PATHWAYS FOR ECUMENICAL AND INTERRELIGIOUS DIALOGUE

The Church, Migration, and Global (In)Difference

Edited by
Darren J. Dias · Jaroslav Z. Skira · Michael S. Attridge · Gerard Mannion

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IN MEMORIAM
Gerard Mannion
(1970–2019)
—Scholar, ecumenist, colleague, friend—

Preface

Pope Francis' challenge to church and society to care for migrants and refugees inspired the ideas and themes of the conference *The Church and Migration: Global (In)Difference?* (25–27 June 2019, Toronto, Canada). Such a conference contributed to the mission of the Ecclesiological Investigations International Research Network, which "seeks to serve as a hub for national and international collaboration in ecclesiology, drawing together other groups and networks, initiating research ventures and providing administrative support as well as acting as a funding magnet to support conversations, research and education in this field." Ecclesiological Investigations (EI) came into being initially as a program unit of the American Academy of Religion in 2005, growing into an active research network to this day, organizing a number of meetings, symposia and conferences such as the following:

2019: "Stolen Churches" or "Bridges to Orthodoxy"? Impulses for Theological Dialogue Between Orthodox and Eastern Catholic Churches. Stuttgart.
2018: The Church and Migration: Global (In)Difference? Toronto.
2017: Theology Without Borders – Celebrating the Legacy of Peter C. Phan. Georgetown.
2017: The Reformation and Reconciliation. Jena.
2016: Christianity and Religions in China – Past-Present-Future. Hong Kong.

2015: Vatican II – Remembering the Future – Ecumenical, Interfaith and Secular Perspectives on the Council's Impact and Promise. Georgetown.
2014: Hope in the Ecumenical Future. Oxford.
2013: Religion, Authority and State: From Constantine to the Secular and Beyond. Belgrade.
2012: Where We Dwell in Common: Pathways for Dialogue in the Twenty-First Century. Assisi.
2011: Exclusion by Race, Gender, Culture Threatens Mission, Identity of the Catholic Church. Dayton.
2011: The Dialogical Imperative: Ecclesiology and Interculturality – Ecclesiologia e interculturalità. Rome.
2010: Religions, Dialogue and Society: Theological Reflections in a Pluralistic World. Trichur.
2010 : Being Surprised by God – Embodied Ecclesiology in Local Contexts. Utrecht.
2010: The Household of God and Local Households: Revisiting the Domestic Church. Louvain.
2009: Receptive Ecumenism and Ecclesial Learning: Learning to Be Church Together. Durham.
2008: Church in Pluralist Contexts. Kerala.
2007: The First Conference of the Ecclesiological Investigations Research Network. St. Deiniol's.

The Ecclesiological Investigations network was in no small way fueled by the passion and work of our late colleague, Gerard Mannion (1970–2019). Gerard Mannion was a central driving force in promoting the "collaborative ecclesiology" of Ecclesiological Investigations, from being its founding chair to his extensive work throughout the years. His indefatigable work brought together numerous practitioners, ecclesial leaders and scholars from various continents. This community of members and collaborators in EI were expanded by his international networks established through various academic positions at Oxford University, Liverpool Hope University, the University of Leeds, the University of San Diego, KU Leuven and Georgetown University. He possessed a sincerity,

kindness and sense of social justice that served to build lasting bonds of collegiality. We dedicate this, one of his last publications, to a scholar, ecumenist, colleague and friend—to Gerard Mannion. May he rest in the company of the saints.

Toronto, ON, Canada — Darren J. Dias
Toronto, ON, Canada — Jaroslav Z. Skira
Toronto, ON, Canada — Michael S. Attridge

About the Book

The reality faced by refugees and migrants is one of the most serious issues confronting our world today. We live in a time when the migration of peoples—a significant number being forced displacements due to external circumstances—has never been of greater urgency. This situation demands that churches, faith communities and all people of goodwill explore the root causes and opportunities of migration, the implications and outcomes of mass human movement and strategies and courses of action to help alleviate the most acute situations. Likewise, this reality dictates that just and equitable policies and laws are implemented both within and across nations to safeguard the rights and futures of all migrants, refugees, displaced and itinerant peoples. This volume draws together essays from scholars, practitioners and leaders from around the globe examining the relationship between the church and migration—historically, in our times and prospects for the future. The various contributions explore the stories of migrants and refugees, the journeys they have undertaken, the ways in which churches and other religious communities, as well as secular and political institutions and organizations, have sought to welcome them—or otherwise. The essays analyze key issues and challenges at stake, documentary engagements with migration and ways in which we can learn from the past in both positive and critical ways alike.

The book is inter-disciplinary in nature bringing theological, scriptural, historical, anthropological, sociological, pastoral and political perspectives into conversation. The remarkable intertextuality of the volume is evident in the four parts of the book through various tropes: violence, hospitality, movement, borders, coloniality, ethics, church, inculturation, dialogue, contextuality and community. Part I groups together essays that analyze and problematize "hospitality"—a central trope in theologies of migration—from biblical, theological and decolonial perspectives. Part II groups together richly textured theo-political essays. They draw on some key hermeneutical concepts like "forced migration," "mysticism," "educational practise," "crisis," and "limit-concept" in order to understand extremely complex realities. Part III relates migration specifically to ecclesiology. The essays point to the significant influence that Francis' papacy has had on theologies of migration. The last part consists of stories of migration. They speak to the importance of the concrete transformational impact migrations have on communities in diverse contexts: Africa, Asia, Australia, Europe and North America.

This volume's essays arose out of the ecumenical conference The Church and Migration: Global (In)Difference? (2018), which was hosted by four member schools of the Toronto School of Theology ecumenical consortium: Emmanuel College of Victoria University; Regis College; the Faculty of Theology, University of St Michael's College; and, the Faculty of Divinity, University of Trinity College. As noted in the Preface, conference was held under the auspices of the Ecclesiological Investigations International Research Network. We acknowledge the invaluable support of the Dominican Institute of Toronto, which assumed the primary leadership and benefaction for this conference, and without which this conference would not have taken place. We also sincerely thank the following sponsoring institutions: Berkley Center for Religion, Peace and World Affairs; Georgetown University; International Institute for Method in Theology; Pontifical Scalabrinian Institute for the Study of Human Mobility; Ripon College, Oxford; St. Mark's College; Toronto School of Theology (in the University of Toronto); and Tübingen University.

Finally, we wish to recognize and thank our collaborators on our conference planning committee, Christopher Brittain (Trinity College) and Thomas Reynolds (Emmanuel College). A special word of thanks also goes out to the wonderful work of our conference staff of Jessica De Luca, Michael Pirri and Sarah Kwiecinski who contributed much to the success of the event, along with cadres of Toronto School of Theology graduate student volunteers; and to Mia Theocharis, for her assistance with this publication. A final word of deepest gratitude we also extend to our contributors.

Michael S. Attridge
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Contents

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PART I

Perspectives on Hospitality

CHAPTER 1

The Church, Migration and Global (In)Difference: They End in the City

Dale T. Irvin

Two observations inform this chapter from the outset.[1] The first is that we cannot understand migration as a global phenomenon without taking into account the role that cities play in the migration process. The second is that we do not understand cities if we do not take into account their sacred nature. Not surprisingly, given his massive scholarship and keen analytical work, Lewis Mumford offered both insights nearly seven decades ago in his monumental book, *The City in History: Its Origins, Its Transformations and Its Prospects*.[2] In the opening pages of the book Mumford made the simple observation: "Human life swings between two

[1] I want to thank the many participants in the Toronto conference "The Church and Migration: Global (In)Difference?" (June 2018) of the Ecclesiological Investigations Network who raised questions or offered further comments on this chapter when it was presented in the form of a plenary paper. This chapter has benefitted greatly from their suggestions and insights.

[2] Lewis Mumford, *The City in History: Its Origins, Its Transformations and Its Prospects* (San Diego: Harcourt, 1961).

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poles: movement and settlement."[3] Settlement, he went on to argue, has found preeminent expression in human history in the form of cities. At the end of the book Mumford wrote, "The city first took form as the home of a god: a place where eternal values were represented and divine possibilities revealed. Though the symbols have changed the realities behind them remain."[4] Both of these observations need to be unpacked.

1 Migration and Cities

As movement and settlement, migration and cities are deeply intertwined historical experiences. Cities are by their very nature connected with migration. This has been so from their inception some 10,000 years ago. Cities are not stable human communities. They are dynamic realities which serve as both passageways and destination points for migration.[5] The populations of cities throughout history do not increase or decrease on the basis of biological factors, such as reproduction or disease alone. Far more important to the life of cities is migration in all of its various manifestations.

The most basic form of migration by which cities have grown over the centuries has been rural to urban. It is important to note here that sociologically, in terms of both material economy and cultural identity, the rural has always been very much a function of the urban. Large cities, and the empires they eventually came to rule or dominate, could not sustain themselves without sufficient agricultural goods that were and still are the main product of the rural economy.[6] As a number of urban theorists are now recognizing, human agricultural production actually followed the origins of the city; it did not precede it. Edward J. Soja, for instance, drawing upon archaeological studies of the first cities in the Levant and especially Jericho and Çatal Hüyük, argues that large-scale agriculture was necessitated by the agglomeration and synekism (or synoecism, from *synoikismos* in Greek, the coming together of several settlements under

[3] Ibid., 5.

[4] Ibid., 575.

[5] See Dale T. Irvin, "Migration and Cities: Theological Reflections," in *Contemporary Issues of Migration and Theology*, eds. Elaine Padilla and Peter C. Phan (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 73–93.

[6] The manner in which cities and empires depend upon a sustainable agricultural base is a key argument in Karen Armstrong, *Fields of Blood: Religion and the History of Violence* (New York: Anchor, 2014).

single form of governance) that occurred with the first urban formations.[7] Reversing decades of urban theory regarding the relationship of cities to agriculture, Soja argues that cities came first. The rural is, in fact, a function of the urban. Rural society continues still to be organized and administered to meet the needs of the city.

Cities came first and led to the agricultural revolution of farming, domesticated livestock and herding. But the rural never functioned only as the range for sheep and cattle or the breadbasket for the city. It also provided the raw materials of human labour that were needed for cities to grow. As human technological knowledge increased and accumulated, and food production became more efficient, the number of rural residents required to work the land decreased. Throughout the centuries the surplus labour from rural areas have migrated to cities; it still does today. Rural to urban migration has been the most important factor in the growth of a number of cities around the globe, such as Shanghai or Mumbai, over the past several decades. The population of greater Mumbai has grown from 11 million in 1991 to over 22 million today. That averages out to an increase of approximately 66,000 people a year or 1800 people a day migrating to live in this one city in India. Most of them come from nearby rural areas.

The rural to urban migration has been the most important source of urban growth through the centuries, but it is not the only form of migration that has impacted cities. Cities have also always been both passageways and destination points for those traveling from a distance, across boundaries of culture and geography, and quite often already urban dwellers from another region of the world. These are the merchants who through the centuries have been migrating great distances in order to buy and sell. Merchants are fundamentally urban figures, persons who are deeply immersed in an urban experience. The markets that function to generate their wealth are likewise urban phenomena. Merchants and traders might venture far from cities into wilderness areas to obtain goods for sale, traversing long expanses of open countryside, wilderness, or seas, but their destination points are urban markets, the bigger the better, which contain the points of contact in which their mercantile activity takes place. Before the modern era, throughout the world merchants often created immigrant communities in cities where they conducted trade. These

[7] Edward J. Soja, *Postmetropolis: Critical Studies of Cities and Regions* (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2000), 19–51; on "synekism," 13.

communities of people from other cultures and regions were vital cultural transition stations fostering material and intellectual commerce in urban contexts. Commercial activity remains a major factor fostering migration in our global economy.

Kings and their supporting armies are also ancient urban figures and phenomena. Kings ruled over cities in the ancient world as divine figures, as either priests or gods. The sacrificial rituals of violence that they performed inside the city correlated with the sacrificial rituals of violence practiced outside their cities, namely, going to war. Both arenas were theatres for ritual performance, the one (sacrifice) inside the city in a theatre that was controlled while the other (warfare) outside the city in a theatre that could not always be controlled.[8] Cities in this regard were places of deep ambiguity, places where beauty was amplified but also places that fostered and even promoted violence and death.[9] The ancient connections made by violence between cities and migration continue today.

Armies have always been a particular category of migrants whose movements have led to both increases as well as significant decreases in urban populations over the centuries. Sometimes soldiers come to stay, but more often they are a destructive force. In our contemporary world, warfare continues to be a major cause of migration. Soldiers might for the most be considered temporary migrants today, but their impact on cities is often significant. The US military garrison located in the downtown Yongsan district might have a negligible overall impact on the life of the city of Seoul, South Korea, today, but the exact opposite is true for the International Zone (or Green Zone) in Baghdad.[10] An even greater result of military activities and warfare is the large numbers of refugees who are seeking to escape war zones, or the numbers of displaced civilians and combatants in places like Syria or Libya. The Brookings Institute in Washington, DC, with research provided by the Copenhagen Business

[8] See David Carrasco, *City of Sacrifice: The Aztec Empire and the Role of Violence in Civilization* (Boston: Beacon, 1999), 148–149. Carrasco in turns cites Jonathan Z. Smith, "The Bare Facts of Ritual," *History of Religions* 20/1–2 (1980): 112–127 for the "controlled/uncontrolled" parallel (259, n.16).

[9] Mumford argues against "the assumptions of either a biologically inherited belligerence or an 'original sin' as the sufficient operative cause in producing the complex historic institution of war." Instead he suggests that war and domination "were engrained in the original structure of the ancient city" (43–44).

[10] Rajiv Chandrasekaran, *Imperial Life in The Emerald City: Inside Iraq's Green Zone* (New York: Vintage, 2007).

School, has explored this issue in depth through a series of consultations titled "Cities and Refugees: The European Response." One of the outcomes of the project has been to focus attention on the fact that cities are at the "vanguard" of the current refugee crisis in Europe, challenging city governments and local networks alike "in resettlement and long-term economic and social integration."[11]

Not all refugees make it into existing cities. Many end up in refugee camps. But such camps do not severe the connection between refugee migrants and the urban. Quite the contrary is true in fact. Researchers from the Institute of Contemporary Urbanism at the Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule (ETH) in Zürich, studying refugee camps that have been in existence in Algeria for thirty-five years, have demonstrated that aspects of urban life soon emerge within such camps, with a full urban vocabulary and eventually a full urban order.[12] Kilian Kleinschmidt, who worked with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees for twenty-five years before starting his own international consulting firm, asserts outright that "we need to look at refugee camps as urban spaces."[13] Refugee camps "are the cities of tomorrow" says Kleinschmidt.[14]

Kleinschmidt's observations point towards the complex nature of urbanization. Through history cities have assumed a variety of forms. Most urban theorists agree with Henri Lefebvre's broad historical outlines of the political city, or capital, and its surrounding supporting cities in the ancient world, which then gave way to commercial cities in the early modern period driven by the expanding energies of capitalism and colonialism. Commercial cities in turn were succeeded by industrial cities, post-industrial and then global cities.[15] Such typology barely begins to do justice to the fuller complexity of the "dense, internally variegated webs" of

[11] https://www.brookings.edu/series/cities-and-refugees-the-european-response, accessed 27 May 2018.

[12] Manuel Herz, ed., *From Camp to City: Refugee Camps of the Western Sahara* (Zurich: Lars Müller, 2012).

[13] In an interview with Ann Solana, "We Need to Look at Refugee Camps as Urban Spaces," *Smart.City_Lab* (27 February 2019), https://www.smartcitylab.com/blog/inclusive-sharing/we-need-to-look-at-refugee-camps-as-urban-spaces-2, accessed 10 Dec. 2019.

[14] Talia Radford, "Refugee Camps Are the 'Cities of Tomorrow', Says Humanitarian-aid Expert," *De Zeen* (23 Nov. 2015), https://www.dezeen.com/2015/11/23/refugee-camps-cities-of-tomorrow-killian-kleinschmidt-interview-humanitarian-aid-expert, accessed 26 May 2018.

[15] Henri Lefebvre, *La Révolution urbaine* (Paris: Gallimard, 1970); idem, *The Urban Revolution*, trans. by Robert Bononno (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2003).

urban realities and urbanization of course.[16] Edward Soja, for instance, offers six different discourses or analytical frameworks for understanding the complexities of contemporary urban spaces and experiences, provocatively titled "Flexcity," "Cosmopolis," "Exopolis," "Metropolarities," "Carceral Archipelagos" and "Simcities."[17]

When we turn from the theoretical discussions to cities in general, we are met with an astounding contemporary reality. Some 250 million people representing around 3% of the world's current population are migrants who now reside outside the borders of their land of natal affiliation. But in 2016 more than half of the world's population (54.5%) lived in major metropolitan regions. By 2050 this number is expected to rise to 70%. According to the Population Division of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations, there are now over 1000 cities on the face of the earth with a population of 500,000 or more.[18] There are now thirty-one megacities (or greater metropolitan regions often spanning several discrete cities) with populations of 10 million located in five continents (Asia, Africa, Europe, South America and North America). Six of these megacities are located in China. The largest megacity—more than 38 million people—is Greater Tokyo (or the National Capital Region) in Japan, which includes the cities of Tokyo, Chiba, Kawasaki, Sagamihara, Saitama and Yokohama. In North America, two metropolitan regions are on the United Nations' list of top megacities, with 23 million inhabitants in the greater New York metropolitan region (encompassing New York and the cities of northern New Jersey as far as Newark) and more than 12 million in the conurban complex encompassing Los Angeles, Long Beach and Santa Ana.[19] Both in terms of percentage and numbers, the reality of contemporary global urbanization commands our attention alongside the contemporary global phenomenon of migration. If we are being

[16] Defining urbanization, Allen J. Scott and Michael Storper, "The Nature of Cities: The Scope and Limits of Urban Theory," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 38/4 (2014) 10 writes: "the urbanization process resides in the twofold status of cities as clusters of productive activity and human life that then unfold into dense, internally variegated webs of interacting land uses, locations and allied institutional/political arrangements."

[17] Soja, *Postmetropolis*, Part II, 145–348.

[18] United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, *The World's Cities in 2016 – Data Booklet* (Geneva: United Nations, 2016), ii.

[19] Ibid., iv.

compelled by current events to reflect upon migration, we must also be reflecting on cities and urbanization.[20]

2 Cities and the Sacred

The close relationship between migration and cities is the first observation to be made here. The second concerns the close relationship between cities and the sacred. Again, Mumford provides some initial guidance. His observation quoted at the opening of this chapter, that the "city first took form as the home of a god," has been echoed by a number of urban theorists who have made the connection between cities and gods or, on a more substantial level, between cities and the sacred.[21] Cities from their inception in human history have been characterized by their monuments and buildings meant to magnify both power and desire by transposing them into transcendent or eternal forms. Eric E. Lampard has focused the argument more specifically on temples being at the heart of the origins of the city.[22] Paul Wheatley argued more broadly from the Asian context for

[20] A note regarding terminology of "urban" and "city" is in order. The Latin word *urbs,* from which the English word "urban" derives, referred to a spatial entity while the Latin word *civitas*, from which the English words "city," "citizen," "civil" and "civic" derive, referred to what went on among residents. The distinction was similar to that of *astu* and *polis* in Greek. In contemporary English the term "urban" tends to be used as an adjective while "city" tends to refer to the substantive spatial entity. Spanish makes a similar distinction between "urbano" and "ciudad." Nineteenth-century sociologists introduced the term "urbanization" to name the social process of agglomeration and the accompanying process of differentiation that resulted in the formation of villages, towns, cities and eventually megalopolises.

[21] Mumford, *The City in History*, 575. Earlier in the book (33) he wrote, "To interpret what happened in the city, one must deal equally with technics, politics, and religion, above all with the religious side of the transformation. If at the beginning all these aspects of life were inseparably mingled, it was religion that took precedence and claimed primacy, probably because unconscious imagery and subjective projections dominated every aspect of reality, allowing nature to become visible only in so far as it could be worked into the tissue of desire and dream. Surviving monuments and records show that this general magnification of power was accompanied by equally exorbitant images, issuing from the unconscious, transposed into the 'eternal' forms of art."

[22] Eric E. Lampard, "Historical Aspects of Urbanization," in *The Study of Urbanization*, eds. Philip M. Houser and Leo F. Schnore (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1965), 535 wrote: "The hub of the emerging [urban] order was evidently the 'temple city.' At some point, denizens of the temple came to mediate men's secular relations with the physical and social environment as well as their transcendental involvements in the cosmos. But whereas the association of nature and cosmos long antedated the first city-states, the validation of a

understanding cities not just as providing homes for gods, but for carrying out ceremonial duties of a cosmic nature.[23] Davíd Carrasco found those cosmic rituals to be preeminently human sacrifice in the cities of the Aztecs in Meso-America.[24] Others have demonstrated the connections between the aspirations of religious life and the processes of urbanization that continue through our era.[25] Fifty years ago Harvey Cox famously tried to link secularization with urbanization.[26] Two decades later he provided his own corrective in the form of a book on the resurgence of religion in the post-modern urban context.[27]

In *Postmetropolis*, Soja recognizes the close relationship between the emergence of cities and the fundamental human tendency towards religiosity. He argues that cities were invented by human beings out of the desire or need to build monuments and temples to honour gods. They were, and continue to be, expressions of a human propensity to amass,

social-territorial order by sacral authority would have marked a significant step towards a more *exclusive* definition of the population and its boundaries and hence towards closure of the system. The identification of ethos and order would have heightened the degree of working cohesion among the population and would have contributed to a necessary sense of 'community' or psychological differentiation from others. That the realization and appropriation of the 'surplus' were functions that accrued to the priestcraft discloses the extent to which the temple was, already in protoliterate times, the cynosure of deferential feeling and itself the source of true condescension. That the ramification of social controls was centred in the temple may also account for the rapid growth and diversification of the ceremonial node, although the exact moment and precise occasion for this unfolding have not yet been determined."

[23] Paul Wheatley, *The Pivot of the Four Quarters: A Preliminary Enquiry into the Origins and Character of the Ancient Chinese City* (Chicago: Aldine, 1971), 302.

[24] Carrasco, *City of Sacrifice*.

[25] I take the term "aspiration" to describe religion in the city from Peter van der Veer, ed., *Handbook of Religion and the Asian City: Aspiration and Urbanization in the Twenty-First Century* (Berkeley: University of California, 2015). For further work on religion and the contemporary city, see Irene Becci, Marian Burchardt and José Casanova, eds., *Topographies of Faith: Religion in Urban Spaces* (Leiden: Brill, 2013); Richard Cimino, Nadia A. Mian and Weishan Huang, eds., *Ecologies of Faith in New York City: The Evolution of Religious Institutions* (Bloomington: Indiana University, 2013); Jacob Olupona, *City of 201 Gods: Ilé-Ifè in Time, Space and the Imagination* (Berkeley: University of California, 2011).

[26] Harvey Cox, *The Secular City: Secularization and Urbanization in Theological Perspective* (New York: Macmillan, 1965).

[27] Harvey Cox, *Religion in the Secular City: Toward a Postmodern Theology* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1984). See also Pieter Dronkers, "The Lingering Smell of Incense: Exploring Post-secular Public Space," in *The Sacred in the City*, eds. Liliana Gómez and Walter Van Heerck (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2012), 52–69.

organize and administer social, intellectual and material resources at a scale that transcends the possibilities of any one tribe, settlement or village alone. The purpose was to acknowledge, or honour, forces and powers that were beyond any one tribe, settlement or village alone. Drawing upon archaeological studies of the first cities in the Levant and especially Jericho and Çatal Hüyük, Soja argues that large-scale agriculture was necessitated by the agglomeration and synekism (the coming together of several settlements under single form of governance)[28] that occurred with the first urban formations. This in turn meant there were more human beings living in close proximity than previous methods of food production could sustain. Cities in fact spurred the development of agriculture among our ancestors, Soja argues. As he is often quoted, "cities came first."[29]

One of Soja's key insights is to challenge the typical rural to urban ordering of human origins. The other is to challenge any notion of the urban being opposed to the natural world. Cities are geographical entities located on particular topographies and engaging the existing landscapes of rivers, mountains, deserts, seacoasts and so on. The urbanization process is one of social production that Soja calls a "second nature."[30] The agglomeration and synekism that gave rise to cities in ancient times as well as today seek to amplify and extend this second nature to cosmic proportions. Soja writes:

> From the very start, then urban space was designed and produced as a self-conscious expression of a local and territorial culture, a materialized "symbolic zone," to use Iain Chamber's term, in which the real and imagined commingled to comprehend, define, and ceremonialize a much-enlarged scale of social relations and community, the beginning of *urbanism as a way of life,* to use that famous phrase of the Chicago School of urban studies founded 10,000 years later.[31]

Another way of saying this is that Ludwig Feuerbach was wrong. Human beings do not just project their "consciousness of the infinite" upon the sun, the moon and the stars.[32] We pour it into buildings, streets and

[28] Soja, *Postmetropolis,*13.
[29] Ibid., 19–51.
[30] Ibid., 42.
[31] Ibid., 34, emphasis original.
[32] Ludwig Feuerbach, *Essence of Christianity*, trans. George Eliot (Mineola: Dover, 2008; orig. pub. 1881), 6.

monuments in the cities that we construct.[33] In specifically Christian theological terms, the *imago dei* that humanity bears is also in effect an *imago urbis*.

Liliana Gómez and Walter Van Herck pick up on this theme in their edited volume of essays titled *The Sacred in the City*. They intentionally opt for the language of "sacred" over "religion." The category of "religion," they argue, has institutional connotations that identify it with specific structures but do allow one to see the broader picture. The sacred, they argue, "as a category is more connected to an embodied attachment to symbols, buildings, monuments and other cultural manifestations.… The city has a constitutive effect on our relation with the sacred and interacts with the human search for meaning in life and with the sacred in all its many guises."[34]

Gómez and Van Herck are right. The sacred in the city always comes in many guises because the city, by the very logic of synekism that undergirds it, is a place of diversity. "[I]t is in the city that different religions and quests for meaning confront one another, ignore one another, communicate with one another and compete with each other."[35] As cities have become more complex through human history, the sacred has become more complex. Mumford recognized this in his own way when he wrote, "The chief function of the city is to convert power into form, energy into culture, dead matter into the living symbols of art, biological reproduction into social creativity."[36] The chief function of the city, in other words, is to transform the material into the spiritual. Mumford concluded:

> The final mission of the city is to further [humanity's] conscious participation in the cosmic and historic process. Through its own complex and enduring structure, the city vastly augment's [humanity's] ability to interpret these processes and take an active, formative part in them, so that every phase of the drama it stages shall have, to the highest degree possible, the illumination of consciousness, the stamp of purpose, the colour of love. That magnification of all the dimensions of life, through emotional communion, rational communication, technological mastery, and above all,

[33] See Richard Sennett, *Flesh and Stone: The Body and the City in Western Civilization* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1994).

[34] Gómez and Van Heerck, "Framing the Sacred in the City," 3.

[35] Ibid., 4.

[36] Mumford, *The City in History*, 571.

> dramatic representation, has been the supreme office of the city in history. And it remains the chief reason for the city's continued existence.[37]

Richard Sennett echoes this broader observation regarding cities:

> A city isn't just a place to live, to shop, to go out and have kids play. It's a place that implicates how one derives one's ethics, how one develops a sense of justice, how one learns to talk with and learn from people who are unlike oneself, which is how a human being becomes human.[38]

Cities are spaces of freedom. As Saskia Sassen argues, they are places where those lacking social power are nevertheless able to create a history and culture of their own, making their apparent powerlessness more complex. Sassen continues:

> A city is a complex but incomplete system.… In this mix of complexity and incompleteness lies the possibility for those without power to assert "we are here" and "this is also our city." Or, as the legendary statement by the fighting poor in Latin American cities puts it, "*Estamos presentes*": we are present, we are not asking for money, we are just letting you know that this is also our city.[39]

This is not to argue that cities are uniformly or universally good or pleasant. One has only to look at the poverty and inequalities that breed within then.[40] They are not only places of pure joy and freedom, but also places of great suffering and oppression. Because they are living realities, cities are deeply ambiguous.[41] They amplify the *imago dei* in all of its

[37] Ibid., 576.

[38] Richard Sennett, "The Civitas of Seeing," *Places* 5/4 (1989): 84.

[39] Saskia Sassen, "Who Owns Our Cities – And Why This Urban Takeover Should Concern Us All," *The Guardian* (24 Nov. 2015), https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2015/nov/24/who-owns-our-cities-and-why-this-urban-takeover-should-concern-us-all, accessed 21 Dec. 2017.

[40] See Mike Davis, *Planet of Slums* (New York and London: Verso, 2006).

[41] Here I draw upon Paul Tillich, *Systematic Theology*, Vol. 3: *Life in the Spirit and the Kingdom of God* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1963), 32, who writes: "Every life process has the ambiguity that the positive and negative elements are mixed in such a way that a definite separation of the negative from the positive is impossible: life at every moment is ambiguous."

ambiguities.[42] They are places of great terror as well as great beauty. By their very logic they intensify the negative tendencies of human experience towards inequalities in wealth and power alongside the positive tendencies towards equality and compassion. They promote hierarchy and patriarchy, but they have a determinedly democratizing effect and are spaces for gender differences to emerge. They foster violence and freedom, side by side. Cities are places that generate and accelerate the creation of new forms, of creativity itself. But they can also be places of destruction. They reach beyond to expand all dimensions of human experience in cosmic directions both heavenly and otherwise.[43]

3 The City and Christian Theology

According to the Scots Confession of 1560, the church began with Adam and Eve.[44] So too do both urban theology and the theology of migration. The garden that is described in Genesis 1 is an ancient urban form. Gardens were built within or just outside and adjacent to the walls of cities in Mesopotamia and other regions of the ancient world, for food production as well as for pleasure. The ancient Persian term for such a place was *pairidaeza*, which came into Greek, Latin and other Western languages directly as "paradise." Genesis 3:8 tells us that after eating the fruit of the forbidden tree, the human couple heard the sound of God walking in the garden at the time of the evening breeze. One did not walk in a garden in the evening to till the soil or otherwise engage in agricultural work. One walked in the garden at the evening breeze to enjoy the pleasure of its

[42] Paul Tillich, *Dynamics of Faith* (New York: Harper and Row, 1957; repub. New York: Perennial Classics, 2001), 16–17 writes: "The mysterious character of the holy produces an ambiguity in man's ways of experiencing it. The holy can appear as destructive and creative. ... One can call this ambiguity divine-demonic, whereby the divine is characterized by the victory of the creative over the destructive power of the holy, and the demonic is characterized by the victory of the destructive over the creative possibility of the holy."

[43] See Edward D. Banfield, *Unheavenly City: The Nature and the Future of Our Urban Crisis* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1979); and idem, *The Unheavenly City Revisited* (Prospect Heights: Waveland, 1990).

[44] "The Scots Confession," Chapter V, "The Continuance, Increase and Preservation of the Kirk," in *The Constitution of the Presbyterian Church (USA),* Part I, *Book of Confessions* (Louisville: Office of the General Assembly, 2014), 12 states, "We most surely believe that God preserved, instructed, multiplied, honoured, adorned and called from death to life his Kirk in all ages since Adam until the coming of Christ Jesus in the flesh."