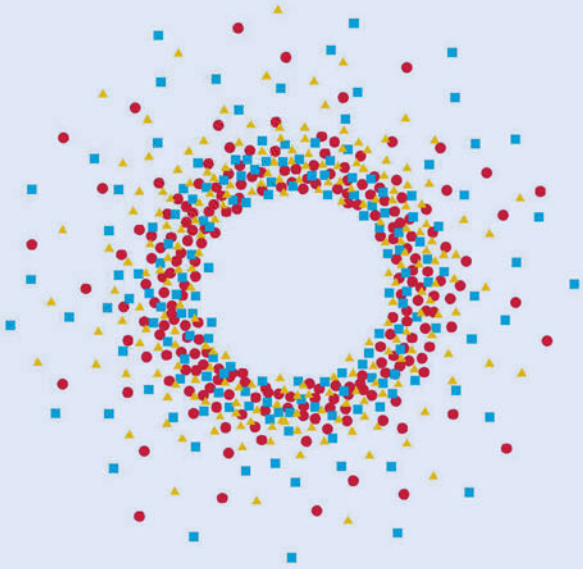
CHRISTIANITIES OF THE WORLD

Christianities in Migration

The Global Perspective



Edited by Elaine Padilla
and Peter C. Phan

Palgrave Macmillan's
Christianities Of The World

Series Editors:

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In recent decades there has been an increasing awareness in the academy of a reality called World Christianity. The expression refers to the fact that today Christianity is no longer predominantly Western, but has become a more truly worldwide religion. This "catholicity," a hallmark of Christianity and a fruit of Christian missions, has resulted in a massive demographic shift in the over- all numbers of Christians from the global north (Europe and North America) to the global south (Africa, Asia, and Latin America). At the same time, the twin forces of globalization and migration have simultaneously intensified the interconnections and amplified the differences among the various expressions of Christianity worldwide, radically transforming the character of Christianity as it finds expression in diverse forms all over the globe. In the twenty-first century Christianity can only be expected to become even more multiple, diverse, and hybridized. At the same time one can expect to find something that is recognizably Christian among them to make it possible to have a meaningful conversation. We call that conversation "Christianities of the World."

To help understand this new phenomenon Palgrave Macmillan has initiated a new series of monographs appropriately titled "Christianities of the World" under the general editorship of Peter C. Phan and Dale T. Irvin. The intention of the series is to publish single-authored or edited works of scholarship that engage aspects of these diverse Christianities of the world through the disciplines of history, religious studies, theology, sociology, or missiology, in order to understand Christianity as a truly world religion. To these ends the editors are asking:

- How has Christianity been received and transformed in various countries, especially in Africa, Asia, and Latin America (the non-Western world) in response to their cultural practices, religious traditions (the so-called "world religions" as well as the tribal or indigenous religions), migratory movements, and political and economic globalization (inculturation and interfaith dialogue)? In particular, how have newer forms of Christianity, especially those that identify with the Pentecostal/Charismatic movement, changed the face of World Christianity? What are the major characteristics of Christianities both old and new? What new trajectories and directions can one expect to see in the near future?
- How should the history of Christian missions be narrated? How does one evaluate the contributions of expatriate missionaries and indigenous agents? How should one understand the relationship between missions and churches?
- How should theology be taught in the academic arena (be it in universities, seminaries, or Bible schools)? How should various Christian theological

loci (e.g., God, Christ, Spirit, church, worship, spirituality, ethics, or pastoral ministry) be reformulated and taught in view of world Christianity or Christianities of the world, in dialogue with different cultures and different religions, or targeted toward particular ethnic or religious groups?
- How does the new reality of world Christianity affect research methods? How should courses on Christianity be taught? How should textbooks on Christianity as well as on world religions generally be structured? What should curricula, course work, required texts, faculty hiring, criteria for tenure and promotion, research, and publication look like in the academic world that is responding to the questions being raised by the Christianities of the world?

The issues are far-ranging and the questions transformational. We look forward to a lively series and a rewarding dialogue.

Pentecostalism and Prosperity: The Socio-Economics of the Global Charismatic Movement
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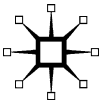

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Introduction

Elaine Padilla and Peter C. Phan

To walk is to fall forward.

Each step we take is a halted tumble, a prevented collapse, an interrupted disaster. As such, to walk becomes an act of faith. We bring it into being daily, a miracle of two temporalities: an iambic dance, a sustaining and letting go of oneself.

—Paul Salopek, "Fuera del Edén"

Religion begins—and ends—with bodies: birthed bodies and dead bodies; polluted bodies and purified bodies; enslaved and freed bodies that are tattooed, pierced, flagellated, drugged, masked, and painted; sick bodies and healed bodies; gendered bodies and racialized bodies; initiated and uninitiated bodies; bodies that are starved and fed, though fed only this way; exposed bodies and covered bodies; renounced and aroused bodies, though aroused only that way; kin bodies and strangers' bodies; possessed bodies and emptied bodies; and, as humans cross the ultimate horizon of human existence—however that horizon is imagined—bodies that are transported or transformed.

—Thomas A. Tweed, *Crossing and Dwelling*[1]

Christianities in Migration: The Global Perspective is the third and last volume of the trilogy entitled *Theology and Migration in World Christianity: Contextual Perspectives.* As its title suggests, the book migrates through continents, regions, and nations in order to tell the stories of diverse kinds of nomadic dwellers of yesterday and today. It departs from Africa, moves toward Asia, Oceania, and Europe, and settles in the Americas, that is, Latin America, Canada, and the United States. It follows the well-worn paths of migration that migrants still tread on today, though often in back-and-forth movements and in multiple directions, a fact that points to the porousness of space in spite of state borders. Its movements tacitly seek to subvert master/slave, north/south, and west/east dominant narratives of migration. The underlying theological presupposition of the volume is that human society, even at its worst, has been founded on migration. Consequently, its survival depends on developing a theology of migration that helps thwart exploitative and violent practices against migrants and at the same time promotes those practices that favor modes of fruitful coexistence.

Since their beginning, humans moved out of their habitats, roamed across deserts and mountains, navigated over rivers and oceans, inhabited

dry lands as well as watery swamps. Some six hundred thousand years ago a few hundred first *homo sapiens idaltu* ventured out beyond the Ethiopian Rift Valley and their mother continent of Africa. Thanks to their migration, today humans everywhere enjoy the most multifaceted forms of social life, with "complex language, abstract thought, inner drive to produce art, talent for technological innovation, and the continuous birth of humanity," as the Pulitzer-winning journalist Paul Salopek muses after his seven-year journey from the Ethiopian Rift Valley in Africa to Tierra del Fuego in Argentina.[2] Starting from what is known as Kilometer 0, this route of the earliest migrants is one of the world's richest treasure troves of information on human mobility for today's anthropologists.

The fossils of the *homo sapiens idaltu* tell tales not unlike those of present-day border-crossers: their urge to migrate, even at the risk of life and limb; their capacity to create worlds that can be reshaped time and again; their desire to go beyond the established limits, and their enrichment through cross-fertilization with others.[3] From a theological perspective, the potential for re-creation comes from the perception of both what hinders life and what lies ahead, not yet actualized but having the potential to liberate it. In some theological sense, therefore, the *homo sapiens idaltu* tell us that to migrate is to live and vice versa.

It is unlikely that our ancestors were reflecting theologically on human longings, the potential of what lies beyond the boundaries, the creation of imagined communities, let alone the cross-fertilizations of cultures, nor are many of today's migrants likely to do so either. In fact, as Miguel de la Torre points out, many migrants prefer to stay home with their families and friends, their own music and language, their own culture and traditions. However, as de la Torre goes on to note, "they attempt the hazardous crossing because foreign policy has created an economic situation in their home countries in which they are unable to feed their families."[4]

Moreover, more often than not migrants are subjected to untold and unimaginable sufferings. So were the 12 million slaves who were brought bound and shackled by Europeans across the Transatlantic and Mediterranean waters. Centuries later, millions of Europeans themselves were fleeing poverty, violence, and genocide. Today, women and children are being trafficked across borders and forced into low-paying jobs, slavery-like marriages, and prostitution.[5]

The success or failure of migrants to settle down in their places of destination and to flourish, as the following chapters will show, depends in part on the laws restricting or favoring their access to the resources available to citizens and permanent residents.[6] There are many "cruel dynamics" in the present system of globalization that impede fruitful cultural cross-pollination.[7] A combination of unemployment, age and sexual exploitation, war and terrorism, and climate change, to name a few, breeds homelessness, driving many into migration and diaspora. In these conditions, creating life anew can become a way of surviving the vagaries of travel, the search for refuge, and the bargaining and negotiating for a permanent home.[8]

According to the statistics of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations for 2013, there are about 236 million international migrants, with an increase of 65 percent in the global north, and 34 percent in the southern hemisphere.[9] About half of them reside in: the United States of America (45.8 million or 20 percent of the global total), the Russian Federation (11 million), Germany (9.8 million), Saudi Arabia (9.1 million), the United Arab Emirates and the United Kingdom (7.8 million each), France (7.5 million), Canada (7.3 million), and Australia and Spain (6.5 million each). In addition, the statistics of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees for 2013 show that there are 10.4 million refugees worldwide.[10] From these numbers it is clear that millions of persons are seeking every year to move away from deplorable and unsafe conditions, leaving their imprints on these ancient migration routes—participants in some of the greatest en masse migrations ever experienced and known.[11]

Despite the likelihood of harsh conditions awaiting them, migrants decide, in faith and hope, to emigrate, pulled by the opportunities for a better life they perceive to be available in the countries of destination. At some point in their migratory movements—before, during, or after settlement—migrants seek to create, first in their minds, a home-like environment to guarantee their survival and enjoyment of life.[12] Whether their imagined map is true to life or distorted is not the point. Rather, what is important is the "push and pull" exerted by the undesirable versus desirable political, social, economic, and religious conditions that motivate them to migrate. In general, the other side of the boundaries they cross, and the places of destination in which they wish to settle, are perceived to offer greater resources and opportunities for a better life. It is in this hope that migrants are willing to sacrifice their current conditions for the sake of longed-for opportunities.

Christianities in Migration: The Global Perspective intends to offer theological insights on human mobility as it has affected Christians throughout history on all levels—regional, national, and international—and for any reason—social, political, economic, and religious. Thanks to migration, whether forced or voluntary, temporary or permanent, internal or intercontinental/international, legal or undocumented, planned or sudden, Christianity has become an indigenized religion and "World Christianity." In this process, the boundaries of homelands contract and expand[13]; native and imagined spaces are enlarged; transnational and ethnic communities emerge in the diaspora; and Christian churches are founded.

The volume mimics Christian migrants' past and present journeys and face-to-face encounters with them as they cross borders, or are settled around the globe, each chapter presenting a unique situation. The authors try to tell the migrants' stories with the hope that an adequate theology of migration will emerge out of the lives of "flesh and blood" migrants.

This eclectic approach to migration through a theological lens seems to be called for by the multidimensional nature of the subject matter. It is difficult to make a hard-and-fast categorization of migration when viewed globally, multiculturally, and multiethnically. The multiplicity of contexts and lived

experiences produces a complex set of meanings of migration, which calls for further study. Similar to Amal Datta's *Human Migration*, which draws from a wide range of social theories, this volume includes types of migrations that fall within broad classes—primitive, forced, impelled, free, and mass[14]—which vary in time (temporary/permanent), distance (short/long), types of boundaries being crossed (internal/external/areal units), the manner in which decisions to migrate are made (voluntary/impelled/forced), the kinds of individuals involved (family/clan/individual), the types of political organization of the migratory patterns (sponsored/free), the causes spurring migration (economic/noneconomic), and the aims (conservative/innarration).[15] This volume seeks to show broadly how migration entails transitioning, moving from one social setting or society to another, which can demand, though not in all instances, radical adjustments to communities and individuals, and for some, acceptance of hierarchical patterns that place them at a disadvantage in society.[16]

Broadly speaking, for theology, moving across space also entails the theological homemaking of Christianity since religious belief and practice are unavoidably contextualized in time and space. In an attempt at constructing a theology about migration, the chapters in this volume move from the place of origin to that of destination and back. In what Thomas Tweed calls "kinetics of dwelling," religious belief and practice, like a pendulum, oscillate backward and forward, between the native country and the land of settlement, in order to establish their place in the world in ways that signal a new beginning, joining the familiar with the unfamiliar.[17] The Christianities of the place of origin and that of destination, when kept in connection with each other, can cushion the painful consequences of migration and provide the space for adaptation and creativity in the new country. As will be made clear in this volume, there is a continual and intentional process of mapping, building, and inhabiting Christian belief and practice in various parts of the world, to cross borders, to cross-fertilize, and to create new modes of theological thinking and Christian practice.

Our ultimate goal is to accentuate the priority of the migrants as persons over the legal system that controls their bodies and measures their worth accordingly. We hope that the volume will make a contribution to the improvement of national and international labor laws, prevention of exploitation, enforcement of medical coverage by employers, the softening of borders, and the humanization of border control systems, among others. The main questions under consideration include: How have globalization and migration affected the theological self-understanding of Christianity? What are the specific social, political, cultural, and religious characteristics of Christianity in a particular region in relation to globalization and migration? In light of globalization and migration, how is the evangelizing mission of Christianity to be understood and carried out? What ecclesiastical reforms are required to enable the church to meet the challenges of globalization and migration?

The volume opens with Peter C. Phan's chapter tracing the history of Christianity as a series of mass migrations from Palestine, where the new

religion began, to the four corners of the world in the twenty-first century. He argues that without migration Christianity would not have been able to become what it should be, namely, "World Christianity." To the four "marks" of the church—one, holy, catholic, and apostolic—he suggests that another mark be added: "migrant." The church is not only a migrant institution de facto but also de jure, insofar as migration allows the church to live out its essentially eschatological nature. He ends by explaining how the "migrantness" of the church requires the practice of hospitality, one of the distinctive virtues of Christian ethics.

"'Singing the Song of the Lord on Foreign Soil'" by Jehu J. Hanciles develops further the migrantness of the church, telling the story of the global expansion of Christianity from its earliest beginnings and arguing for the indispensability of migration in assessing twenty-first-century trends in Christianity. The chapter uses migration as a lens to interpret biblical data in order to survey the movements of specific types of migrants that transformed Christianity into the globalized faith that it is today. The chapter by Elias K. Bongmba and Akintunde E. Akinade, "Dislodgings and Reformation," offers a perspective on the phenomenon of migration understood primarily as movements and transformation within Africa, in particular through the missionary and evangelistic work of Samuel Johnson of Nigeria, Joseph Mamadu in Cameroon, and William Wade Harris in Côte d'Ivoire. It shows how the churches established by these missionaries are now part of the center of African Christianity and subsequently in the West, with some implications for the global religious landscape.

From the African continent the volume migrates to Asia, starting with the chapter by Agnes M. Brazal and Emmanuel S. de Guzman entitled "Intercultural Church." It highlights itinerancy in Asian Christianity, describing its major features and identifying the ministries for migrants as recommended by the Asian Bishops' Conferences. It categorizes the Asian migrant churches in four general models—monocultural host church, monocultural migrant church, multiculturalist church, and intercultural church—and proposes an intercultural approach. The next chapter, "Emerging Christianities in Japan" by Kanan Kitani, offers a survey of the recent migrant churches, especially Evangelical/Pentecostal, created by the Brazilian and Filipino migrant populations in Japan. It highlights how their forms of Evangelicalism have transformed Japan's religious and ecclesial landscape, and vice versa, how Japan has impacted the manner in which these migrants practice their Christian faith.

The chapters on Oceania and Australia continue to weave migration with the Christian faith and practice. Jione Havea argues in "Migration and Mission Routes/Roots in Oceania" that to speak of migration entails a hermeneutical reflection that draws on recent experiences and memories of ancestors. In this way the impact of Christianity on the region and the reactions of the islanders to the Christian mission can offer an honest way forward through the challenges and opportunities in Oceania. In "Graced by Migration" Patricia Madigan highlights the remarkable changes in the

face of Christianity and the migrants' ongoing contributions to the shaping of modern Australia, as well as their presence that has "graced" the Catholic Church in Australia with a more complete image of its catholicity and reminded it of its prophetic mission.

The conversation on migration shifts to Europe with Michael Nausner's chapter entitled "Re-imagining Boundaries in Europe." Starting with his migratory background, the author reflects on the biblical and theological significance of migration, and ends with a migratory interpretation of theological eschatology, in which the migrants' utopias serve to re-imagine the boundaries of Christian identity in Europe.

From there, the volume migrates to the Americas, outlining past, present, and possible future Christian responses in Canada, Latin America, and the United States. The chapter "Migration, Pastoral Action, and Latin America," by Ana María Bidegain and Gabriel Bidegain Greising, deals with the impact on migration in Latin America as it faces problems of labor resulting from processes of modernization, and with the dynamic responses of the church to migration since the turn of the twentieth century, as propounded by the Conference of Latin American Bishops (CELAM) at its meetings from Medellín in 1968 up to Aparecida in 2007. The next chapter by Thomas E. Reynolds, "Migration and Theology in a Canadian Context," unpacks some of the social realities of migration in Canada, including its peculiar histories—past and more recent—as episodes in a colonial project, as these bear upon Christian churches and their call for a theological response.

The following four chapters investigate the legal status, race and ethnicity, and identity of migrants in the United States, and address their past and present migrations and ensuing conditions. "Faces of Migration," by Susanna Snyder, highlights the key ways in which migration is bringing about changes in the US-Christian religious landscape, identity, practice, and theology, including advocacy, which has resulted in the search for a new "we" comprising new and established migrants and native-born Christians. "Religion, Environmental Racism, and Migrations of Black Body and Soul," by James Samuel Logan, portrays migration by zeroing in on the Black body and soul. Logan's recounts the forced migrations of Africans across the Atlantic Ocean, their hanging from trees and mutilations condoned by White supremacy, Black resistance against the forces of slavery and Jim Crow, and the eclectic mix of Black religions that gave rise to Black struggle and freedom. Allan Figueroa Deck in his "Latino Migrations and the Transformation of Religion in the United States" provides a historical analysis of the migration experiences of Latin Americans into the United States, and on that basis grounds his discussion of the present dynamics of migration in the United States. In showing the unique blend between religions and their evolution in the Americas, the chapter also poses some future trends that can lead to strong movements away from organized Christianity. "Transnational Religious Networks," by Moses O. Biney, offers a view on migration as transnationalism through ethnographic research conducted among African Immigrant churches in the New York metro area. Using the

data as lens through which to outline the modes of transnational religious networks, and the social, psychological, and religious benefits they derive from them, the chapter argues that support from native soils is needed to counteract experiences of marginalization and of downward social mobility Africans often suffer.

The last chapter, "The End of Christianity," by Elaine Padilla brings to a conclusion the volume's emphasis on territories. It unfolds diverse views on time and space, and using the trope of *spacing* (the reshaping of space), it underscores how the organic components of geographical borders can affect territories with both scarcity and abundance. The chapter ends with the eschatological call for Christians to respond to migration with methods of theological reflection imbued with emotions, to envision realities capable of healing wounds caused by splitting or delimiting practices, and to cocreate new worlds by softening borders across boundaries.

At the close of our trilogy on theology and migration in World Christianity we are deeply aware that the many pages that have been written are barely adequate to the theme and call for further theological reflection. Violence and war, poverty and scarcity of natural resources, human trafficking, religious persecutions, climate change and natural disasters, anti-immigrant policies, and other factors that cause migration, and about which that these volumes have spoken, seem to be growing worse today. However, there is ground for hope. Responses by religious people and institutions are multiplying to alleviate the plight of migrants everywhere. As we conclude the trilogy, and especially this last volume, we hope that the work will bring forth further reflections and activities to welcome migrants among us. Perhaps like the remains of *homo sapiens idaltu*, ours will tell of our efforts to love the strangers among us, near and far.

Notes

1. Thomas A. Tweed, *Crossing and Dwelling: A Theory of Religion* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), 98.
2. Paul Salopek, "Fuera del Edén," *National Geographic* 33, no. 6 (December 2013): 38; translation by Elaine Padilla.
3. See Paul Tillich, "Mind and Migration," *Social Research* 4, no. 1 (January 1937): 295–305.
4. Miguel de la Torre, *Trails of Hope: Testimonies on Immigration* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2009), 16.
5. See P. C. Emmer, *Colonialism and Migration: Indentured Labour before and after Slavery* (Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1986); and Kamala Kempadoo and Jo Doezema, eds., *Global Sex Workers: Rights, Resistance, and Redefinition* (New York: Routledge, 1998).
6. For a detailed discussion on irregular migrations, see Barbara Bugusz et al., eds., *Irregular Migration and Human Rights: Theoretical, European and International Perspectives* (Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2004).
7. See the call for deromanticizing migration by Nancy Elizabeth Bedford in "Between Babylon and Anatoth: Toward a Theology of Hope in Migration,"

in *Compassionate Eschatology: The Future as Friend*, ed. Ted Grimsrud and Michael Hardin, 42–55 (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2011).

8. See the chapter "Finding Ruth a Home," in Kwok Pui-lan, *Postcolonial Imagination & Feminist Theology* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2005), 102.
9. United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, "World Migration in Figures: A Joint Contribution by UN-DESA and the OECD to the United Nations High-Level Dialogue on Migration and Development," October 3–4, 2013, http://www.oecd.org/els/mig/World-Migration-in-Figures.pdf.
10. The UNHCR: The UN Refugee Agency, "Refugee Figures," http://www.unhcr.org/pages/49c3646c1d.html.
11. Salopek, "Fuera del Edén," 39.
12. Amal Datta, *Human Migration: A Social Phenomenon* (New Delhi: Naurang Rai of Mittal Publications, 2003), esp. 21–25.
13. Tweed, *Crossing and Dwelling*,1 10.
14. Datta, *Human Migration*,2 0.
15. Ibid., 20–21.
16. Ibid., 19–20.
17. See Tweed, *Crossing and Dwelling*, 80–122.

Chapter 1

Christianity as an Institutional Migrant: Historical, Theological, and Ethical Perspectives

Peter C. Phan

Already as early as the apostolic age, a couple of decades after the death of Jesus of Nazareth, the Jesus Movement—then still largely a sect *within* Judaism—felt the need to express its basic beliefs, which eventually marked its distinction and, much later, in the fourth century, separation from other Jewish competing groups, and its emergence as a legal "religion" within the Roman Empire.[1] The thrust of these early professions of faith is Christological, expressed in pithy formulas such as "Jesus is the Christ" (Acts 2:36; 10:36; Col. 2:6), "Jesus is the Lord" (1 Cor. 12:3; Rom. 10:9; Phil. 2:11), or "Jesus is the Son of God" (Rom. 1:4; Acts 9:20; 13:33; Heb. 4:14). Later this Christological profession of faith is expanded into a Trinitarian structure, the clearest examples of which are: Matthew 28:19–20 ("baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit") and 2 Corinthians 13:13 ("The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Spirit be with all of you").

At the Byzantine synod of Constantinople I, convoked by the emperors Theodosius I and Gratian in 380 and assembled the following year, a slightly revised version of the creed or symbol of Epiphanius of Salamis was adopted. This symbol considerably expands the terse statement of Nicaea I, Christianity's first ecumenical council, on the Holy Spirit ("And in the Holy Spirit") and is appropriately called the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed. In addition, the creed also includes in its third article on the Holy Spirit a statement on the church as an object of faith. This latter addition is of great importance for the subsequent theology of the church. Officially, for the first time, Christianity is here presented as *church* (*ecclēsia*), and no longer as a Jewish sect (*synagoga*). The church as the object of faith is professed to have four characteristics, which later ecclesiology calls the "marks of the true church": unity, holiness, catholicity, and apostolicity (*eis mian hagian katholikēn kai apostolikēn ekklēsian*).[2] The exact meaning of these four

terms as a description of the church and their significance for ecumenical dialogue on the nature of the true church of Christ have long been debated among the various churches, especially since the Protestant Reformation. In this debate, by and large, the four "notes" have been taken in a dogmatic sense, that is, they are viewed less as empirical criteria for the true church—it is difficult if not impossible for any church to produce universally acceptable data in proof of its full possession of the four marks—than as theologically essential constituents of the/any church of Christ.

In contrast, there is another—much less studied—feature of Christianity that is both empirically verifiable and theologically significant, namely, its character as a *community of migrants.* Migration is, as will be shown later, not only a permanent reality of the church, from the very beginning of its existence down through the ages and especially today, but also the means to secure its continued existence and growth by worldwide expansion. In this way migration has played a pivotal role in Christianity's becoming a truly global ("catholic") religion. Furthermore, migration also saturates the church with an *eschatological* orientation, transforming it from a social organization into a religious community of faith constantly on the march toward its final fulfillment in the reign of God. Without migration, Christianity would not become what it should be. Consequently, taking into account the centrality of migration in the formation of the church and its nature, I propose to enlarge the formulation of the third part of the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed to read: "We believe in one, holy, catholic, apostolic, and migrant church."[3]

In what follows, first, an overview of the two-millennium history of the church is given to show how it has been marked by constant migrations of various types and that it was through this human mobility that Christianity was able to survive and expand and in the process become "World Christianity." The second part sketches an ecclesiology in which it is argued that migration is a major catalyst for the realization of Christianity's eschatological dimension. Thus, migration is not simply an accident of history in the development of Christianity (church as migrant de facto) but constitutes its very nature as an eschatological community (church as migrant de jure). The last part outlines a Christian ethics appropriate to Christianity as an institutional migrant.[4]

Christianity, a Migration Movement in World History

As a social institution, the church is unavoidably influenced by events, factors, movements, and trends in the secular society, and this is especially true in matters concerning migration, which has an enormous impact on all aspects of life in the countries as well as the churches of both origin and destination. Except for explicitly religious purposes such as missionizing, Christians voluntarily migrate, or are forced to do so, for the same reasons, undergo the same migration dynamics, and are governed by the same migration policies as other migrants, religious or otherwise. Consequently, to understand Christian migration, it is necessary to place it within the larger context of global migration in general.

Among the many factors causing migration, war and trade are the most prevalent in ancient times. While empires and civilizations were kept separated from one another by natural barriers such as mountains, deserts, and seas, they were constantly brought together by two frequent human enterprises, namely, war and trade. Emperors and kings often forced or paid different peoples to fight wars against other countries and undertook colonization to expand their power and territories. At times they uprooted the entire conquered population and deported them to distant lands to prevent insurgency. Soldiers returning from foreign campaigns and prisoners of war taken as slaves brought new cultures and languages back to the victors' homes. In these and other ways, elements of various cultures—Egyptian, Ethiopian, Greek, Jewish, Latin, Persian, Indian, Chinese—were mixed together and were found everywhere in the ancient world.

More frequent and widespread than the migration of armies and peoples through warfare was the daily migration of merchants through trade, which established long-lasting interregional, transnational, and transcontinental exchanges of goods, cultures, and peoples. The most important trade route of the ancient world was the Silk Road, which stretched westward from the Great Wall of China through Central Asia and India to the Mediterranean coast. At the other end of the Silk Road in Syria and Arabia, caravans regularly crossed the deserts and carried goods among the cities and to the seacoasts. In addition, ships plied the Mediterranean Sea, the Red Sea, the Arabian Sea, the Indian Ocean, and parts of the Pacific Ocean to bring goods from China and India to markets in Alexandria, Antioch, Carthage, and Rome and the other way round.

Through these migrations the four major civilizations in antiquity, namely, Greco-Roman, Persian, Indian, and Chinese, in which cities played a central role, came into contact with and cross-fertilized one another. In addition, there were a large number of nomadic tribes scattered from Siberia across Central Asia into modern Russia and northwestern Europe. They were grouped into several families of distinct cultural and ethnic identity: Celtic, Germanic, Slavic, Turkish, and Mongolian. Migration was their way of life, and by the first century AD, they reached the Mediterranean world and changed its urban civilization. South of the Mediterranean, on the African continent, there were also numerous migratory tribes and peoples who, also through warfare and trade, moved along the Nile River and by the first century came into contact with the urban civilizations in the north. Further south, also in about the first century, several major waves of migration took place among the Bantu-speaking peoples along the Congo River.

Finally, from Asia, and possibly from northern Europe and even Africa, tribal peoples crossed the seas to the Americas, north and south, many millennia earlier. At about the same time, there were a series of migrations by sea from Southeast Asia to present-day Oceania. Some fifty thousand years ago, another wave of migrants came to Australia, Tasmania, and New Guinea. Some ten thousand years ago, agriculturalist peoples migrated to Melanesia and Micronesia, and later to Polynesia.

With regard to migration as an organized mass movement, practically all contemporary studies on migration date this phenomenon to the beginning of the modern era, though it is recognized that from the very origins of our human species, extensive migratory movements did occur as large groups of our ancestors left Africa to populate the rest of the world, and continued to take place regularly in the subsequent millennia.[5] *The Cambridge Survey of World Migration*, an authoritative and comprehensive study of the subject, despite acknowledging that there was a variety of forms of migration in the premodern era, deems it "sensible to begin a survey of world migration in the 'modern' period." This historical periodization is predicated upon Immanuel Wallenstein's claim that modernity was "marked by the flourishing of long-distance trade and the opening up of global lines of communication."[6] It is argued that the European world mercantilism that emerged in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, in distinction from the previous empire-building world economies of China, Persia, and Rome, brought about the hitherto largest process of forced migration—the shipment of tens of millions of slaves from Africa to the New World of both North and South Americas.

After considering this forced African emigration, the historical account of world migration would move on to chronicle the successive waves of population movements: (1) the voluntary, often state-sponsored, settlement of Europeans in their colonies (e.g., Britain, the Netherlands, Spain, France, Portugal, Germany, and Italy); (2) the massive emigration from Europe to the United States, Canada, and South America in 1850–1933; (3) the indentured labor migration, especially from China, India, and Japan, to the United States and the victorious Allied States after World War II; and finally, (4) the current post–Cold War global movements of displaced peoples and refugees on a scale not seen since the end of World War II.[7] One common conclusion of surveys of world migration is that chattel slavery and indentured labor, which fueled migration, are intrinsic parts of the evolution of capitalism on the global scale.[8]

Whatever the scholarly merits for dating the beginning of world migration to the modern period, it offers a comprehensive and helpful description of migration, emigration, immigration, and the migrant, and thus provides a useful template to understand Christian migrations. On the basis of population movements since the rise of modernity, it is common to classify forms of migration as follows:

- internal versus intercontinental/international migration;
- forced versus free migration;
- settler versus labor migration;
- temporary versus permanent migration;
- illegal/undocumented versus legal migration; and
- planned versus flight/refugee migration.[9]

Of course, these six binaries are not mutually exclusive dichotomies. On the contrary, often each side of these dyads merges with its opposite. They are, as Robin Cohen suggests, rather "more akin to Weber's 'ideal types,'

which can be briefly defined as archetypes for analytical, evaluative and comparative purposes."[10]

Even though migration is rooted in the human instinct to wonder and wander in search of better opportunities and new horizons, it has often been triggered throughout the centuries by, as alluded to earlier, war and trade. Other factors include population increase, natural disasters, poverty and famine, civil disturbances, political oppression, religious persecution, and human trafficking. Of course, these phenomena were powerful catalysts for Christian migrations as well, which were no rare and isolated events but part of a frequent and established pattern of humanity's attempts to survive and expand across seas and continents A brief survey of Christian history will show that it has periodically been punctuated by massive migrations and that in this way Christianity has spread throughout the globe and has eventually become "World Christianity."[11] We now turn to the major migrations of Christians that have left an indelible mark on the formation of Christianity.

1. The first Christian migration, one that radically transformed Christianity from a Jewish sect into a worldwide migrant institution, occurred with the Jewish Diaspora.[12] By the fourth century BC, there were already more Jews living outside than inside the land of Israel.[13] The Book of Acts testifies to the prominence of Jewish communities with their synagogues in most of the cities of the eastern Mediterranean. The destruction of the Second Temple in AD 70 and the subsequent massive migrations of Jews out of Israel introduced radical changes to Judaism worldwide. Religious leadership shifted decisively from the priesthood to the rabbinate; piety no longer focused on temple sacrifices but on the study and observance of the Torah; synagogues assumed greater importance as centers of worship rather than the Temple; and the land of Israel became known by its Roman name of Palestine.

The Jewish Diaspora also played an important role in the spread of Christianity in the first centuries of the Christian era. It is repeatedly reported in Acts that Paul, whenever he went, preached first to the Jews, most often in their synagogues, and that even though his mission to the Jews was a failure as a whole, the first important converts and leaders of the early church (e,g., Titus, Timothy, Apollo, Priscilla and Aquila, Barnabas, and many other men and women) came from Diaspora Judaism. Prior to the crushing of the revolt of the Judaeans by the Roman general Titus, Jewish Christians, more precisely, Greek-speaking Jewish Christians (the "Hellenists"), had already migrated from Jerusalem after Stephen's martyrdom (*ca.* 35) and the killing of James, the brother of John, by Herod Agrippa I in 44. As the result of this migration, Christian mission, as Acts (11:19) reports, was extended not only to Jews in the Diaspora but also to Gentiles throughout Judea and Samaria and even as far as Phoenicia, Cyprus, and Antioch.

2. Following on the heels of this first migration was another, much more extensive, exodus of the Christian community out of Jerusalem and Palestine. Eight years after James, "the brother of the Lord" and the leader of the Jerusalem church, had been executed by order of the Sanhedrin (*ca.*

62) came the destruction of the Temple in AD 70 by the Roman general Titus. This momentous event and the subsequent suppression of the Jewish revolts of 115–17 and 132–35 caused mass migrations not only of Jews but also of Christians. The Christians' departure from Palestine coincided with the evangelizing activities of the church, symbolized theologically by the legend that the twelve apostles were assigned different parts of the world and that before leaving, each composed one of the twelve articles of the Apostles' Creed. However, what actually occurred seems to be that the Christian community, numbering by that time in the thousands, emigrated en masse from Jerusalem and from Palestine as a whole, either by force or voluntarily, into different parts of the world.[14]

Five areas were the destinations of this second Christian migration, where eventually they built a great number of vibrant and mission-minded communities. The first is Mesopotamia and the Roman province of Syria, with its three major cities, namely, Antioch, Damascus, and Edessa. Antioch, the third largest city in the Mediterranean world, might be called the cradle of Christianity as a religious movement since it was there that the followers of Jesus were first called "Christians" (Acts 11:26). It was in Syria too that some of the early documents of Christianity were composed or translated into Syriac such as the Gospel of Matthew, the *Didache*, the *Didascalia Apostolorum*, the *Diatesseron*, and several apocryphal writings such as the *Gospel of Thomas*, the *Acts of Thomas*, and the *Odes of Solomon*. Syriac became the language of choice for Christians in eastern Syria, Mesopotamia, Persia, India, Mongolia, and China. In the three tiny protectorate kingdoms under the Parthian Dynasty of the Persian Empire—Osrohoene (with Edessa as capital), Adiabene (with Arbela as capital), and Armenia—Christians established vibrant communities with the help of not only evangelists but also Jewish and Christian merchants, migrants, and slaves, so much so that around 301, Armenia officially declared itself Christian, the first nation to do so (perhaps Osrohoene had done so earlier). As for church leaders and theologians, Syrian Christianity produced such luminaries as Addai/Thaddeus, considered the founder of the Syrian Church, Ignatius of Antioch, Justin of Syria, Bardaisan of Edessa, Tatian the Syrian, and Gregory the Illuminator, the alleged founder of the Armenian Church. (More details on these churches will be given in point no. 4.)

The second area is Greece and Asia Minor. From the New Testament, especially from Paul's letters and Acts, names of cities such as Thessalonica, Corinth, Ephesus, Smyrna, Philadelphia, and many others, where there were Christian churches, are well known. 1 Peter (1:1) is addressed to "the exiles of the Dispersion in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia." Even if the "exiles" of the Diaspora here are to be understood figuratively and spiritually, still there is no doubt that the migration of Christians from Jerusalem to these cities of Greece and Asia Minor contributed significantly to the establishment of strong Christian churches there by the beginning of the second century. Among church leaders we find Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna; Irenaeus, bishop of Lyons; and Papias, bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia.

Most significantly, Christians in Asia Minor suffered persecution for their faith. From the letter of Pliny the Younger, the governor of Bithynia, to the emperor Trajan, we learn that Christians were required to invoke the Roman gods, to offer wine and incense to a statue of Trajan and images of Roman gods, and to curse Christ. Doubtless, many Christians were forced to flee and migrate for safety, and those who were arrested were killed, among them Polycarp being the most famous.

The third destination is the western Mediterranean, including Italy, France, Spain, and North Africa. We do not know when and how the Christian movement arrived in the western end of the Mediterranean region, but there is little doubt that Christian migrants and merchants had a strong hand in establishing the churches there, certainly long before the arrival of Paul or any other apostle. The extent to which Peter had a role in the founding of the Roman church is not known, but according to tradition, he, together with Paul, was martyred there. However, from the fact that the first Roman Christians spoke *koine* Greek rather than Latin, it is clear that they were foreigners, hence, migrants, or members of a lower class. We know for certain that by the mid-50s, when Paul wrote his letter to the Roman Christians, there had been already groups of Christians among the large Jewish community estimated at fifty thousand. Furthermore, we also know that many of these Christians were migrants from Asia Minor from the fact that they celebrated Easter on the fourteenth of Nisan, even if it fell on a weekday, whereas others celebrated on the Sunday following the fourteenth of Nisan, a difference that would involve Pope Victor in an unfortunate dispute with the churches of Asia Minor in 189. We also know that the imperial capital attracted renowned Christian teachers from the East, such as Justin from Syria, Marcion from Pontus, and Valentinus from Alexandria. Lyons in southern Gaul also enticed Christian migrants, the most famous among whom was Irenaeus from Smyrna, later bishop of the city. In Roman North Africa, Carthage, a heavily multicultural city where one could hear indigenous African, Punic, Latin, and *koine* Greek languages spoken in the streets, was a powerful magnet for Christian migrants. Persecutions also were responsible for Christian migration: in Rome in 64 under Nero, in 95 under Domitian, in 250 under Decius, in 257 under Valerian, and in 284–305 under Diocletian; in Lyons in 177, when some fifty Christians lost their lives; in Carthage in 180, when a number of Christians, among them Perpetua and Felicitas, were killed. Christianity in the western Mediterranean also produced major church leaders and theologians: Clement of Rome; Hippolytus, also of Rome and the author of the *Apostolic Tradition*; Irenaeus of Lyons; Tertullian and Cyprian, both of Carthage; and of course, Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome, and many others in later centuries, when the church enjoyed peace and prosperity.

The fourth destination of early Christian migration is Egypt, in particular Alexandria. As with the western Mediterranean, when and how Christians went to Alexandria is not known. But as the preeminent intellectual center and the most cosmopolitan city of the ancient world, and with a large Jewish contingent with their own political leadership and special rights granted by

the emperor, Alexandria was the destination of choice for Jewish Christian migrants. Already Acts (2:10) mentions Egypt as the country of origin of some among the crowd present on the day of Pentecost, and Apollos is identified as an Alexandrian Jew who had become a follower of the Way (Acts 18:24–25). At any rate, by the middle of the second century, Christians, who most probably had migrated from Jerusalem, succeeded in establishing the most famous theological school in antiquity, with a distinct method of biblical interpretation and with a star-studded faculty including Pantaenus, Clement, and Origen. By the same token, Alexandria also hosted the most powerful heresy, that is, Gnosticism, with famous teachers such as Basilides and Valentinus.

The fifth destination of early Christian migration is East Asia, and more precisely, India. Unfortunately, it remains shrouded in mystery, since there is no incontrovertible historical evidence of the presence of a Christian community in India until the fourth century when one bishop by the name of John attending the council of Nicea (325) signed the document on behalf of all the churches of Persia and of India. However, according to the oral tradition, the apostle Thomas (or Bartholomew) was the first missionary to go to India. According to the apocryphal *Acts of Thomas*, the apostle Thomas accepted the invitation of an Indian king named Gundaphor to build a palace in northern India. Instead of building the palace, however, Thomas gave money to the poor and converted Indians by his preaching and miracles. The angry king condemned him to death, and tradition locates the site of his burial at a shrine in the southeastern city of Mylapore. However, according to a number of oral traditions and folk songs of the Indian churches, Thomas is said to have landed in 52 in south India, along the Malabar Coast, and not in the north. His preaching and conversions angered the Brahmins, and when he refused to worship the goddess Kali, he was put to death. Whatever the historical validity of these diverse traditions about Thomas's mission to India, it is certain that Christian migration to India did take place rather early. These Christians were merchants, as trade between the Middle East and India was frequent and active, refugees from the Persian persecutions, and of course missionaries. These Indian Christians used Syriac in their liturgy and rice cakes and palm wine in their Eucharist. They adapted well to their surroundings so that eventually they became a separate caste, a sign that they were granted social and political standing by the Indian rulers.

3. The third major movement in early Christianity was the migration of the Germanic tribes (*gentes*), which not only threatened the security of the Roman Empire but also posed severe challenges to the rapidly growing church. From Tacitus's *Germania* and *Agricola* and Caesar's *Commentaries* we learn that various groups of tribes inhabited northern Germany, southern Sweden, Denmark, and the shores of the Baltic, and were greatly feared for their barbarity and bellicosity. The chief Germanic tribes include the Vandals, the Goths, the Alemani, the Angles, the Saxons, the Burgundians, and the Lombards. By the first century, these tribes came into contact with the Romans, and in succeeding centuries, they became an increasing menace

to the Roman Empire, both east and west. From the third through the sixth century, the most important migrations in European history took place as these tribes spread out in great migrations southward, southeastward, and westward.

Early in the fifth century, in the West, the Vandals began a migration that eventually took them farther south than any other Germanic tribe. In 406, they invaded Gaul and in 409, they crossed the Pyrenees into Spain. While in Spain, they fought against the Romans and the Visigoths (West Goths), another Germanic tribe. In 429, under the leadership of Gaiseric, the Vandals crossed over into Africa, and by 435, controlled most of the Roman province of North Africa, including Carthage. Even though they were Arian Christians, the Vandals did not spare Christianity in North Africa and destroyed many churches, Donatist and Catholic alike. In 442, the emperor Valentinian III (419–55) recognized Gaiserich (d. 477) as an independent ruler, and the Vandal migration ceased.

In the third century AD, another important Germanic tribe, namely, the Goths, who had settled in the region west of the Black Sea, split into two groups, the Ostrogoths (East Goths) and Visigoths (West Goths), the former settling in the Ukraine, the latter further west of them.[15] By the fourth century, the Visigoths were at the borders of the East Roman Empire. At the end of Constantine I's reign (d. 337), they had settled in Dacia as agriculturalists or served in the Roman army, and many had accepted (Arian) Christianity. About 364, a group of Visigoths ravaged Thrace, and again in 378 did the same. In 395, the Visigoth troops in Roman service elected Alaric as their king, and under his leadership, they attacked Italy and ransacked in Rome in 410. Under Alaric's successor, Ataulf, they went into southern Gaul and northern Spain, and under Euric (466–84) completed the conquest of Spain. Toledo became the new capital of the Visigoths, and their history henceforth became essentially that of Spain. In *ca.* 587–89, Reccared (d. 601), one of the Visigoth kings, converted to Catholic Christianity from Arianism, thus facilitating the fusion of the Visigothic and the Hispano-Roman populations.

The Ostrogoths, on the other hand, were made subject to the Huns until Attila's death (453) when they migrated to Pannonia (roughly modern Hungary) as allies of the Byzantine Empire. In 471, they chose Theodoric as king, who was commissioned by the Byzantine emperor Zeno to take Italy away from Odoacer. In 488, the Ostrogoths entered Italy, defeated Odoacer, and established the Ostrogothic kingdom with the capital at Ravenna. In 535, Byzantine destroyed the Ostrogothic kingdom, and subsequently the Ostrogoths disappeared as a national identity.

Another migration that also had a significant impact on early Christianity is that of the Angles, the Saxons, and the Jutes. The Angles, who seem to have come from what is now Schleswig, migrated to England in the fifth century, and founded the kingdoms of East Anglia, Mercia, and Northumbria. Their continental neighbors, the Saxons, also came to England in the late fifth century and laid the foundations for the later kingdoms of Sussex, Wessex, and Essex.

By the middle of the fifth century, there was a flood of immigrants pouring into the western Roman lands. The Vandals who crossed into North Africa were said to number more than one hundred and fifty thousand, while the number of "barbarian" settlers in Gaul was said to reach one hundred thousand. While it is true, as Peter Brown has shown, that "it is profoundly misleading to speak of the history of Western Europe in the fifth century as 'the Age of the Barbarian Invasions,'"[16] still there is no doubt that the migrations of these tribes posed great challenges as well as enormous opportunities for the early church.

4. Another migration, which had an enormous and permanent impact on the shape of Christianity, was occasioned by Constantine's transfer of the capital of the Roman Empire from Rome to Byzantium and the subsequent establishment of the imperial court at Constantinople (the "New Rome"). As a result, there were not only momentous geopolitical changes but also a shift of the Christian center of gravity. Gradually there emerged a new and different type of Christianity, commonly known as "Orthodox Christianity," both within the "Byzantine Commonwealth," which was part of the Holy Roman Empire, and outside the Byzantine/Roman sphere of influence, each church developing its own liturgy, theology, monasticism, spirituality, and organization. The latter churches include the Coptic Church, the Jacobite Church, the Church of the East (the Nestorian or Assyrian Church), the Ethiopian Church, and the Armenian Church. Due largely to migrations and missions, Christians of these churches were scattered in far-flung geographical areas comprising Adiabene, Armenia, Georgia, Egypt, Nubia, Ethiopia, South Arabia, Central Asia, India, and China.[17] Out of these churches there emerged a "Syriac Christianity" comprising the Syrian Orthodox Church (the Jacobite Church), the Church of the East (the Nestorian or Assyrian Church), and the Maronite Church of Lebanon. Again, thanks to migration, these churches are no longer confined to the Middle East but have sizeable diaspora communities in Western Europe, the Caucasian states, North and South America, and Australasia.[18] However, of those Orthodox non-Byzantine churches that were located primarily in the Middle East after the Islamic conquests in the eighth and ninth centuries, most managed to survive under the *dhimma* law, and in the process have developed into a new form of Christianity, namely, Arab/Islamicized Christianity, with its own theological literature in Arabic, forms of monastic life, and spirituality.[19]

While the early expansion of the Oriental Orthodox (non-Chalcedonian) churches is geographically wider and ethnically more varied than that of the Byzantine Orthodox Church, the latter's overall influence within the "Byzantine Commonwealth" under the jurisdiction of the ecumenical patriarchate of Constantinople is by far greater, deeper, and more extensive.[20] This comes as no surprise as the Byzantine Orthodox Church enjoyed imperial patronage and as a result, experienced unprecedented expansion, especially toward Greece, the Balkan countries (especially Serbia, Romania, and Bulgaria), and Russia. Separated from Latin Christianity, especially after 1054, the Great Church developed its own distinctive ways of being

Christian, monasticism (Mount Athos, "the workshop of virtue"), theology (hesychasm and Gregory of Palamas), liturgy (Liturgy of Saint Chrysostom), art (iconography), and architecture (the Hagia Sophia).

However, after the Islamic victory over the Byzantine Empire in the eighth century, like its non-Byzantine sister churches, the Byzantine Church suffered grievously under the Ottoman Muslim rule. The fateful year of 1453, when Constantinople, "God-protected city," was sacked by Mehmed II's Turkish army, spelled the end of the glorious history of the Great Church and the beginning of its long and still-ongoing "captivity." Christianity in Constantinople/Istanbul is but an empty shadow of its former self, drastically reduced in number and influence. With the irreversible decline of "Second Rome," the Muscovite patriarchate arrogated the title of "Third Rome," whereas the churches in the Balkan gradually claimed independence from Constantinople, gained autocephaly, and established their own national patriarchates.

Once again, migration, both forced and voluntary, played a huge and determinative role in shaping the future of the Orthodox Church. The recent history of two Orthodox Churches illustrates the huge impact of migration on their formation. Claiming the apostles Bartholomew and Thaddeus as its founders, the Armenian Church has undergone extensive migrations and, as a result, in addition to the Catholicosate of Holy Mother See at Ejimiacin in the Republic of Armenia, the church has in the diaspora the Catholicosate of the Great House of Cilicia in Antelias, Lebanon, and two patriarchates (Constantinople and Jerusalem). Domination of Armenia by the Ottoman and Russian Empires caused waves of migration and deportation, culminating in the genocide of 1915–23, in which 1.5 million Armenians were killed by the Ottoman Turks. The genocide, as well as World War II, caused a global diaspora of the Armenian Church, and today Armenian Christians are found not only in the Middle East but also in Europe, the United States, Canada, South America, and Australia.[21]

Another Orthodox Church that has been deeply affected by migration is the Russian Church, and perhaps no church has been more beset with problems as the Russian Orthodox Church in the diaspora. The Russian revolution of 1917 not only ended the Russian Empire but also fragmented the Russian church in the aftermath of the establishment of national Orthodox churches in Poland, Latvia, Estonia, and Finland. More important, with more than a million Russians dispersed in different parts of the world, and with the issue of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Russian Orthodox communities outside the Soviet Union, extremely complex issues regarding whether these communities with their episcopal leaders, especially in Europe and the United States, should owe obedience to the patriarchate of Moscow or to the ecumenical patriarchate of Constantinople, admitted no simple solutions, not only because of conflicting canonical ordinances but also, and perhaps especially, because of the antireligious policies of the Communist regime of the Soviet Union. However this diaspora is evaluated from the ecclesiastical point of view, there is no doubt that it has opened up immense possibilities

for the Russian Orthodox Church as its members came into contact with the West and the Western churches, both Catholic and Protestant, benefitting from and contributing to a much richer Christianity and Western culture.[22]

5. Another mass migration, which radically altered the map of Christendom, coincided with the so-called discovery of the New World during the "Age of Discovery" under the royal patronage of Spain and Portugal. From the end of the fifteenth century the two Iberian countries competed with each other in discovering and occupying new lands outside Europe from which various goods would be brought back home. Thanks to these maritime expeditions, South America was brought under the dominion of Spain (except Brazil, which came under Portugal) and Asia under that of Portugal (except the Philippines, which belonged to the Spanish crown). Though the Iberian conquests were motivated primarily by commercial interests and colonization, they were deeply intertwined with Christian missions. By means of what is known as "royal patronage" (Portuguese: *padroado real*; Spanish: *patronado real*), various popes, especially Alexander VI (pope, 1492–1503), granted the Iberian countries, first Portugal, then Spain, the right to possess the lands they discovered—lands lying a hundred leagues (later changed to 370 leagues) west of the Cape Verde Islands would belong to Spain, and lands lying east of that demarcation line would belong to Portugal. In return, the two countries would financially support church missionary activities. Once again, it was migration—the movement of massive numbers of religious missionaries and secular Europeans to Latin America and Asia—that built up a new form of Christianity that, though at first heavily marked by European Christian traditions, eventually developed distinctive ways of being Christian that reflect the cultures and religious traditions of its own indigenous peoples.

6. From about 1650 to World War I (1914–18) migration played an increasingly vital role in modernization and industrialization in world economy.[23] As the authors of *The Age of Migration* have noted: "The movement of people was one of the great forces of change in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries."[24] Warfare, conquest, the emergence of empires and nation-states, and Europe's search for new wealth produced enormous migrations, both voluntary and forced. By the nineteenth century other European powers joined the commercial and colonizing projects started by Portugal and Spain: France, Belgium, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, and Holland vied with one another in the "scramble for Africa," with most African countries, except Liberia and Ethiopia, falling under the domination of Europe. Almost all Asian countries, too, were colonized. Between 1800 and 1915 an estimated 50 to 60 million Europeans moved to overseas destinations, and by 1915, an estimated 15 percent of Europeans lived outside Europe. Again, it is the massive migrations of Europeans to Africa and Asia that, together with a large number of missionaries, especially Protestant, expanded Christianity in ways hitherto unimaginable and produced new forms of Christianity that eventually bear little resemblance to the European churches.

Historians of migration have frequently noted how colonial expansion and the attendant international migrations have produced, largely through

chattel slavery and indentured labor, much of the capital that was to unleash the industrial revolution of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Unfortunately little, if any, attention has been given to the role migrants have played in transforming the churches of the countries of destination. Once they have settled down permanently, often with their families reunited with them, they formed ethnic communities, and more often than not, also their own Christian communities. They worshiped according to their own liturgical traditions, in their own languages, under the leadership of their own clergy, and in their own churches. This is especially the case with African Protestant slaves; Italian, Irish, and Polish Catholics; and German Lutherans in the United States. These immigrant Christians and many other groups have not only preserved their distinctive forms of Christianity in their new country but have also made immense contributions to American Christianity, which in fact is essentially a medley of these ethnic Christianities.[25]

7. World War II, more than any other armed conflict, caused worldwide large-scale migrations. Not to mention the huge number of prisoners transported to far-flung prisons and six million Jews deported to concentration camps, the Nazi regime forcibly recruited people of the occupied countries to replace the 11 million German workers conscripted for military service. Since 1945 Europe experienced massive migrations, as the authors of *The Age of Migration* have noted: "The upsurge in migratory movements in the post-1945 period and particularly since the mid-1980s, indicates that large-scale immigration has become an intrinsic part of European societies."[26]

Massive migrations were spawned by events such as decolonization, which was accompanied by the return of former colonists to their countries of origin and the migration of colonial subjects to colonizing countries; economic growth in Western Europe and its labor demand that was met by the use of workers from poorer countries as "guest workers"; the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet Union in the 1990s, which precipitated the movement of people from the Eastern to the Western bloc; the formation of the European Union in 1993; the creation of the borderless Schengen Area in 1995; the expansion of the European Union in 2004 and 2007; the global economic crisis since 2008, and so on.

While the huge economic, political, and cultural impact of these intra-European migrations has been widely noted, their transformation of the shape of Western Christianity has been little studied, and yet it is beyond doubt that Christianity in several countries has been significantly affected by Europe's internal migrations. For instance, between May 2004 and April 2008 one million Poles emigrated, principally to the United Kingdom, Ireland, and Germany, and the presence of these Polish Catholics has rescued the rapidly declining local churches but has also changed the face of Catholic and Protestant Christianity in these host countries. On May 1, 2004, ten new states were admitted to the European Union (known as EU10), all of which have a preponderantly Orthodox Christianity, and again the migration of these Orthodox Christians is bound to exert an extensive impact on the Christian churches of the countries of both origin and destination.

After World War II, there was a slowdown in migration to the United States due to its anti-immigration policies. However, the trend was reversed in 1965 when the ethnic quota system was abolished (the Immigration and Nationality Act), enabling the dramatic influx of Asians who emigrated, mostly due to political instability and armed conflicts in their home countries (the Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, Vietnamese, Cambodians, Pakistanis, and Indians). However, restrictive immigration policies produced irregular migration, especially in the United States, where in the 1970s there were more than ten million undocumented migrants, mostly from Mexico.

In Asia, while European countries were closing their doors to migrants, countries that were economically advanced or oil-rich but with small or declining demography (Brunei, Malaysia, Singapore, Japan, Saudi Arabia, and the Arab Emirates) imported the workforce from poorer Asian countries such as the Philippines, Indonesia, China, India, and Vietnam. The African continent was in full transformation. The wars of anticolonial liberation, the establishment of dictatorial regimes, the exploitation of mineral riches, the apartheid system in South Africa, and regional, interregional, and tribal conflicts produced a steady stream of refugees and migrants. Finally, in the Middle East, the wars in Iraq, Afghanistan, Lebanon, and Syria caused massive migrations. In particular, the Iraq War wrought havoc upon the most ancient centers of Christianity, reducing to rubbles Middle Eastern Christianity.

This historical overview has established beyond doubt, I hope, that migrations of Christians throughout their history—internal and international, free and forced, temporary and permanent, legal and undocumented—have produced what is called "World Christianity." Consequently a theological study of World Christianity must place migration front and center as its hermeneutical lens so that the church may appear not only as a migrant institution de facto but also de jure. The fifth mark of the church, namely, "migrantness"—in addition to unity, holiness, catholicity, and apostolicity—is another way of expressing its eschatological nature.

The Church as Migrant: An Eschatological Ecclesiology

In recent decades, as the Constantinian era of the church, during which it settled down comfortably in the world and was intimately intertwined with secular power, has come to an end, there has been a keen awareness of the fact that the church is a pilgrim on the march toward the *Eschaton*. For instance, in Roman Catholic ecclesiology, the Second Vatican Council's dogmatic constitution on the church *Lumen Gentium* devotes a whole chapter entitled "On the Eschatological Nature of the Pilgrim Church and Its Union with the Church in Heaven" (Chapter VII). In what follows it will be argued that migrations not only have helped establish Christianity as "World Christianity" (the "catholicity" of the church) but also have kept alive the sense of its eschatological nature (the church as "pilgrim").