your eyes to the fact, that all of the magnitude of this story grew out of the providential events connected with the sale of Joseph by his wicked brethren? And then, if you place this large fact beside its seeming insignificant causes, how can you do otherwise than did Joseph himself, that is, run up from the painful details of his sufferings to the sublime philosophy which he announces to them: "it was not *you* which sent me hither but God!"[51]

The lesson that Crummell would have his (African American) audience glean from this story was for Crummell the payoff for the sermon:

> And what does this suggest but the immediate remembrance of that signal parallel of history, so painful and so personal to ourselves, viz: the forced and cruel migration of our race from this continent, and the wondrous providence of God, by which the sons of Africa, by hundreds and by thousands, trained, civilized, and enlightened, are coming hither again; bringing large gifts, for Christ and his Church, and their heathen kin![52]

After a long and detailed effort at showing the parallels between the pain and suffering, but also social amelioration and enlightenment experienced by Jewish peoples in Egypt and African peoples in the Atlantic world, Crummell again cited words from Joseph, this time as a retort by black people to all the Atlantic slave traders who had oppressed them: "As for you, ye thought evil against us, but God meant it unto good, to save much people alive."[53] The import of this last phrase, "to save much people alive," preoccupied Crummell for the rest of the sermon. Crummell interpreted it as an injunction issued by God to New World African peoples to migrate to Africa:

50 Crummell, "Emigration, an Aid to the Evangelization:" 414.
51 Crummell, "Emigration, an Aid to the Evangelization:" 416.
52 Crummell, "Emigration, an Aid to the Evangelization:" 416.
53 Crummell, "Emigration, an Aid to the Evangelization:" 420.

> The day of preparation for our race is well-nigh ended; the day of duty and responsibility on our part, to suffering, benighted, Africa, is at hand. In much sorrow, pain, and deepish anguish, God had been preparing the race, in foreign lands, for a great work of grace on this continent. The hand of God is on the black man, in all the lands of his distant sojourn, for the good of Africa.[54]

The continent of Africa was "to be reclaimed for Christ." "The faith of Jesus," Crummell went on, was "to supersede all of the abounding desolation of heathenism." In this evangelical crusade "the colored populations of America are largely to participate . . . are to be active agents of God for the salvation of Africa." Crummell made clear that he was not speaking to the masses of African Americans. He was speaking only to the "remnants," "the called," the "chosen," the "elect" through whom "God works the marvels of his providence."[55] And as Crummell explained to the "chosen" listening to him in Liberia on that May morning, and the "chosen" reading his words later:

> *Our mission is evidently to organize the native labor all around us; to introduce regulating and controlling law among them; to gather their children into schools, in order to train their intellects; to make these people civilized and Christian people; to incorporate them into our Republic as citizens, and into the Church of God as brethren!* (italics in the original)[56]

Reversing the case that he made in *Relations and Duties of Colored Men*, Crummell went on to say:

> Other work indeed, we have here; but it is collateral to this. Trade, agriculture, commerce, art, letters, government, are other great features here, and ruinous will it be for us to despise or to neglect them; but they are only auxiliary to that one great, master service, which God has imposed upon us and you, viz., to glorify God's name and to plant His Church amid this heathen population![57]

Crummell backed away from his earlier willingness to present the profit motive as an agent of social progress. In the sermon he made the argument for Christian obedience to the will of God as having that capacity. The rest of his suggested program for African social development remained the same, however. Again, his case was that it was not Christian individuals, but Christian groups, who he conceived of as mini diasporas from specific faith communities, who were the key to social transformation in Africa. Crummell did not propose a missiological agenda for these mini diasporas to pursue. All these communities

54 Crummell, "Emigration, an Aid to the Evangelization:" 421.
55 Crummell, "Emigration, an Aid to the Evangelization:" 421.
56 Crummell, "Emigration, an Aid to the Evangelization:" 422.
57 Crummell, "Emigration, an Aid to the Evangelization:" 427.

needed to do was go about the business of transferring their American lives to African soil to effectively impact the indigenous population.

To his credit, Crummell was conscious of the settler propensity to see indigenous peoples as an "other" to be exploited. In a later address on "Our National Mistakes and the Remedy for Them," Crummell listed as the number one national mistake of the settlers of Liberia, "the neglect of our native population." Crummell ascribed the neglect to "a too strong self-consciousness of civilized power," which had both "blinded" settlers to the fact that they were "but a few generations removed from the condition and benightedness of the heathen around us;" and had made settlers "forgetful of the great duties that they owed" to the "people who serve us and work on our farms." The trip across the Atlantic had prompted a metamorphosis in African American migrants, changing them from "underlings" to "masters," who then "look[ed] down upon the native as an inferior, placed at such a distance from us, that concord and oneness seem almost impossibilities."[58]

The remedy to this problem that Crummell proposed in "Emigration: An Aid to the Evangelization of Africa," was to have settlers see themselves as the elect few that God had guided towards the fulfillment of his covenant to come back to Africa to civilize their indigenous brethren. Settlers thus had a special onus, as God's chosen, to recognize and maintain a missionary persona in reference to local peoples. Crummell did not associate with this persona a set of behaviors and practices specifically aimed at religious inculcation. He was rather explicit that settlers should preoccupy themselves primarily with the tasks involved with building homesteads in a new land. His thinking was that since these tasks were concerned with setting up a lived Christian experience, one which involved the use of "hoes and spades" and "scythes" and "axes" in order to prepare African soil for "civilized" agriculture; one which proceeded from the construction of American style homes where settlers could read their "Bibles and Prayer books" and celebrate their "Christian creeds" at their "family altars," observation of those tasks would suffice to teach indigenous peoples all they needed to learn.

"Emigration: An Aid to the Evangelization of Africa" sanctified the act of emigration. The legacy of the ideas that Crummell developed in the sermon for the back-to-Africa movement was the conceptualization of African settlement as the African American's errand into wilderness. All of the ideas that European Christians associated with life on the frontiers of the New World, with all of these ideas' racist baggage, Crummell invited African Americans to entertain

58 Alexander Crummell, "Our National Mistakes and the remedy for them," in *Africa and America: Addresses and Discourses*, ed. Alexander Crummell (Springfield, Mass: Willey & Co., 1891): 165–198, 170.

about Africa. The sermon might be recognized as an effort on the part of Crummell to suggest a Christian code of conduct that would allow Liberians to lose that baggage. Reading the sermon in the New World, however, most people of African descent would not have grasped this layer of meaning, mostly because they had yet to come to see themselves as "masters." Rather, in the New World, the sermon could be embraced as a revelation of the unique covenant God had always had in store for New World Christians of African descent.

For all his concern for indigenous peoples and their souls, during his almost two decades in Liberia, Crummell did not convert many indigenes to Christianity. Oldfield saw this as a reflection of Crummell's personality. As he observed, "The truth of the matter was that Crummell was ill-cast for the role of a missionary. He was too impatient, too unyielding, too much of a disciplinarian."[59] Both Oldfield and Moses called attention to the racial tension between Crummell and his white American Episcopalian bishop John Payne, and how this tension affected, and effectively negated all of Crummell's attempts at church building.[60] Acknowledging both these factors, based upon the discussion in the first part of this chapter, it is still possible to suggest a larger explanation for Crummell's lack of success as a Christian evangelist. During his time in Liberia Crummell was a settler and thought like a settler. He did not communicate to local peoples anything different from other settlers. Crummell's true message was directed at settlers and that message was to assure settlers that they could find Christian salvation in passing their appropriations of master race ideas of Christianity on to indigenous folks instead of keeping those ideas for their own exclusive use. One attribute of Crummell's black nationalism was his perception of white missionaries as racists, caught up with indoctrinating African converts with notions of subservience to white authority.[61] To his mind, white missionaries in Africa were teaching Africans to be "underlings" in a similar fashion to what white Christians in the New World were teaching the African's American cousins. Crummell looked to settler Christianity in the hope that it could serve as an antidote to such notions. Settler Christianity, he felt, could teach Africans how to stand on their feet. As a settler, Crummell accepted that settler Christianity would do this through "tough love," i.e., coercive methods. Indigenous peoples needed to be forced to acknowledge their benighted state, to accept shelter under settler authority and to embrace the work regimes settlers imposed upon them. Only thus could they acquire the discipline to break free of the chains through which Satan had controlled their

59 Oldfield, *Alexander Crummell (1819–1898)*, 66.
60 See Moses, *Alexander Crummell*, 89–162; Oldfield, *Alexander Crummell (1819–1898)*, 59–95.
61 See Moses, *Alexander Crummell*, 99–100; Oldfield, *Alexander Crummell (1819–1898)*, 62–64.

minds and bodies from time immemorial, while simultaneously avoiding the similar chains whites hoped to impose upon them. Caught up in his dreams of a Christian black civilization, Crummell could not see that from the indigenous perspective, his cure might be as bad as the disease he identified. He could not grasp that the black domination implicit in the tough love he advocated could be as lethal to African minds and bodies as white racism. Crummell idealized Christian brotherhood with indigenous Africans, but while he was in Liberia the only pathway to brotherhood he could see for indigenous peoples was through servitude.

8 "The Regeneration of Africa"

Crummell preached "Emigration: An Aid to the Evangelization of Africa" only a few days before he departed from Liberia on his way back to the United States, on a trip mostly funded by the ACS. The last of the three pieces of Crummell's writing that helped shape the back-to-Africa movement was given in October 1865 as an address before the Pennsylvania Colonization Society, a branch of the ACS. Thanks to the writings of the Scottish missionary David Livingstone, at that moment support was growing among white peoples on both sides of the north Atlantic for large scale missionary projects, across the globe, but especially in Africa. Crummell wrote "The Regeneration of Africa," first published in *The African Repository* in June 1868, and then republished in *Africa and America* in 1891, with the goal of stemming the tide towards the expansion of missions at the expense of colonization schemes.

To make his case for colonization, Crummell started his discourse off by dismissing other sorts of agency and agents for the task of Christianizing Africa. It is fascinating the extent to which, over the five years between the writing of *Relations and Duties of Colored Men to Africa*, and the "Regeneration of Africa," Crummell distanced himself from his earlier celebration of the profit motive. Looking towards the British missionary movement he attacked the ideas behind the slogan "Commerce and Christianity." While he acknowledged that commerce might be a "beneficent auxiliary of African progress," he questioned the existence of any evidence of "its regenerative powers."[62]

Crummell then moved on to politely reject the effectiveness of European or, as he called them, "foreign" missionaries. While lauding the "heroic, almost god-like

62 Alexander Crummell, "How Shall the Regeneration of Africa be Effected," *African Repository*, vol. 56 (June 1968): 161–172; "Regeneration of Africa," in *Africa and America: Addresses and Discourses*, ed. Alexander Crummell (Springfield, Mass: Willey & Co., 1891): 433–453, 435.

self-sacrifice" of foreign missionaries, Crummell still felt that they lacked the staying power needed to change Africa. The foreign missionary was an "exotic" in Africa, and because of this, "he withers and pines, and alas too often dies, a glorious martyr for Christianity."[63]After missionaries died, the families of missionaries return to their homes in Europe, leaving behind any possibility of providing Christian role models for Africans to follow. As a result, European missionaries "rarely have [had] permanent influence in Africa."[64]

At this juncture Crummell reached back to his argument about the providential agency of the Almighty, who allowed "millions of the Negro race" to be "stolen from the land of their fathers."[65] Central to Crummell's argument from this point on is the idea that though having been removed from Africa for centuries, New World Christian emigrants remained, "indigenous in blood, constitution and adaptability. Two centuries of absence from the continent of Africa, has not destroyed [their] physical adaptation to the land of [their] ancestors."[66] Because of this quality of indigeneity, this "somewhat native[ness]" black Christian emigrants would not, like the foreign missionary, "wither and pine away." Rather, with "Bibles and Prayer Books, and Tracts and Sermons and family altars," they would journey across the Atlantic "seeking a new home amid the heathen population of Africa."[67]

Crummell was not finished, however. Arguably it was at this point that he offered the defining image for his case about the connection between emigration and evangelization. Crummell dismissed the idea that individual missionaries could make a difference in Africa, "For [even] the greatest of saints can only represent a partial Christianity [. . .] His work will have to be followed by others."[68] On the other hand, if you sent a "company of Christian emigrants," Crummell argued, "you sent a church."[69] For Crummell, organized groups of African American emigrants returning "from the lands of their past thralldom," "mini-diasporas" as they were labeled above, were the key to the Christianization of Africa. When you send such companies of people, he insisted, "you send Christianity to Africa." Planted in Africa, the "rootlets" of the churches of

63 Crummell, "Regeneration of Africa:" 442.
64 Crummell, "Regeneration of Africa:" 436–7.
65 Crummell, "Regeneration of Africa:" 439.
66 Crummell, "Regeneration of Africa:" 439.
67 Crummell, "Regeneration of Africa:" 440.
68 Crummell, "Regeneration of Africa:" 440.
69 Crummell, "Regeneration of Africa:" 440.

these emigrants would "burst forth on one side and another like little daughters of the plantain in a tropical soil."[70]

"Rootlets . . . like little daughters of the plantain in a tropical soil" was a metaphorical breakthrough for Crummell and potentially all arguments that sought to link emigration to Africa with Christian evangelization. The organic image of growth via lateral clustering he posited was not just a metaphor for the colonizing process, but the civilizing process as well. And implicit in both these was the idea that miscegenation or "mestizaje" as it came to be called in twentieth century Latin America, a form of race mixture or creolization that created a new hybrid people, could serve as a vehicle of evangelization. Crummell identified intermarriage as the ideal Christian outcome of settler intervention into indigenous African life. The race mixture he had in mind was never to be as dramatic as what took place in the New World. As Crummell presented it, it was to involve the combination of the "native" and the "somewhat native," indigenous Africans and African returnees. Given that African returnees were "somewhat native" because of mixed racial ancestry, his notion of mestizaje involved the offspring of Africans and African Americans progressing back towards an idea of racial purity. Equally, if not more important for him, his notion of miscegenation involved the mixture of the civilized and the barbarous, the Christian and the heathen. Of course, for him the civilized and the Christian was the stronger of the two polarities, and so hybridization would flow in that direction. But the good news here is that he granted indigenous cultures some positive value as starting points. In all of his previous writings indigenous cultures were black holes from which Africans could escape only through divine intervention.

From the perspective of New World black audiences, in "The Regeneration of Africa" Crummell offered an argument for the superiority of Ethiopianist missiology that challenged the white racism undergirding European Christian missiology on two fronts. The evolution of European scientific racism made the notion of biological interbreeding as a vehicle of community formation anathema for white missionaries. In his condemnations of European missionizing Edward W. Blyden highlighted this point, contrasting the Semitic Muslim willingness to spread the faith through intermarriage with Africans with the Aryan Christian aversion to mating with Africans.[71] Crummell built upon a variation of this idea, picturing Africans as acquiring a command of Western civilization through contact and

70 Crummell, "Regeneration of Africa:" 440.

71 See Blyden's essay, "Mohammedanism and the Negro Race," in *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race,* ed. Edward Wilmot Blyden (Edinburgh: University Press, 1967).

cross-fertilization with African Americans. For him, the social process of faith community formation was the notion that the analogy of "rooting" conveyed:

> And these men, settled at Liberia; take root there; increase is given to their families there as well as here. Native heathen also come into their families, work for them in their gardens, in their workshops, and on their farms; are touched by their civilized habits, and moved by their family prayers and Sunday teachings. As their children [i.e., the settlers] grow up, they in turn become the centres to other heathen, of new and wider influences, both civilizing and Christian. Native converts become incorporated with them in households of faith. By and by, these native converts raise up Christian children, who in some cases are married to persons of the emigrant stock; and thus the native and emigrant blood, at times, both Christianized, flow, mingled together, through the veins of a new race, thoroughly indigenous and native.[72]

9 Masters and Underlings: Diasporic Christianity in Africa

In his otherwise very helpful study of the back-to-Africa movement in the late nineteenth century United States, Kenneth C. Barnes (no relation), in the context of comparing Crummell's impact on the movement to that of Turner, made the mistake of characterizing Crummell as opposed to emigration. He presented Crummell as more of a proponent of missions rather than colonization.[73] The most interesting thing here is that Barnes perceived a difference between the two. The case that Barnes had Crummell promoting for missions, and the case that he had Turner promoting for emigration were one in the same and derived from Crummell's writings in *The African Repository*. Crummell ceased to appear in *The African Repository* as an author in 1873. That same year, however, the journal published under the headline "Duties and Destiny of the Negro Race," an excerpt from a sermon by Turner that invoked Divine Providence as the justification for an argument that black Americans could only achieve capitalistic development commensurate with that of white Americans through emigration to Africa.[74] At the beginning of 1876, the ACS decided to invite Turner to become a vice-president of the organization, a position Turner accepted with

72 Crummell, "Regeneration of Africa:" 441.
73 Kenneth C. Barnes, *Journey of Hope: The Back-to-Africa Movement in Arkansas in the Late 1800's* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 97–98.
74 *The African Repository*, vol. 49, issue 9 (September 1873): 282.

"honor" and "gratitude" in a letter reprinted in *The African Repository*.[75] In this letter as well Turner talked about Divine Providence guiding African Americans towards a destiny across the Atlantic in Africa. It should be acknowledged, however, that in his writings as published in *The African Repository*, Turner used the idea of providential design differently from Crummell. Crummell saw Divine Providence as preparing African Americans to introduce Christian civilization in Africa. Turner understood Divine Providence as leading African Americans to an economic prosperity that would facilitate the founding in Africa of modern nation states.

Beyond Turner, however, it is clear that Crummell's ideas continued to help shape the discourse among Christians about African American emigration to Africa. The legacies of both "Emigration: An Aid to Evangelization," and "The Regeneration of Africa" can be seen in the annual report for the Massachusetts Colonization Society in 1873, published that year in *The African Repository*, where it is noted that though "secular considerations," had due influence on applications for funds to emigrate, a "leading motive" articulated by applicants was an eagerness to "preach the Gospel," to "exhibit . . . Christian lives and conversation," and to "establish and maintain Christian institutions." While there were some African American individuals applying for funds, the majority of applicants were members of some "company," typically church congregations under the direction of a pastor.[76]

As for evidence of the ongoing influence of Crummell's *Relations and Duties of Colored Men to Africa*, an anonymous editorial from the AME journal, the *Christian Recorder*, reprinted in *The African Repository* in 1877, enjoined African Americans to "have a hand in the matter of possessing Africa." To "stand by and see other people" "possess" Africa, the editorial insisted, would reveal about African Americans a racial "want of pluck." As the editorial admonished readers, "God has no special smiles for those of His children who do nothing." The editorial was not promoting a "wholesale exodus" of African Americans to Africa, however, only emigration by "men of business," i.e., Crummell's erstwhile entrepreneurs.[77] A second anonymous editorial reprinted in the *African Repository*, this one from a Methodist newspaper from Macon, Georgia, after advocating for the idea that the African American settlement of Africa should be modeled upon the European settlement of Georgia, suggested that the more "restless"

75 *The African Repository*, vol. 52, issue 7 (July 1876): 84–86.
76 *The African Repository*, vol. 49, issue 8 (August 1873): 235.
77 *The African Repository*, vol. 53, issue 1 (January 1877): 23.

and "enterprising" among African Americans should form companies of emigrants with the goal of the "subjugation of Africa to Christian civilization."[78]

Barnes's assessment of Crummell's agenda might be taken instead as a reflection of the posture Crummell projected after he returned to the United States in 1873. Towards the end of his life, Crummell seems to have realized the extent to which his ideas appropriated master race notions of Christianity. Crummell backed away from schemes that conceptualized African American migrants as agents of evangelization. He also seems to have grasped that African Christians had already moved beyond the missiological strategies of both European missionaries and African American Ethiopianists. African Christians had grabbed the torch and were developing their own Ethiopianist schemes for the regeneration of Africa. In 1895, at the Congress on Africa held in Atlanta, Crummell, too sick to attend, had two papers read that he had written, "Civilization: A Collateral Agency in Planting the Church in Africa" and "The Absolute Need of an Indigenous Missionary Agency in Africa." "Civilization: A Collateral Agency," is noteworthy for two things. First is the proof it provides that till the end of his life Crummell retained a settler's contempt for indigenous cultures. Crummell's perceptions of indigenous peoples in the 1890s remained the same as they had been in the 1860s, though updated through the use of terminology taken from the nascent field of social anthropology. Second is the way the paper wrote human agency out of the Christianization process. Crummell makes a case that Christianity itself, by which he seems to have meant the Bible and the social discipline and the material culture it inspired, is enough to trigger social regeneration. Crummell's scheme granted space for missionaries to translate the Bible and to introduce indigenous peoples to that translation. Building again upon the Augustinian idea that God's chosen will make themselves known through their embrace of the tasks God had assigned to them, the only thing that Crummell leaves for missionaries after they had translated the message was reminding the chosen of God's expectations for them.[79]

In, "The Absolute Need of an Indigenous Clergy," Crummell repudiates, simply by ignoring, all of his previous teachings on the subject of Africa's evangelization. There is no mention of African returnees or their obligation to Christianize indigenous folks. The paper goes back to the argument in "The Regeneration of Africa" that missions can never effectively evangelize a people because the impact

78 *The African Repository*, vol. 53, issue 8 (July 1877): 78.

79 Alexander Crummell, "Civilization: A Collateral Agency in Planting the Church in Africa," in *Africa and the American Negro*, ed. by Congress on Africa (John Wesley Edward Bowen and Stewart Missionary Foundation for Africa) (Atlanta: Gammon Theological Seminary, 1896): 119–124.

of missionaries is evanescent. Missionaries do not stay around long enough to supply meaningful role models on how to live a Christian life. Rather, the paper builds upon the argument in "Civilization: A Collateral Agency," by arguing that successful implantations of Christianity in the past had involved missionaries translating the Bible, teaching indigenous people how to read it, and then leaving it to indigenous clergymen to find the way forward through emulation of the actions of the Apostles.[80]

The complete silence in "The Absolute Need of an Indigenous Clergy" about emigration and his early schemes is stunning. By that point, however, the idea that migration to Africa for purposes of evangelization was a duty God imposed on African Americans already had become engrained in that portion of the black New World populace attracted to Ethiopianist ways of thinking. After the death of Turner, the idea was submerged in other debates among African Americans about race and racial destiny, most importantly the one between Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois. The idea recaptured a bit of the limelight in 1913–14 in the context of the Chief Sam back-to-Africa movement, though it went underground again after that movement floundered.[81] The idea had its greatest moment a few years later as a presupposition of the Garvey back-to-Africa movement. One of the initiatives proposed by Garvey was the creation of "Booker T Washington Institutes" where African Americans would receive the training they would need to go to Africa and introduce Africans to the skills the latter would require in order to participate in the black civilization Garvey aspired to found. Ethiopianism in general, and the idea of resettlement in Africa as a Christian covenant in particular, did not survive the brutal suppression of the Garvey movement by white governments in the United States and colonized territories in Africa.[82]

Kenneth Barnes dedicated the last chapter of his study to an investigation of the fate of the African Americans from Arkansas who migrated to Africa in the last decades of the nineteenth century. As his investigation shows, the majority of the African Americans who made an effort to go to Liberia were motivated by a desire to escape racial oppression and economic hardship. As the study shows further, however, these settlers anticipated that any prosperity they earned would

80 Crummell, "Civilization: A Collateral Agency:" 137–142.

81 See Robert Hill, "Before Garvey: Chief Alfred Sam and the African Movement, 1912–1916" in *Back to Africa. The Ideology and Practice of the African Returnee Phenomenon from the Caribbean and North-America to Africa*, vol. 2, ed. Kwesi Kwaa Prah (Rondebosch: CASAS, 2012): 264–283.

82 See Andrew E. Barnes, *Global Christianity and the Black Atlantic: Tuskegee, Colonialism and the Shaping of African Industrial Education* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2017), 152–154.

be their reward from God for having taken up the Cross to introduce Christianity to indigenous Africans. Few of these settlers ever preached the Gospel, however. Most of those who stayed in Africa rapidly assumed a self-identity, to use Crummell's terms, as members of a master class of civilized people with a right to exploit indigenous "heathen." Once in Africa they became settlers first, evangelists almost never.[83]

To stay with Crummell's terminology, the case put forward in this chapter has been that the New World ideas of Christianity African returnees brought with them across the Atlantic facilitated their metamorphosis from "underlings," to "masters." Powering this transformation were ideas about Christianity granting emigrants who claimed to be its adherents an imperial *fiat* over all they surveyed in the lands they endeavored to occupy. These notions were first developed among European emigrants to the New World. European emigrants sought to monopolized the authority they saw Christianity as granting. The monopoly failed. European notions of master race Christianity saw secondary application in Africa as the basis for African returnee justification of the lordship they claimed over indigenous peoples. To make this statement is not to indict Christianity, but to acknowledge one of the historic forms Christianity has taken, and to recognize the impact that form has had on world history.

Master race ideas of Christianity proved a powerful tool of diaspora formation among emigrants in both the New World and Africa. The ideas did this, however, at the expense of compromising any instinct toward evangelism on the part of their adherents. As both the New World and African examples demonstrate, Christian emigrants used Christianity to alienate themselves from the indigenous populace in the places where they relocated. Christianity both inspired and reinforced the emigrants' urge to maintain connections to the worlds they left behind. For the people inside of Christian diasporas, these attributes made their faith even more powerful and meaningful to them. For people outside of Christian diasporas, however, these attributes made the people inside of them victimizers. As both the New World and African examples also illustrate, diasporas participated in the Atlantic economy as either predators or prey. The African diasporas in the New World were preyed upon by European Christians. The Christian African diasporas that crossed the Atlantic to Africa survived by preying upon indigenous peoples.

Looking at the second part of the chapter from the perspective of the first, it is possible to see that the challenge that Crummell set for himself was unwinnable.

83 Kenneth C. Barnes, *Journey of Hope: The Back-to-Africa Movement in Arkansas in the Late 1800's* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 145–179.

Looking at the first part of the chapter from the perspective of the second, it is important to see that there was some Christian awareness of the transgression of the ethos of Christianity in the central tenets of settler Christianity. If Christianity is understood to be innately evangelical, it is fair to ask whether master race formulations of Christian faith are truly Christian. Alexander Crummell was conscious of this question and its bearing on his quest to bring New World black people back to Africa to found a black civilization. Crummell's essays at finding a satisfying answer to this question, all of which involved convincing African American settlers of the duties the God of Abraham imposed upon them, never gained traction among the settlers. They, as did other settlers, preferred to only see the privileges they understood Christianity to grant to them. But Crummell's eloquence was not wasted. Far more effectively than any other thinker, Crummell made the ideas of master race Christianity work for people of African descent. Crummell aimed these ideas toward settlers in Africa but with very little impact. Still, Crummell's sanctification of emigration and settlement helped shaped both the motivations and initiatives of back-to-Africa movements in the New World.

Klaus Koschorke

Indentured Labour, Oppression, Migration

Christian Diasporas in Asia in 19th and Early 20th Centuries

The global spread of Christianity has traditionally been described as being a result of Western missionary endeavours, both Catholic and Protestant, since the 16th century. But the Western missionary movement was just *one factor* among many that contributed to its worldwide dissemination. Increasing attention has recently been paid to various movements of migration, whether voluntary or forced, and the important role of ethnic diasporas as networks of non-missionary spread of Christianity.[1] One paradigm intensely discussed in the last 30 years has been the concept of a "(Christian) Black Atlantic" as a space of migration, remigration, communication and intercontinental interaction between black Christians on both sides of the Atlantic in the 19th and 20th centuries.[2] This series of transatlantic movements and intra-Christian interactions goes back not only to the late 18th century, when "the first Protestant church in tropical Africa was established" in Sierra Leone in 1792 by African American remigrants from Nova Scotia – not as a missionary enterprise, but as "a ready made African Church, with its own structures and leadership."[3] In subsequent years, it also served as a

1 Most recently: Jehu J. Hanciles, *Migration and the Making of Global Christianity* (Grand Rapids: William B Eerdmans Publishing Co, 2021); Brian Stanley, *Christianity in the Twentieth Century. A World History* (Princeton/Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2018), 337–356; Klaus Koschorke, "Religion und Migration. Aspekte einer polyzentrischen Geschichte des Weltchristentums," *Jahrbuch für Europäische Überseegeschichte* 16 (2016): 123–144; Afe Adogame, Raimundo C. Barreto, Wanderley Pereira Da Rosa, eds., *Migration and Public Discourse in World Christianity* (Minneapolis: Fortess Press, 2019).

2 Jehu J. Hanciles, "The Black Atlantic and the Shaping of African Christianity, 1820–1920," in *Polycentric Structures in the History of World Christianity*, ed. Klaus Koschorke and Adrian Hermann (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2014): 15–29; Jehu J. Hanciles, *Beyond Christendom: Globalization, African Migration, and the Transformation of the West* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 2008); Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic. Modernity and Double Consciousness* (London: Verso Books, 1993); Andrew E. Barnes, "The Christian Black Atlantic: African Americans, Ethiopianism, and Christian Newspapers in Africa," in *"To give publicity to our thoughts". Journale asiatischer und afrikanischer Christen um 1900 und die Entstehung einer transregionalen indigen-christlichen Öffentlichkeit*, eds. Klaus Koschorke, Adrian Hermann, Frieder Ludwig, and Ciprian Burlăcioiu (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2018): 345–362.

3 Andrew Walls, "Sierra Leone, Afroamerican Remigration and the Beginnings of Protestantism in West Africa (18th–19th Centuries)," in *Transcontinental Links in the History of Non-Western Christianity*, ed. Klaus Koschorke (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2002): 45–56, here: 55.

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kind of hub in the process of further evangelization in the region through African agency. But already in 16th and 17th centuries transoceanic links between black Christians from both sides of the Atlantic can be observed. These were a result of the impact of early Kongolese Christianity on the evangelization of slave communities in the "New World."[4] This model of the '(Christian) Black Atlantic' – as a space of transregional communication and exchange between indigenous Christians – also deserves intense study and should be applied to other maritime world regions such as the Indian Ocean[5] or the Pacific World[6] as well.

The (Protestant) Sierra Leone paradigm has been intensively discussed in World Christianity studies in recent years. Less known, but also quite instructive has been the impact of Brazilian Catholic returnees to the coastal regions of Nigeria in early 19th century; see Silke Stirckrodt, "Die brasilianische Diaspora in Westafrika im 19. Jh.," in *Afrika 1500–1900. Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, eds. Andreas Eckert, Ingeborg Grau, and Arno Sonderegger (Wien: Promedia, 2010): 194–217, here: 210: "Die Brasilianer bahnten den Weg bei der Einführung des römischen Katholizismus und des Islams an der [westafrikanischen] Küste. [. . .] Sie brachten ihre Religion mit an die Küste und errichteten dort die ersten Kapellen lange vor der Ankunft der ersten katholischen Missionare aus Europa."

4 "The conversion of (American) Africans actually began in Africa, and modern scholarship has largely overlooked this aspect of the problem. Much of the Christianity of the African world was carried across the seas to America": John Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 254–256, 262.

5 In 1498, Vasco da Gama met St. Thomas Christian sailors in East African coastal regions, and the migration movement of Indian indentured labourers to South Africa, starting in the 1860s, was the background not only of Gandhi's later fight for Indian independence, but also of the close interaction between Indian Christians in India itself and South Africa in late 19th and 20th centuries (see below). There is now a vast amount of literature on the Indian Ocean – e.g. David Armitage, Alison Bashford, and Sujit Sivasundaram, eds., *Oceanic Histories* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 31–61; Michael N. Pearson, *The Indian Ocean* (London and New York: Routledge, 2003); Isabel Hofmeyr and Preben Kaarsholm, eds., "Print Cultures, Nationalisms and Publics of the Indian Ocean," *Africa* 81/1 – Special Issue (2011) – but little attention has been paid to resulting intra-Christian networks. Some important references can be found, e.g., in Priyatosh Sharma, "Christian Traders in Maritime World of Kerala (c. 1000 – c. 1300 C.E.)," *International Journal of Research in Social Sciences* 9/2 (2019): 567–574; Matteo Salvadore, "Between the Red Sea Slave Trade and the Goa Inquisition: The Odyssey of Gabriel, a Sixteenth-Century Ethiopian Jew," *Journal of World History* 31/2 (2020): 327–360; Pius Malekandathil, "A Commonwealth of Christians in the Indian Ocean: A Study on the Christians of St. Thomas Tradition in South-West India," in *Early Christian Communities of the St. Thomas Tradition in India*, ed. Peter Kannampuzha (Kochi: Liturgical Research Centre Publications, 2017): 88–137.

6 The same applies to the Pacific Ocean where alone the links between Spanish Mexico and the Spanish Philippines (as a kind of Mexican "sub-colony") led to various forms not only of commercial and economic, but also of religious exchange. – A general survey on recent historiography can be found in: David Armitage, Alison Bashford, and Sujit Sivasundaram, eds., *Oceanic Histories* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 62–85; some specific

Asia has a long history of Christian presence dating back to the early genesis of various "oriental" Churches in the third or fourth centuries. Particularly remarkable among them has been the East Syriac *"Church of the East,"* which, at the peak of its extension in 13th and 14th centuries, stretched from Syria to East China and from Siberia to South India (and temporarily also to Sri Lanka).[7] In the 16th century Catholic missionaries turned up in Asia, in the context of Portuguese expansion. The 19th century, finally, also became the "great century" of Protestant missionary advance in Asia (K. S. Latourette). But the origins and dynamics of Asian Protestantism cannot be understood without taking into account the enormous role of migration and ethnic diasporas in successive waves of its spread.

Take, for example, the case of *Korean* Protestantism, the (at least temporarily) most rapidly-growing Christian community in Asia. Its beginnings have usually been connected with the arrival of the first American (Presbyterian and Methodist) missionaries in the "hermit nation" in 1884–1885. Until then Korea had been sealed off from the outside world. Well before that date, however, Koreans living in Japan, China and Manchuria had already accepted the new faith. Through their work as Bible translators or colporteurs and their propaganda among their countrymen they set the stage for the sudden sweep of Christianity in Korea. In subsequent years, it developed rapidly into a self-evangelizing church and also provided an increasingly transregional platform for the emerging

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references in: Luke Clossey, "Merchants, migrants, missionaries, and globalization in the early-modern Pacific," in *Journal of Global History* 1 (2006): 41–58; Eva Maria Mehl, *Forced Migration in the Spanish Pacific World: from Mexico to the Philippines, 1765–1811* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016); Hermann Hiery, "Inselmissionare. Die Verbreitung des Chrsitentums in und aus der pazifischen Inselwelt," in *Polycentric Structures in the History of World Christianity,* ed. Klaus Koschorke and Adrian Hermann (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2014): 205–215; John Garret, *To Live Among The Stars. Christian Origins in Oceania* (Geneva and Suva: South Pacific Book, 1982); Doug Munro and Andrew Thornley, eds., *The covenant makers: Islander missionaries in the Pacific* (Suva: Pacific Theological College, 1996); Edward R. Slack, "The Chinois in New Spain. A Corrective Lens for a Distorted Image,'' *Journal of World History* 20/1 (2009): 35–67; Oskar Hermann Khristian Spate, *The Spanish Lake* (Canberra: Anu Press, 2004); Reinhard Wendt, "Global-lokale Wechselwirkungen. Von den Feierlichkeiten zum Gedenken an die Japan-Märtyrer in Manila zur national-philippinischen Verehrung von San Lorenzo Ruiz,'' in *Polycentric Structures in the History of World Christianity,* ed. Klaus Koschorke and Adrian Hermann (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2014): 173–192.

7 Cf. Dietmar Winkler and Li Tang, eds., *Hidden Treasures and Intercultural Encounters. Studies on East Syriac Christianity in China and Central Asia* (Wien und Münster: LIT Verlag, 2011); Klaus Koschorke, "'Ob er nun unter den Indern weilt oder unter den Chinesen.' Die ostsyrisch-nestorianische 'Kirche des Ostens' als kontinentales Netzwerk im Asien der Vormoderne,'' *Jahrbuch für Europäische Überseegeschichte* 9 (2009): 9–35. Another Christian diasporic network already in various parts of premodern Asia had been provided by the Armenian community.

nationalist movement of the country.[8] Later the year 1910 became the year of a national catastrophe for Korea. The country lost its political independence and became a Japanese colony. In the same year, however, Korean evangelists were already active among their compatriots in far distant regions such as Siberia, Manchuria, Japan, Hawaii, California, Mexico and Cuba. The main reasons for their emigration had been first, financial difficulties, and then also patriotism. As the hope of sustaining national integrity waned in the 1900s, many began to choose emigration as a way of pursuing their patriotic agenda. Their search for bread and freedom abroad increasingly became connected with evangelistic activities.[9] Not all Korean emigrants were Christians but for those who were the Korean churches overseas soon became the centre of their social life. Quite generally, as Sebastian and Kirsteen Kim have observed, the history and explosive growth of Christianity in Korea in subsequent years cannot be understood without taking into account the emerging Korean overseas diaspora. "There was a reciprocal relationship between churches inside and outside Korea . . . Both the Korean diaspora and the [Korean] missionary movements were pioneering ventures in which Koreans explored and mapped the world after many centuries of isolation."[10]

Korea is quite an impressive, but not the only example of the enormous role played by different ethnic diasporas in the missionary and non-missionary spread of Christianity in Asia in the 19th and early 20th centuries. The system of *indentured labour* – the circulation of the labour force within (and outside) the various colonies of the British empire – changed religious geographies.[11] It resulted, for example, not only in the introduction of Hinduism in some Caribbean

8 "It is striking that Korean Christianity began virtually as a self-evangelized Church:" Joon-Sik Park, "Korean Protestant Christianity: A Missiological Reflection," *International Bulletin of Mission Research* (IBMR) 36 (2012): 59–64, here: 59; Sook-Jong Lee, "The Beginnings of the Early Korean Protestant Church and its Indigenization within the Traditional Culture" in *Transcontinental Links in the History of Non-Western Christianity*, ed. Klaus Koschorke (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2002): 87–104.

9 Cf. Kyo Seong Ahn, "Korea as an Early Missionary Center: Korean Missionaries Around 1910 in Northeast Asia and Beyond" in *Polycentric Structures in the History of World Christianity,* ed. Klaus Koschorke and Adrian Hermann (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2014): 99–110; Sebastian Kim, "'Non-Missionary Beginnings' of Korean Catholic Christianity in the Late Eighteenth Century," in *Polycentric Structures,* ed. Koschorke and Hermann: 73–98; David Yoo, "A Legacy of Independence: the Korean Christian Church of Hawaii," in *Transcontinental Links*, ed. Koschorke: 105–116; and Choi Young-Woong, "The Mission of the Presbyterian Church of Korea in Shangdong, North China, 1913–1957," in *Transcontinental Links*, ed. Koschorke: 117–130.

10 Sebastian Kim and Kirsteen Kim, *A History of Korean Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 5, 314.

11 On the system of "indentured labour" cf. Hugh R. Tinker, *A New System of Slavery. The Export of Indian Labour Overseas, 1830–1920* (London: Hansib Publications, 1974).

islands[12] but also in the establishment of a Christian presence in regions where it had been previously unknown – e.g. by *Indian* Christian "coolies" who kept and spread their faith in the plantations and working fields in South Asia or South Africa and other places, often long before the first Western missionaries arrived there. Among the first 300 Indian indentured labourers sailing to *Natal* in 1860 50 were Catholics and 4 Protestants. In subsequent years, the number of Protestants (Methodists, Anglicans, Lutherans, and Baptists) considerably increased among the Indian labour force in South Africa[13] – partly fueled by the fact that education for Indian immigrants was available there only in mission schools. It was for reasons both of national and religious solidarity that Indian Christians went to South Africa in the 19th century to serve the Indian community there as teachers or pastors. Some were sent by one or other of the established Western missionary societies and some went on their own initiative. So, for example, in 1900 in Jaffna (Sri Lanka) Tamil Christians established the Jaffna Student Foreign Missionary Society, "supported by their own native Churches, and controlled exclusively" by local actors. Its aim was "to send the Gospel to Tamil-speaking people in neglected districts of other lands, such as South India, the Straits settlements (Singapore, Malacca) and South Africa."[14]

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12 On resulting Hindu-Migration cf. Steven Vertovec, *The Hindu Diaspora. Comparative Patterns* (London: Taylor & Francis, 2000), 43–46: Guyana, Trinidad, Grenada; Martin Baumann, *Alte Götter in neuer Heimat. Religionswissenschaftliche Analyse zu Diaspora am Beispiel von Hindus auf Trinidad* (Marburg: diagonal, 2003).

13 On 19th century's Indian immigration in South Africa cf. Surendra Bhana and Bridglal Pachai, eds., *A documentary history of Indian South Africans* (Johannesburg: David Philip Publishers, 1984); Surendra Bhana and Joy B. Brain, *Setting down roots. Indian migrants in South Africa, 1860–1911* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 1990); Ashwin Desai and Goolam Vahed, *Inside Indian Indenture. A South African Story, 1860–1914* (Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2010); Cosmo Grenville Henning, *Indentured Indians in Natal* (New Dehli Promilla & Company, 1993). – On the history of Christianity among South African Indians cf.: Joy B. Brain, *Christian Indians in Natal: 1660–1911. An Historical and Statistical Study* (Cape Town etc.: Oxford University Press, 1983); Gerald Pillay, "Community Service in South Africa. Christianity among Indian South Africans," in *Christianity in South Africa*, eds. Richard Elphick and Rodney Davenport (Oxford and Cape Town: University of California Press, 1997): 286–296; Gerald Pillay, "'Leaders and Followers'. The Case of Indian Christians in South Africa," in *Transcontinental Links*, ed. Koschorke: 145–163; Antony J. Arkin, Karl P. Magyar, and Gerald J. Pillay, eds., *The Indian South Africans* (Pinetown, S.A.: Owen Burgess Publishers, 1989), 143–170 ("Religious Profile"); *Centenary Brochure Souvenir 1862–1962: Natal Methodist Indian Mission* (n.p. n.d. [= 1962]). – The great majority among the Indian 'indentured labourers' in South Africa between 1860 and 1911 had been Hindus (ca 80 %), with a Christian minority of 1.4%: But till the 1980s their percentage within the Indian population in South Africa grew up to 13%.

14 *The Christian Patriot* (Madras), 28.07.1900, 3, reprinted in K. Koschorke et al., eds., *Discourses of Indigenous Christian Elites in Colonial Societies in Asia and Africa around 1900*

As a result of migration, Tamil Christian communities and congregations arose in the 19th and early 20th centuries in Ceylon, Burma, Mauritius, the Nicobarean islands, South Africa, Uganda and British Guiana.[15] Fiji, with its increasing Indian labour force, we learn from an Indian Christian newspaper in 1896, "will become practically an Indian colony". For that reason, the journal suggests, Indian evangelists should be sent there.[16] The same periodical – the *Christian Patriot* (CP) (established in Madras/Chennai in 1890) – had been proud to serve as "mouth piece" not only for the Indian Christian community in the mother country itself, but also for those in the diaspora – "in India, Burma, Ceylon, Straits and South Africa" (CP 04.03.1916 – Header). As a channel of communication between "various Christian organization" in different regions it intended "to promote the communal consciousness of Indian Christians, so widely scattered . . . and so sadly divided by denominational and other differences" (CP 19.2.1916, 4). Thus Indian Christians became aware of themselves as a growing international community.

China, another important example, was completely closed to any Western missionary activities prior to 1842. The beginnings of Chinese Protestantism, therefore, took place *outside* the 'Heavenly Kingdom' – in the great arc of Chinese diaspora communities reaching from Siam and today's Malaysia and Singapore down across the Indonesian archipelago to Amboina – and later influenced indigenous developments inside the Chinese empire.[17] It was in Malacca that

(Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2016), text 40, 67 and discussed in Klaus Koschorke, *"Owned and Conducted entirely by the Native Christian Community." Der 'Christian Patriot' und die indigenchristliche Presse im kolonialen Indien um 1900* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2019), 232–233; in chapter V.6 (242–246) of this book connections and interactions between Christians in India and South Africa between 1890 and 1914 are discussed in detail.

15 See the detailed survey in Norman Carr Sargant, *The Dispersion of the Tamil Church* (New Dehli: I.S.P.C.K., 1962), on Ceylon (57–59), Burma (68–70), the Nicobarean islands (74–76), "Malya" (81–83), Malbar (93–95), Mauritius (96–98), South Africa (104–106), British Guiana (112–114), Trinidad and Fiji (120–122) and Uganda (151–153). As a case study from East Africa and the Caribbean see: Daniel Jeyaraj, "Missionary Attempts of Tamil Protestant Christians in East and West during the 19th Century," in *Transcontinental Links*, ed. Koschorke: 131–144. Cf. also: Claude Markovits, Jacques Pouchepadass, and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, eds., *Society and Circulation. Mobile People and Itinerant Cultures in South Asia, 1750–1950* (New Dehli: Anthem Press, 2003); Knut A. Jacobsen and Selva J. Raj, eds., *South Asian Christian Diaspora. Invisible Diaspora in Europe and North America* (London: Routledge, 2008).

16 *The Christian Patriot* (Madras), 18.06.1904, 6, reprinted in Koschorke et al., eds., *Discourses*, text 116, 133.

17 Cf. Samuel Hugh Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia*, vol. II (Maryknoll, N.Y.: ORBIS books, 2005), 105–107. – On the Chinese diaspora in general cf.: Lyann Pan, *Sons of the Yellow Emperor. A History of the Chinese Diaspora* (New York: Kodansha America, Inc., 1994), especially 72, 158–160; Robin Cohen, *Global Diasporas. An Introduction* (London: Routledge, 1997),

around 1810 a printing centre and a Chinese school were established and the first Chinese evangelists were trained to return to their homeland with the Bible. The most famous of these indigenous evangelists was Liang A-Fa (1789–1855), occasionally labelled as "China's First (Protestant) Preacher", who in 1819 went back to China. In the 1820s and 1830s he managed to distribute great numbers of Bible pamphlets and other religious tracts in areas that were inaccessible to Western missionaries. One of his evangelical tracts – "Good words to admonish the Age" – deeply influenced Hong Xiuquan who later became head of the Taiping movement. This was an indigenous Christian-inspired revolutionary movement with millions of followers in the 1850s and 1860s. After Taiping was crushed in 1864 many of its followers had to flee. So a number of Hakka Christians came to Sabah where they established the first Chinese Christian congregations in the area.[18] Quite a number of them became Christians. They began to form transregional networks and later often played an important role and were a modernizing influence in the social and political transformation of their homeland. The most famous among these Christian Chinese overseas intellectuals was Sun Yat-Sen (1866–1925), who had been educated at an Anglican school in Hawaii and was later baptized in Hong Kong. After the collapse of the Qing dynasty in 1911, he

chapter 4: "Trade diasporas: Chinese and Lebanese" (57–82). – For the Christian Chinese diaspora in 19th and 20th centuries cf.: Joseph Tse-Hei Lee, ''The Overseas Chinese Networks and Early Baptist Missionary Movement Across the South China Sea", *The Historian* 6 (2001): 752–768; Joseph Tse-Hei Lee, *The Bible and the Gun. Christianity in South China, 1860–1900* (New York: Routledge, 2003), chapter II: „The Return of Overseas Chinese Christians'' (21–42); Suzanne Wilson Barnett and John King Fairbank, eds., *Christianity in China. Early Protestant Missionary Writings* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 1985), 13–15; Samuel Hugh Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia*, vol. 2 (Maryknoll, N.Y.: ORBIS books, 2005), 594–596, 610–612.; Christopher A. Daily, *Robert Morrison and the Protestant Plan for China* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2013), 153–158, 159–161.; George H. McNeur and Jonathan A. Seitz, *Liang A-Fa. China's First Preacher, 1789–1855* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2014); Jessie G. Lutz and Roland R. Lutz, *Hakka Chinese Confront Protestant Christianity, 1850–1900. With the Autobiographies of Eight Hakka Christians, and Commentary* (Armonk, N.Y.: Taylor & Francis Ltd, 1998); Danny Wong Tze-Ken, *The Transformation of an Immigrant Society. A Study of the Chinese of Sabah* (London: Asean Academic Press, 1998), 18–20.

18 John Roxborough, *A History of Christianity in Malaysia* (Singapore: Genesis Books, 2014), chapter 2: „Migrants and Missionaries, 1874–1941,'' 29–40; cf. Theodore Doraisamy, *The March of Methodism in Singapore and Malaysia, 1885–1890* (Singapore: Methodist Book Room, 1982), 14–17; Karel Steenbrink and Jan Aritonang, eds., *A History of Christianity in Indonesia* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), chapter 19: „Chinese Christian Communities in Indonesia," 903–924; David Scott, „Missionary Education and the Chinese in Malaysia: A Case Study for the Symbiotic Growth of the Methodist Movement,'' *Methodist History* 48/3 (2010): 179–191; Ryan Dunch, *Fuzhou Protestants and the Making of Modern China, 1857–1927* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).

became the first provisional president of Republican China in 1912.[19] Just a few years earlier, in 1905, the centuries-old Confucian examination system in imperial China had been abolished. Chinese students were now free to go abroad, particularly to Tokyo, where they became exposed, among others things, to modernizing Western – and, at the same time, often also to Christian – influences. Quite a number returned to their homeland as converted Christians and played an important role in the Republic of China (established in 1911).[20]

Around 1900 movements of emancipation among local Christian elites can be observed in various Asian countries. One watchword often discussed in those days was that of the "Three Selves" – the ideal of a "self-governing, self-supporting and self-extending Native Church". Originally a missionary concept, towards the end of 19th century it increasingly set itself against growing missionary paternalism and European racism, and was used as a slogan of emancipation by Asian Christians. (This also applies to Africa, which cannot be discussed here). The *demand for "self-extension"* was at the heart of many debates, and one of the first concrete results of this movement had been the more or less simultaneous rise of independent missionary activities or societies under indigenous control in different regions since around 1900. Quite naturally, these indigenous missionaries often first went to people of their own language or ethnicity in the diaspora. One famous, but not the only or first such example in India, was the founding of the *National Missionary Society of India* (NMS) in 1905 in Serampore (the place was deliberately chosen as a counter-model to the beginnings of modern *Western* mission history at Serampore 100 years previously). It followed the principle "Indian men, Indian money,

19 On Sun Yat-Sen and the revolution of 1911 cf.: John King Fairbank, *Geschichte des modernen China 1800–1985* (München: dtv, ²1991), 153–163; Lyon Sharman, *Sun Yat-Sen* (Hamden, CT: Kessinger Publishing, 1965), 27–29; Mathias Haydt, Claudius Müller, Rudolf Wolfgang Müller, and Peter J. Opitz, eds., *Ostasien-Ploetz: Geschichte Chinas, Japans und Koreas zum Nachschlagen* (Freiburg: Ploetz, 1986), 46; Lee Lai To and Lee Hock Guan, eds., Sun Yat-Sen. 6–8, 10–12, 75–77; relevant in this collection are the articles by Huang Jianli, "Umbilical Ties. The Framing of Overseas Chinese as the Mother of Revolution," in *Sun Yat-Sen ed.* Lai To and Hock Guan: 75–129 and James A. Cook, "A Transnational Revolution. Sun Yat-sen, Overseas Chinese and the Revolutionary Movement in Xiamen, 1900–1912," in *Sun Yat-Sen ed.* Lai To and Hock Guan: 170–99; Yen Ching Hwang, *The Overseas Chinese and the 1911 Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976).

20 For the growing number of Chinese Students in Tokyo – estimations for 1907 vary between 12,000 and 16,000 – a 'Chinese YMCA' was established in Tokyo in 1908, publishing its own periodical already in 1908 ('The Chinese Student in Japan' / 生學東留國中) and exercising considerable influence on quite a number of later functionaries in Republican China (extensive archival materials on the Chinese YMCA in Tokyo to be found at: Yale University, Dale Missions Library /Record 46, Box 227, Folder 1769).

Indian leadership". One year later, it already had branches in over a hundred Indian cities.[21]

In 1907 the *Tokyo conference* of the *World Student Christian Federation* (WSCF) took place – the first ecumenical conference in Asia with a *majority of Asian delegates*, which at the same time served as platform of communication for future Asian church leaders (like V.S. Azariah, later to become the first Asian bishop in the Anglican Communion). The theme of the conference was the "evangelization of Asia through her own sons (and daughters)" – India by Indians, China by Chinese, Japan by Japanese etc., and this in mutual cooperation. So the Japanese delegation declared: "The recognition of the responsibility of the Christians of Japan for the evangelization of Formosa, Korea, Manchuria and North China . . . has been strengthened . . . (and) is now generally shared by all intelligent Christians" (sc. of Japan),[22] and various arrangements for exchange and mutual visits were initiated between the Churches in India and Japan. The conference played an important role in the history of Asian ecumenism and the development of a pan-Asian Christian consciousness, and already envisioned something like a post-colonial and post-missionary future for the Asian Churches. At the same time,

21 For the NMS see: Geroge Thomas, *Christian Indians and Indian Nationalism, 1885–1950* (Frankfurt/Bern/Cirencester: Peter Lang, 1979), 150–152; Koschorke, *'Owned and Conducted entirely by the Native Christian Community'*, 140–145. – Apart from the NMS and the 'Jaffna Student Foreign Missionary Society' various other indigenous mission societies are mentioned in the *Christian Patriot* such as (established in 1903) the 'Indian Missionary Society of Tinnevelly' (09.04.1904, 2: "managed entirely by Indians"), the 'Indian Baptist Missionary Society' founded in 1898 (02.04.1904, 2: "entirely dependend upon the Christians themselves"), die "independent" mission of S.C. Rutnam (30.10.1897, 3) or the 'Madras Tamil Mission'. "The indigenous Missions in India" – we learn in the *Christian Patriot* of 08.06.1912, 2 – "are now represented by the National Missionary Society, the Tinnevelly Mission and the Madras Tamil Mission." The NMS inspired analogous initiatives in Sri Lanka such as the 'Ceylon National Missionary Society' (10.04.1915, 5) and even in South Africa (where however, in form of the Ethiopianist movement, strong evangelistic endeavours though African agency already were at work). – Already in 1880 Indian Christians had declared: "The day will come when the Indian Church will send the Gospel to the different countries of Asia" (*The Indian Christian Herald*, 05.11.1880).

22 *Report of the Conference of the World's Student Christian Federation: held at Tokyo, Japan, April 3–7, 1907* (New York n.d. = 1908), 224–225 – Japanese Christians had quite early begun to send their own missionaries to other Asian countries. One pioneer, already in 1896, had been Norimatsu Masayasu (to Korea; information provided by Mira Sonntag, Tokyo). Around 1904 Japanese congregations from the Presbyterian-Reformed Church, the Methodist and the Congregational Church in Japan became active. Cf. also: Charles W. Iglehart, *A Century of Protestant Christianity in Japan* (Rutland: C. E. Tuttle Co, 1960), 134–136, 142–144 ("Worldwide Involvement, 1909–1918"); Richard H. Drummond, *A History of Christianity in Japan* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1971), 241–243.

Asian Protestantism as a multifaceted movement became visible, in which increasing attention is being paid to migrational networks.

I would like to conclude with two stories from *colonial Sri Lanka*. The role played by Christian indentured labourers ("coolies") from India in the spread of a Christian presence in the 19th century in regions hitherto unreached by Western missionaries has already been mentioned. In one of the newly-established coffee estates in the Sri Lankan highlands, we learn from a contemporary account, an English planter and entrepreneur made quite an astonishing discovery in 1854:

> An English planter, not long out from a Christian home in his native land, was astonished one Sunday morning to hear hymn-singing in the coffee-store, not far from the bungalow. Going down to ascertain from whence it proceeded, he found a hundred of his *coolies* gathered together, under the leadership of one of themselves, for a service. Such gatherings were found on more than one estate where Christian *coolies* were engaged in holding services regularly without minister or sacrament.[23]

This unexpected encounter was one of the factors leading to the establishment of a specialized branch of Anglican missions on the island, the *Tamil Cooley Mission* (TCM) under the umbrella of the *Church Missionary Society*. It was dedicated specifically to the pastoral care and evangelistic activities among South Indian indentured labourers.

The other story is based on personal experience. I have been in Sri Lanka many times, among other places in the tea estates in the highlands around Nuwara Eliya, Badulla, Hatton or Ratnapura, where in various places you can see crosses outside inhabited areas – on hills, under shady trees, in the midst of a forest. These crosses are often connected with a little shrine dedicated to Paul the Hermit (Vaṉattu Ciṉṉappar) (Fig. 9 and 10). The cult of this saint is very popular among the Tamil plantation workers in that region, both among Catholics and non-Christians. His feast, annually celebrated between August 15th and 25th, has usually also been well attended by local Hindus and Muslims. A solemn procession, prayers, vows and a community meal called *Tāṉam* (தானம்) are central elements of this festival. As a rule it is not organized by a priest from the nearest Catholic Church but by members of the local Tamil community. Among them, this office often has been kept in family possession and passed on from generation to generation.

This cult of Paul the Hermit goes back to the 19th century. When the British established the plantation economy in colonial Ceylon they recruited much of their labour force from South Indian Tamil Nadu – formally on a contract basis, but often *de facto* as forced labour. Quite a number of these "coolies", as we

23 Roland Potter Butterfield, *Padre Rowlands of Ceylon*, (London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, Ltd., 1928), 43–44.

have seen already, had been baptized Christians. They brought with them that form of Christianity familiar to them – a popular version of Catholicism in which the veneration of saints (and specifically of Paul the Hermit) played a dominant role. In traditional hagiography, Paul the Hermit had been known as a saint of the fourth century leading an ascetic life in the Egyptian desert, full of miracles. In South India he mutated to *Vaṉattu Ciṉṉappar* (வனத்தா / "Paul of the forests") and was specifically renowned for his ability to prevent drought catastrophes. That is why his feast was celebrated by the Tamil plantation workers not on his official feast day (on January 15th), but in the rainy season in August, shortly after the Hindu *Āṭi Pūcai-* festival.

In June 1991 I was able to interview one of its local leaders (*Kōvil Piḷḷai's*, also known as Joseph Kandiah) in the Poonagala Estate (Badulla District). His grandfather had migrated 90 years earlier from a South Indian village near Tiruchchirappalli. He was one of the first Catholics in this particular region and had helped to establish a continuous Catholic presence there until today. Remarkably, the official Catholic Church took no notice of these local Catholicisms until the 1970s. It was only in the aftermath of the Second Vatican Council (with its interest in lay activities, popular religiosity and liberation theology) and due to the influence of a progressive bishop that Catholic Church leaders began to pay

Fig. 9: Shrine of "Paul the Hermit" (Vaṉattu Ciṉṉappar) with the local leader (*Kōvil Piḷḷai's*), Badulla District (Sri Lanka), early 1990s (photo by K. Koschorke).

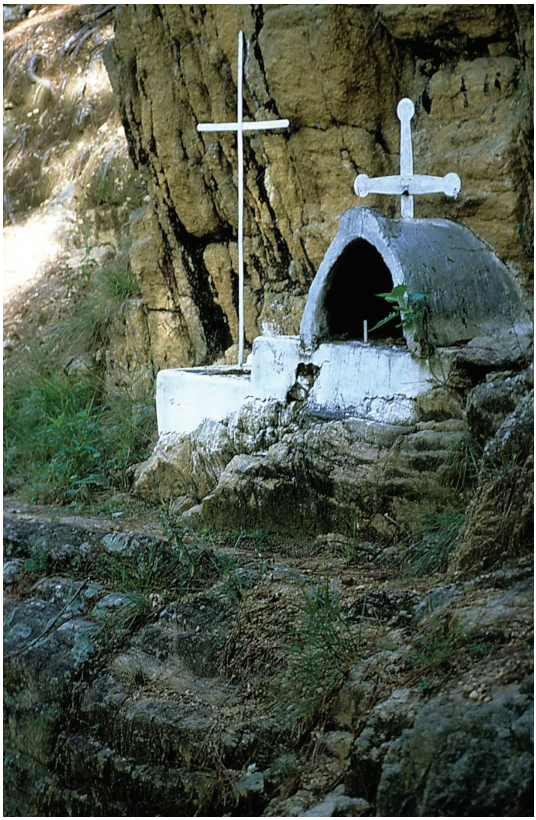

Fig. 10: Another shrine of "Paul the Hermit" (Vaṉattu Ciṉṉappar), Badulla District (Sri Lanka), early 1990s (photo by K. Koschorke).

attention to these specific forms of Tamil Christian religiosity and, at least partially, tried to integrate them into ordinary church life. Various streams has led to the formation of current South Asian Christianities, and migration has played an underestimated role in this process.

Ciprian Burlăcioiu

Migration und Diasporabildung in der östlichen Orthodoxie des 20. Jahrhunderts

Zwei Fallbeispiele: Das Ökumenische Patriarchat in Konstantinopel und die russische Orthodoxie

Die Geschichte der östlichen Orthodoxie im 20. Jahrhundert ist von vielen Wendungen gekennzeichnet. Dazu gehören umfangreiche Migrationsbewegungen als Auswirkung von Kriegen, Revolutionen, Diktaturen oder Bildung von neuen Staaten. Das alles führte auch zur Verstreuung orthodoxer Gläubiger in Gebieten, wo früher die östliche Orthodoxie nicht bzw. in keinem nennenswerten Umfang vertreten war, oder zu einer regelrechten temporären oder dauerhaften Schwerpunktverlagerung einzelner Kirchen. Um diese Entwicklungen und ihre Folgen auf kirchliche Institutionen und Gläubige zu verdeutlichen, eignet sich ein Einblick auf die Geschichte zweier der bedeutendsten östlich-orthodoxen Kirchen: des *Patriarchats in Konstantinopel* und der *Russisch-Orthodoxen Kirche*.

1 Das Ökumenische Patriarchat in Konstantinopel

Auch wenn im Namen dieser alten und ehrwürdigen Institution bereits ein globaler Anspruch – *ökumenisch* – verkündet wird, erlebte das Patriarchat gerade in den ersten Jahrzehnten des 20. Jahrhunderts einen Statusverlust ohne Präzedenz: der Patriarch wurde vom *ethnarch* (religiöser und politischer Führer) aller östlich-orthodoxen Gläubigen (*rum millet*) im Osmanischen Reich zum Oberhaupt einer Herde in der neuen türkischen Republik, die in ihrem Stammland (auf dem Territorium der heutigen Türkei) letztendlich nur einige zehntausende Gläubige mit stetig sinkender Tendenz zu führen hatte. Die Erosion seines Einflusses begann im 19. Jahrhundert mit der Verselbständigung lokaler Kirchen im Zuge der Bildung von Nationalstaaten auf dem Balkan: Griechenland (1833), Rumänien (1865), Bulgarien (1870), Serbien (1879), Albanien (1929).[1] Die Ereignisse von 1921–22 besiegelten aber diese Entwicklung. Hier nur die Eckdaten.

1 Hier wurden die Jahre der Selbstständigkeitserklärung durch die jeweiligen Kirchen genannt. Das Patriarchat in Konstantinopel erkannte die Autokephalie dieser Kirchen – mit

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Bereits nach dem Verlust fast aller europäischen Territorien im Balkankrieg von 1912–13 begann im späten Osmanischen Reich eine Welle ethnischer Intoleranz. Auf das Hintreiben der nationalistischen sog. Jungtürken-Bewegung wurden Anfang 1914 ca. 200.000 Griechen gezwungen, die kleinasiatische Westküste um Smyrna zu verlassen.[2] Nach der Auflösung des Reiches und im Zuge der Bildung des türkischen Nationalstaates wurden 1921–22 schätzungsweise weitere 400.000 bis 500.000 kleinasiatische Griechen vertrieben. Nach dem Vertrag von Lausanne (1923) folgten noch weitere Hunderttausende Griechen aus Zentralanatolien und Pontos. Alles in allem geht man von 1,2 Millionen Flüchtlingen und Vertriebenen in Griechenland aus, die ihre alte Heimat auf dem Gebiet der heutigen Türkei verlassen mussten. Als fast einzige bedeutende kompakte griechisch-orthodoxe Bevölkerungsgruppe – und somit die Herde des Patriarchates in der Türkei selbst – blieben ca. 200.000 Griechen in Konstantinopel und der Umgebung. Diese wurden vom in Lausanne vereinbarten Bevölkerungstausch ausgenommen. Dennoch wirkten sich seit 1942 diskriminierende Steuermaßnahmen und im September 1955 von führenden türkischen Politikern angezettelte und vom Staat tolerierte Tumulte gegen diese so aus, dass auch sie die Türkei mehrheitlich verlassen mussten. Heute zählen zur Gemeinde des Patriarchats in Istanbul nur ca. 2.000 Griechen. Somit hat sie nur noch 1% ihrer damaligen Größe. Darüber hinaus gibt es keine weiteren nennenswerten Bestände orthodoxer Gläubiger in der Türkei, die dem Patriarchat unterstehen. Somit ist die Herde des Patriarchats in ihrem Stammland zu einem Bruchteil ihrer Größe geschmolzen. Dennoch zählt das Patriarchat einige Millionen Gläubige weltweit unter seine Jurisdiktion.[3] Wie das Patriarchat, nachdem dessen Herde aus ihrem Stammland vertrieben wurde, zu einer Institution wurde, die ein globales Handeln aufweist, lässt sich am Beispiel der Entwicklung einer US-amerikanischen griechisch-orthodoxen Diasporakirche darlegen. Dafür spielen Prozesse der Migration und Diasporabildung eine zentrale Rolle.

Ausnahme Serbiens – erst später an: der Kirche im Königreich Griechenland 1850, in Rumänien 1885, in Bulgarien 1945 und in Albanien 1937. Die Kirche in Russland erklärte ihre Autokephalie bereits 1448 und wurde erst 1598 in Konstantinopel anerkannt; vgl. Karl Christian Felmy, "Autokephalie," in *TRE* 5 (1980): 1–4.

2 Alle Zahlen im Folgenden entsprechen dem Beitrag von Erik-Jan Zürcher, "Greek Orthodox and Muslim Refugees and Deportees in Greece and Turkey since 1912," in Klaus Bade u. a. (Hg.), *The Encyclopedia of European Migration and Minorities from the seventeenth Century to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 460–463.

3 Die Zahlen variieren stark zw. ca. drei und 16 Millionen; vgl. Lucian N. Leustean, "The Ecumenical Patriarchate", in ders. (Hg.), *Eastern Christianity and Politics in the Twenty-First Century* (London und New York: Routledge, 2014), 33.

Bereits seit dem früheren 19. Jahrhundert ziehen die USA auch griechische Migranten an. Während der großen Welle zwischen 1891 und 1921 sind allein aus dem damaligen Königreich Griechenland 400.000 Griechen und schätzungsweise weitere 200.000 aus Kleinasien in die USA immigriert.[4] Mit diesem Zuwachs stieg auch die Anzahl der Pfarreien, die von Griechen allein betrieben wurden, von weniger als einem halben Dutzend vor 1891 auf 141 in 1922 an.[5]

Vor dieser Zeit war es üblich, dass sich viele der östlich-orthodoxen Gläubigen unabhängig ihrer Sprache und Herkunft um die vor Ort existierende Pfarrei gesammelt haben. Mancherorts gab es Pfarreien mit einem slawischen Hintergrund, da die russische Kirche bereits seit hundert Jahren auf dem nordamerikanischen Kontinent tätig war. Dieses ethnisch übergreifende Zusammenleben unterschiedlicher östlich-orthodoxer Christen in einer Pfarrei ließ nach, als die Zahl der Einwanderer stark anstieg und die Notwendigkeit bzw. die Voraussetzungen für die Gründung von Pfarreien für einzelne Volksgruppen gegeben waren.[6]

Eins der Merkmale im Leben griechischer Pfarreien vor 1921 war die Absenz eines überregionalen Zusammenschlusses als Diözese unter der Leitung eines führenden Bischofs. Die Pfarreien sind in der Regel auf die Initiative von Laien hin entstanden und hatten gemäß amerikanischer Gepflogenheiten und geltender juristischer Grundsätze eine vereinsähnliche Struktur. Es war praktisch die Aufgabe dieser Laien, eines "board of trustees," einen willigen Kleriker zu finden, der von der Gemeinde angestellt und nach Anlass auch entlassen werden konnte.[7] Dafür wendeten sie sich gelegentlich an die Bischöfe ihrer Heimatregionen, wenn keine Geistlichen greifbar waren. Geistliche unterhielten ihrerseits Beziehungen mit Bischöfen der autokephalen Kirche Griechenlands oder des Patriarchates in Konstantinopel, je nachdem wie ihre frühere kanonische Anbindung oder ihre persönlichen Verbindungen es möglich machten. Nur wenige griechische Gemeinden unterhielten reguläre Verbindungen mit Bischöfen der russischen Kirche, den einzigen in den USA residierenden und mit kanonischer Macht durch die Synode in Moskau ausgestatteten östlich-orthodoxen höheren Geistlichen.

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4 Vgl. Thomas E. Fitzgerald, *The Orthodox Church* (Westport/London: Greenwood Press, 1998), 25.

5 Vgl. Demetrios J. Constantelos, "Introduction," in Miltiades B. Efthimiou und George A. Christopoulos (Hg.), *History of the Greek Orthodox Church in America* (New York: Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, 1984), 4.

6 Vgl. Alexander Kitroeff, *The Greek Orthodox Church in America. A Modern History* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2020), 24.

7 Vgl. Fitzgerald, *The Orthodox Church*, 26.

Einen ersten Versuch für die Verbesserung dieser ungeregelten Verhältnisse machte das Patriarchat in Konstantinopel, als es 1908 durch einen Erlass die amerikanische Diaspora unter die Zuständigkeit der Synode in Griechenland stellte.[8] Die Situation änderte sich in den nächsten Jahren nicht und die Lage unter den Griechen in den USA verschärfte sich, als diese Partei für unterschiedliche politische Akteure – für König Konstantin oder Premier Eleftherios Venizelos – in der Heimat ergriffen und sich regelrecht bekriegten.[9] 1918 unternahm der neue Vorsitzende der Synode in Griechenland, Metropolit Meletios Metaxakis, eine Reise in die USA, um die Verhältnisse dort zu regeln. Er setzte dort seinen Mitreisenden, Bischof Alexander von Rodostolou, als Vertreter seiner Synode für die USA ein. Beide Hierarchen wurden aber von Monarchisten als Anhänger Venizelos betrachtet und dementsprechend boykottiert. Als Meletios zurück in Griechenland im November 1920 nach einem erneuten politischen Machtwechsel von seinem Amt als Vorsitzender der Synode entbunden wurde, ging er in die USA ins Exil. Dort agierte er weiter unvermindert mit dem Anspruch, der legitime Erzbischof von Athen zu sein, obwohl ihn die Kirche in Griechenland aus diesem Grund formell mit Strafen belegte. Das verhinderte aber seine Wahl als neuer Patriarch von Konstantinopel im November 1921 nicht.

Vom 13. bis zum 15. September 1921 fand unter der Leitung von Meletios der erste "Congress of Clergy and Laity" der griechisch-orthodoxen Pfarreien in den USA statt. Daran beteiligte sich nur ein Teil der Pfarreien, während die anderen die Veranstaltung aus politischen Gründen boykottierten. Als Ergebnis dieses Kongresses wurde am 19. September der Antrag gestellt, dass die Stadt New York die "Greek Orthodox Archdiocese" als eine öffentliche Körperschaft anerkennen solle, was im nächsten Jahr erwartungsgemäß auch geschah. Damit war eine Diözesanstruktur geboren,[10] die im Laufe der nächsten Jahrzehnte nach mühsamer Versöhnungsarbeit zwischen den Parteien und nach allmählicher Einwerbung der autark existierenden Pfarreien zur Vertretung der griechischen Orthodoxie in den USA wurde.

Dass Meletios als neu gewählter Patriarch von Konstantinopel seine amerikanische Schöpfung nicht aufgeben wollte, ist nur verständlich. So setzte die

8 Vgl. Constantelos, "Introduction," 11–12; hier scheint, dass sowohl das Patriarchat, als auch die Kirche in Griechenland ein Bewusstsein für die Zuständigkeit der russischen Kirche im Blick auf Nordamerika wegen ihrer bereits über hundert Jahre alten Mission auf dem Kontinent hatten.

9 Vgl. George Papaioannou, "Damaskinos of Corinthos. His Contribution to the Development of the Archdiocese," in Efthimiou und Christopoulos, *History of the Greek Orthodox Church in America*, 122.

10 Einige der Dokumente dieser Entstehung sind nachgedruckt in Efthimiou und Christopoulos, *History of the Greek Orthodox Church in America* als Anhang der verschiedenen Beiträge.

Patriarchalsynode am 1. März 1922 den Erlass[11] von 1908 hinsichtlich der Übertragung der Zuständigkeit für die USA an die Synode in Griechenland außer Kraft und rief stattdessen nur Monate später, am 18. Mai, die "Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America" als eine Diözese des Patriarchates in Konstantinopel ins Leben.[12] Mit diesem Schritt nahm die bereits in den USA erfolgte Gründung der eingetragenen Körperschaft eine gültige kanonische Form auf solider Basis an. Wichtig wäre dabei nur noch anzumerken, dass diese ganze Dynamik nur die Pfarreien der griechisch-stämmigen Migranten betraf. Auf die funktionierende russische Metropolie in den USA oder auf die sonstigen orthodoxen Pfarreien wurde nicht Bezug genommen. Da das Patriarchat in Moskau nach der Oktoberrevolution von 1917 in die tiefsten Unruhen seiner Geschichte verwickelt war, konnte in dieser Zeit beim besten Willen keine Koordination zwischen den beiden Kirchen stattfinden.

Eine interessante Frage jenseits der bereits skizzierten kirchenpolitischen Entwicklungen ist, inwieweit sich Griechisch sprechende orthodoxe Diasporagläubige – v. a. aus Griechenland – mit dem Patriarchat in Konstantinopel identifizieren konnten, da sie ursprünglich der Kirche Griechenlands angehörten. Die verfügbaren statistischen Zahlen lassen vermuten, dass im frühen 20. Jahrhundert wenigstens 50% der Griechisch-sprechenden Migranten in den USA aus Griechenland und ein weiterer beträchtlicher Teil aus anderen Regionen, die nicht unter der Jurisdiktion des Ökumenischen Patriarchates standen, stammten. Diese Frage wird umso brisanter, wenn man berücksichtigt, dass das Ökumenische Patriarchat für den griechischen Nationalismus[13] des 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhunderts höchstens eine Nebenrolle gespielt hat. Im Vordergrund stand die Konsolidierung des griechischen Staates und nicht die Institution des Patriarchates, das zwar in Ehre gehalten wurde, aber letztendlich bis zum Ende des Osmanischen Reiches als eine Institution desselben – das *Rum Ortodoks Patrikhanesi* mit dem Patriarchen als Oberhaupt (*millet başı*) der orthodoxen Nation (*rum millet*)[14]

11 Nachgedruckt auch in Efthimiou und Christopoulos, *History of the Greek Orthodox Church in America*, 151–153.

12 Nachdruck des Synodaltomos in Efthimiou und Christopoulos, *History of the Greek Orthodox Church in America*, 155–157.

13 Victor Roudometof, "Transnationalism and Globalization: The Greek-Orthodox Diaspora Between Orthodox Universalism and Transnational Nationalism," in *Diaspora* 2000 (9), 3: 368–371.

14 Für die zeitgenössische Terminologie vgl. Samim Akgönül, *Le Patriarcat grec orthodoxe: de l'isolement à l'internationalisation de 1923 à nos jours* (Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 2005), 23–24, 33–46; vgl. auch Victor Roudometof, "From Greek-Orthodox Diaspora to Transnational Hellenism: Greek Nationalism and the Identities of the Diaspora," in Athena S. Leoussi u. a. (Hg.), *The Call of the Homeland: Diaspora Nationalisms, Past and Present* (Leiden: Brill, 2010),

– angesehen wurde. In dieser Situation konnte das Patriarchat gar keine führende Stellung im Kampf gegen das Osmanische Reich einnehmen. Für viele der griechischen Migranten war also die Kirche in Griechenland die religiöse Heimat. Es waren ebenfalls die politischen Wirren in Griechenland, die die Diaspora spalteten und für Jahrzehnte zu einem scharfen Konflikt zwischen Anhängern des Königs Konstantin und des Premiers Venizelos führten.[15]

In dieser Situation ist die dauerhafte Anbindung der Diaspora an das Patriarchat in Konstantinopel hauptsächlich einer klugen Führung kirchlicher Persönlichkeiten zu verdanken. Sie konnten ihr Programm hauptsächlich nicht wegen ihrer Eigenschaft als Vertreter des Patriarchates durchsetzen, sondern auf der Basis einer geduldigen Politik der Befriedung gegnerischer Parteien und Anwerbung der Pfarreien über Jahrzehnte. Diesbezüglich machte sich der spätere Patriarch Athenagoras verdient, der 1931 bis 1948 als Erzbischof in der nordamerikanischen Diaspora wirkte.

Abgesehen von seinem Ehrenprimat über alle östlich-orthodoxen Kirchen sind gegenwärtig weltweit dem Patriarchat von Konstantinopel mehrere Millionen Gläubige direkt kanonisch unterstellt. Somit kann man das Patriarchat von Konstantinopel als eine Kirche betrachten, die zwar ihren Sitz am historischen Ort seiner Entstehung behält, deren Gläubige allerdings nach sukzessiven Prozessen der Migration bereits seit mehreren Generationen in der "Diaspora"[16] leben. Die aktiven Diözesen des Patriarchats – mehr als 90 – liegen hauptsächlich in den USA, Australien, Neuseeland, Ländern in Mittel- und Westeuropa, Kanada, Argentinien, Panama, Hongkong oder Korea. Dieser transnationale Anspruch wird allerdings dem Patriarchat in der Türkei selbst durch die Lan-

141–142. Für die Stellung des Patriarchates im Osmanischen Reich und die Reaktion zur Entstehung von autokephalen Kirchen auf dem Balkan vgl. auch Paschalis M. Kitromilides, *Religion and Politics in the Orthodox World. The Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Challenges of Modernity* (London und New York: Routledge, 2019), 25–39, 53–58.

15 Vgl. George Kaloudis, *Modern Greece and the Diaspora Greeks in the United States* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2018), 81–99.

16 Vgl. Metropolit John Zizioulas (of Pergamon), "Primacy and Nationalism," in *St Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 57 (2013): 3–4, 451–459; Gregorios Papathomas, "Ethno-Phyletism and the [so-called] Ecclesiastical 'Diaspora'," in *St Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 57 (2013): 3–4, 431–450; erleuchtend in Bezug auf den aktuellen Stand der Debatte ist der Text über die orthodoxe Diaspora der sog. *Heiligen und Großen Synode* von Kreta 2016: https://www.holycouncil.org/-/diaspora (31.03.2021) oder in: Barbara Hallensleben (Hg.), *Einheit in Synodalität: die offiziellen Dokumente der Orthodoxen Synode auf Kreta, 18. bis 26. Juni 2016* (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag, 2016), 70–77.

desbehörden strittig gemacht.[17] Türkische Behörden sehen das Patriarchat lediglich als eine Institution, die nur für das lokale Kirchenvolk (3.000–5.000 Gläubige landesweit) zuständig ist. Zu den Maßnahmen, die die internationale Tätigkeit des Patriarchats behindern sollen, zählt auch die Verweigerung von Auslandsreisen für dessen Mitarbeiter.[18] Um seine Unabhängigkeit von der Gunst der lokalen Entwicklungen in der Türkei zu steigern, hat das Patriarchat wichtige Stützpunkte seiner internationalen Tätigkeit im Ausland gegründet. Dazu zählen primär das bereits 1948 gegründete Zentrum des Ökumenischen Patriarchats in Chambésy bei Genf in der Schweiz und die 1968 gegründete Orthodoxe Akademie auf Kreta.

Auf der Grundlage seines geschichtlichen Ehrenprimats[19] über die (östlich-)orthodoxen Kirchen auf dem Balkan, in Nahost und Russland leitete das Patriarchat in Konstantinopel im 20. Jahrhundert das Verständnis einer weltweiten Zuständigkeit ab. Die Debatten über die globale Reichweite und die praktischen Konsequenzen dieses – durchaus anerkannten – Ehrenprimats wurden mit Leidenschaft geführt, sind aber derzeit ohne ein endgültiges Ergebnis geblieben. Dieser Zustand beeinträchtigt auch die Lösung wichtiger Probleme für die Gesamtorthodoxie im 21. Jahrhundert.

Der Anlass für die Ausdehnung des Anspruchs des Ökumenischen Patriarchen bot sich mit der Entfaltung einer umfangreichen weltweiten orthodoxen Diaspora durch die Emigration orthodoxer Gläubiger v. a. im 20. Jahrhundert. Da sich diese mehrheitlich in Weltregionen niederließen, die außerhalb der national-strukturierten kanonischen Jurisdiktion der einzelnen autokephalen Kirchen lagen, war die Zuständigkeit für sie kirchenrechtlich anfänglich ungeklärt. Die einzelnen Nationalkirchen folgten – ähnlich wie im oben diskutierten Beispiel der griechischen Diaspora in den USA – ihren emigrierten Gläubigen mit Kirchengemeinden und später sogar mit umfassenden Diözesanstrukturen. So entstanden an vielen Orten Parallelstrukturen für die jeweiligen vor Ort lebenden ethnischen Gemeinschaften orthodoxer Gläubiger. Das widerspricht allerdings eklatant dem unumstrittenen Grundsatz orthodoxer Ekklesiologie: an einem bestimmten Ort kann es nur einen einzigen Bischof geben. Darin spiegelt sich die Einheit der Kirche vor Ort wider. Heute haben alle autokephalen Nationalkirchen

17 Zu dieses Thema vgl. u. a. Joanna Balaskas, "The International Legal Personality of the Eastern Orthodox Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople," in *Hofstra Law & Policy Symposium* 2 (1997): 135–170; Prodromos Yannas, "The Soft Power of the Ecumenical Patriarchate," in *Mediterranean Quarterly* 20,1 (2009): 77–93, besonders 81–85; Akgönül, *Le Patriarcat grec orthodoxe*.

18 Vgl. Balaskas, "The International Legal Personality," 147.

19 Vgl. Peter Landau, "Kirchenverfassung," in *TRE* 19 (1990): 116.

ihre Gemeinden und Diözesanstrukturen fast überall dort, wo ihre Diasporamitglieder leben.

Mit der Entstehung einer griechisch-sprachigen Diaspora wurde auch das Patriarchat – wie oben beispielhaft gezeigt – vom Sog der Emigration erfasst. Die Etablierung einer Erzdiözese in den USA in den 1920er Jahren war eine grundlegende Erfahrung auf diesem Gebiet. In den nächsten Jahrzehnten entfaltete aber das Patriarchat das Bewusstsein für eine globale Zuständigkeit im Blick auf die ganze orthodoxe Diaspora unabhängig von ihrer Herkunft. Diese Zuständigkeitserweiterung blieb einseitig und wurde von den anderen Kirchen nicht anerkannt. Dennoch öffnete die Situation der anderen östlich-orthodoxen Kirchen nach den beiden Weltkriegen dem Patriarchat ein weites Spielfeld. Nach der Oktoberrevolution von 1917 und mit der Entstehung des Eisernen Vorhangs in Europa nach 1945 geriet die Mehrheit östlich-orthodoxer Kirchen unter die politische Kontrolle atheistischer Regime. Dies verursachte – zusätzlich zu den vielen Migrationswellen aus dem zerfallenden Zarenreich und Osteuropa – auch die punktuelle oder dauerhafte Unterbrechung der Kommunikation zwischen den Mutterkirchen und der Diaspora und den Verdacht, dass Kirchenleitungen unter kommunistischer Herrschaft nicht frei agieren konnten. Aus diesen Gründen blieben viele Gemeinden und Bischöfe in der Diaspora ohne Verbindung zu ihren jeweiligen Nationalsynoden und ohne kanonische Anbindung. Da diese Situation nicht von Dauer sein konnte, versuchten sie, sich selber zu organisieren (wie z. B. die russische sog. Auslandskirche) oder den Anschluss zu einer anderen kanonisch-validen Entität zu finden. Das Patriarchat in Konstantinopel bot sich in dieser Situation sowohl wegen seines anerkannten Ehrenprimats an, als auch weil es praktisch die einzige Alternative in der freien westlichen Welt darstellte. (Die Patriarchate von Alexandrien, Antiochien oder Jerusalem hatten keine überregionale Ausstrahlung.) So gingen z. B. einzelne Diasporadiözesen der russischen Kirche oder Bistümer und einzelne Gemeinden bulgarischer, rumänischer, serbischer, ukrainischer etc. Herkunft auf eigenen Antrag zeitweilig oder dauerhaft unter die kanonische Obhut des Ökumenischen Patriarchats. Für die somit wachsende weltweite Zuständigkeit für orthodoxe Diasporagemeinschaften brachten die Verfechter des Patriarchates auch das Kanon 28 der vierten ökumenischen Synode von Chalzedon 451 ins Spiel.[20] Dies geschah zuerst im Blick auf die griechische Diaspora gegenüber der Kirche in Griechenland. Später wurde dieses Denkmodell auf das

20 Vgl. Lionel R. Wickham, "Chalkedon, ökumenische Synode," in *TRE* 7 (1981): 673; Papathomas, "Ethno-Phyletism," 439–440; Zizioulas, "Primacy and Nationalism", 457; Paul Meyendorff, "A Response to Archimandrite Elpidophoros Lambriniadis," in *St Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 54 (2010) 3–4: 441–447.

Verhältnis mit sonstigen Diasporagemeinschaften ausgeweitet, ohne dass dieser Anspruch von der Mehrheit autokephaler Kirchen akzeptiert wurde.

Für die Unterstützung dieses globalen Anspruchs sind nach dem Ende des politischen Gegensatzes zwischen Ost und West nicht nur praktische Gründe genannt, sondern verstärkt auch theologische Notwendigkeiten ins Spiel gebracht worden. So wurde z. B. in den letzten Jahrzehnten die Position des Patriarchates durch die Notwendigkeit eines "Christian Hellenism"[21] gegenüber dem Partikularismus der Nationalkirchen (hier abgetan als "Ethnophyletism")[22] untermauert. Diese Vision entspricht einer "post-national [oder: 'transnational'] ecclesiology."[23] Theologische Stimmen[24] des Patriarchates argumentieren auch mit Grundsätzen aus der Trinitätstheologie – die sog. Monarchie des Vaters als Prinzip des göttlichen Wesens – für die Notwendigkeit einer stärkeren Primatsvorstellung in der orthodoxen Ekklesiologie, um einer vermeintlichen Atomisierung dieser Kirchengemeinschaft in einzelnen selbstständigen Kirchen entgegen zu treten.

Auch wenn das Patriarchat seine übliche Bezeichnung in englischer Sprache – *Greek Orthodox Church* – nicht ethnisch verstehen möchte, sondern vom ethnisch unbestimmten *Rum* bzw. Ῥωμαῖος als Bezeichnung für Byzantiner abgeleitet sieht,[25] bleibt die Spannung zwischen diesem universalistischen Anspruch und der Forderung der griechischen Diaspora nach der Förderung ihrer partikularen ethnischen Identität auch im kirchlichen Raum bestehen.[26] Die semantische Überlappung der Begriffe "Greek," "Hellenic" bzw. "Hellenism" und ihre Verwendung als Synonyme trägt dazu bei und macht eine scharfe begriffliche Trennung in der Praxis unmöglich. Das ist die eine Seite der Problemlage.

Am anderen Ende der Identitätsspanne stehen Menschen mit griechischen Vorfahren in der dritten, vierten oder einer weiteren Generation, die ihre ethni-

21 Pantelis Kalaitzidis, "Ecclesiology and Globalization. In search of an Ecclesiological Paradigm in the Era of Globalization," in *St Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 57 (2013) 3–4: 501.

22 Papathomas, "Ethno-Phyletism," 431–450.

23 Kalaitzidis, "Ecclesiology and Globalization," 490; vgl. auch die Argumentation des aktuellen Erzbischofs des Ökumenischen Patriarchats in den USA Elpidophoros Lambriniadis, "Greek Orthodoxy, the Ecumenical Patriarchate, and the Church in the USA," in *St Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 54 (2010) 3–4: 421–439.

24 Elpidophoros Lambriniadis, "Primus sine paribus: Eine Antwort auf den Text des Moskauer Patriarchats zum Primat," in *Ökumenische Information* 4, 21. Januar 2014: I–IV.

25 Vgl. Lambriniadis, "Greek Orthodoxy," 424; Dimitrios T. Stamatopoulos, "Orthodox Ecumenicity and the Bulgarian Schism," in *St Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 57 (2013) 3–4: 313.

26 Vgl. Meyendorff, "A Response": "Thus, for example, bishops of the ethnic dioceses under the Ecumenical Patriarchate (Carpatho-Russian, Ukrainian, Albanian . . .) are not members of its Synod. [. . .] [W]hen the issue of including them in the Synod was brought up, one of the Greek bishops stated that their inclusion would dilute the Greek composition of the Synod.", 443.

sche und gesellschaftliche Identität weniger durch die Herkunft ihrer Vorfahren bestimmt sehen, als vielmehr durch ihre gegebene Heimat. Aus diesem Grund betrachten sich solche Gläubige z. B. in den USA mehr als Amerikaner und verlangen eine stärkere Anpassung der Kirche – mit hitzigen Debatten etwa über die Kirchensprache – an den lokalen Kontext. Hinzu kommen auch Gruppen anderer Herkunft, die zwar eine stärkere Loslösung von partikularen Nationalismen in der amerikanischen Orthodoxie fordern, aber eher als Lokalisierung im amerikanischen Kontext und weniger als Universalisierung im Sinne eines panorthodoxen "Christian Hellenism."[27] Diese Sachlage zeigt deutlich, vor welchen Problemen die östliche Orthodoxie und ihre Kirchen in der Diaspora stehen. Die hier dargestellte Lage betrifft nicht allein Gemeinden des Patriarchats in Konstantinopel, sondern in einer ähnlichen Weise viele andere orthodoxe und sonstige Diasporakirchen und Religionsgemeinschaften.

2 Die Russisch-Orthodoxe Kirche

Angehörige der russischen Kirche konnte man bereits seit dem späten 18. Jahrhundert auf dem nordamerikanischen Kontinent, in einigen Ländern Ostasiens oder als Besucher in westeuropäischen Metropolen und Kurorten antreffen. Sie gehörten bestimmten sozialen Schichten (Adlige oder wohlhabende Bürger) oder Berufsgruppen (Bahnarbeiter, Händler, Jäger, Soldaten etc.) an, die ihren Aufenthalt außerhalb Russlands als eine vorübergehende Zeit betrachteten. Der Erste Weltkrieg und der revolutionäre Umsturz nach der Oktoberrevolution 1917 brachten dramatische Veränderungen in der Präsenz Russischstämmiger im Ausland. Es ist anzunehmen, dass weit über eine Million[28] russische Gläubige

27 Vgl. Victor Roudometof, "Transnationalism and Globalization: The Greek-Orthodox Diaspora Between Orthodox Universalism and Transnational Nationalism," in *Diaspora* 2000 (9), 3: 361–97: "diasporic identity," 382; das bedeutet: "It is the Greek Americans, through the Church, who have maintained the 'true' Greek or 'Hellenic' traditions and are thereby 'more Greek' than the Greeks in Greece.", 383; dennoch: "It is not surprising that the final outcome of this 'Americanization' is the complete shedding of the ethnonational bond in favor of a clearly demarcated Orthodox universalism.", 383.

28 Vgl. Karl Schlögel, "Russian Emigrants in Europe since 1917," in Klaus Bade u. a. (Hg.), *The Encyclopedia of European Migration and Minorities from the Seventeenth Century to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 639–644; Catherine Andreyev und Ivan Savicky, *Russia Abroad. Prague and the Russian Diaspora, 1918–1938* (New Haven und London: Yale University Press, 2004); James E. Hassell, *Russian Refugees in France and the United States Between the World Wars* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1991); Hans-Erich Volkmann, *Die russische Emigration in Deutschland 1919–1929* (Würzburg: Holzner, 1966), 4–7;

ihre Heimat dauerhaft verlassen mussten oder von den Umständen an ihrer Rückkehr nach Russland gehindert wurden. Diese gingen über den Balkan oder direkt Richtung Westen in Länder Zentral- und Westeuropas und von dort später z. T. weiter bis nach Nordamerika. Über Sibirien flüchteten sich viele in die Mandschurei und das republikanische China. Nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg und der politischen Neuordnung Ostasiens durch die Machtübernahme kommunistischer Regimes in einigen Ländern, mussten die gut etablierten russischen Kolonien wichtige Ballungszentren wie Harbin oder Shanghai[29] verlassen und gelangten über weitere Stationen nach Australien, in Länder Südostasiens, Lateinamerikas und in die USA. Ihre Situation unterschied sich deutlich von der der früheren Diaspora: ihre Zahl war beachtlich (häufig versammelten sich in einzelnen Ballungszentren Zehntausende Russischstämmige und in größeren Regionen bis zu Hunderttausende;[30] sie litten als Flüchtlinge unter den Bedingungen eines prekären materiellen und sozialen Status'; und da ihnen die Rückkehr nach Russland unmöglich war, mussten sie ihre Heimat als verloren betrachten. Allmählich wurde ihnen also klar, dass sie auf Dauer in einem neuen Land leben mussten.

Eine der dramatischsten Massenfluchtbewegungen war der Abzug antikommunistischer Truppen unter dem Kommando von General Pjotr Wrangel und die Flucht von Zehntausenden Zivilisten aus Südrussland und der Ukraine am 6./19. November 1920. Binnen weniger Tage verließen ca. 150.000 Personen auf 125 Schiffen verschiedener Bauart die Krim mit dem Ziel Konstantinopel auf der Flucht vor den anrückenden Rotarmisten. Konstantinopel stand zwischen November 1918 und Oktober 1922 unter der Verwaltung der Alliierten. Im Umkreis dieser Stadt entstanden unzählige Flüchtlingslager und viele der Flüchtlinge gelangten früher oder später über den Balkan nach Zentral- und Westeuropa. Die Dramatik der Flucht kann besser verstanden werden, wenn man bedenkt, dass viele der bei der Überfahrt verwendeten Schiffe klein und untauglich für eine Fahrt auf hoher See waren.

Auf den kleinen Passagierdampfer „Großfürst Alexander Michailowitsch," der seit 1903 im Binnenverkehr auf der Wolga im Einsatz war, flüchteten sich auch Geistliche und Angehörige der Kirchenleitung. – Da die Kommunikation

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Christopher Birchall, *Embassy, Emigrants, and Englishmen. The Three Hundred Year History of a Russian Orthodox Church in London* (Jordanville, NY: 2014).

29 Vgl. Gernot Seide, "Die Russisch-Orthodoxe Kirche in China und der Mandschurei seit dem Jahre 1918," in *Ostkirchliche Studien* 25 (1976): 166–192 und ders. *Geschichte der Russischen Orthodoxen Kirche im Ausland von der Gründung bis in die Gegenwart* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1983), 79–92.

30 Für Harbin z. B. vgl. John B. Dunlop, *Exodus. St John Maximovitch Leads his Flock out of Shanghai* (Yonkers, NY: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2017), 49–50.

mit dem Patriarchen und der Synode in Moskau wegen der Frontlinie über Monate hinweg unterbrochen war, organisierten lokale Bischöfe die sog. „Südrussische Oberste Kirchenverwaltung", die seit einer ersten Bischofsversammlung im November 1919 in Novocerkask unter der Leitung des ranghöchsten Metropoliten Antonij von Kiew stand. – Noch am 6. November und somit am ersten Tag der Fluchtfahrt nach Konstantinopel kamen die anwesenden Angehörigen dieser Kirchenverwaltung zusammen und entschieden, ihre Arbeit fortzusetzen.[31] Daraus entwickelte sich in den nächsten Monaten die sog. „Oberste Russische Kirchenverwaltung im Ausland," die mit der Zeit den Anspruch auf die Koordination und Leitung des kirchlichen Lebens aller geflüchteten Russisch-Orthodoxen weltweit erhob. Dieser Anspruch war anfänglich nicht als Rivalität zur Kirchenleitung in Moskau, sondern als Provisorium bis zur Wiederherstellung geregelter Verhältnisse gedacht gewesen. In den nächsten ca. sechs Monaten weilten einige der Mitglieder dieser Kirchenverwaltung in Konstantinopel und wurden freundlich vom Ökumenischen Patriarchen aufgenommen. Auf die Einladung des serbisch-orthodoxen Patriarchen siedelte die Kirchenverwaltung im Mai 1921 in die Sommerresidenz des Patriarchen nach Karlowitz über, wo sie fast bis zum Ende des Zweiten Weltkrieges blieb. 1945 bis 1949 nahm sie provisorisch ihren Sitz in München ein und somit außerhalb der Reichweite der Roten Armee. Anschließend zog sie erneut – diesmal nach Jordanville in die USA – um. Bereits Mitte der 1920er Jahre und spätestens 1927 wurde allerdings klar, dass die Wiederherstellung alter Verhältnisse – mit dem Patriarchen und der Synode in Moskau im Zentrum der ganzen russischen Orthodoxie – nicht mehr möglich war.

Diese „Oberste Kirchenverwaltung im Ausland" (später allgemein als „Auslandskirche" bekannt) war nicht die unangefochtene Vertreterin der russischen Orthodoxie außerhalb Russlands. Mit der Zeit kristallisierten sich z. T. miteinander konkurrierende Kirchenkreise heraus: den Schwerpunkt der Auslandskirche unter Metropolit Antonij Chrapovickij bildete Ost- und Zentraleuropa; Westeuropa fiel in die Zuständigkeit des Erzbischofs Evlogij Georgievskij in Paris;[32] in

31 Vgl. Seide, *Geschichte der Russischen Orthodoxen Kirche im Ausland*, 17.

32 Wichtige Hinweise über die Akteure und die Geschichte der Pariser Metropolie finden sich auch bei Antoine Nivière, *Pravoslavnye svjaščennoslužiteli, bogoslovy i cerkovnye dejateli russkoj ėmigracii v Zapadnoj i Central'noj Evrope: 1920–1995; biografičeskij spravočnik / Les membres du clergé, théologiens et responsables laïcs de l'église orthodoxe dans l'émigration russe en Europe occidentale et centrale* (Moskau/Paris: Russkij Put/YMCA-Press, 2007). Dazu noch die folgende biographisch-bibliographische Darstellung über Diasporatheologen und -autoren (auch jenseits der Pariser Schule) Nicolas Zernov, *Russkie pisateli ėmigracii: biografičeskie svedenija i bibliografija ich knig po bogosloviju, religioznoj filosofii, cerkovnoj istorii i pravoslavnoj kul'ture 1921–1972* (Boston: Hall, 1973).

Nordamerika funktionierte unter der Leitung des Metropoliten Platon Roždestvenskij eine Metropolie, die auf die ältere Diözesanstruktur der russischen Kirche auf dem nordamerikanischen Kontinent organisch aufbauen konnte; und Ostasien mit China und der Mandschurei konnte ebenfalls als ein eigener Kirchenkreis zusammengefasst werden, in dem die Geschäfte vor Ort relativ autark durch die lokalen Bischöfe geregelt wurden.[33] 1928 gab es 33[34] aktive russische Bischöfe im Ausland und mit wenigen Ausnahmen waren alle Flüchtlinge aus dem zerfallenden Zarenreich.

Bis 1926 blieben alle Teile der russischen Diaspora kirchlich miteinander in Gemeinschaft. Tendenzen der Verselbstständigung machten sich aber bereits in den Jahren davor bemerkbar. Am stärksten entwickelte sich ein Gegensatz zwischen den kirchenleitenden Kreisen in Karlowitz, Paris und den USA; Ostasien war zu weit entfernt für unmittelbare Konfrontationen. Einerseits beanspruchte Karlowitz für sich aufgrund der Entwicklungen die weltweite Koordination der Diaspora im Namen der gesamten russischen Kirche (später verstand sich Karlowitz bzw. die Auslandskirche als der Kirchenteil, der die russische Orthodoxie im Ausland vertrat);[35] andererseits sah Paris sich durch eine frühere Konfirmation seiner führenden Rolle in Westeuropa seitens des Patriarchen Tichon in Moskau als zuständig für dieses Gebiet; und die nordamerikanische Metropolie hatte ebenfalls bereits eine längere Geschichte als eigenständiger Diözesankreis der russischen Kirche und fand jetzt für seine Verfassung keinen unmittelbaren Klärungsbedarf. Insoweit trafen hier entgegengesetzte Vorstellungen über Repräsentation und regionale Autonomie einzelner Diözesanverbände aufeinander. Die Situation wurde dadurch erheblich kompliziert, dass sich alle Seiten auf den Willen der russischen Synode oder des Patriarchen in Moskau beriefen, ohne dabei in direkter Kommunikation – weder mit dem inhaftierten Patriarchen, seinen gebahnten oder inhaftierten Stellvertretern, noch mit den Mitgliedern der unterdrückten Synode – stehen zu können.

Eine weitere Partikularität des östlich-orthodoxen Kirchenlebens erschwerte zusätzlich die Klärung der Verhältnisse. Keine Kirchengemeinde und selbst keine

33 Eine übersichtliche Darstellung über die verschiedenen Teile der russischen Orthodoxie in der Diaspora bietet auch Gerd Stricker, *Geschichte der Russischen Orthodoxen Kirche in der Diaspora* (Berlin: OEZB-Verlag, 2008). Ein weiteres wichtiges Buch mit viel Bild- und Quellenmaterial über die ersten Jahrzehnte der Diaspora ist auch A. A. Sollogub (Hg.), *Russkaja Pravoslavnaja Cerkov zagranicej 1918–1968* (Jerusalem: Russkaja Duchovnaja Missija v Ierusalimě, 1968, 2 Bde.), das v. a. die Perspektive der Auslandskirche darstellt.

34 Gernot Seide, *Verantwortung in der Diaspora. Die Russische Orthodoxe Kirche im Ausland*, (München: Kyrill & Method Verlag, 1989), 83.

35 Vgl. Bischof Mark Arndt von Berlin und Deutschland, "Geleitwort," in Seide, *Verantwortung in der Diaspora*, 12.

Diözese oder Diözesanverband (Metropolie) kann für sich allein unabhängig von einer anerkannten größeren Gemeinschaft im Sinne einer autokephalen oder autonomen Kirche existieren. Durch die Anbindung an eine solche Gemeinschaft kommt die Teilnahme an der Universalkirche gegenüber sektiererischen Tendenzen zur Sprache und wird die Einhaltung gemeinsamer dogmatischer, kanonischer und liturgischer Grundsätze garantiert. So war es nötig, dass auch alle diese einzelnen Teile der russischen Diaspora ihre Verhältnisse nicht nur untereinander und zum Patriarchat in Moskau regelten, sondern auch mit der östlich-orthodoxen Gemeinschaft im Allgemeinen. Paris und die nordamerikanische Metropolie lösten das Problem ihrer Anbindung an die orthodoxe Gemeinschaft so, dass sie sich je nach Bedingungen und Umständen entweder unter das kanonische Dach des Ökumenischen Patriarchats in Konstantinopel oder des Patriarchats in Moskau stellten. Mit diesem – manchmal häufigen Wechsel – versuchte man in den trüben Gewässern einer komplizierten Diasporaexistenz zu steuern. Karlowitz war hingegen von seiner Autarkie überzeugt. Es blieb in dieser Stellung bis 2007, als die Wiedervereinigung mit dem Moskauer Patriarchat zustande kam. Hier wäre nur anzumerken, dass eine solche Vereinigung nur deswegen möglich wurde, da das Moskauer Patriarchat auch fast 90 Jahre nach der Flucht aus Russland eine erhebliche Anziehungskraft auf die Auslandskirche ausgeübt hat.

Die anderen Teile der russischen Diaspora gingen andere Wege in ihrem Umgang mit der Situation. Da manche Gläubige der nordamerikanischen Metropolie bereits seit längerem in den USA lebten, setzte bei Ihnen ein Prozess der „Amerikanisierung“ ein. Für sie und für viele Nachkommende war es leichter, sich ihr kirchliches Leben zwar in Kontinuität mit der bekannten Tradition, aber jenseits der engeren kirchenrechtlichen Grenzen der russischen Kirche vorzustellen. So kam es, dass nach verschiedenen Bestrebungen diese Metropolie 1970 ihre Entlassung in die Autonomie durch das Patriarchat in Moskau erhielt. Dabei spielte der Prozess des Heimischwerdens in den USA eine bedeutende Rolle und daraus entstand eine Kirche, die ihrem Anspruch nach eine amerikanische Orthodoxie zum Vorschein bringt. (Ein wichtiges Element in diesem Prozess der Lokalisierung war der Versuch, alle Orthodoxe in den USA unter einem amerikanischen Dach zu sammeln. Eine solche Sammlung orthodoxer Gläubiger in einer einzigen lokalen orthodoxen Kirche in den USA ist bis jetzt nicht gänzlich abgeschlossen, auch wenn wichtige Schritte in diese Richtung gemacht wurden. Das größte Hindernis auf diesem Weg stellten die Ansprüche fast aller autokephalen Kirchen auf die Zuständigkeit über die Kirchen ihrer ethnischen Gemeinschaften dar. Dazu kommt der Anspruch des Ökumenischen Patriarchates in Konstantinopel, das eine solche regionale Sammlung nur unter seinem Dach für möglich hält.) Ähnlich – wenn auch mit Unterschieden – verlief der Weg des Pariser Erzbistums. Langfristig entwickelte sich in verschiedenen Ländern Westeuropas unter

dem kanonischen Dach des Ökumenischen Patriarchates eine Orthodoxie, die sich ebenfalls ihres Ursprungs in der russischen Tradition bewusst war, aber ihren Ort in Westeuropa suchte. Aus dieser Überzeugung heraus übernahm man häufig die jeweilige Landessprache in der Liturgie. Solche Gemeinden – gleichermaßen in den USA und Westeuropa – legten weitgehend ihren Diasporacharakter ab, zumal sich ihre Gläubigen ab der zweiten Generation weniger mit der Heimat ihrer Vorfahren und mehr mit dem Land ihres Aufenthaltes identifizierten. In diesen zwei Wegen des Umgangs mit der Situation der Diaspora zeigen sich jeweils verschiedene Strategien für die Aufrechterhaltung und eine angemessene Weitergabe der orthodoxen Identität an die nachkommenden Generationen.

Ein persönliches Schicksal, das den Weg der russischen Diasporaorthodoxie im 20. Jahrhundert beispielhaft illustriert, ist die Biographie[36] des später als Heiligen verehrten Bischofs John/Johannes Maximovitch von Shanghai und San Francisco. Geboren wurde er 1896 in der Provinz Kharkov (heute in der Ukraine) in einer kleinbürgerlichen Familie und erhielt eine standesgemäße Erziehung an der Kadettenschule in Poltawa. Maximovitch schloss später ein Jurastudium an, das er just 1918 beendete. Ihm stand eine Beamtenkarriere bevor. Da seine Familie als Vertreterin des alten Regimes galt, ergriff diese die Flucht vor der Roten Armee und fand sich unter den ca. 150.000 Flüchtlingen, die die Krim im November 1920 Richtung Konstantinopel verließen. Relativ bald nach ihrer Ankunft dort setzte sie wie viele der Mitgeflüchteten ihre Reise Richtung Westen fort und ließ sich provisorisch in Belgrad nieder.[37] Der junge Maximovitch kam in Belgrad trotz der schwierigen Umstände als Flüchtling seiner inneren Berufung nach und studierte Theologie. In den 1920er Jahren wurde er dort für seine tiefe Frömmigkeit in allen theologischen und kirchlichen Kreisen bekannt. 1925 ließ er sich in den monastischen Stand aufnehmen. Metropolit Antonij, der Leiter der „Obersten Kirchenverwaltung," schätzte ihn sehr und auf ihn fiel die Wahl, als Anfang Juni 1934 ein neuer Bischof für Shanghai gewählt wurde. Später im November traf Bischof John in seiner Diözese ein. In Shanghai fand er eine angespannte Situation vor: die allgemeine politische Lage war durch den Druck der aggressiven Politik Japans in der Region bestimmt, die seit 1932 die Mandschurei kontrollierte und 1937 dem republikanischen China die Kontrolle über den chinesischen Teil der Stadt Shanghai militärisch entriss. Nach Pearl Harbor besetzte Japan auch die internationalen Zonen der Stadt. Diese Ereignisse wirkten sich verheerend auf die

36 Eine der besten Biographien des Bischofs John ist das Buch von John B. Dunlop, *Exodus. St John Maximovitch Leads his Flock out of Shanghai* (Yonkers, NY: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2017). Meine Darstellung folgt diesem Buch.

37 Im Serbien der 1920er Jahren lebten ca. 70.000 geflüchtete Russen und die meisten von ihnen in den Metropolen Belgrad und Novi Sad; vgl. Dunlop, *Exodus*, 28.

russische Diaspora aus, die zwischen die Fronten geriet. Die Russen selbst waren untereinander zwischen pro- und anti-sowjetischen Positionen zerstritten. Es gab auch Teile der Diaspora, die mit der japanischen Besatzung zusammenarbeiteten, was ihnen nach dem Krieg den Vorwurf der Kollaboration einbrachte. Kirchliche Verhältnisse in der Stadt spiegelten die allgemeine Lage wider. Der neue Bischof ließ sich in politische Streitigkeiten nicht verwickeln, profilierte sich aber als geistiger Führer der anti-japanischen und anti-sowjetischen Partei und übte eine weite karitative und soziale Tätigkeit in einer sehr schwierigen Zeit aus.

Nach 1945 und dem allmählichen Bodenverlust national-republikanischer zugunsten kommunistischer Kräfte in China verschlechterte sich die Situation des anti-sowjetischen Teils der russischen Diaspora: ihr drohte die Zwangsrückführung in die USSR, was einem sicheren Todesurteil glich. (Um einem möglichen Zugriff russischer Agenten zu entkommen und sich die politische Unterstützung des republikanischen China zu sichern, nahm Bischof John 1946 die chinesische Staatbürgerschaft an.) Unter diesen Umständen bemühte sich die russische Diaspora in China um eine Evakuierung mithilfe internationaler Organisationen, allen voran der *International Refugee Organization* (IRO) und der amerikanischen Armee. Nachdem die argentinische Regierung einen Stopp für die Aufnahme russischer und ukrainischer Flüchtlinge verhängte, wurde die philippinische Regierung dazu bewegt, einen provisorischen Aufenthalt für eine konsistente Anzahl von Flüchtlingen zu gewähren. Ein Flüchtlingslager für ca. 6.000[38] Personen wurde unter der Federführung der IRO auf der Insel Tubabao notdürftig eingerichtet und mit Hilfe der amerikanischen Streitkräfte wurden alle zur Evakuierung Willigen per Schiff und per Flugzeug zwischen Januar und Mai 1949 auf die Philippinen gebracht. Mit einem der letzten Schiffe verließ auch Bischof John im Mai Shanghai Richtung Philippinen, auch wenn er bereits jetzt ein Visum für die USA besaß. Er zog aber vor, bei seiner Herde zu bleiben. Nach ca. zwei Monaten Leben im Flüchtlingscamp und nach einer sehr aufbauenden pastoralen Tätigkeit unter den z. T. hoffnungslosen Flüchtlingen, trat er am 8. Juli die Reise in die USA an, um für die Aufnahme der Flüchtlinge dort zu werben.

In den USA angekommen, reiste John Maximovitch über San Francisco und New York nach Washington D.C. Hier legte er bereits am 16. September 1949 Zeugnis vor dem "Special Subcommittee on Amendments to the Displaced Persons Act of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary" ab. Es gab die Hoffnung, für die auf den Philippinen gestrandeten Flüchtlinge die Immigration in die USA unter der „Senate Bill 666" vom 27. Januar 1949 zu erwirken, die allerdings ein maximales Kontingent von 8.000 Personen vorsah, das bereits ausgeschöpft war.

38 Für weitere Zahlen vgl. Dunlop, *Exodus*, 168–169.

Nach viel Lobbyarbeit in der amerikanischen Hauptstadt mit Personen aus Politik, Gesellschaft und Kirchen und nach hitzigen parlamentarischen Debatten über die Aufnahme eines Flüchtlingskontingentes von 200.000 Personen in die USA wurde im April 1950 eine Gesetzesänderung (zum *Displaced Persons Act* von 1948) vom Senat verabschiedet, die auch den Russen von den Philippinen die Einreise in die USA garantierte. Dass dieses Ergebnis z. T. auf die Tätigkeit von Bischof John zurückgeht, ist auch daraus ersichtlich, dass diese spezifische Flüchtlingsgruppe (ca. 5.000 Personen) im Gesetzestext als aufnahmewürdig deklariert wurde. Der erste Transport verließ die Philippinen Richtung USA Anfang November 1950, gefolgt von anderen 1951. In den USA arbeitete John Maximovitch weiter bei der Vorbereitung der Aufnahme dieser Flüchtlinge. Nachdem diese Aufgabe beendet war, wurde ihm von der Kirche die Diözese Westeuropa anvertraut, wofür er San Francisco im Juni verließ und auf Anweisung der Kirchenleitung auf dem Weg nach Europa erstmals eine Visitation nach Venezuela unternahm, darüber Bericht in New York erstattete und anschließend am 21. Juli 1951 in Paris eintraf. Er blieb in Europa (hauptsächlich in Frankreich und Belgien) bis 1962, als die Kirche ihn auf den vakanten Bischofstuhl der Diözese San Francisco berief. Von 1962 bis zu seinem Lebensende 1966 arbeitete er erneut in der kalifornischen Stadt und er musste – wieder – zwischen zwei zerstrittenen Gruppen der russischen Diaspora vermitteln. Sein Erfolg dort zeigt sich auch darin, dass es ihm in dieser kurzen Zeit gelang, den stockenden Bau einer Kathedralkirche voranzutreiben und zu Ende zu führen. Diese Kirche wurde auch seine Grabstätte.

Die Biographie des Bishops John Maximovitch deckt eindrucksvoll viele Facetten des Daseins eines russisch-orthodoxen Gläubigen in der Diaspora des 20. Jahrhunderts auf. Die Flucht aus Russland erfolgte 1920 unter dem Druck sowjetischer Kanonen. Ein Verbleib im Land hätte den sicheren Tod bedeutet. Einmal im Ausland nahm die „Flucht“ – d. h. die ständige Bewegung – kein Ende, auch wenn es zwischen einzelnen Etappen längere Aufenthaltszeiten in einer bestimmten Region gab. Von Konstantinopel reiste die Familie (wahrscheinlich 1921) weiter nach Serbien; dort lebte John Maximovitch an verschiedenen Orten und verließ das Land 1934 wegen der Berufung auf den Bischofsstuhl in Shanghai. Hier blieb er bis 1949, als eine neue Flucht ihn auf die Philippinen und anschließend in die USA brachte. 1951 verließ er die USA für Frankreich, wohingegen er 1962 nach San Francisco zurückkehrte. An allen Orten seines Aufenthaltes war ihm sein Schicksal als Flüchtling deutlich und John Maximovitch bemühte sich um die Linderung der Nöte seiner Landsleute. Auch später, als Bischof in Westeuropa, suchte er einige Dutzend ehemalige Flüchtlinge aus Shanghai und Tubabao auf, die in Westdeutschland und Frankreich Aufnahme gefunden hatten.

Während der Flucht wendete sich auch sein Leben. Nachdem er sich in der Heimat durch schulische Bildung und Studium auf eine Beamtenlaufbahn (wahrscheinlich auf Rat der Eltern) vorbereitet hatte, verließ er die Laufbahn für einen weltlichen Beruf in der Diaspora, studierte Theologie und ließ sich in den monastischen Stand aufnehmen. Zwar sagen Biographen John Maximovitch bereits als Kind und Jugendlichem eine tiefe religiöse Überzeugung nach; der Umschwung zu einer völligen Hingabe zu geistlichen Idealen erfolgte allerdings unter Migrations- und Diasporabedingungen und wurde womöglich von diesen verstärkt.

Aus religiöser Überzeugung versuchte der Bischof die Angehörigen seiner Diözese vor verschiedenen Gefahren zu schützen. V. a. in Shanghai musste er gegen Sympathien für die Sowjetunion unter den dortigen Russen in den 1940er Jahren massiv kämpfen. Er sah dieses Regime als antichristlich an und aus diesem Grund konnte es keine Aussöhnung geben. Ähnlich betrachtete er die japanische Besatzung in Shanghai, die für ihn von einer gottlosen Haltung Zeugnis ablegte. Bischof John zettelte zwar keinen Widerstand an, ging aber auch keine Kompromisse mit der Besatzungsmacht ein, und ermutigte seine Gläubigen zu einer ähnlichen Haltung. Unter den Russen – auch unter den Klerikern – gab es durchaus eine gewisse Tendenz, sich vorteilhaft mit der japanischen Besatzung zu arrangieren.

Das Beispiel der russischen Orthodoxie im Ausland macht die Dynamik der Pluralisierung innerhalb derselben Konfession und ethnischen Gruppe sichtbar. Zwar sind die verschiedenen russischen Diasporagruppen hier im Gespräch nicht so weit auseinander geraten, als dass sie als verschiedene Konfessionen betrachtet werden könnten. Dennoch zeigen diese Gruppen entscheidende Unterschiede im Hinblick darauf, wie sie ihre religiöse Identität verstehen und mit welchen Mitteln sie diese pflegen. Diese Pluralisierung ist ausschließlich Ergebnis der Migration und Diasporabildung. Ohne diese Entwicklungen wären solche Prozesse nicht zustande gekommen und keine Identitätsformen angeregt worden, wie z. B. die einer „westlichen“ Orthodoxie in manchen westeuropäischen Ländern und den USA.

3 Fazit

Beide Beispiele zeigen eindrucksvoll, wie sowohl das Patriarchat in Konstantinopel, als auch die russische Orthodoxie im 20. Jahrhundert global wurden. Auch wenn das Patriarchat von Konstantinopel bereits in der byzantinischen Zeit einen „ökumenischen“ Anspruch erhob, beschränkte sich dieser praktisch auf die Territorien des Reiches oder solche unter seinem Einfluss. Diese außerordentliche Stellung wurde immer mit der besonderen Würde des Stadtbischofs als Bischof des

„neuen Roms“ begründet. In der osmanischen Zeit wurde diese besondere Stellung hauptsächlich in die Funktion eines *Etnarchen* der Hohen Pforte übersetzt. Hingegen brachte die Migration orthodoxer Gläubiger aus Kleinasien und aus dem Balkan auf allen Kontinenten seit dem Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts eine weltweite Dimension in die Arbeit dieser Institution. Im Anschluss an den alten „ökumenischen“ Anspruch und in Kombination mit der tatsächlichen Ausbreitung orthodoxer Gläubiger weltweit entfaltete das Patriarchat im 20. Jahrhundert die Vision einer weltweit agierenden Instanz, die nicht nur die griechische Migration und die daraus entstandene Diaspora in Betracht nahm, sondern Anspruch auf alle Orthodoxen erhob, die außerhalb der Staatsgrenzen ihrer Nationalkirchen lebten. Eine solche Vorstellung wird von den anderen autokephalen Kirchen nicht geteilt, was „Diaspora“ und die Kriterien ihrer kanonischen Verselbstständigung zu einer der gegenwärtig umstrittensten Fragen in der Gemeinschaft der östlich-orthodoxen Kirchen macht.

Migration und Diasporabildung sind auch in der russischen Kirche ausschlaggebend für vielfältige Prozesse. Am wichtigsten vielleicht ist die religiöse Pluralisierung innerhalb derselben Konfession und ethnischen Tradition, die auf die Vielfalt der vorhandenen Diasporakontexte und die Strategien im Umgang mit dieser Situation zurückgeht. So kommt es vor, dass für bestimmte Gruppen der Rückbezug auf ein idealisiertes Russland zentral für die Aufrechterhaltung ihrer orthodoxen Identität ist. In anderen Gruppen ist hingegen gerade dieser starke Bezug auf eine entfernte religiös-nationale Identität das zentrale Hindernis für die Herstellung einer orthodoxen Identität ohne Bindestrich (wie z. B. russisch-orthodox, griechisch-orthodox, rumänisch-orthodox etc.) für Gläubige, die eine französische, britische, amerikanische etc. Identität haben.

Was ebenfalls die beiden Beispiele zu lehren geben, ist, dass eine Geschichte dieser beiden Kirchen im 20. Jahrhundert ohne die Einbeziehung der Migration und Diasporabildung sehr einseitig ist.[39] Insoweit könnte die abschließende These dieses Beitrags folgendermaßen lauten: Migration und Diasporabildung zählen zu den zentralen Themen einer Geschichte der Orthodoxie im 20. und frühen 21. Jahrhundert. Solche Prozesse nehmen in diesem Zeitraum eine viel größere Bedeutung für die östlich-orthodoxen Kirchen als in früheren Zeiten ein.

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39 Stellvertretend für diese Perspektive steht das als Standardwerk für die russische Kirchengeschichte in deutscher Sprache geltende Buch von Johannes Chrysostomus Blaschkewitz, *Kirchengeschichte Rußlands der neuesten Zeit* (München und Salzburg: A. Pustet, 1965–1968, 3 Bde.). Das Buch ist im engsten Sinne des Wortes der Kirchengeschichte Russlands (d. h. in Russland) gewidmet und behandelt nur sehr knapp Ereignisse außerhalb des Landes wie z. B. in Bd. 1, 175–182 oder Bd. 2, 183–185, 288–296. Damit blendet der Autor die Auswirkungen der Ereignisse in Russland für die globale Orthodoxie völlig aus.

Ciprian Burlăcioiu

Future Perspectives

The following remarks are not intended as a comprehensive discussion of the central issues of this volume – migration and diaspora formation – nor as a mere summary of its chapters. Instead, I stress the potential these issues have in the study of the history of Christianity, including some methodological clarifications.

1 Migration

One of the key questions is the nature of the concept of migration. What defines migration in comparison with other forms of mobility? This is of particular interest when comparing current forms of global mobility (in the last forty or fifty years) with transcontinental streams of migration in the 19th century or, looking at earlier periods, analysing paradigms of comparatively high mobility in antiquity (such as for example in the Roman Empire) or in the early modern world – where, for example, the colonial historian A.J.R. Russel-Wood has described the Portuguese empire in Africa, Asia and America as "a world on the move."[1] Obviously, migration can easily be associated, or occasionally interchanged with other forms of mobility. One important criterion to identify migration within this broad spectrum of different movements, is the intention of a permanent or temporary resettlement. Voluntary migration is frequently supplemented by forms of forced migration.

Perhaps one of the basic conditions for migration is the crossing of boundaries. It is, however, clear that the concept of boundaries raises more questions than answers since hard boundaries have not been the rule in history. Therefore, different forms of boundaries have to be taken into account, such as ethnic, cultural, linguistic, natural, religious, traditional etc., varying from context to context and time to time. Similar difficulties surround the parameter of duration. How long does a migration have to be to be different from another form of mobility? Again, especially during periods of high mobility, returnees represented a high proportion of migrating subjects. As a consequence, every definition of migration has to take into account the specificity of a particular context and epoch. Thus, the parameters of time and space have to be reflected depending on the

1 Anthony J.R. Russel-Wood, *A World on the Move: the Portuguese in Africa, Asia and America, 1415–1808* (Manchester: Carcanet Press, 1992).

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particular case under judgment. Where available, the perspective of migrating subjects themselves has to be considered.

Even if this volume does not deal only with religiously motivated migration but also, more generally, with religion in the context of migration and diaspora, a special consideration has to be given to the first category. A certain difficulty in this regard is the way in which *religious* migration can be isolated from other forms of migration. As is generally known, people had different reasons to migrate, religion being at times only one of them. Whether religion represented the primary reason is ultimately hard to decide from outside. However, the images and motives invoked by migrants themselves can give some idea of their reasons, if not a complete and accurate picture. Depending on context and interest, religion can be highlighted as the main reason and very often this happens *ex post*. Even in the case of an allegedly clear "confessional migration" such as the flight of Lutherans from the territory of the Bishop of Salzburg to Prussia in the early 18th century, a certain ambiguity has to be acknowledged regarding the religious identity of the refugees: they came in as quasi-Catholics and were turned into Lutherans only by the intervention of Prussian pastors (see the chapter by Schunka).

But apart from the denominational colour of migrants, religious migrations show a great similarity. It does not matter whether migrants design for themselves identity constructs such as "first Christians" (Catholics), "true Christians" (Protestants), "religious elite" or "martyrs," or if they use parallels to the Old Testament episodes of Abraham and Exodus; religious motives work similarly and lead to the creation of such pictures.

Nevertheless, in discussing religion and migration one thing has to be taken into account for properly placing the different elements: it is not religions that migrate; it is people who are migrating, carrying with them the baggage of personal or collective elements, including religion (see the chapter by Auffarth).

Starting with the migrating subjects, this approach emphasizes the agency of individual or collective actors at the grass-roots level in the history of Christianity, beyond institutions, hierarchies or secular powers with interests in religion. Thus, the power of control and transformation must not be seen as exclusively in the hands of the few, but – in the case of migration – as negotiated between different groups in society. Even forced migration has at times turned unfree individuals into active subjects who transformed the religion of their oppressors into an instrument of liberation.

Reflecting on the increasingly cosmopolitan character of many places of the now globalized world, one reflection regarding the context of mission and extension of Christianity in the first centuries stands out: at that time the understanding of Jesus' teachings was strongly shaped by a cross-cultural process in multi-ethnic

communities. According to the Acts of the Apostles, this was where Christ's teachings were interpreted, and the context from which a significant part of the New Testament writings emerged. The actors involved were diaspora Jews, Jews from Palestine, and a broad range of different more-or-less Hellenized local populations reaching geographically from Syro-Palestine across Egypt and Asia Minor to Latin North Africa, Rome and Gaul. "Crossing boundaries" and social divisions seems to be both for Luke and Paul key *topoi* (see the chapter by Kahl). This awareness might be the opportunity for a better understanding of current dynamics in a globalized world.

2 Comparative Approach

From the viewpoint of a global history of Christianity migration offers a multitude of new perspectives. Not only does it challenge the traditional concentration on sedentary forms of religion and encourage a new focus on transregional interaction and exchange at the level of ordinary believers, but migration also offers resources for a comparative perspective. The "Christian Black Atlantic" (see the chapter by Barnes) as a space of intense mobility and migration between Africa, the New World, and Europe has become increasingly popular recently among scholars eager to understand how this multidirectional and multilevel communication influenced the Atlantic world. Similar phenomena can also be found in the adjacent areas of the Indian and Pacific Oceans. The extraction of indentured labourers from India and their spread far beyond the shores of the Indian Ocean, the circulation of enslaved, indentured, and free labour migrants and other categories of people in the Pacific hemisphere, including the Asian continent, Oceania, and both Americas offer similar conditions for the spread and transformation of religion, including Christianity. This search can relate to the older connections between the New Spain (Mexico) and the Philippines, to the spread of Koreans and Chinese in different parts of Asia and the Americas, to the beginnings of the Russian colonization of Alaska, and to the hundreds of thousands of refugees from the collapsing Russian Empire in the aftermath of the October Revolution after 1917 etc. One of the obvious results of this approach is the realization that the Korean and Chinese Protestant Christianities owe their 19th-century beginnings to migrants and diaspora communities, since these countries had remained closed to foreigners for centuries. At this point the parallel with the African American returnee "missionaries" to Africa is obvious. Further analysis needs to clarify the similarities and differences between the role of migrants in religious communities, depending on the particular conditions of time and place. In this way, the "Christian Black Atlantic" can

work as a potential paradigm for the study of Christianity in the world of the Pacific and Indian Oceans (see the chapter by Koschorke).

3 Confessional Paradigms

In the history of Christianity confessional paradigms with their geographies and conflicts seems to represent a stable (if not even an unquestioned) framework. Except for religious upheavals such as the Reformation, these paradigms seem to remain unchallenged. However, observing migration will open a much more realistic perspective on the dynamic of the different parameters of these confessional paradigms than is usually admitted. It will show that the diaspora situation not only produced new religious forms – perhaps the best known being the African American and part of Latin American Christianity but the process of migration also produced religious diversity – beyond the formation of particular diaspora communities – through the encounter of religious ideas especially on the religious market of urban areas. Examples can be found in almost every urban centre with a consistent rate of incoming migrants. In such circumstances, the encounter of people and religious ideas led to an unusually high degree of religious innovation, and confessional categories such as Catholic, Lutheran, Reformed, Methodist, Presbyterian, Orthodox etc. will partly lose their power of description from both an objective and subjective perspective.

Another effect of migration on the confessional paradigm is the dramatic change in religious geographies in general and especially those of certain denominations. The case in point in this volume is the Orthodox Patriarchate of Constantinople and the Russian Orthodox Church (see the chapter by Burlăcioiu). The Patriarchate of Constantinople became in the course of the 20th century a church that had largely lost its fellowship in its homeland (practically the present Turkish Republic), instead serving a diaspora flock of several millions of Greek Orthodox Christians worldwide. Because of the mass migration from the former Russian Empire since 1917, different branches of Russian Christianity emerged 'abroad' during the following decades, contributing to the transfer of the Orthodox tradition to the West. Owing to the phenomena of migration and diaspora, 'Eastern' Christianity has currently a consistent global presence far beyond its traditional territories in the 'East'. This situation changed even more dramatically following recent conflicts in the Near East, with the persecution and flight of many oriental Christians. In a similar way, Catholic returnees from Brazil played a certain role as missionaries in Africa during the 19th century. The

concentration on Protestant mission, however, led to such groups being almost completely overlooked by historians (see the chapter by Barnes).

These examples help to illustrate the way in which migration deeply influenced the current face of World Christianity and why changing maps of the history of Christianity have to be considered not only as the result of missionary activities but need to be seen from the perspective of migration as well.

4 Old Categories Reconsidered

The persistence of certain categories of actors looks similar to the confessional categories. Very often certain types of actors are catalogued into established categories such as monastics or pilgrims. These are descriptions belonging to a later time, being applied to earlier events and representing as such the perspective of a later worldview. For example, Western Christians who resettled in Palestine during the 4th and 5th centuries are traditionally regarded as pilgrims or monastics or both. It is clear that these people had religious reasons for making the "Holy Land" their home of choice. And there is enough evidence that they sometimes cultivated a specific pattern of life, spending their lifetime observing religious practices and living in monastic-like communities (see the chapter by Heyden). However, their fate looks similar to that of migrants pulled by a strong – in this case: religious – desire to change their home.

Another category that was widespread at such times is that of exiled or freely refuged religious actors, mostly clergy and monastics. Even if traditionally such situations are compared with the persecutions and martyrdom of the first centuries or presented in the key of deep ascetic life and complete abandonment of the world (see the chapter by Stutz for a 5th-century paradigm), this vision corresponds even more to the hagiographic intention of many sources in respect to the actors they describe. Thus, without an excessive exercise of imagination, an exiled bishop or refuged monastic group are not only victims of a religious persecution but can be described as subjects of a forced migration as well. As a matter of fact, beyond the fact that exile and martyrdom belong universally to the instruments of religious persecutions, the situation and fate of a Christian during the first three centuries are different from that of non-Caledonian churches in the early Middle Ages for example. The real martyrdom or the constant potential danger of the first centuries encouraged Christians to look very often to an otherworldly exit of their temporary distress. Despite many persecutions of dissident Christian groups during the following centuries, the pressure was mostly aimed at bringing certain groups to the position to support the political (and religious)

unity of the Christian Empire, not through physical elimination but through submission. However, for preserving their individual and collective religious identity many groups and persecuted individuals looked for strategies here and now. Therefore, even if old categories are still legitimate from the contemporary perspective of sources, such categories as religious forced migration might enrich the vision of reconstruction and interpretation of the historical reality.

Such a pattern of thinking both in respect to the classification of actors and the categories of interpretation aims at enlarging our vision of the past while avoiding relabelling the past with fashionable concepts.

5 Gender and Migration

One specific issue that has to be separately addressed is the question of gender. First, when considering migration, we unconsciously deal mostly with male migration. In the course of history men have had what has been called mobility capital (see the chapter by Maxwell). In some circumstances, mapping migration might be equivalent to mapping male migration. And from the background of the role of women in the family, wives and mothers were more likely to engage later – if at all – in migration processes. This fact should not mislead us about the role of women at both ends of migration and during the process. The question to be raised is rather whether, once caught in the process of migration, men and women migrate in different ways. Also, what role does religion play for the both genders in the process of migration and what is the role of both genders in the exercise of religion? But perhaps gender roles become even more obvious when related to diaspora.

6 Diaspora

Migration and diaspora are closely related but different realities. Not every migrating person or group becomes a diaspora and not every individual member of a diaspora community has a personal migration experience. Migration relates to the singular or repeated event of movement, focusing, among other things, on the reasons, the circumstances, and the outcome of it. Diaspora formation is a process that takes place during and after the resettlement of migrants; if a certain group builds a particular identity (different from that of the surrounding society) on the basis of a different language, origin, ethnicity, culture or religion etc. From this perspective, the academic concept of diaspora relates to the process of incorporation and further development of these groups in the receiving societies. Diaspora formation is nevertheless

a continuous process of self-assurance over generations, including the descendants of the first-generation migrants, who would, as a rule, feel attached to the country of their residence but might preserve some consciousness of a special identity.

At a first stage, diaspora building is interesting for the exploration of identity formation. Out of the disruption of the migration process and in the process of resettlement the individual and group identity is caught in a process of recreation. This might lead to different outcomes even within the same ethnic and religious group, depending on selection criteria and survival strategies (see the chapter by Burlăcioiu). Observing this process of identity construction will reveal which elements religious identities rest on beyond purely religious convictions and theological principles.

Reconstruction and reinvention also depend on sacred geography. Diaspora groups tend to recreate the lost spiritual space and hence to sacralise the landscape according to a known pattern. This leads to a process of religious 'translation' not only of ideas but of landscapes as well. Over time this sacralization might lead to a new creation independent of the initial model and following a separate religious discourse. From this perspective, both mobility and landscape become a spiritual dimension.

Diaspora represents at the same time a laboratory of religious innovation. Even if such places as ancient Corinth (see the chapter by Auffarth) are not typical but only exemplary for the process of religious dynamic in an urban centre, it is clear what role the "neighbourhood" – i.e. the encounter with other beliefs and the convivence of different religions in the narrow space of a city – plays in the reshaping of religious communities. This kind of "city religion" is a *religio translata* in the context of a particular place. Such a translation process should, however, be thought of not only in relation to urban landscape but to rural areas as well.

The study of diaspora offers the opportunity of questioning allegedly clear profiles of religious communities. The Roman Catholic Church has often been described as a universal institution with its centre in Rome. Eastern Orthodoxy, in contrast, has often been catalogued as prone to nationalism and Protestant Churches as locally restricted. Nevertheless, particular ethnic groups – no matter whether Catholic, Orthodox or Protestant – have been seen to build diaspora religious communities along particular ethnic lines, in spite of communal confessional belonging. For example, English, Irish or Scottish Catholic diaspora communities on the European mainland will stay apart from each other in spite of a similar background in Britain and common religious identity (see the chapter by Braun). These communities were at the same time reluctant to integrate with local Catholic churches, cultivating a diaspora identity. From this perspective, they behaved similarly to Orthodox or Protestant communities.

List of Figures

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Indices

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