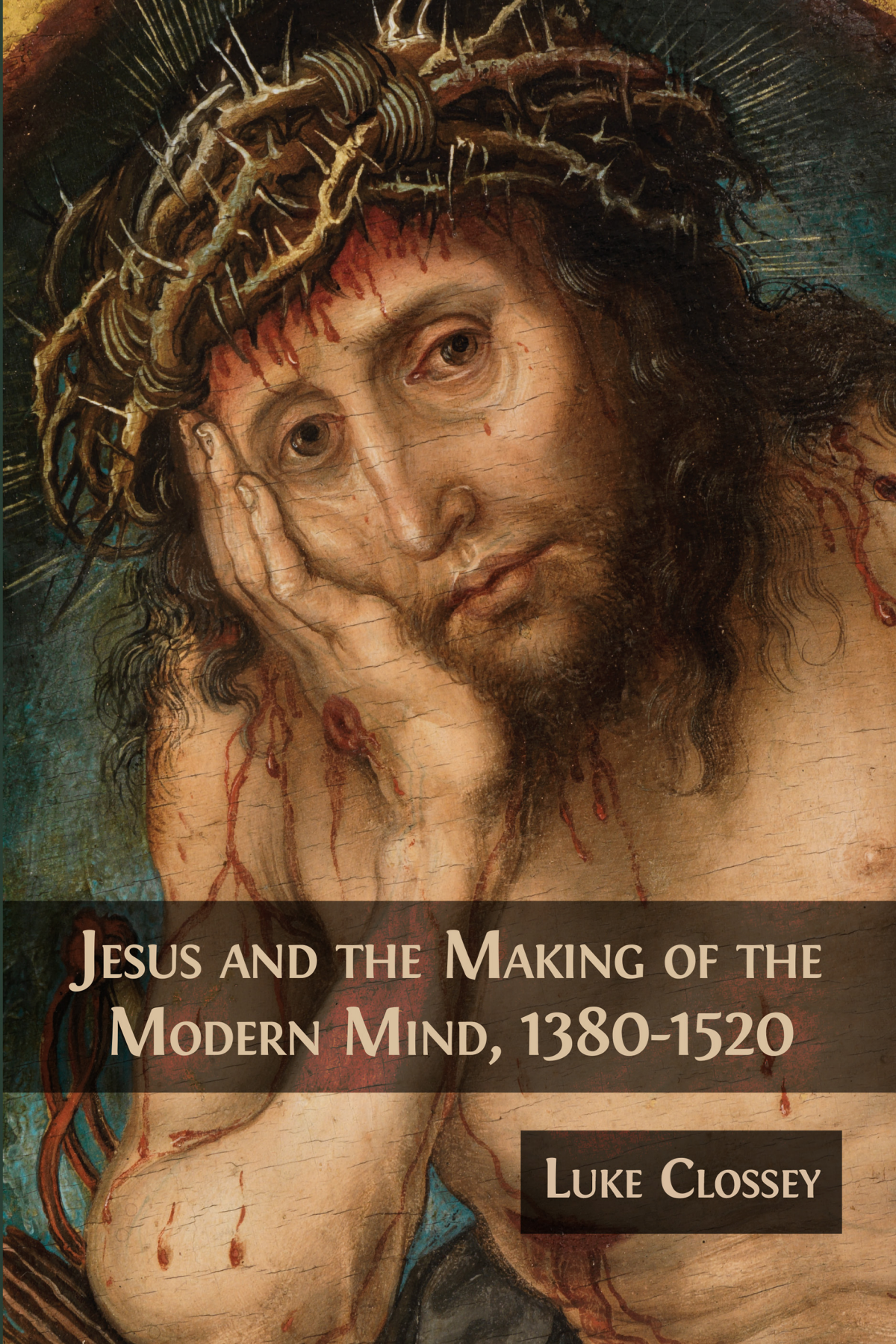

Jesus and the Making of the Modern Mind, 1380-1520

Luke Clossey

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7. Expansion of the Jesus Cult

In the fifteenth century, Christianity had no monopoly on Jesus, nor Europe on Christianity, nor Europe on the world—which was mostly Asian. The Jesus cult had gone global long before the Late Traditional period, the first dramatic era of European exploration and proselytization. Jesus had not been born in Europe, after all, and his enthusiasts had spread his cult widely. In 1400, it blanketed most of Europe, ranged past the Sahara Desert, rose over the Ethiopian highlands, hugged the eastern coast of Africa, covered the Arabian Peninsula and the lands of Jesus's birth, stretched through the Indus Valley and the Upper Ganges Valley perhaps to Bengal, and sprinkled across Central Asia and China. Surveying the cult of Jesus from this global vantage point, we thus see a triangular shape bound by three points and the three edges that connect them: Greenland, around the African Sahel to Sofala, across the Indian Ocean towards Beijing, and beneath the Arctic Sea back to Greenland. Over fourteen hundred years, the Jesus cult girded one third of the circumference of the planet.

As our century begins, the Jesus cult was in motion—slowly pushing south in Africa, averaging a mile a year through the next century, but in most of its extremities was retreating. Beijing's Archbishop Giovanni da Montecorvino (1247–1328) died in 1328, and the new Chinese Ming emperor expelled Christians in 1369. In Greenland, Álfur of Garðar, that see's last resident bishop, died in 1378: although Latin Christendom's three papal lines were appointing successors to him, none of those ever bothered to actually go to Greenland. Even so far away, the cult survived these reverses, but faded, and became forgotten, or half forgotten.

The four Late Traditional centuries have long been seen as a period of Christian expansion, heroic or villainous depending on one's perspective. Islamic expansion then was also substantial, although it paled in comparison with this Christian growth and with its own growth in previous centuries.

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The impressive expansion of both subcults conceals significant regional differences. This table shows the spread of the Jesus cult from 1400 to 1800.[1]

REGIONAL POPULATIONS IN THE JESUS CULT			1400	1800
PLOUGHLANDS	low → low	Sinic Core	2%	10%
	low/med. → med.	between the Cores	10%	45%
		Indic Core	25%	60%
	high → high	Near West Periphery	95%	99%
		Far West Periphery	95%	99%
BEYOND THE PLOUGHLANDS	low → high	Asian Russia	10%	80%
		Latin America	0%	80%
	low → med	North America	0%	45%
		Sub-Saharan Africa	15%	45%

Table 7.1 Jesus Cult Expansion 1400 to 1800.

Essentially, we see three geographical patterns: in the Ploughlands, the Core (1) began with a low level of regional population in the Jesus cult, and increased modestly, more in the Indic than the Sinic lobe. The Ploughlands' periphery (2), the Near and Far West, was and remained the centre of the Jesus cult, and here we see mostly consolidation. In 1400, Islam, for example, had already spread thoroughly through the greater Near West, with beachheads across Asia and Africa. The most dramatic changes occurred beyond the Ploughlands (3), where regions of no or low Jesus exposure transformed rapidly; by 1800, some (Latin America, Siberia) had become heavily focused on Jesus while others (North America, Sub-Saharan Africa) were halfway there.

We can zoom in further, to look at the growth of the Jesus cult in the long fifteenth century taken up in this volume (see Fig. 7.1). This map marks the borders of the Jesus cult at 1400 (in red) and at 1520 (in blue).

1 These, my rough estimates, should be taken cautiously, as here one uncertainty (overall population numbers) compounds another (religious demographics), all undermined by blurriness of what counts as being "in" the Jesus cult. Encouragingly, my guesstimates are compatible with those in the *World Christian Encyclopedia*, ed. David B. Barrett (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1982), 796.

Fig. 7.1 Expansion of the Jesus Cult, Taf Richards, Arcane Atlas Cartography (@Arcane_Atlas), CC BY-NC.

The map reveals four zones of growth: from east to west, they are (1) the Asian Core's southeastern frontier, between the two Core lobes, (2) the Far West's northern frontier, (3) central Africa's western seaboard, and (4) the Americas' eastern seaboard. This chapter looks at the borders and expansion of the Jesus cult. In contrast to chapters focused on the depth and intensiveness of the cult, this one focuses on its breadth and extensiveness, mostly on a societal level.

The most striking leitmotif in this chapter is the importance, for almost all parties, Christian and not, of the cross. I refer to this with the purposefully obnoxious name "CrossTech 3.0." This is the technology of the cross, a technology both useful and valuable. It might be helpful to think of religion as a technology rather than as something more ethereal. A historian of Judaism once told me that the Torah was about as spiritual as California's Vehicle Code. Our modern world discounts religion and worships technology, and so it makes sense to use the language of our values to colour the language we use to refer to the Late

Traditionals' values.[2] Not meant to be precise, "3.0" suggests its evolution over the centuries. Indigenous peoples and Christians alike shared a sense that the Christians had a CrossTech superior to the Indigenous ones, an updated version with enhanced functionalities. The core technology was oriented towards the deep ken in that it did not change with time, and clearly worked through the principle of resonance—between the cross someone carved in the fifteenth century and the cross Jesus died on in the first. The "user interface," in contrast, was oriented towards the plain ken, and looked different in different places and times. Unfortunately, beyond a sense of its military potential, we have relatively few details about crosses' specific powers; people pursued, honoured, and feared CrossTech, but rarely explained their motivations (see Chapter 8).

Jesus, and especially his CrossTech, accompanied the Portuguese Empire, the polity most linked to the cult's expansion. In 1510, Goa fell to the Portuguese, Malacca in 1511, Hormuz in 1515. The Portuguese were in Ayutthaya in 1511, where they supplied firearms to help the Thais defeat the Burmese in 1520. The Order of Christ's cross blessed the sails of the Portuguese ships. On his voyage to South Asia, Vasco da Gama (ca. 1469–1524) had a silk banner with that same cross. Similarly, Pedro Álvares Cabral (1468–1520) displayed a flag bearing the cross of the Order; in 1500, he discovered what we call Brazil—he called it, naturally, "Terra de Santa Cruz" [Land of the Holy Cross].[3] A banner "like" the ones with the Order of Christ crosses was given to Ethiopia's king as a token of friendship in 1520.[4] In Morocco, at Agadir, in 1505, the Portuguese constructed a trading factory and fortress complex called "Santa Cruz do Cabo de Aguer." In 1452, the Portuguese Empire was accumulating enough gold to allow for the printing of gold "cruzado" coins, so named for the cross engraved on them. The cruzados from the period of Kings Manuel I (1469–1521, rl. 1495–1521) and John III (1502–57, rl. 1521–57) encircled their crosses with the slogan "in hoc signo vinces" [by this sign you will conquer], a reference to Constantine, the first Christian emperor. From 1499 to 1504, Portugal also minted silver *índios* to facilitate trade with India, with a cross and the same phrase.[5]

2 Today, a mainstream sees much of law and religion as oppressive and vacuous, in part because of the growth of the size/power/depth of states, which empowered law and marginalized religion. The story of that state growth is happening in this chapter.

3 Matthew H. Voss, "'In this sign you shall conquer': The Cross of the Order of Christ in Sixteenth-Century Portuguese Cartography," *Terrae Incognitae* 39 (2007): 24–36, https://doi.org/10.1179/008228807790802658

4 João de Barros, *Da Asia*, 24 vols. (Lisbon: Na Regina Officina Typografica, 1777–78), I, 11, 234; V, 347, 357–67, 376–78, 382–86, 591.

5 Damião de Góis, *Crónica do Felicíssimo Rei D. Manuel*, ed. J. M. Teixeira de Carvalho and David Lopes, 4 vols. (Coimbra: Imprensa da universidade, 1926), IV, 211. Only two are extant, one in Brazil's Museu Histórico Nacional and the other

This is less a story about negotiation than about how to get the most powerful new technology. There could be negotiation about the terms and conditions of use, but "negotiating religion" would be like my insisting my new laptop computer also be a microwave oven. That works if religion is just constructed meaning, but not if it is technology and you are hungry. The Indigenous peoples lived within a polytropic world. They had all their traditional technologies, and now had an updated CrossTech 3.0 to add to their toolbox.

This book understands the Jesus cult broadly, including any kind of invoking Jesus, regardless of formal "religious" identity. Participation in the Jesus cult, then, occurred along a continuum, from one extreme of no explicit knowledge of Jesus, to occasional and then frequent invocation of Jesus, finally to an exclusive loyalty to Jesus—and related figures such as Yahweh and Mary—a loyalty that increasingly conforms to normative expectations of Islam or Christianity. Even expectations of conformity were themselves on a continuum, from the relatively lax situation in Africa to the relatively strict expectations in the Americas.[6] Joining this Jesus cult, then, need not be emotional or intellectual or even Jesus-centric. Only in later centuries did the emotional connection to Jesus appear as necessary or even desirable, with few exceptions such as Jesus's highly devoted mystical wives (see Chapter 20).

The Asian Core's Southeastern Frontier

Between the two lobes of the Core, the Natuna Sea had long been a well-trafficked and commercially critical node (see Fig. 7.2). This region saw an increased Islamicization in this period, a piecemeal expansion through the islands of what would become Indonesia, today the country with the most Muslims. Islam expanded through Sufi missionaries and through Muslim merchants marrying into local social elites; they came from Arabia, from South Asia, and, most prominently on Sulu, from China. On the mainland's coast, Pegu had Muslims by the fifteenth century, and Arakan and Taungoo soon would.[7]

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recovered from the Esmeralda shipwreck. David L. Mearns, David Parham, and Bruno Frohlich, "A Portuguese East Indiaman from the 1502–1503 Fleet of Vasco da Gama off Al Hallaniyah Island, Oman," *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 45 (2016): 331–51, https://doi.org/10.1111/1095-9270.12175. Cross desecration also marked the contraction of the Christian subcult: Muslims conquering Christian Anatolia removed the horizontal bars from crosses to negate their power. F. W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, ed. Margaret M. Hasluck, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1929), I, 30.

6 See John Thornton, "The Development of an African Catholic Church in the Kingdom of Kongo, 1491–1750," *Journal of African History* 25 (1983): 147–67.

7 André Wink, *Al-Hind: The Making of the Indo-Islamic World*, 3 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 2004), III, 116–17, 212–23.

Fig. 7.2 Expansion in Southeast Asia, Taf Richards, Arcane Atlas Cartography (@Arcane_Atlas), CC BY-NC.

Around 1400, the exiled polytropic prince Parameswara of Palembang (1344–ca. 1414) settled with his retinue at Malacca. After overcoming pirates that preyed on ships forced by geography through the Malacca straits, either he or his son Iskander Shah (d. 1424) (drawing deep-ken power from his claimed descent from Alexander the Great) married the daughter of the Muslim king of Pasai, and in 1414 formally converted to Islam.[8] That controversial conversion, whatever it entailed for the Prince's personal beliefs, triggered court fights between the new Muslims and the local Hindu-Buddhists. Eventually, the Muslims triumphed with a palace coup in the 1440s, which solidified Islam at court. It then spread, but slowly and incompletely, through the population. Visiting Malacca in 1462, Shihab al-Din Ahmad Ibn Majid (ca. 1432–1500) sniffed that "They have no culture at all... You do not know whether they are Muslims or not."[9] Malacca became a major port, with a large Chinese merchant

8 Parameswara and Iskander may in fact be the same person. Donald B. Freeman, *The Straits of Malacca: Gateway or Gauntlet*? (Montreal: McGill-Queen's UP, 2003), 83–86, https://doi.org/10.1515/9780773570870; Jennifer Shutek, "The Diffusion of Islam in the Strait of Malacca Region" (unpublished manuscript, 11 April 2011); Christopher H. Wake, "Malacca's Early Kings and the Reception of Islam," *Journal of Southeast Asian History* 5 (1964): 104–28.

9 Quoted in Luis Filipe Ferreira Reis Thomaz, "The Malay Sultanate of Melaka," in *Southeast Asia in the Early Modern Era: Trade, Power, and Belief*, ed. Anthony Reid (Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP, 1993), 69–90 (79), https://doi.org/10.7591/9781501732171-007

community amidst a dazzlingly diverse population. Even the local parrots, it was said, were polyglots.[10]

The Far West's Northern Frontier

Here the cold winters and vast forests of the taiga had for centuries discouraged settlers with ploughs (see Fig. 7.3). In this period, Islam advanced slowly from the northern frontier of the Near West, but the more important expansions were Christian. Finally, the Lithuanians, known as the last pagan people of Europe, converted to Christianity. Beyond them lived Finno-Ugric speakers, including the Sámi and the Komi, who converted later and more slowly. Perhaps because they were mostly hunters beyond the Ploughland, their later conversions have not trumped the Lithuanians' reputation as Europe's last polytropic holdouts. This section considers in turn the Lithuanians, the Sámi, and the Komi.

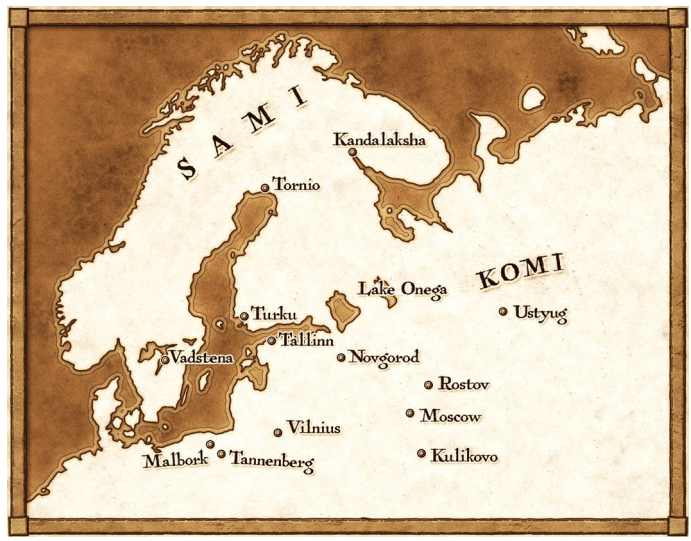

Fig. 7.3 Expansion in the North, Taf Richards, Arcane Atlas Cartography (@Arcane_Atlas), CC BY-NC.

Lithuanians

Orthodox Christianity had come to these lands during the days of Kievan Rus' (ca. 880–1240), but, due to internal and external pressures, Kievan Rus'

10 David Abulafia, *The Discovery of Mankind: Atlantic Encounters in the Age of Columbus* (New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 2008), 25–26.

disintegrated into many states, of Ukrainians, of Belarussians, and of "Great" Russians. As the Mongols withdrew, Lithuania became a powerful state, with its borders reaching down to the Black Sea. The polytropic Lithuanian rulers tolerated their Christian subjects, who, beyond a small Catholic social elite, were mostly Orthodox. Christians in Lithuania and Muscovy competed for the honour of hosting the metropolitan Bishop of Kiev and all Rus'. Often this competition was financial: the fourteenth century saw Lithuania sending funds to Athos and Muscovy sending funds to Constantinople to, for example, repair the Hagia Sophia.[11] Byzantium prized Lithuanian power but hesitated about their polytropic prince and their occasional execution of Christians, such as the "Vilnius martyrs" (d. 1377), killed for refusing to eat meat during Lent.

As our period began, polytropism was in decline in this religiously pluralistic Lithuania. Defeat by Christian armies had likely triggered a crisis of confidence in the old ways. Many among the Lithuanian elite's kin and allies, and most of their subjects, were already Christian. In this transition period, an oath once considered binding might now be safely, if politics allowed, ignored. Grand Duke Kęstutis (ca. 1297–1382), of the penultimate polytropic generation, was still buried with his horses and falcons, but of the last generation of pre-Christian rulers, no records remain suggesting they had polytropic beliefs or practices. The last polytropic rulers were perhaps only "culturally pagan," like those people identifying as "culturally Catholic" today.[12]

Meanwhile, the Teutonic Knights had built at Malbork a copy of the Jerusalem Hospital, updated into a kind of luxury fortress. From there, they launched crusades against the Lithuanians. The years 1390 and 1392 saw Henry Bolingbroke, the future Henry IV of England (1367–1413, rl. 1399–1413), aiding the Teutonic Knights in assaulting the Lithuanian capital of Vilnius. He kidnapped local non-Christian children whom he had baptized and brought into his entourage; two of those returned with him to England.[13]

Faced with such threats, Jogaila, Grand Duke of Lithuania (1377–92), weighed his options. Conversion to Orthodoxy would match the religion of the majority of his subjects. Conversion to Catholicism would stop the advance of the Catholic Teutonic Knights. At the same time Jogaila was looking for a way to halt the Knights, the Poles were looking for a husband for their eleven-year-old

11 Georges Castellan, *History of the Balkans: From Mohammad the Conqueror to Stalin* (New York: Columbia UP, 1992), 59; Donald Ostrowski, *Muscovy and the Mongol: Cross-Cultural Influences on the Steppe Frontier* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, 1998), 20–22.

12 Darius Baronas and Stephen Christopher Rowell, *Conversion of Lithuania: From Pagan Barbarians to Late Medieval Christians* (Vilnius: Institute of Lithuanian Literature and Folklore, 2015), 231–34, 245.

13 Ian Mortimer, *The Fears of Henry IV* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2007), 96–97.

Queen Jadwiga (1373/74–99). Each quest founds its solution in the other. In the spring of 1386, Jogaila was baptized as a Catholic, married to Jadwiga, and crowned king, as Władysław II Jagiełło. This began a close alliance between Lithuania and Poland, with a vast combined territory, that would hold for centuries. The conversion gave the new king Władysław access to modern CrossTech, to which he cultivated a special devotion. He adopted as a personal sign the double cross, which would later enter the Grand Duchy's coat of arms, and remains in use in Lithuania today.[14]

The new king's cousin Vytautas (ca. 1350–1430), son of Kęstutis, rebelled, with the assistance of the enemy Teutonic Knights, and, in 1392, became the new Grand Duke of Lithuania, with Władysław the nominal overlord as a "Supreme Duke." Vytautas had been baptized in both the Catholic and Orthodox subcults at opportune times.[15] A theologian further west linked Vytautas to a prophecy foretelling the rule of the "Son of Man," a Jesus title from the gospels (see Chapter 19).

Władysław now needed to achieve a comprehensive conversion of his polytropic and Orthodox subjects to Catholic Christianity. The Lithuanian aristocracy had converted with him, but not the Ruthenians. A variety of tools and techniques were available for the missionary enterprise. The king brought in Polish clergy to do the groundwork. The first Bishop of Vilnius, Andrzej Jastrzębiec (d. 1398), was given an annual supply of two hundred silver marks and ten barrels of honey to underwrite the costs of evangelization. At least by 1398, the Vilnius Cathedral had a relic of the holy cross. The Lithuanian grand dukes would also support friars' missions further east, among the Muslims.[16]

A key tool for the promotion of the newly arrived Catholic Church, here as elsewhere, was the indulgence. A 1450 papal proclamation allowed Lithuanians unable to reach Rome to partake in the jubilee indulgence: you need only pay half of what you would have spent on the journey to Rome, and then visit the Vilnius Cathedral for three days instead. The promised uses of the collected funds reveals a region on the subcult's frontier: 50% went to fight the Muslims, 25% for dowries for young women converted to Catholicism, and 25% to Rome.[17]

The process was slow and imperfect. In 1436, Bishop Matthias of Vilnius (ca. 1370–1453) was still baptizing "various infidels." In 1503, Church authorities

14 Baronas and Rowell, *Conversion of Lithuania*, 283.

15 Ibid., 248.

16 Jan Fijałek and Władysław Semkowicz, ed., *Kodeks dyplomatyczny katedry i diecezji wileńskiej*, 3 vols. (Krakow: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1932–48), I, 51–52, 54–59; Irena Sułkowska-Kuraś and Stanislaus Kuraś, ed., *Bullarium Poloniae*, 7 vols. (Rome: Catholic University of Lublin, 1995), V, 285.

17 Augustin Theiner, ed., *Vetera monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae gentiumque finitimarum historiam illustrantia*, 2 vols. (Rome: Vatican, 1861), II, 80–81.

hesitated about holding a mass outdoors, for fear it might be mistaken for a polytropic ceremony. Some of the old holy polytropic forests were actively felled by energetic missionaries, but others were simply abandoned. In hidden, out-of-the-way places some holy vipers, holy fires, and holy woods survived.[18]

The relationship between the Catholic rulers and those subjects remaining Orthodox tended to be flexible. In 1404, King Władysław sought papal permission to attend mass even if "schismatics" (probably the Orthodox) were present; apparently, a number of non-Catholics never converted but were keen, polytropically, to take advantage of some aspects of the Catholic mass. In 1418, Vytautas asked for the same permission to attend mass with "gentiles, schismatics, and infidels," explicitly for evangelical purposes.[19] Vytautas explained to his Orthodox subjects that his being Catholic made him objective in Orthodox affairs, and that his selfless interference to improve the Orthodox Church hierarchy ran against his own material interests.[20]

Conversion brought some thorough-going social changes. With the arrival of the Jesus cult, wine, schools, writing, and capital punishment became more common and prominent in Lithuanian society. By 1500, the Vilnius diocese had at least 139 churches. To most eyes, Lithuania was almost as Christianized as anywhere else in Christendom.[21]

The hope that the Catholic Knights would not attack the newly Catholic Lithuanians proved fleeting. With the pretense of religious crusade belied—partially, as they could still question the quality of the Lithuanians' Catholicism—the Knights became merely aggressive bad neighbours, and expanded their offensives to include the Poles as well. In 1410, at the battle of Tannenberg, the Polish-Lithuanians decisively defeated the Knights, who nonetheless antagonized the Lithuanians until 1422, and the Poles even longer.

In the end, how Christian were the Lithuanians? Some examples suggest the rulers' new nominal belief did not interfere with their old polytropic common sense: Mindaugas of Lithuania (ca. 1203–63) was baptized, but, as the Galician Chronicler remembers, "When Mindaugas rode out into the field, and a hare ran across his path, then he would not go into the grove, nor dared he break a twig. He made sacrifices to his god, burnt corpses and conducted pagan rites in public." The standards for the region were low, and the Lithuanians often looked good, in Catholic eyes, only compared to their neighbours. Friars in Tallinn (in

18 Fijałek and Semkowicz, ed., *Kodeks dyplomatyczny*, 160, 576–79. See Baronas and Rowell, *Conversion of Lithuania*, 261–62.

19 Irena Sułkowska-Kuraś, Stanislaus Kuraś, and Hubertus Wajs, ed., *Bullarium Poloniae*, 6 vols. (Rome: Catholic University of Lublin, 1992), IV, 60 (no. 327, 27 August 1418).

20 Baronas and Rowell, *Conversion of Lithuania*, 322.

21 Ibid., x, 297–99, 306, 356, 522.

Estonia) in the 1420s complained about corpses hanging from church doors: if a family did not, or could not, pay the burial fee, the priest would dig up the body and display it to shame the family. Władysław and Vytautas praised their own efforts to baptize and convert the Samogitian Lithuanians even while the indigenous Prussians, despite being ruled by Teutonic Knights for two centuries, were barely Christian. Bridget of Sweden (ca. 1303–73) agreed that the Knights preferred territorial expansion to proselytism, and noted that converts would have been less willing soldiers.[22]

Sámi

In 1400, Sweden and Norway had no clear borders to the north, but their rulers showed little interest in converting their neighbours the Sámi, known historically as the Lapps. From the thirteenth century, the Norwegians had made some missionary attempts, with very partial success, and, in 1400, there was a nominally Christian minority. The cult of Jesus followed lifestyle and geography: sedentary Sámi along the coast converted much more frequently than the hunters, fishers, and pastoralists in the forested, mountainous regions inland and far north. Those religious conversions of the sedentary often came with an ethnic conversion from a Sámi identity, to one Swedish or Norwegian.[23]

Following baptisms in 1345 at Tornio, the northernmost point of the Gulf of Bothnia, in 1389 the visionary Sámi convert Margareta travelled south to the Bridgettine abbey Vadstena to ask the new Queen Margaret I (1353–1412), who was perhaps her namesake, to send a missionary. Forty years later the crown finally dispatched a missionary, named Toste, who erected a number of chapels in the far north. Further east, the Novgorod missionary Lazar Muromsky (1286–1391) established two monasteries on the eastern shore of Lake Onega, where he died. In the 1520s, Sámi at Kandalaksha Bay, the northernmost arm of the White Sea, were converted. The Sámi made use of pendant crosses made of pewter, the appearance of which suggested an artistic origin in Russia. Their power might have resonated with an indigenous CrossTech culture, or perhaps the imported, updated CrossTech 3.0 proved so powerful as to be immediately integrated into Sámi polytropic sacrifices.[24]

22 Eric Christiansen, *The Northern Crusades: The Baltic and the Catholic Frontier* (London: Macmillan, 1980), 137, 160, 204–05, 236.

23 Jean-Marie Maillefer, "Notes sur l'Église et les Lapons au moyen âge," *Revue du Nord* 64 (1982): 751–57.

24 Neil Kent, *The Sámi Peoples of the North* (London: Hurst, 2014), 90–95; Denis Kuzmin, "The Inhabitation of Karelia in the First Millennium AD in the Light of Linguistics," in *Fibula, Fabula, Fact: The Viking Age in Finland*, ed. Joonas Ahola, Frog, and Clive Tolley (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2014), 269–95 (273);

Komi

The Komi, also called Zyrians and Permyaks, lived to the north of the Russians. In Old Perm, the town of Ustyug straddled the frontier between the Komi and the Russians, who mostly came from Novgorod, a city which enjoyed at least a theoretical sovereignty here. Ustyug was a market town, where the hunter Komi could sell dismembered animal carcasses to the Russians. Here, Stephen of Perm (ca. 1340–96) was born. After going south to train in a Rostov monastery, Stephen returned north to his home, and went alone into the woods to preach to the Komi. Historians presume, based on his birthplace, that his fluency in Komi matched his skill in Russian and in Greek.

Some converted quickly, but many Komi resisted. Violent attempts to beat the missionary, to burn him, and to shoot him all failed. Perhaps they were half-hearted feints, but the Komi themselves understood that Stephen had a powerful defensive mechanism: non-harm. Stephen "has a bad custom" (обычай) in that "he will not start a fight." Indeed, "should he have dared to start a fight we would have torn him to pieces a long time ago... But as he has patience we do not know what we can do to him." Indeed, Stephen "spoke no evil word to any of us, and he neither turned away from us, nor fought us, but suffered everything gladly."

The polytropic resisters decided to try a more intellectual strategy, led by a powerful sorcerer named Pam. Stephen and Pam began a great debate, starting in the morning and concluding around dawn the following day, that struggled for the destiny of the Komi. Pam's arguments were several and persuasive. One god was inferior to "many" gods, especially gods who "give us game, all that is in the waters, and in the air, in swamps and forests—squirrels or sables, martens or lynxes and other game," the body parts of which were sent even to Lithuania and to Constantinople. Furthermore, polytropic beliefs allowed the Komi to outperform Christians at bear hunting: we could defeat a bear in single combat, while a hundred Christians, "shamefully," might not be able to hunt a single bear. Finally, the multiplicity of gods served as a long-distance communication infrastructure: "We quickly learn all news; whatever happens in a far-off country, in a foreign town [...] the complete news of it reaches us at the same hour [...] for we have many gods aiding us."

Inga-Maria Mulk and Tim Bayliss-Smith, "Colonisation, Sami Sacred Sites and Religious Syncretism, ca. AD 500–1800," in *The Sound of Silence: Indigenous Perspectives on the Historical Archaeology of Colonialism*, ed. Tiina Äikäs and Anna-Kaisa Salmi (New York: Berghahn, 2019), 39–70, https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv1850hr9.6

Realizing he could not counter these arguments with contrary evidence, Stephen decided to show, not tell, with a crude but dramatic strategy. He dared Pam to join him in walking through a flaming hut and then diving into an icy river. Pam, knowing he was not immune to fire and ice ("I have not acquired this [skill] from my father"), declined, admitted defeat, and asked to convert. Stephen refused for some reason, and Pam fled into the forest, "like a stag."

Now largely unopposed, Stephen travelled to Moscow to bring back a bishop, but there the metropolitan decided that the best available bishop would be Stephen himself. In 1383, the new bishop returned to Perm to consolidate the Christianization of the Komi. A decade earlier, Stephen had created an alphabet for their language, and soon translated both the Book of Hours and the gospels into it. Thus, Komi became only the second Uralic language, after Hungarian, with a substantial written record. Stephen died in Moscow in 1396.

By the 1430s, the region felt an increased Russian—especially from Muscovy—industrial and military presence, which may have encouraged the Duke of Great Perm to convert, sometime before 1470, taking the Christian name "Mikhail." Novgorod, too, recognized the shift in power, and surrendered its suzerainty in 1471. Within a year, Grand Duke Ivan III of Muscovy (1440–1505) attacked Great Perm, captured Mikhail, whose conversion proved no defence, and made him a vassal. His son and successor would be replaced by a governor answering to Moscow. Far less accepting of the vernacular than Stephen had been, the Russians outlawed the Komi liturgy: it was essentially a pagan language, they felt, so any liturgy said in it was necessarily a pagan liturgy. Their deep ken linked the effectiveness of the ritual to consonance with the language used. Still, the Komi liturgy—and indeed many Komi polytropic practices—continued quietly into the eighteenth century.[25]

Central Africa's Western Seaboard

The African frontier begins with the pastoral areas in the Saharan desert, turns into the hand-cultivated Congo Valley, and ends in the Kalahari Desert of the hunter-gatherers (see Fig. 7.4). With Muslim traders crossing the Sahara Desert and expanding down the east coast of Africa, Islam made a haphazard expansion down the African savannah, spread through a variety of agents, including

25 Dmitrij Ciževskij, *History of Russian Literature: From the Eleventh Century to the End of the Baroque* (The Hague: Mouton and Co., 1971), 167–78; Jukka Korpela, "Stefan von Perm', Heiliger Täufer im politischen Kontext," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 49 (2001): 481–99; Rein Taagepera, *The Finno-Ugric Republics and the Russian State* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 299–302; Serge A. Zenkovsky, ed., *Medieval Russia's Epics* (New York: Dutton, 1974), 259–62, 283–84.

merchants, teachers, and settlers, and through a variety of Sufi, teacher-student, and mercantile networks. The wealthy, powerful Mali Empire—a visit of its ruler to Egypt had collapsed the price of gold there—was in slow decline, and Islam, never deeply rooted, met a mixed fate. Islam was strongest, and was the majority religion, in Takrur throughout our period. The Jolof Kingdom, part of the Mali breakup, continued to Islamicize throughout the fifteenth century.[26]

Fig. 7.4 Expansion in Africa, Taf Richards, Arcane Atlas Cartography (@Arcane_Atlas), CC BY-NC.

The more dramatic expansion of the Jesus cult in Africa came with Christianity and the Portuguese Empire. Prince Henry (1394–1460) had captured the city of

26 Nehemia Levtzion, "Islam in the Bilad al-Sudan to 1800," in *History of Islam in Africa*, ed. Nehemia Levtzion and Randall L. Pouwels (Athens: Ohio UP, 2000), 73–101; David Robinson, *Muslim Societies in African History* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, 2004), 27–59, https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9780511811746; Jay Spaulding, "Precolonial Islam in the Eastern Sudan," in *History of Islam*, ed. Levtzion and Pouwels, 126–38; Spencer Trimingham, *History of Islam in West Africa* (New York: Oxford UP, 1962), 34–140; Ivor Wilks, "The Juula and the Expansion of Islam into the Forest," in *History of Islam*, ed. Levtzion and Pouwels, 102–25.

Ceuta from the Muslims in 1415, and, two years later, the pope appointed him Grand Master of the Order of the Knights of Christ. Soon, Henry began financing the exploration of the African coast, as well as the technological advancements in shipbuilding that expanded the explorers' range. His ships first reached the island of Madeira in 1418, the Cape Verde islands in 1445, and, by the 1450s, the African mainland along the Gulf of Guinea. In 1483, they settled, with slaves, at São Tomé. As they mapped the continent's coast down to the Cape, the Portuguese erected crosses, initially made of wood but later of stone, which had navigational, legal, and subtle deep-ken uses. Colonists followed closely behind.[27]

In the 1440s, the Portuguese initiated a new strategy for spreading Christianity. They kidnapped locals, and brought them back to Portugal to be sold as slaves. Those Africans might, some Church officials hoped, be trained in Christianity and returned home to spread the Gospel. Some did become Christians, and some of those became free. One man, born ca. 1480, from the Kingdom of Kongo went to Portugal, converted to Christianity, taking the name Juan Garrido, before reaching Hispaniola (ca. 1502), and then joining Hernán Cortés (1485–1547) in the invasion of Mexico. There, around 1521–23, Garrido built a chapel and a Chinampa garden, where he planted three seeds of wheat—for the first time in the Americas—and probably started a small vineyard. Local availability of bread and wine supported the celebration of the mass.[28]

In 1482, the Portuguese built a fort at Elmina, their first in the tropics. An outdoor mass was held immediately upon going ashore, to properly mark the beginning of their establishment. The local chief refused baptism, however, and the Portuguese refused to leave. After several setbacks, they succeeded in building a chapel, São Jorge da Mina, so that daily masses could be said for the soul of Prince Henry, who had died in 1460.[29]

Material evidence of the Jesus cult in Africa can be hard to read, although visually powerful. Sapi artisans, in present-day Sierra Leone, carved containers from elephant ivory, juxtaposing Jesus representations and European heraldic symbols with African themes, animals, and designs. Scholars refer to these creations as "saltcellars," although who used them, and how, remains obscure. This example, featuring a Madonna and Child atop a vessel ornamented with snakes and the Order of Christ's cross, is thought to be a cyborium for

27 A. R. Disney, *A History of Portugal and the Portuguese Empire*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, 2009), II, 1–118.

28 Peter Gerhard, "A Black Conquistador in Mexico," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 58 (1978): 451–59; Matthew Restall, "Black Conquistadors: Armed Africans in Early Spanish America," *The Americas* 57 (2000): 171–205 (177), https://doi.org/10.1353/tam.2000.0015

29 Rui de Pina, *Crónica de el-rey D. João II*, ed. Alberto Martins de Carvalho (Coimbra: Atlântida, 1950), 8–9.

holding consecrated Eucharistic hosts (see Fig. 7.5). Some ivory pyxes, used to transport the hosts, feature distinctive textured renderings of scenes from Jesus's life (see Fig. 7.6).[30]

Fig. 7.5 Salt Cellar with Madonna and Child (ca. 1490–1520), British Museum, London, © Trustees of the British Museum, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/E_Af1981-35-1-a-b

30 Ezio Bassani and William B. Fagg, *Africa and the Renaissance: Art in Ivory* (New York: Center for African Art, 1988); Rabia Gregory, "Black as a Coconut and White as a Tusk: African Materials and European Displays of Christ Before Columbus," *Journal of Africana Religions* 2 (2014): 395–408; Frederick John Lamp, "Ivory and Stone: Direct Connections between Sculptural Media along the Coast of Sierra Leone, 15th–16th Centuries," *Afrique: Archéologie & Arts* 16 (2020) 11–42, https://doi.org/10.4000/aaa.2753; Mario Pereira, "African Art at the Portuguese Court, c. 1450–1521" (PhD thesis, Brown University, 2010). The Smithsonian's oliphant (https://www.si.edu/object/hunting-horn:nmafa_2005-6-9) has been described (Bassani and Fagg, *Africa*, 97) as featuring Jesus as the Good Shepherd, but I propose that that figure is just a hunter. The Indo-Portuguese Bom Pastor sculptures, possibly taking a thoughtful pose from the Buddha, came later.

Fig. 7.6 Ivory Pyx with Scenes from the Passion of Christ (ca. 1490–1530), Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, CC0 1.0, https://art.thewalters.org/detail/13267/ivory-pyx-with-scenes-from-the-passion-of-christ/

Kingdom of Kongo

For the rest of the 1480s, the Portuguese explored the lower Congo River, and thus made contact with the Kingdom of Kongo. In 1483, they arrived in its large capital city, M'banza-Kongo. This allowed for some exchange of people, so that Portuguese were stationed in Kongo, and Kongolese in Portugal. The *mwene* [lord] of Soyo, the coastal province stretching some hundred kilometres inland, was baptized, a celebration accented with a bonfire of polytropic objects, just fourteen years before the bonfire of the vanities in Savonarola's Florence (see Chapter 5). King Nzinga a Nkuwu (ca. 1440–1509, rl. 1470–1509) was baptized as João I (3 May 1491), along with members of his court including his wife Eleonora and son Afonso, in a rushed ceremony as he departed to put down a rebellion upriver.[31]

João's baptismal presents from the Portuguese were handy in such dangerous circumstances: a CrossTech banner that had been previously used in the crusades against the Muslims, and a promise that it would guarantee him victory in battle. Much of traditional African beliefs ("Elaborate rituals and offerings, belief in magic and divination, ancestor worship, votive offerings and sacrifices, and the adjuration of gods to deal with real-world problems")

31 António Brásio, ed., *Monumenta Missionaria Africana, África Ocidental*, 15 vols. (Lisbon: Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1952), I, 121–29.

found ready parallels in Catholicism. Africans in Benin had even included the cross as a powerful divine symbol—and that same African-become-Christian CrossTech would be transported across the Atlantic to be a part of voodoo in Haiti. CrossTech were common also in Kongo indigenous art, pre-dating the known arrival of Christianity.[32]

One courtier baptized with João a few days later discovered a mysterious sculpture: a two-palm-high cross skilfully carved, appearing to have been "worked as if with great industry" into a black stone of a material not local to Kongo. The report to the king compared this "holy thing of stone never seen before" with "that which the friars had when we became Christians and they called the Cross." The king consulted his Portuguese advisers, who declared it a sign of the "grace and salvation which God sent to you and your kingdom," and urged him to give "infinite thanks." The cross was formally escorted into the new church, called the Holy Saviour (São Salvador).[33]

Mvemba a Nzinga, who was João's son and the governor of Nsundi, had also been baptized, as Afonso, in 1491. Baptismal names were chosen for their consonant deep-ken power: the Soyo lord, for example, was a duke and the queen's brother; he therefore selected "Manuel" as his Christian name, as he understood that there was a Portuguese duke, brother to the queen, with that name.[34]

Eventually, João calculated that the benefits of Christianity were not sufficient to compensate for the losses, which he might not have fully understood at the time of conversion: the end of polygamy cost him a powerful political and social tool, and the end of fetishes—they had been burned—left his peoples defenceless against witchcraft and drought. He appears to have apostatized, or at least lost his enthusiasm for Christianity.

The more pious Prince Afonso reported to the Portuguese king that his father, João, had wanted him killed, ostensibly as a kind of experiment to see whether Yahweh would save him. Afonso gave thanks for this opportunity to die as a martyr "for the love of Our Lord." After João himself died in 1507, Afonso

32 João de Barros, *Da Ásia*, in *Monumenta Missionaria*, ed. Brásio, I, 84 (década 1, book 3, ch. 9); Robert A. Voeks, *Sacred Leaves of Candomblé: African Magic, Medicine, and Religion in Brazil* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1997), 158. See Ezio Bassani, *African Art and Artefacts in European Collections, 1400–1800*, ed. Malcolm McLeod (London: British Museum, 2000), 277–84; Leslie Gerald Desmangles, "African Interpretations of the Christian Cross in Vodum," *Sociological Analysis* 38 (1977): 13–24; Cécile Fromont, "Under the Sign of the Cross in the Kingdom of Kongo: Religious Conversion and Visual Correlation in Early Modern Central Africa," *Res: Anthropology and Aesthetics 59/60* (2011): 109–23, https://doi.org/10.1086/RESvn1ms23647785

33 Brásio, ed., *Monumenta Missionaria*, I, 124–25.

34 Rui de Pina, *Crónica*, 160.

challenged his polytropic brother Mpanzu a Nzinga for the throne. Afonso's military strategy, inspired by the fourth-century Emperor Constantine, was to have all idols burned and replaced with imported images and CrossTech 3.0. Afonso also used Jesus's name as a military tool. With the assistance of Jesus, Mary, and two priests, Afonso proved his right in battle, under a miraculously appearing celestial cross. He ruled from 1509 until 1542.[35]

Afonso became a major patron of Christianization, even managing to fell a royal burial forest. He sought Portuguese support for these undertakings "for the love of Jesus Christ." He was enthusiastically Christian, keen on the social welfare of his people, and Christianity had the support of the Kongolese nobility. Afonso was a passionate student of Christian theology, studying texts sent from Europe until he fell asleep over them in the wee hours. The new Catholic priests stepped into the role previously filled by polytropic priests, and that title (*nganga*) was continued. "Chapel boys," the literate students who would come to staff government and Church offices, went in 1514 to convert the ruler of Mbata. In the capital, Afonso renovated and expanded the old São Salvador church into an impressive edifice built of stone and lime with a grass roof, in contrast to the other non-royal buildings, all built of straw. It contained enough silver vessels for the mass, "celebrated by such musicians and singers as the region allows." Afonso made a physical cross, established in front of the cathedral, in memory of the celestial one that had secured his throne. He had other CrossTech introduced throughout his realms.[36]

Afonso's son Henrique Kinu a Mvemba, after sailing to Europe to deepen his knowledge, was ordained (5 May 1518), nominally as Bishop of Utica in Tunisia, but in fact working at São Salvador. He was the first African south of the Sahara ever to receive such an appointment (rl. 1518–31). He later became a professor in Portugal.

The success of Christianity in Kongo was atypical for Africa in this period, and depended on a convergence of many people's motivations. In contrast, in

35 Afonso I to Manuel I (5 October 1514), in *Monumenta Missionaria*, ed. Brásio, I, 295; João de Barros, *Da Ásia*, in *Monumenta Missionaria*, ed. Brásio, I, 144. See Fromont, "Under the Sign of the Cross," 113.

36 Afonso I to João III (25 August 1526), in *Monumenta Missionaria*, ed. Brásio, I, 480; Rui de Aguiar to Manuel I (25 May 1516), in *Monumenta Missionaria*, ed. Brásio, I, 361–63; Afonso I to Manuel I (5 October 1514), in *Monumenta Missionaria*, ed. Brásio, I, 322–23; Afonso I to João III (25 August 1526), in *Monumenta Missionaria*, ed. Brásio, I, 477–81; Martinho de Ulhoa, "De Statu Regni Congi," in *Monumenta Missionaria*, ed. Brásio, III, 511. See François Bontinck, "Les croix de bois dans l'ancien Royaume de Kongo," in *Dalla chiesa antica alla chiesa moderna*, ed. M. Fois, V. Monachino, and F. Litva (Rome: Gregoriana, 1983), 199–213; Duarte Lopes, *Relatione del reame di Congo et delle circonvicine contrade*, trans. Filippo Pigafetta (Rome: Grassi, 1591), 53.

Benin, almost 2,000 km to the northwest of Kongo, the unusually aggressive Lord Ozolua in 1514 sent an embassy to Portugal to ask for firearms, and for Christianity if that was part of the arms-trade package. The Portuguese were disinclined to give the Beninese the guns they sought, and the Beninese refused to give the Portuguese the slaves they sought. Missionaries arriving in 1515 soon realized that no conversion would take place without the import of firearms, and left, annoyed.

Towards the Americas' Eastern Seaboard

In the Americas, the Jesus cult was established only in Greenland, but, in 1400, even this was failing—among the signs of cultural collapse were Norsemen with hairless chins. Danish efforts to promote Christianity in Greenland had been motivated in part by a desire to secure a trade route to Asia, to liberate Jerusalem, and to locate the kingdom of Prester John, understood to have been founded by a Dane. The northwest corner of the cult's geographical triangle was anchored, barely, by the Eastern Settlement of anticlerical Norse farmers in Greenland, whose ancestors had come across from Iceland four centuries earlier. Bishop Álfur had arrived in Greenland in 1368, the first bishop there since the 1340s. In 1385, Björn Einarsson (ca. 1350–1415) sailed to Greenland without royal permission, accidentally or "accidentally," and made enough of a profit trading with the Greenlanders that a customs officer brought a lawsuit (in which Björn was acquitted); a seventeenth-century account, the oldest extant, of Björn's journey mentions that Álfur had died and some elderly priest was filling in. Björn connected the periphery with the sacred centre: a pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1406 earned him the epithet Jerusalem-Farer. Archaeologists recently exhuming the dead have found them wearing late-fourteenth century fashions, and the last known voyage between Norway and the Eastern Settlement happened in 1410. In 1433, one ill-informed pope thought Greenland was a city. A "Western Settlement" to the north had already died out, leaving CrossTech traces, imported or made locally from driftwood, and a rune stick inscribed with references to Jesus, including his cry from the cross, in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. Thule Inuit were moving into the area; perhaps they found and re-purposed these relics.[37]

37 Gustav Storm and H. J. Huitfeldt-Kaas, ed., *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, 23 vols. (Christiania: P.T. Malling, 1903), XVII, 404–05, no. 514. See Richard Cole, "Hebrew in Runic Inscriptions and Elsewhere," *Viking and Medieval Scandinavia* 11 (2015): 64–71, https://doi.org/10.1484/J.VMS.5.109599; Janus Møller Jensen, *Denmark and the Crusades: 1400–1650* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 198–200, https://doi.org/10.1163/ej.9789004155794.i-423; Gunnar Karlsson, *History of Iceland* (Minneapolis, MN:

In this period, the eastern American seaboard, from Brazil to Newfoundland, formally came into the European geographical consciousness (see Fig 7.7). Some of the exploration was fleeting. On 24 June 1497, John Cabot (ca. 1450–1500) came upon land some 2900 km west of Ireland, probably Newfoundland, and disembarked brandishing a cross. Fishermen followed, but colonization and mission came only a century later. This section therefore concentrates on the more sustained expansion processes in the Caribbean and Brazil.[38]

Fig. 7.7 Expansion in the Americas, Taf Richards, Arcane Atlas Cartography (@Arcane_Atlas). CC BY-NC.

University. of Minnesota Press, 2003), 103; Erik Moltke, "Greenland Runic Inscriptions IV," *Meddelelser om Grønland* 88 (1936): 228–30; Kirsten A. Seaver, *The Frozen Echo: Greenland and the Exploration of North America, ca. A.D. 1000–1500* (Stanford, CA: Stanford UP, 1996), 126–30, 173–74.

38 James A. Williamson and R. A. Skelton, ed., *The Cabot Voyages and Bristol Discovery under Henry VII* (London: Routledge, 2017), 207, 211–14, https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315614274

The Caribbean

Atlantic islands and seaways had long been known, and forgotten, and known and forgotten again, before our period begins. By the 1380s, the Canaries and Azores were mostly known. Missionaries had even used peaceful methods—learning the local languages and acting as role models—to convert the Canarians, but pirate violence in the 1390s halted the mission for four decades. No records remain—perhaps no records were ever kept—of eastward sailings by Americans, but a young Christopher Columbus (1451–1506) found in Galway, on the west coast of Ireland, "many signs" that Indigenous people had "come from the West." There, he reported, "a man and a woman, of extraordinary appearance, have come to land on two tree trunks," presumably canoes.[39]

In 1418, the Portuguese captain João Gonçalves Zarco (ca. 1390–1471), blown off course, had formally discovered and recorded the discovery of the Madeira Archipelago, which may have informally been known to sailors already in the age of the medieval Vikings. While rounding Madeira Island, he discovered downed trees he used to form a giant cross, at what would become the site of Santa Cruz [Holy Cross], a major settlement. Over the following century, the Portuguese discovered previously unknown islands throughout the Atlantic, and islands previously unknown to Europeans in the Indian Ocean.[40]

In 1492, Columbus took a short-cut to Asia. He knew the Atlantic relatively well. He had lived in Madeira, at Porto Santo, where his father-in-law was governor, and had visited Elmina (see above) around 1481. Now he proposed to sail west, to Asia, to convert the Chinese to Christianity, and to secure funds for the reconquest of Jerusalem, "for which purpose this enterprise was undertaken," as he later explained. Queen Isabella I of Castile (1451–1504) approved the journey, against the advice of her husband Ferdinand (1479–1516) and her council. Isabella and Ferdinand, named "athletes of Christ" by the pope, gave letters to Columbus to deliver to their Asian counterparts. Two were form letters, to "the most serene prince [blank], our friend most dear," and the third addressed the Great Khan, ruler of the Yuan dynasty. To improve communication with the Asians, Columbus brought along a translator, who spoke Hebrew and some Arabic.[41]

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39 Felipe Fernández-Armesto, *Before Columbus: Exploration and Colonisation from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, 1229–1492* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), 232–33; David B. Quinn, "Columbus and the North: England, Iceland, and Ireland," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 49 (1992): 278–97.

40 Gaspar Frutuoso, *As Saudades da terra* (Funchal: Funchalense, 1873), 37–38.

41 Antonio Rumeu de Armas, *Nueva luz sobre las capitulaciones de Santa Fe* (Madrid: CSIC, 1985), 127; Christopher Columbus, *Synoptic Edition of the Log of Columbus's First Voyage*, ed. Francesca Lardicci, trans. Cynthia L. Chamberlin and Blair

Columbus was a continent and a century off course. The Yuan dynasty had ended in 1368, and the island he landed on was not part of the Japanese archipelago, but one of the many in what is now the Bahamas, or Turks and Caicos. The locals called it Guanahani; Columbus named it after Jesus: San Salvador, the holy saviour. Exploration resounded with Jesus-related names. On Christmas 1492, his flagship the Santa Maria, its tiller left in the hands of the ship's boy, became beached on sandbanks off the coast of Hispaniola. Columbus ordered a fort built there, naming it after the holiday, La Navidad, the Nativity. A cape on the northern coast of Cuba Columbus named Cabo Alpha y Omega, a title associated with Jesus in the New Testament. In January 1503, Columbus created a settlement at a river mouth on the coast of what is now Panama, naming the garrison and river Belén (Bethlehem), in honour of Epiphany, the feast celebrating the Magi's arrival at Bethlehem. When the Indigenous people proved unwelcoming, Columbus moved his ships to safety away from the fort and its skeleton garrison, when a voice called him "O ye of little faith" and commanded, "rise up, for I am here. Do not be afraid." The words, and perhaps the voice, was Jesus's.[42]

Sometimes Indigenous peoples impressed Columbus with their innocence and potential as Christians: "They carry no weapons, nor are they aware of them; for I showed them swords, and they picked them up by the blade and cut themselves through ignorance. [...] I believe that they will easily be made Christians, for it seemed to me that they belonged to no religion. If it please our Lord, at the time of my departure, I shall take six of them to your Highnesses so that they can learn to talk." Columbus mentioned that the Cubans, although they did not normally pray, had learned to make the sign of the cross. That locals "are very quick to copy any prayer we recite for them and they can make the sign of the Cross" made Columbus optimistic about rapid mass conversion.[43]

The Taíno being Yúcahu Bagua Maórocoti had a powerful virgin mother, Atabey Yermao Guacar Apito Zuimaco, who was, like Mary, associated with

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Sullivan, Repertorium Columbianum 6 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), 37–38, 307–08; Columbus to the Catholic Monarchs, 4 March 1493, in Margarita Zamora, *Reading Columbus* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1993), 194–95. See Carol Delaney, *Columbus and the Quest for Jerusalem* (London: Duckworth, 2012), 67–72; Carol Delaney, "Columbus's Ultimate Goal: Jerusalem," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 48 (2006): 260–92, https://doi.org/10.1017/S0010417506000119

42 Cristóbal Colón, *Textos y documentos completos*, ed. Consuelo Varela (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1982), 106; Felipe Fernández-Armesto, *Columbus on Himself* (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett, 2010), 180. See Abulafia, *The Discovery of Mankind*, 233–34; Delaney, *Columbus*, 130, 214.

43 Christopher Columbus, *Synoptic Edition of the Log of Columbus's First Voyage*, ed. Francesca Lardicci, trans. Cynthia L. Chamberlin and Blair Sullivan (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), 321, 338. See Fernández-Armesto, *Columbus on Himself*, 53, 74.

the moon. In fact, part of Yúcahu Bagua Maórocoti's name means "Conceived without Male Intervention." This local understanding of Jesus, or of a parallel analogue, may have fuelled the Europeans' sense of easy conversion.[44]

Only slowly did missionaries reach the Caribbean, and, even then, they focused their ministry on the Europeans, who admittedly needed the spiritual assistance. Columbus asked the Catholic Monarchs for friars "more to renew the faith within ourselves than to teach it to the Indians," because while the Europeans had conquered the Indigenous in terms of military, the locals had conquered the conquerors culturally, and "we have become worse than they are." Columbus considered the Indigenous Hispaniolans "already Christian" and better behaved than the Christians in Spain. Later, however, the critical Dominican Bartolomé de las Casas (1484–1566) thought little of one friar's religious instruction: "His efforts amounted to nothing more than to say the *Ave Maria* and *Pater Noster* to the Indians, and some words about there being a God in heaven who was the creator of things, according to what he was able to teach them with abundant flaws and in a muddled way."[45]

CrossTech was an important part of Columbus's approach. At the entrance of the harbour at Puerto de la Concepción, named after Mary's conception, Columbus had set up a cross, which he explained represented primarily Jesus, and secondarily Spain's overlordship. After the establishment, Columbus ordered his crew to kidnap some of the locals, "in order to treat them courteously and make them lose their fear." He may have understood that kidnapping as a kind of rescue from a life without Jesus. Tradition remembers that the cross (the Cruz de la Parra) in the church of the Ascension (1511) at Baracoa in Cuba was painted by Columbus himself.[46]

CrossTech provided common ground. One local ruler of Hispaniola boarded Columbus's ship. The communication barrier was frustrating to both sides, but Columbus's display of a banner with the cross visibly "impressed" the ruler. At one village, Columbus set up a cross in its centre: the Taíno were keen, and helped in erecting it, and quickly began worshipping it.[47]

The missionary friar Ramón Pané established a shrine in the territory of the Taíno ruler Guarionex (d. 1502), in Hispaniola. Once the missionary had gone

44 Ramón Pané, *An Account of the Antiquities of the Indians*, ed. José Juan Arrom, trans. Susan C. Griswold (Durham, NC: Duke UP, 1999), 3–4.

45 Columbus, *Synoptic*, 97–98, 380–81; Fernández-Armesto, *Columbus on Himself*, 182; Pané, *Account of the Antiquities*, 57.

46 Oliver Dunn and James E. Kelley, Jr., ed., *The Diario of Christopher Columbus's First Voyage to America, 1492–1493* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989), 218–19; Ernesto de las Cuevas Morillo, *Narraciónes históricas de Baracoa*, 2 vols. (Baracoa: La Crónica, 1919), I, 45–48.

47 Fernández-Armesto, *Columbus on Himself*, 82–85; Abulafia, *The Discovery of Mankind*, 166–67.

away, Guarionex's men removed the shrine's images—presumably including crosses and Mary—buried them in a field, and urinated on them. Some historians today, and the Christians then, saw this as resistance, but others have suggested that urine had positive connotations locally. Columbus's nephew Bartholomew burned the perpetrators alive. Cross-shaped yams grew where the icons had been defiled or honoured, which some celebrated as an unambiguous sign of divine rebuke, and others as unambiguous divine approval. They were discovered by Guarionex's mother, no friend to the Christians, and even she recognized them as "a great miracle." Ramón Pané may have seen her apparent conversion as an even more impressive miracle.[48]

What motivated Columbus? In a sales pitch written to the Spanish monarchs in 1501, Columbus urged a new crusade to re-conquer Jerusalem. Columbus and the monarchs agreed to use the profits from gold mining and spice trading to fund the conquest. Mathematics and the plain-ken restrictions of linear time suggested the endeavour's likely success: Columbus based his calculations on the number of years since the birth of Jesus. Only 155 years remained until the end of the world. Because Jesus had "said that before the consummation of this world, first must be fulfilled all the things that were written by the prophets," including the global spread of Christianity, "the Gospel must now be proclaimed to so many lands in such a short time." Jerusalem needed to be conquered, and the world discovered and evangelized, before the world could end. Equally important, Columbus used the gospels to excuse his lack of intellectual authority by appealing to the vicissitudes of skepticism: Insulted publicly and privately as "unlearned in letters, an ignorant mariner, an ordinary man," he quoted Matthew (11:25): "Lord, you have hidden these things from the wise, and revealed them to the innocent." Columbus also used the Old Testament, especially Isaiah and the Psalms, and cited two verses from the Qur'an (3:42, 45). Columbus's religiosity and fixation on Jerusalem increased as he lived, but possibly an apocalyptic urgency motivated even his first voyage. His study of scripture followed the methods of Jean Gerson (1363–1429), and he used that to understand multiple Jerusalems, from the figurative ones to the literal one, that "earthly city to which pilgrims travel."[49]

48 Pané, *Account of the Antiquities*, 36–38. See José J. Arrom, "Taíno Mythology: Notes on the Supreme Being," *Latin American Literary Review* 8 (1980): 21–37 (23); Anthony M. Stevens-Arroyo, "Juan Mateo Guaticabanú, September 21, 1496: Evangelization and Martyrdom in the Time of Columbus," *The Catholic Historical Review* 82 (1996): 627–35.

49 Cristóbal Colón, *Textos y documentos completos*, ed. Consuelo Varela (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1982), 253–54; Christopher Columbus, *The Libro de las Profecías of Christopher Columbus*, trans. Delno C. West and August Kling (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 1991), 100–11, 226–27 (English translation on p. 109 is incorrect); Fernández-Armesto, *Columbus*, 91–93, 201; B. W. Ife, *Letters*

Columbus surrounded himself with Christological symbols. Returning from his first journey, he entered Seville, perhaps on a donkey, on Palm Sunday. He developed a signature that stacked letters into a pyramid above his name; its meaning has never been demonstrated, but most interpretations find in it references to Jesus. Around 1497, Columbus left money for a church in Hispaniola for mass to be said for his soul, for his family, and for four preachers to convert the locals to save them from damnation. One map of the New World, from about 1500, shows Saint Christopher bearing the Baby Jesus west across the Atlantic, in allusion to Columbus's first name, Christopher, the Christ-bearer.[50]

Brazil

Like Columbus, Pedro Álvares Cabral made his American discovery unintentionally. In 1500, Cabral, en route to Asia, crossed the equator and turned his fleet westward away from Africa, ending up in South America, at the mouth of the Buranhém River. On 22 April, a few days after Easter, at vespers, Portuguese explorers saw a mountain in the distance. They named the mountain Monte Pascoal (Easter), and the region the Terra de Vera Cruz (Land of the True Cross). Within two years, this new land would get a new name, after the principal export: brazilwood. Writing in 1552, one historian complained that a less important wood had replaced the name of the more important wood.[51]

The Franciscans who accompanied Cabral's expedition disembarked on an offshore island to celebrate a Sunday mass, with the CrossTech banner of the Order of the Knights of Christ flying prominently. The Indigenous Tupis on the mainland observed the mass, and accompanied its finale with a chorus of horns, made of bone, and enthusiastic dance. Two Portuguese carpenters travelling with the fleet made a big cross out of a piece of brazilwood. The Tupis were fascinated, although the Portuguese initially suspected that the fascination was less with the cruciform shape than with the iron tools used in its creation,

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from America: Columbus' First Accounts of the 1492 Voyage (London: King's College School of Humanities, 1992), 35–39. I modify the New International Version (NIV) translation of the Matthew verse to better conform to Columbus's own rendering. See Abulafia, *The Discovery of Mankind*, 176; Delaney, *Columbus*, 201; Pauline Moffitt Watts, "Prophecy and Discovery: On the Spiritual Origins of Christopher Columbus's 'Enterprise of the Indies'," *The American Historical Review* 90 (1985): 73–102.

50 Delaney, *Columbus*, 83, 110–18, 159.

51 Pedro Vaz de Caminha, "Pedro Vaz de Caminha to King Manuel, 1 May 1500," in *The Voyage of Pedro Álvares Cabral to Brazil and India*, ed. William Brooks Greenlee (London: Routledge, 2017), 1–31 (7), https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315551647-2; João de Barros, *Décadas da Ásia* (Lisbon: 1778), 391–92 (1.5.2).

"because they have nothing of iron." On 30 April, Cabral had his crew go to the cross, which was then leaning against a tree before being raised, to kneel and kiss it. They encouraged a dozen Tupis to do the same, and some obliged. This willingness suggested to the Christians that the Tupis would be easy converts: "They seem to me people of such innocence that, if one could understand them and they us, they would soon be Christians, because they do not have or understand any belief, as it appears."[52]

On 1 May, a procession of priests and friars carried the cross, decorated with the royal arms, in procession. Hundreds of Tupis gathered to witness its being set up, and dozens of those knelt for the mass, "and when it came to the Gospel and we all rose to our feet with hands lifted, they rose with us and lifted their hands, remaining thus until it was over." 1502 saw the first baptisms, during a subsequent expedition, under the command of Gonçalo Coelho (fl. 1501–04). Captain Coelho had tin crosses put around the necks of the some four dozen Tupis who accepted the ritual.[53]

In 1504, an expedition of Normans, under the command of Binot Paulmier de Gonneville, reached southern Brazil. To celebrate Easter, the Normans constructed and painted a large cross, on which the name of the French king shared space with the names of the pope, Gonneville himself, and his entire crew. The local Tupi ruler Arosca and his sons joined Gonneville and his officers in escorting the cross in a barefoot procession climaxing in ceremonial artillery fire. Arosca and his peoples were particularly interested in the litany sung by the Normans. When the Christians left, they understood that the Indigenous Tupi had promised, by "signs and other means," to "safeguard and honour" the cross.[54]

Legal Issues

How prominent Jesus was in the expansion of his cult varied from place to place, and is sometimes obscure. Jesus was also present at a more subtle and fundamental level—the very legality of these expansions. John Wycliffe (ca. 1328–84) in England set off a chain reaction running through Lithuania to the Americas, to give polytropics *dominium,* the right to rule.[55]

52 Vaz de Caminha, "Pedro Vaz de Caminha to King Manuel," 17–29.

53 Vaz de Caminha, "Pedro Vaz de Caminha to King Manuel," 30–31.

54 Regina Johnson Tomlinson, *The Struggle for Brazil: Portugal and "the French Interloper" (1500–1550)* (New York: Las Americas, 1970), 101–02.

55 James Muldoon, "John Wyclif and the Rights of the Infidels: The Requerimiento Re-Examined," *The Americas* 36 (1980): 301–16. See Francis A. Sullivan, *Salvation outside the Church* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2002), 44–81.

To understand the issues at play, we need to return to a thirteenth-century debate. Alanus Anglicus (fl. ca. 1200), an English or Welsh canon lawyer at Bologna, argued that all *dominium* transferred from the earth's various rulers to Jesus at his Incarnation. Jesus then transferred it to Peter, who transferred it to his successors, the popes. *Dominium* was thus entirely contained within Christendom. Jesus's Incarnation ended any right of non-Christians to rule. A non-Christian ruler might rule in fact, but had no *dominium*, no authority for ruling. Any Christian ruler could legally conquer the realm of any non-Christian ruler. The Italian canonist Hostiensis (ca. 1200–71) argued similarly, only allowing an exception for non-Christian rulers who acknowledged that their *dominium* came from Jesus through the popes.[56]

Pope Innocent IV (1243–54) pushed back against such claims of awesome papal authority. Non-Christians *could* have *dominium*. A war against them might be justified, as for example the crusades to win Jesus's Holy Land, but typically would not be, if it were merely for earthly reward. The Pope did have overarching authority and responsibilities as a missionary and judge, and this authority was universal, encompassing Christians and non-Christians alike. The Pope might, then, be called upon to judge a Jewish society by using Old Testament law, or a polytropic society by using natural law—the implicit rules known to all humans' common sense. The *dominium* that an infidel ruler might justly hold was subordinate to this overarching papal authority. Therefore, infidel rulers' *dominium* did hold, as long as they did not defy the papacy by interfering with the Christian missions.[57]

Thus, the earlier position of Hostiensis meant that Christian invasion was always licit because infidels had no *dominium*. Innocent's position meant that invasion was licit only when the infidels lost their *dominium* by refusing to admit missionaries.

Wycliffe came at this debate from a different starting point: could a priest in a state of sin effectively celebrate the Eucharist? (See Chapter 12.) Such a priest, with outstanding sins, could not, Wycliffe insisted: "No one is a civil lord,

56 Hostiensis, *Lectura quinque Decretalium or Lectura sive apparatus domini* (3.34.8), quoted in Joseph Adam Gustav Hergenröther, *Katholische Kirche und christlicher Staat in ihren geschichtlichen*, 2 vols. (Freiburg: Herder, 1872), I, 334. See A. M. Stickler, "Alanus Anglicus als Verteidiger des monarchischen Papsttums," *Salesianum* 21 (1959): 346–406.

57 Innocent IV, *In quinque libros decretalium: Commentaria* (Turin: Bernardinum Maiorinum, 1581), 255–56. See James Muldoon, "Extra ecclesiam non est imperium: The Canonists and the Legitimacy of Secular Power," *Studia Gratiana* 9 (1966): 553–80.

nor a bishop, nor a prelate, while in mortal sin."[58] In a parallel way, Wycliffe argued, *dominium* depended on a similar state of grace: a secular ruler had no *dominium* without grace. Presumably, that would allow any Christian to conquer any infidel, but in fact Wycliffe held that such conquest was legal only if there was a refusal of missionaries, for Christians had an obligation to care for non-believers. Secular rulers, however, should reform their own states before launching missions. In contrast to the idea that the Incarnation of Jesus removed *dominium* from infidel rulers, Wycliffe saw the Incarnation's consequence as the end of the wars of religion—the Old Testament was no longer sufficient to justify them, after Jesus had preached his message of love.[59]

Here Wycliffe's plain-ken inclination was considerable. *Dominium* was not absolute, but depended on the ruler being in a state of grace. Grace, however, was temporary and unknowable to humans.[60]

The Council of Constance (1414–18) saw the danger in Wycliffe's teachings. If they were true, a sin-test would determine whether a priest could celebrate the Eucharist, and whether even a Christian ruler could wage war. Constance condemned Wycliffism, and then condemned Jan Hus (ca. 1370–1415) for following it. When Hus asserted the secular rulers' need for grace for *dominium*, Emperor Sigismund (1368–1437) rejected it utterly: if it were true, no ruler could have *dominium*.[61]

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58 The same phrasing is used in 1382 and in 1418. For 1382, see William Courtenay, "Epistola Willelmi Cantuariensis super condemnatione hæresum Wycclyff in synodo," in *Fasciculi Zizaniorum Magistri Johannis Wyclif*, ed. Walter Waddington Shirley (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, and Roberts, 1858), 280. For 1418, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova, et amplissima collectio*, ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi, 31 vols. (Venice: Zatta, 1784), XXVII, col. 1208. See Wycliffe, *De Civili Dominio*, ed. Reginald Lane Poole, 4 vols. (London: Trübner, 1885), I, 22.

59 Wycliffe, *De Civili Dominio*, II, 1–8, 244–50.

60 Even his idea of predestination was towards the plain ken: predestination, which should be outside time, was not static, but was a repeated iteration of being in, and ultimately remaining in, a state of grace. Only from God's perspective was predestination stable and knowable. For example, Jesus's disciple Peter repeatedly sinned, while his disciple Judas repeatedly did good. God, however, loved unrighteous Peter more than righteous Judas, because Peter was predestined. The pope himself could not even be certain that he led the true Church, let alone that he would be saved. John Wycliffe, *De Ecclesia*, ed. Johann Loserth (London: Trübner, 1886), 5, 140. See Anthony Kenny, *Wyclif* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1985), 69–72.

61 Kenny (*Wyclif*, 93) points out that Wycliffe restricted his conclusions on dominion's dependence on grace to the clergy. See Peter of Mladoňovice, "An Account of the Trial and Condemnation of Master John Hus in Constance," in *John Hus at the Council of Constance*, ed. Matthew Spinka (New York: Columbia UP, 1965), 171–72; Jan Hus, *Historiae et monumentorum Joannis Hus atque Hieronymi Pragensis, confessorum Christi*, 2 vols. (Nuremberg: Joannis Montani et Ulrici Neuberi, 1715), I, 329–30.

The issue had real application for the Council when the question of Lithuania reached Constance. The Teutonic Knights argued, following Alanus, that the Catholic Lithuanians (and maybe even the Poles, who were even more obviously Catholic) were essentially infidels, outside of a state of grace, for their old "blindness" was still evident. They thus lacked *dominium*, and could and must be conquered. Their lawyers compared the Knights' war of reconquest to the Reconquista of Iberia from the Muslims.[62] The Polish scholar Paweł Włodkowic (1370–1435) argued against this: accepting the Knights' argument that grace was necessary for authority would not only dissolve the right of infidels to rule—not necessarily a problem—but would also undermine the right to rule of a Christian ruler suspected of sin, and make uncertain the ability of a priest suspected of sin to perform the Eucharist. Following Innocent IV, Włodkowic argued that the Knights had no right to attack the Lithuanians unless they had blocked the Gospel. In fact, the Knights themselves had blocked the Lithuanians' conversion, and the pope inherited Jesus's commission to Peter to "feed my sheep" (Jn 21:17), which included non-believers. The Council saw the danger, saw the Wycliffism implicitly lurking in the Knights' position, and condemned their argument. Thus, Innocent's views triumphed over those of Alanus and Hostiensis.[63]

The Council of Florence (1442) noted the impending damnation of non-Christians, as well as of those Christians who strayed into heresy or schism. Of course, anyone damned by a just God deserved that damnation, and so non-Christians in some sense wilfully refused to become Christians.[64]

Contact with previously unknown peoples created a new opportunity to contemplate these issues. Some theologians felt that barbarian "humans" were not fully human, as they did not have reason. Thus they were "natural" slaves in theory—and might benefit by being made legal slaves in practice. In the 1430s, the Bologna law professors Antonio de Rosellis (1381–1466) and Antonio Minucci da Pratovecchio (ca. 1380–1464) followed Innocent and Constance: *dominium* did not depend on grace—indeed its origin was in the disorder of the Fall itself—and Jesus's Incarnation did not hinder non-Christians' natural-law ability to rule. Polytropic peoples who offended natural law by refusing

62 "Johannes de Rocha verteidigt vor seiner Nation Falkenberg...," in *Acta Concilii constanciensis*, ed. Heinrich Finke, 4 vols. (Münster: Regensbergschen, 1928), IV, 365.

63 Vladimiri, "Opinio Hostiensis," in *Paulus Vladimiri and His Doctrine Concerning International Law and Politics*, ed. Stanislaus F. Belch, 2 vols. (The Hague: Mouton, 1965), II, 864–68. James Muldoon, *Popes, Lawyers, and Infidels: The Church and the Non-Christian World, 1250–1550* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1979), 112, points out that Vladimiri errs in ascribing this belief to Wyclif.

64 Stuart B. Schwartz, *All Can Be Saved: Religious Tolerance and Salvation in the Iberian Atlantic World* (New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 2008), 37–38.

missionaries had no recourse to it.[65] Invoking papal universal responsibility, in 1434, Pope Eugene IV (1388–1447) forbade European Christians from entering the Canary Islands, to protect their convert-Christian and non-Christian populations.

The kings of Portugal howled their protests at papal interference in an enterprise they described as inherently Christian. King Edward (1391–1438, rl. 1433–38) invoked the four hundred converts made at first contact between Portuguese and Canarians: "Where the name of Christ had never been known, Christ is now worshipped." Accepting that Jesus had given the pope "the fullness of this power over the entire world," Edward underlined the evident purity of his motivations, for he had acted "more indeed for the salvation of the souls of the pagans of the islands than for his own personal gain, for there was nothing for him to gain." In the Canaries, the non-Christians were barbaric, he claimed, and the Christian ones upstanding and loyal. Both would benefit by European conquest. If Rome refused to authorize the Portuguese, other less Catholic powers would invade instead.[66]

The papal bull *Romanus Pontifex* (1436, 1455) confirmed rights of the Portuguese in the Canaries—and, in revised versions, across broader geographies—within the context of the vision of Innocent and the Bologna scholars. The pope was the vicar of Jesus, who gave the papacy the keys to Heaven, and therefore Rome had ultimate authority. The 1493 follow-up *Inter Caetera* expanded *Romanus*: because Jesus had entrusted his flocks to Peter, conquest was acceptable to care for Indigenous peoples "well disposed to embrace the Christian faith."[67] Where Włodkowic previously used Jesus's sheep

65 A. Minucci Da Pratovecchio and A. Roselli, "Quidam princeps seu rex catholicus, non recognocens superiorem, vult inducer bellus contra sarracenos, non possidentes nec detinentes terras ipsius regis, sed detinentes terras quae fuerunt aliorum christianorum, quemadmodum," in *Monumenta Henricina*, ed. Antonio Domingues de Sousa Costa, 15 vols. (Coimbra: n.p., 1963), V, 285–343. See Jeremy Lawrance, "Alfonso de Cartagena on the Affair of the Canaries (1436–37): Humanist Rhetoric and the Idea of the Nation-state in Fifteenth-century Castile," paper presented at Historians of Medieval Iberia, University of Birmingham, September 1989; Anthony Pagden, *Fall of Natural Man: The American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, 1999); P. E. Russell, "El descubrimiento de Canarias y el debate medieval acerca de los derechos de los principes y pueblos paganos," *Revista de Historia Canaria* 36 (1978): 9–32; P. E. Russell, "Some Portuguese Paradigms for the Discovery and Conquest of Spanish America," *Renaissance Studies* 6 (1992): 377–90.

66 Letter from King Duarte I of Portugal to Pope Eugene IV, in James Muldoon, ed., *The Expansion of Europe: The First Phase* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1977), 54–56.

67 These are available in Latin and English in *European Treaties Bearing on the History of the United States and its Dependencies*, ed. Frances Gardiner Davenport

reference to condemn attempts to conquer the Lithuanians, now the same doctrine was used to defend the conquest of the Canaries. To "take care" of someone had a range of implications, in practice.

The Treaty of Alcáçovas (1479) recognized Spain's rights over the Canaries. In 1481, the Spanish Crown gave inhabitants of the Canary Islands the usual trade and migration rights. Converted, they came under the protection of the monarchs, whom they recognized as their *señores naturales* [natural lords]. Considerably more liberal-minded perspectives were held by the Canary Islands locals themselves; some felt that "each person could be saved in his or her own law" and "all those who do good go to paradise."[68]

The upshot of all these debates found its iconic form in the Spanish Requerimiento of 1513, written by Juan de Palacios Rubios (1450–1524), who believed that salvation could come through the Gospel implicit in natural law. To protect Spain against charges of Wycliffism, he took up Innocent IV's vision that allowed for infidel *dominium* under a universal papal authority: "Of all these nations God our Lord gave charge to one man, called St. Peter, that he should be Lord and Superior of all the men in the world, that all should obey him, and that he should be the head of the whole Human Race, wherever men should live, and under whatever law, sect, or belief they should be." The pope thus had the right to judge not only Christians, but "Moors, Jews, Gentiles, and all other Sects." Following Innocent, Palacios Rubios emphasized that an infidel ruler was worthy of *dominium* only as long as he allowed missionaries. Palacios Rubios thus recalled Jesus's command: "As you enter the home, give it your greeting. If the home is deserving, let your peace rest on it; if it is not, let your peace return to you. If anyone will not welcome you or listen to your words, leave that home or town and shake the dust off your feet."[69] Here Palacios Rubios takes up the gospel distinction between the welcoming and unwelcoming home,

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(Washington, DC: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1917), 9–26. See Charles-Martial de Witte, "Les bulles pontificales et l'expansion portugaise au XVe siècle," *Revue d'Histoire Ecclesiastique* 48 (1953): 683–718 and 53 (1958): 5–46 and 443–71.

68 Felipe Fernández-Armesto, *The Canary Islands after the Conquest* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1981), 125; Fernández-Armesto, *Before Columbus*, 214; Manuela Ronquillo Rubio, *Los orígenes de la Inquisición en Canarias, 1488–1526* (Las Palmas: Ediciones del Cabildo Insular de Gran Canaria, 1991), 240; Schwartz, *All Can Be Saved*, 41; Fajardo Spínola, *Las víctimas del Santo Oficio: Tres siglos de actividad de la Inquisición de Canarias* (Las Palmas: Las Palmas de Gran Canaria Dirección General de Universidades e Investigación, 2003), 151–92; Dominik Josef Wölfel, "La Curia Romana y la Corona de España en la defensa de los aborígenes Canarios," *Anthropos* 25 (1930): 1011–83 (1079).

69 *Juan López de Palacios Rubios*, *De las islas del mar océano*, trans. Augustín Millares Carlo (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1954), 37. Mt 10:11–15, Mk 6:10–11; Lk 9:5. See Schwartz, *All Can Be Saved*, 37–38.

but his deep ken finds consonance between Jesus's departure and the Spaniards' invasion.

Envoi

The cult of Jesus continued to expand beyond the fifteenth century, and the legal debates of that time underlie discussions of settler-colonialism today. The seventeenth century saw the development of global missionary networks, and, in the nineteenth century, advances in European military and transportation technologies facilitated the "discovery" of Christian religious technology by upland Indigenous peoples globally.[70] Some recognized the cross, of Jesus himself, as Indigenous. As a result of these processes, half the humans on the planet today identify as members of groups that acknowledge Jesus as God, a god, or a prophet.

In 1775, Christians onboard the *Santiago* and the *Sonora* reached the coast of British Columbia, where I am writing this book, but chose not to come ashore; in 1914, Muslims onboard the *Komagata Maru* reached the coast, but were not allowed to come ashore. In 1975, the Athapaskan sculptor Stanley Peters carved the *Totem Cross*, a crucified Jesus-as-Thunderbird. He explained that the *Cross*'s four colours represented "all races, black and yellow, red and white."[71] About fifteen years later, the visiting Anglican Archbishop of Singapore attempted to exorcise what he considered to be "evil spirits" from the totem poles in Vancouver's Stanley Park.[72] Both the sculptor's inclusion and the prelate's vigilance echo impulses found also in the fifteenth century, although the secularism dominant today in the global West reduces these subtle realities to mere artifacts of human culture.

70 Luke Clossey, *Salvation and Globalization in the Early Jesuit Missions* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, 2008), https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9780511497278; Kyle Jackson, *The Mizo Discovery of the British Raj: Empire and Religion in Northeast India, 1890–1920* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, 2023), https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009267359

71 *Art Collection d'art* (Ottawa: Canadian Catholic Conference, 1976), 22.

72 Ferdy Baglo, "Canadian Bishop Blocks Asian Church Leader from Visiting His Diocese," *Christianity Today* (1 November 1999), https://www.christianitytoday.com/ct/1999/novemberweb-only/41.0d.html; Marianne Meed Ward, "Ingham Says Nay to Tay," *Anglican Journal*, 1 November 1, 1999, http//anglicanjournal.com/ingham-says-nay-to-tay-584/