Georgios E. Trantas[1]
Aston University
United Kingdom

GREEK-ORTHODOX RELIGIOSCAPES AS DOMAINS OF MIGRATORY INTEGRATION AND HYBRIDISATION IN GERMANY AND GREAT BRITAIN: A COMPARATIVE STUDY

Abstract

This paper aims to introduce an alternative research approach in dealing with migrant communities as religioscapes, from the perspective of religious aesthetic. Namely, it focuses on the Greek and Greek-Cypriot migrant communities in Germany and Great Britain and examines their religiocultural symbolic constellations in the public sphere, particularly, those which illustrate aspects of their self-perception and migration narratives. In both cases churches serve as arks of culture and identity. In the lapse of time, community and church, being closely knit, jointly constructed their migrant narratives of de- and re-territorialisation, cultural adaptation and hybridisation, essentially their own distinct sense of being and belonging. Therefore, one observes the phenomenon of interwoven migrant and church narratives. The particularities of these constantly under construction identities are manifest in the architectural, hagiographical/iconographical themes, aesthetics and concepts of their churches. It is typical, however, of the Byzantine iconographic tradition to include and demonstrate the socio-political conditions of its time and place; and, those visual manifestations, as part of a sociocultural reality, possess a contextual dimension in their symbolic content, while being an act and a medium of communication in their own right. It is therefore feasible to decode their aforementioned content and articulate the narrative therein.

Keywords: Religioscapes, migration, identity, de- and re-territorialisation, hybridisation, Greek Orthodoxy.

Introduction

Through this paper I wish to describe and explain the particulars of my currently ongoing research project that falls within the broadly conceived discipline of

---

Religious Studies. It is titled 'Churches, Arks of Migratory Narratives: A Comparative Study of the Greek-Orthodox Religioscapes in Germany and Great Britain', known also by the acronym 'GO Religioscapes'; it is hosted by Aston University and it is conducted under the aegis of the European Commission and its Horizon 2020 programme, within the framework of a Marie Skłodowska-Curie Individual Fellowship.

The project approaches the Greek-Orthodox diasporic church-buildings in Germany and Great Britain as hosts of religiocultural symbolic constellations that comprise significations, which are representative of the corresponding religioscapes' migratory narratives. This stems from the fact that in both case-studies, community and *ecclesia* are coterminous; more to the point, they evolved together and infused one another with their common, interwoven migratory social experience narratives. This is identifiable in their places of worship, particularly where the communities are well-established and transgenerational, and thus they encompass these narratives since their beginnings. In that sense, the concepts of 'sacred space' and 'religioscapes' are fully applicable as they conceptualise population movement religioculturally, while addressing shifts as such from a spatial and temporal perspective. Using Visual Culture as the appropriate empirical approach, I delve into the particularities of the respective church-buildings, seek emergent patterns and categorise them thematically in order to better understand the relationship between community and religioscape, the intersection and interaction of the latter with those of the host countries, and the narratives that they immortalise, *mutatis mutandis* 'canonise', and ultimately perpetuate, with reference to identity, otherness, spatiality and belonging. Moreover, the comparison between cases will shed light on differences, overlaps and trade-offs, and help understand why those have come to be. All in all, this research is of immediate relevance to processes of de- and re-territorialisation, cultural hybridisation, collective self-perception and integration.

It ought to be noted that no such study has taken place to date; it would thus not be amiss to consider the present project as innovative. Moreover, this approach, after being applied, tested and perhaps modified to be fit for purpose *ad hoc*, shall be applicable more broadly to other Eastern Orthodox religioscapes, which are growing within the framework of increased mobility that the freedom of movement within the European Union secures. It follows that apart from the vacuum in relevant literature that this study aspires to fill, a database of primary research material will be produced, and it shall be most useful for further research and meta-analyses.

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

The return of religion to the epicentre of the public sphere,[2] combined with

---

2   Jürgen Habermas, Religion in the Public Sphere, *European Journal of Philosophy*, Vol. 14, No. 1, 2006, pp. 1-25. Also see Jürgen Habermas, *The Postnational Constellation, Political Essays*, translated by Max Pensky, The MIT Press, Cambridge MA, 2001.

de- and re-territorialisation as two interdependent movements of sociocultural change,[3] have given rise to the emergence of religioscapes, which are best defined as "subjective religious maps – and attendant theologies – of immigrant, or diasporic, or transnational communities who are […] in global flow and flux".[4] It would not be amiss to classify religioscapes as a specified, narrowed-down dimension of ethnoscapes, i.e. as groups of people, who, within the context of globality and mobility "are no longer tightly territorialized, spatially bounded, historically unselfconscious, or culturally homogeneous".[5] After all, in their broad conceptualisation, ethnoscapes are "the landscapes of persons who constitute the shifting world in which we live", which, as "moving groups and persons constitute an essential feature of the world, and appear to affect the politics of and between nations to a hitherto unprecedented degree".[6] Within religioscapes then, identity develops through detachment from original locality (de-territorialisation) and, at the same time, through the incorporation of *atopic*[7] cultural sources (re-territorialisation).[8] Religioscapes embody, in other words, a "glocal" polar opposite to globalization, where group religiosity finds new territorial relevance through spatial reaffirmation.[9]

Of course it follows that because of their de- and reterritorialised nature religioscapes bring forth connotations of Diasporas, which applies to the cases of interest at present. The term Diaspora has several meanings of course, depending on the community that one examines; there are, e.g. victim, labour, trade, imperial, cultural Diasporas, but all in all they share a number of overarching features, some of which apply to the selected case studies and can be summed up to a common narrative of dispersal, a collective memory, an idealisation or commitment to the ancestral homeland, a discourse of return to the latter, and the cultural enrichment in the host country.[10] In fact, elements that are indicative of both hybridity as "fusion and intermixture of cultures" and ethnicity as "reasser-

3   Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *Anti-Oedipus - Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, translated from French by Robert Hurley, Mark Seem, and Helen R. Lane, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis MN, 1972.

4   Elizabeth McAlister, Globalization and the Religious Production of Space, *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, Vol. 44, No. 3, 2005, pp. 249-255, (p. 251).

5   Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalisation*, Public Worlds Vol.1, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis MN, 1996, p. 48.

6   Arjun Appadurai, Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy, *Theory Culture Society*, Vol. 295, No. 7, 1990, pp. 295-310, (p. 297).

7   The notion of *Atopia* refers to the transcendental intangibility of space, with the latter being rendered immaterial, conflated with the narrative that is attributed to it, rather than its locality. See Stelios Ramfos, Τριώδιον: Τόπος Υπερουράνιος – Η Παλινωδία του Παπαδιαμάντη – Μελέτη Θανάτου [Triodion: Locus Supernal – The Tergiversation of Papadiamantis – Study of Death], Armos Publications, Athens, 1995.

8   Nikos Papastergiadis, *The Turbulence of Migration: Globalization, Deterritorialization and Hybridity*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 2000.

9   Peter Beyer, *Religion in the Context of Globalisation: Essays on Concept, Form, and Political Implication*, Routledge, London, 2013.

10   Seán McLoughlin, Migration, Diaspora and Transnationalism: Transformations of Religion and Culture in a Globalising Age, in: *The Routledge Companion to the Study of Religions*, Hinnells John R. (ed.), Routledge, London and New York, 2005, pp. 526-549, (p. 532).

tion of cultural distinctiveness"[11] are observable. Within this framework it is not uncommon for group religiosity to assume a more central role in the collective life of the migrant community compared to that in the homeland. All in all, it would be pertinent to hold that religion is one of the main markers of identity in migrant and diasporic communities.[12]

However, it should be noted that only few sources – e.g. Hämmerli and Mayer 2014 or Stoeckl 2012, 2014 – have hitherto addressed the general issue of Eastern Orthodoxy and migration. The formation of religious identity through sacred art and objects created in migration is an under-researched aspect in this field. Kristina Stoeckl in her 'European Integration and Russian Orthodoxy',[13] touches on the theme of multiple modernities by disputing the hypothesis of civilisational homogeneity as such and suggests that emergent civilisational patterns ought to be seen as the outputs of sociopolitical fermentations, forged by both secular and religious actors. By the same token, Stoeckl disputes the presumption that Eastern Orthodoxy can be grouped together and examined as one unitary civilization, in spite of ethnicity and national church, and thus it should not be deemed a stable homogeneous whole. She rather suggests that the constituent parts of Orthodoxy should be approached from both a comparative-civilisational and a post-secular perspective, i.e. as manifestations of multiple modernities, so that to better understand possible similarities, antitheses and even trade-offs between them. Further, in 'Orthodox Churches and Migration',[14] Stoeckl raises the issue of migration and jurisdiction beyond the domain of national churches; there, in light of increased mobility, Orthodoxy's diasporic formations outside the canonical jurisdiction of their national churches become themselves a point of friction between national churches, with the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople being at the epicentre of this. Likewise, Hämmerli and Mayer[15] touch on the issue of migrant Orthodoxy in predominantly non-Orthodox countries, which gives rise to a number of implications. Those range from identity fermentations from within migrant communities, to jurisdictional and ecclesiological shifts that occur with the aforementioned departure from the domain of the national church.

In the context of this project, this literature offers a useful starting point; however, the aforementioned sources do not address the issue of Orthodoxy in the West from a religious symbolic perspective as the one I suggest and introduce. The aim of this project is to add to the literature on Orthodoxy and mi-

---

11   Ibidem, p. 533.

12   Ibidem, pp. 544-545.

13   Kristina Stoeckl, European Integration and Russian Orthodoxy: Two Multiple Modernities Perspectives, in: *Multiple Modernities and Postsecular Societies*, Rosati Massimo and Stoeckl Kristina (eds.), Routledge, London, 2012, pp. 97-114.

14   Kristina Stoeckl, Orthodox Churches and Migration, in: *Eastern Christianity and Politics in the Twenty-First Century*, Leustean Lucian N. (ed.), Routledge, London and New York, (2014), pp. 721-736.

15   Maria Hämmerli and Jean-François Mayer (eds.), *Orthodox Identities in Western Europe: Migration, Settlement and Innovation*, Ashgate, Farnahm, 2014.

gration through the study of how physical structures and material symbolisms have been co-shaped by collective migrant narratives and in turn, how those aesthetic symbolic constellations co-shape and perpetuate narratives of migration as those have been illustrated by way of religious art. An additional source for this research is my own preparatory work for this project, both with regard to the object of research as well as with the methodological approach, produced in collaboration with Eleni Tseligka. There, we studied the integration of Greek Orthodox communities in Germany through the lens of religious aesthetics and their adaptation and appropriation of spatial-cultural particularities of the receiving state.[16]

This project also draws from theoretical literature on migration and the creation of sacred space as a form of glocalism. McAlister, apart from producing the authoritative definition of religioscapes as seen above, raises relevant questions concerning the study of religion, space and the conceptions thereof in light of globalisation.[17] This project pays heed to her insight that meanings ascribed to spatiality – ontological, genealogical, and historical – should be studied through the examination of patterns that emerge from population movement: moral geography, sacred space, integration, self-perception and territorial attachment. Meanings as such are spatially transferrable according to Beyer, who relativises the parameter of fixed spatiality with regard to religiosity. Even though he acknowledges the importance of traditional geographical points of reference, particularly those located in homelands, Beyer stresses the capacity of diasporic communities to generate their own narrative and identity constructs, whereby new glocal clusters are possible and not necessarily secularised in the sense of modernisation;[18] which is in line with McAlister's *problématique* in approaching the thematic area of interest. Hence, new formations as such give rise to intersecting religioscapes as described by Hayden and Walker, who utilise the conceptual framework to emphasise the spatial differentiation and therefore distinction between religioscapes via symbolic constellations in the public sphere. Frontiers emerge and/or shift, as they are primarily determined by the clearly distinguishable presence of religious communities and their more or less homogeneous self-perception. Notably, being demarcated by physical structures, territorial spaces become porous as they need not be coterminous with existing physical or political borders, since complexes of religious demarcations infuse places or territories with corresponding meaning anew.[19]

The theoretical take on religioscapes by McAlister, Beyer, and Hayden and

---

16   Georgios E. Trantas and Eleni D. Tseligka, Where the Byzantinesque Meets the Urbanesque: Architectural and Hagiographic Elements of Greek Orthodox Urban Reterritorialization in Germany, *Zeitschrift für Balkanologie*, Vol. 52, No. 2, 2016, pp. 241-260.

17   McAlister.

18   Beyer.

19   Robert M. Hayden and Timothy D. Walker, Intersecting Religioscapes: A Comparative Approach to Trajectories of Change, Scale, and Competitive Sharing of Religious Spaces, *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, Vol. 81, No. 2, 2013, pp. 399-426.

Walker, informs the central hypotheses of this project. Indeed, according to my preliminary research, the case-studies in focus offer to-the-point applications of the theoretical framework, inasfar as they distinguish glocal, intersecting religioscapes whose symbolic religious constellations are empirically detectable in the public sphere, are easily distinguishable from their surrounding cultural paradigm, and their aesthetic and architectural particularities and symbolisms are rich in meanings of values and self-perception within their sacred spaces. To be sure, space, from a unitary physical, mental and social perspective is rife with both physical and metaphorical meanings and ultimately it constitutes the platform upon which all forms of sociocultural activity are realised and expressed, including the transnational religious ones.[20] In that sense, "space is not merely a container in which activities take place, nor is it a backdrop against which they are played out. Like the places within it, it is more than the sum of its dimensions, properties, and aspects",[21] therefore space is rendered relational, multidimensional and dynamic.

Hierophany is the *par excellence* manifestation of sacred space according to Eliade. It constitutes an ontological distinction between the worldly and otherworldly space, and, as a means of demarcation it establishes the spatially distinguishable sacred amidst the profane. In fact, he uses the church in the modern city as an indicative example of spatial non-homogeneity and discontinuity, so that to exemplify sacred space. Therein, theophany or hierophany, i.e. the signification of sacredness, bestows upon the sacred space its qualitative territorial detachment.[22] Notably, "when no sign manifests itself, it is provoked",[23] the space is consecrated and ultimately sacred space is constructed.[24] Interestingly enough, Eliade considers settlement and establishment in a given place as an act that may qualify as consecration, considering that it constitutes an existential choice for a community,[25] which is of immediate relevance to the immigration-oriented topic of this paper.

Foucault describes the spatial differentiation on the basis of its – non-exclusively – sacrosanct traits as a *heterotopia*, an 'othered' place such as a cemetery, which may be functionally connected with the mundane, yet, in tandem with its church it takes on a different essence as spatial cultural entity. The notion of heterotopia, given that it is often 'othered' temporally and not just spatially, allowing thus the element of *heterochronism* to determine its relationship with time,

---

20   Kim Knott, Spatial Theory and Method for the Study of Religion, *Temenos. Nordic Journal of Comparative Religion*, Vol. 41, No. 2, 2005, pp. 153–184, (p. 159).

21   Kim Knott, *The Location of Religion: A Spatial Analysis*, Routledge, London, 2014, p. 129.

22   Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane*, translated from French by W.R. Trask, Harcourt, Brace & World Inc., New York NY, 1957, pp. 20-27.

23   Ibidem, p. 27.

24   Ibidem, pp. 28-29.

25   Ibidem, p. 34.

can be extended to museums and libraries for instance.[26] Places, actual places, regardless of culture or civilisation, which constitute heterotopic configurations, are essentially counter-sites, where a simultaneously mythic and real contestation of the mundane space is at work.[27]

In the same vein, emerges hierotopy, essentially an offshoot of Eliade's take on sacred space that emanates from Greek and denotes literally 'sacred place'; it is a composite term that consists of the roots *hieros* (Gr.: ιερός, Eng.: sacred) and *topos* (Gr.: τόπος, Eng.: place), which, when combined engender *Ierotopia* (Gr.: Ιεροτοπία).[28] Alexei Lidov resorts to this neologism in order to introduce his own definition of spatially linked sacrality, as he holds that "hierotopy is creation of sacred spaces regarded as a special form of creativity, and a field of historical research which reveals and analyses the particular examples of that creativity".[29]

Christian sacred space, which is still part of the material world, is dynamic and powerful. And in fact the material objects, religious, sacred or items of utility, take part in "articulating and maintaining an element of Christian creed, code, and cultus."[30] More to the point, the dynamism of the religious space is evident in the buildings themselves no less: "in the diversity of Christian church types, ranging from small house churches to great cathedrals to auditoria."[31] Moreover, through the church-buildings relationships and community aspects of power and agency are manifested, of structures and social paradigms, within the context and the circumstances of the time and place.[32] The latter also applies to the religioscapes that are of interest in my research, as they express dimensions of their own self-perception and their relation with the world, and essentially their sense of belonging to the world beyond the demarcated religious space. In fact, religious symbolisms offer a unique insight into the interaction of believers with the 'outside'. Churches are 'arks of narratives', sociopolitical manifestations of migrant identity and, as such, also, structures of power.

Regarding the relationship of Greek Orthodoxy with space, Victor Roudometof has raised the issue that inevitably surfaces in light of globalisation, namely the question of jurisdiction and institutional adaptation of churches to globalisation. In a situation where de- and reterritorialisation are facts of life and religioscapes are in a state of flux, the role, not only of the Ecumenical Patriar-

---

26   Michel Foucault, Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias, in: *Rethinking Architecture: A Reader in Cultural Theory*, Leach Neil (ed.), Routledge, London, 1997, pp. 329-357, (pp. 332-335).

27   Michel Foucault, Des espaces autres, Conférence au Cercle d'études architecturales, 14 mars 1967, *Architecture, Mouvement, Continuité*, No. 5, 1984, pp. 46-49.

28   Alexei Lidov, *Hierotopy. Spatial icons and Image-Paradigms in Byzantine Culture*, Design. Information. Cartography, Moscow, 2009, p. 32.

29   Ibidem.

30   Jeanne H. Kilde, *Sacred Power, Sacred Space: An Introduction to Christian Architecture and Worship*, Oxford University Press, New York NY, 2008, p. 199.

31   Ibidem.

32   Ibidem, p. 200.

chate, but also, of the national churches is challenged;[33] this is exemplified in the localism that characterised the Orthodox Church of Greece and its activities after 1998.[34] Roudometof thereby draws our attention to the *problématique* of compatibility between institutional Greek Orthodoxy and modernity. Leontis, in referring to the topographies of any given nation, notes that physical symbols, imagery and narratives actually denote the homeland, with distinct references to the past. Further, it is particularly indicated that Greeks tend to ascribe narrative (*logos*, Gr.: λόγος) to place (*topos* Gr.: τόπος), which constitutes a citation, but most importantly an integral element of the place, both literally and symbolically.[35] After all, one concedes axiomatically that there can be no society which does not perceive itself as 'something', and that 'something' is never viewed as a mere collection of expendable and replaceable individuals that happen to coexist under common conditions. On the contrary, they take part in it and its pre-necessitated values, norms, myths, traditions etc., because they are communicants of its social imaginary meanings and they willingly – wittingly or not – belong to this society and perpetuate it.[36] And ultimately it is the religiocultural illustrations of those social, collective imaginary's meanings that I wish to identify and decode.

Object of Research – Hypothesis

As stated already, the object of this research is the religiocultural evidence found in the iconography and church architecture that illustrate/demonstrate the migratory narrative of de- and reterritorialisation of:

(a) The Greek migrant communities in Germany, which were gradually established mainly during the 1960s and 1970s, and eventually led to the formation of their corresponding religioscapes across the country, as attested by iconographical and architectural evidence in the public sphere. Additionally, it focuses on the integration of a Greek-Orthodox collectivist culture[37] within a predominantly Protestant, individualist sociocultural environment,[38] with the church being the informal mediator

---

33 Victor Roudometof, Greek Orthodoxy, Territoriality, and Globality: Religious Responses and Institutional Disputes, *Sociology of Religion*, Vol. 69, No. 1, 2008, pp. 67-91.

34 Victor Roudometof, The Evolution of Greek Orthodoxy in the Context of World Historical Globalization, *Orthodox Christianity in 21st Century Greece: the Role of Religion in Culture, Ethnicity and Politics*, in: Roudometof Victor and Makrides Vasilios N. (eds.), Ashgate, Surrey, 2010, pp. 21-38.

35 Artemis Leontis, *Topographies of Hellenism: Mapping the Homeland*, Cornell University Press, London, 1995. See also Doxiadis Constantinos A., *Building Entopia*, Norton, New York NY, 1975.

36 Cornelius Castoriadis, *La montée de l'insignifiance, les carrefours du labyrinthe* (Paris: Seouil, 1996).

37 Renée Hirschon, Indigenous Persons and Imported Individuals: Changing Paradigms of Personal Identity in Contemporary Greece, in: *Eastern Christians in Anthropological Perspective*, Hahn Chris and Goltz Hermann (eds.), University of California Press, Berkeley CA, 2010, pp. 289-310.

38 Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, translated by Talcott Parsons, George Allen & Unwin Ltd, third edition, London, 1950. Also, Ferdinand Tönnies, *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft. Grundbegriffe der reinen* Soziologie, vierte und fünfte Auflage, Karl Curtius, Berlin, 1922.

thereof. Likewise, the project studies how legal status changes, namely from *Gastarbeiter* to EU citizens, have modified narratives of belonging.

(b) The Greek-Cypriot migrant communities in Britain, the main bulk of which was initially formed during the 1950s and 1960s, giving rise to the emergence of corresponding religioscapes. They, too, came from a collectivist cultural background and had to adjust to an individualist social environment, whereby their church constituted a cultural and political point of reference;[39] not to mention that the Greek-Cypriots came from a political culture where the church had an officially ethnarchic role for centuries.[40] In their case, a shift from colonial and postcolonial commonwealth citizens has impacted their collective self-understanding as migrants.

Notably, it was the Greek-Orthodox Metropolis of Germany and Exarchate of Central Europe (GOMGECE) that co-facilitated the establishment of the corresponding religioscape, given that it was founded (February 5, 1963) long before the Greek migrants acquired a permanent residence permit in Germany, and was recognised as a legal person already since October 1974. Therefore, following the reterritorialisation of Greek Orthodox migrants, it was the church that functioned as a forerunner for the establishment and integration of the corresponding communities, while in turn it absorbed into its own narrative the collective migrant experience.[41] As for Britain, the Archdiocese of Thyateira and Great Britain (ATGB) was founded in 1922 and it essentially became the point of reference of the, then, sparse presence of Greek-Cypriot immigrants.[42] Later, especially during the post-war period up to 1962, they emerged as sizeable communities and expanded across Britain amidst the influx of Commonwealth citizens, and further, of post-colonial migrants.[43] In both cases, churches served an array of cultural purposes and evolved together with the communities. In turn, converted and newly built church-buildings became prominent markers of migratory narratives. It is worth mentioning that the places of worship of the aforementioned religioscapes do not only demonstrate the existing accumulated social narrative through their aesthetics, but they also co-shape it and perpetuate it in part, as a form of tradition.

Noticeable iconographical and architectural projections in the public sphere demonstrate the existence of the religioscapes in focus and attest to

---

39   Floya Anthias, *Ethnicity, Class, Gender and Migration: Greek-Cypriots in Britain*, Ashgate, Aldershot, 1992.

40   Georgios E. Trantas, *Being and Belonging: A Comparative Examination of the Greek and Cypriot Orthodox Churches' Attitudes to 'Europeanisation' in Early 21st Century* [Erfurter Studien zur Kulturgeschichte des Orthodoxen Christentums, Band 16], Peter Lang, Berlin, 2018.

41   Trantas and Tseligka.

42   Archbishop of Thyateira and Great Britain Gregorios, The 90th Anniversary of the Archdiocese of Thyateira and Great Britain, *Encyclical of The Archdiocese of Thyateira and Great Britain,* October 2012, London. Also see Dimitris Tziovas, *Greek Diaspora and Migration since 1700: Society, Politics and Culture*, Farnahm, Ashgate, 2009.

43   Anthias.

their aesthetic hybridity in comparison with the traditional Byzantine – including the stereotypical neo-Byzantine – model. Such symbolic illustrations where local, indigenous themes are endorsed by syncretistic religious aesthetics on the one hand, and on the other, symbolic constellations of Greek Orthodoxy, constitute evidence of collective migratory narratives. The regulative canonical background notwithstanding, architectural variability and adaptability to building designs, materials and shape parameters is not uncommon, as it is neither uncommon nor irregular for iconography to *mutatis mutandis* adapt and feature themes and representations that are relevant to the political and societal circumstances of the time. In fact, a social, cultural and political dimension is ever present in the Byzantine aesthetic.[44] Such emergent themes can be noticed when the religioscapes of interest are examined from both a temporal and a spatial perspective, as, their pre-existing figures of memory demonstrate an analogous hybridisation of their historicity;[45] namely, their cyclical time-lapse perception of repetitive traditional patterns[46] has been infused with new spatial references, directly linked to their new geographical particularities, which define them as religioscape. An example of this observation would be the localised, publicly held annual celebrations by the parishioners in honour of their local parishes' – patron – saint. The appropriation of the place, following reterritorialisation, is both temporally and spatially fixed and legitimated via the church at a symbolic level.[47] This is further attested, for example, by the veneration and, what is more, the *byzantinesque* iconographic depiction of the Saints of the British Isles.

The main axes of my overall analytical approach stem from the emergent cultural typology patterns including the concepts of space and time that I observed empirically during my preliminary research study. This typology helps explain the mutation Greek and Greek-Cypriot migrant communities have undergone. Namely, one observes a differentiation of social practices that clearly emanate from a corresponding shift in geographical as well as temporal points of reference. Also, it is not a coincidence that church-buildings are of particular interest. For example the standard, typical ritual of the consecration of any given Greek-Orthodox church-building, involves very clearly a spatial discontinuity, a heterotopia where a world of different order dwells. Namely, a significant part of the consecration ritual would be the processions around the building of the church, which demarcate the area as sacred and set the building apart from the others in the surrounding area:

---

44   Kilde 2008, as well as Elisabeta Neğrau, The Ruler's Portrait in Byzantine Art: a Few Observations Regarding its Functions, *European Journal of Science and Theology*, Vol. 7, No. 2, 2001, pp. 63-75.

45   Jan Assmann and John Czaplika, Collective Memory and Cultural Identity, *New German Critique*, No. 65, 1995, pp. 125-133, as well as Steven Engler and Gregory P. Grieve, Illuminating the Half-Life of Tradition: Legitimation, Agency, and Counter-Hegemonies, in: *Historicising "Tradition" in the Study of Religion*, Engler Steven and Grieve Gregory P. (eds.), Walter de Gruyter, Berlin, 2005, pp. 1-18.

46   Eliade.

47   Trantas and Tseligka.

> The bishop raises the paten containing the relics and the massive exodus from the church begins in the following order: acolytes, choir, cantor, icon of the patron saint of the church, priests (the pastor of the church holds the gospel book) and bishop. They leave the church followed by the entire congregation.[48]

Hence, being symbolically demarcated by the above procession, it is considered an otherworldly domain: "the church-building now becomes heaven".[49] This differentiates the consecrated space and alters the way its custodianship and ownership is perceived, as it integrates it into the realm and the domain of the corresponding religioscape. It would be pertinent to say that the inauguration rites of an Orthodox church epitomise the phenomenon of creating a heterotopia via the demarcation of sacred space. The head priest, followed by the rest of the parishional clergy and the laypeople, leads the congregation around the church, starting from the front entrance, and perambulates the church thrice.[50] Upon completion of this symbolic movement the church is set apart from the worldly domain.

In the context of migration though, the inauguration of a church is charged with additional significance, given that it becomes part of the collective narrative and its spatial anchoring, while at the same time it hosts a symbolic constellation of the narrative thereof. From the initial stages of deterritorialisation up to the Greek migrant reterritorialisation and onwards, the symbolic content of collective culture and narrative is undoubtedly permeated, among others, by a clear spatial reference to a homeland, a birthplace of identity which still contains landmarks, landscapes, and geo-cultural symbols as undisputable points of reference. This type of narrative in its entirety then is a form of citation, which among other things often contains references to particular space, both sacred and mundane. Interestingly enough, the space to which a community has reterritorialised gets appropriated into the hybrid collective narrative; establishment of an actual home for the community with the church being the ark of this hybrid narrative is empirically observable. Space gets appropriated and becomes part of the collective narrative. In turn, the latter reproduces the reference to the, now, appropriated space via its illustration in a sacred context, and consolidates the sense of belonging to it. This gives rise to the spatial dimension of a religioscape's self-perception.

---

48 Gus G. Christo, *The Consecration of a Greek-Orthodox Church According to Eastern Orthodox Tradition: A Detailed Account and Explanation of the Ritual*, The Edwin Mellen Press, Lewiston NY, 2005, pp. 17.

49 Ibidem.

50 Archimandrite Georgios M. Thanasos, Η ακολουθία των Εγκαινίων [The Inauguration Liturgy] Dissertation on Historical Theology, Ιστορικολειτουργική θεώρηση και Έντυπες Εκδόσεις, Athens, 2016, p. 85.

Church Aesthetics and Narratives

Indeed there are canonical constraints and rules in the iconographical pro-gramme of an Eastern Orthodox church-building, as well as overarching tenden-cies. For example, the post-iconoclastic decoration has the New Testament as its compass, in the sense that it is intended "to demonstrate the inexorable process of the incarnational economy",[51] which is Christocentric as the ascending succes-sion of figures from the nave all the way up to the altar and the cupola encom-passes the eschatological element, demonstrable via the iconistic theological vehicle.[52]

However, it is not uncommon for the Byzantine iconographical and ar-chitectural tradition to manifestly take into account the circumstances, the socio-political context of the time and the cultural particularity thereof, and appropriate, change and adapt accordingly. Evidence of this date back to the early days of Christianity in the predominantly Hellenic peninsula, where the intersection between the growing Christian and the shrinking, but lingering, pagan religioscapes is evident. Christians expropriated former pagan tem-ples and sanctuaries, and, either transformed them or dismantled them and built their own places of worship, often using remnants of the pagan tem-ples as building materials. An outstanding example of the transformation of religioscapes thereof would be the conversion of the Parthenon, dedicated to the goddess Athena, to the Church of the Virgin Mary.[53] Yet, centuries later, during the Ottoman period (1453–1830), one observes the emergent pat-tern of a "visual synthesis of Hellenism and Christianity".[54] Frescoes, dating back to the early sixteenth century onward, depict ancient Greek sages, al-beit without halo; such examples can be found in several monasteries across Greece, from Mount Athos to Epirus, and Lakonia. Illustrated figures include those of Homer, Thucydides, Aristotle, Socrates, Plato etc., within the Byz-antine context of "Christian Hellenism", where particular sages were selec-tively appropriated as they had "foreseen" the coming of Jesus Christ and "prepared" the ground for it.[55]

The Byzantine axiom, however, that Orthodox religious art is not sup-posed to be innovative is a *conditio sine qua non*, as is the obligation of the iconographer to accurately reproduce the traditional prototype. Nor is the depiction of imaginary entities, fictitious creatures – let alone pagan idols

---

51 John A. McGuckin, The Theology of Images and the Legitimation of Power in Eighth-Century Byzantium, *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly*, Vol. 37, No. 1, 1993, pp. 39-58, (p. 43).

52 Ibidem, pp. 43-44.

53 Vasilios N. Makrides, *Hellenic Temples and Christian Churches: A Concise History of the Religious Cultures of Greece from Antiq-uity to the Present*, New York University Press, New York NY, 2009, p. 166.

54 Ibidem, p. 175.

55 Ibidem, p. 176.

– in line with Orthodox tradition.[56] And yet, apart from the secular Byzantine artistic expressions that were more liberal, there is ample evidence of pagan portrayals in the ecclesiastical art as well. For example, "the late-twelfth-century church of the Little Metropolis in Athens presents the best-known gallery of inventions, such as the relief on the facade showing four sphinxes, two with wings and two without".[57] It would not be amiss to maintain that the Orthodox principle of *economia* was – and is – applicable in religious art. More to the point, the aforementioned examples are pointed out as indicative of the flexibility demonstrated in the application of religious art.

Further, with regard to architecture, flexibility is easily observable due to the distinctiveness of the location, the available building materials, and an array of practical, functional reasons. However, the individual style, taste and perception of the architect played an equally formative role. Standard features notwithstanding, imposed by liturgical theological needs, such as the narthex, the *naos* and the sanctuary, vaults, chapels, proportions and decorations followed no strict standardisation; they were diverse. All in all, the Byzantine architectural patterns point to a dynamic interplay of elements, and even though the cruciform basilica shape seems to be typical, adaptability, flexibility and even small-scale experimentation is not alien to the overall aesthetic.[58]

That is not, however, the norm in Greece, not least in the sense of a modernist, innovative tendency,[59] whereas, examples of Greek-Orthodox modern design approaches are easier to come across abroad.[60] Particularly in the context of Greek migrant religioscapes, the obvious aesthetic of hybridity in the United States of America is worth noting. This phenomenon surfaced variably, across three phases of architectural change: in the first phase (1850–1950) it was mostly pre-existing buildings that were used, former Protestant and Catholic churches, usually in abandoned areas due to the so called "white flight"; the second phase (1950s–1980s) was a period during which the Greek-Americans experienced economic affluence and built new, modernist churches in their new suburban religioscapes; in the third phase (1980s–) a return to traditionalist, historical correctness is mostly identifiable. And, all in all, it would be in order to observe that socioeconomic changes either coincide or trigger shifts in the church aesthetics of the Greek-Orthodox

---

56 Henry Maguire, The Profane Aesthetic in Byzantine Art and Literature, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers,* Vol. 53, 1999, pp. 189-205, (p. 190).

57 Ibidem, p. 193.

58 Robert Ousterhout, An Apologia for Byzantine Architecture, *Gesta*, Vol. 35, No. 1, 1996, pp. 21-33, (pp. 25-27).

59 Ekklesia, Η Ναοδομία: Ιστορική και θεολογική θεώρηση [Church-building: Historical and Theological Theorisation], *http://www.ecclesia.gr/greek/holysynod/commitees/liturgical/id_naodomia_2012.pdf* (accessed 02.05.2019).

60 Bozidar Manic, Ana Nikovic, Igor Maric, Relationship Between Traditional and Contemporary Elements in the Architecture of Orthodox Churches at the Turn of the Millenium, *Architecture and Civil Engineering*, Vol. 13, No. 3, 2015, pp. 283-300.

religioscapes in America.[61] I am convinced, having conducted extended preliminary research on the matter, that the same observations are applicable to the Greek-Orthodox religioscapes of Great Britain and Germany, thereby resorting to visual culture in order to shed light on the migratory narratives of the latter is deemed a legitimate approach.

Research Methodology, Operationalisation

Although Visual Culture is *mutatis mutandis* underutilised in the study of religion, it is a valuable instrument in examining aspects that cannot be informed otherwise. Whether one seeks to advance scholarship via the iconological Warburg-Panofsky tradition or through more recent approaches, which deal with visual themes from the perspectives of visual media, culture, religious aesthetics, material culture, etc., the broader epistemological milieu is quite helpful in the theorisation of religion.[62] After all, considering that Eastern Orthodox religious art is essentially liturgical art, i.e. *iconistic theology*, and therefore a bible for the illiterate and a means of worship, while at the same time a church is a container of collective migratory narratives,[63] the study of Greek-Orthodox, and indeed, Eastern Orthodox religioscapes is incomplete without the utilisation of Visual Culture. Just like "non-literary societies of the past cannot be studied otherwise than through their material culture, of which visual culture is a rewarding if tricky part", equally, "the epistemological principle should be extended to any period, society and religious tradition".[64]

Along these lines, the major objective of the GO Religioscapes project is to compare the de- and reterritorialisation narratives of Greek and Greek-Cypriot Orthodox migrant communities, established in Germany and Great Britain respectively, and scrutinise their iconographical/hagiographical and architectural symbolic constellations as migratory narrative containers and conveyors, and by extension develop a novel theoretical-methodological model pertaining to Greek-Orthodox, and by extension Eastern Orthodox intra-European migration. Hence, the main research questions to be answered via this comparative study are: (a) what hybrid self-perception patterns emerge? (b) How do the emergent typologies between communities and countries compare? (c) Which are the intercultural and/or syncretistic self-perception themes/elements that are being

---

61 Kostis Kourelis and Vasileios Marinis, An Immigrant Liturgy: Greek Orthodox Worship and Architecture in America, in: *Liturgy in Migration: Cultural Contexts from the Upper Room to Cyberspace*, Teresa Berger (ed.), The Liturgical Press, Collegeville MN, 2012, pp. 155-175, (pp. 165-167).

62 Christoph Uehlinger, Approaches to Visual Culture and Religion: Disciplinary Trajectories, Interdisciplinary Connections, and some Conditions for Further Progress, *Method and Theory in the Study of Religion*, Vol. 27, No. 4-5, pp. 384-422, DOI: https://doi.org/10.1163/15700682-12341362.

63 Trantas and Tseligka.

64 Uehlinger.

legitimised via their 'sacralisation', being thus rendered integral parts of migratory narratives? (d) What messages do they to convey? And ultimately, (e) what is the place of the two largest de- and reterritorialised Greek Orthodox migrant communities in Western Europe?

The topic, objectives and questions are being dealt with via a qualitative empirical research, i.e., a semiotic visual analysis of the aesthetic and symbolic dimension of the object of research. Thematically relevant visual data (images) from at least twenty-five prominent, well-established parishes in each country are being collected; representative sampling necessitates that the selected places of worship/parishes must have appropriated the social experience narrative as well as have taken part in its formation. Namely, parishional churches that embody the communities' and ecclesiae central points of reference diachronically, and are actively involved in community life in an impactful way. Those ought to satisfy the following sample selection criteria: they need to be (a) Greek Orthodox (not generally Eastern Orthodox); (b) consolidated – well-established; (c) diachronically present, trans-generational; (d) sizeable (covering broad areas and/or host considerable church attendance); (e) host regular church and community activities (have community centres and/or schools – ranging from bible study to modern Greek, folklore music and dance, iconography, community gatherings, library etc). The most representative communities – not exclusively – that satisfy criteria (a), (b), (c), (d), and variable combinations of criterion (e) have been shortlisted and they comprise both a main and a replacement sample list in the event of unresponsiveness.

The primary data of interest comprises hagiographical/iconographical and architectural images, Greek-Orthodox indoor and outdoor frescoes, icons and the church-buildings themselves. Information on the above data (i.e. crafting/building dates, funding, style/theme selection and authorisation, conversion terms and conditions of previously heterodox buildings) are being collected from secondary sources and where necessary, from the ATGB and the GOMGECE directly. Then the taxonomic process of qualitative analysis shall ensue, so that to identify thematic patterns within the visual materials. Since institutions are only possible and conceivable through a symbolic network and its significations,[65] it is methodologically optimal to examine signs in constellations, i.e. sign-systems.[66] The in-depth analytical interpretation will be implemented by examining the associations within the constellations of signs with each other, as well as in relation to their sociocultural contexts, ideas and values.[67] Following identification, codes will be categorised in thematically coherent taxonomies. Themes of

---

65   Cornelius Castoriadis, *The Imaginary Institution of Society*, translated from French by Kathleen Blamey, Polity Press, Cambridge, 1987, pp. 146-147.

66   Daniel Chandler, *Semiotics: the Basics*, Routledge, second edition, London, 2007, p. 2, 14.

67   Theo Van Leeuwen, Semiotics and Iconography, in: *Handbook of Visual Analysis*, van Leeuwen Theo and Jewitt Carey (eds.), Sage Publications, London, 2001, pp. 92-118, (p. 93; pp. 96-97).

interest are particularly those that refer to self-perception, location, history and migratory narrative, with religiocultural *heterotopias* being the central point of reference. Structures that fit into the category of *heterotopic* configurations, as defined earlier by Foucault, are a *sine qua non* as regards the examination of the migrant communities in focus. Churches, by definition *heterotopic* establishments, contain the codes and significations of interest: ethnic, national, cultural, and religious national signifiers. Significations are not located in churches exclusively; they are also located outdoors, and, when logistically and practically possible, they are also to be found in extra-ecclesiastical community centres and places of regular community activities within the extended church premises. In sum, the main axes of sampling and analyses (semiotic and thematic) are the representations and citations that appropriate, define, legitimise and perpetuate the narratives of de- and reterritorialisation, hybridity and self-perception, while addressing the interplay of *narrative* with *place*, within a glocal framework that pervades the religioscapes in focus.

Case Studies Selection and Comparability

Concerning comparability, the choice was based both on the differences and similarities between the German and the British case; it is important to reveal how different background features affect migrant communities in the two countries comparatively, and how their similarities behave in different settings and circumstances. In addition, the comparison shall provide the most conclusive possible picture as far as Orthodox religioscapes in the West go, because Greek-Orthodox migrants have experienced all phases of reterritorialisation and establishment within a period of more than half a century, as well as all kinds of citizenship available to them by their receiving states, long before the Maastricht treaty. They are transgenerational samples and their corresponding narratives are the output of a lengthy social experience, while, with the formation of their religioscapes by and large consolidated, their infusion with external cultural elements and intercultural fermentations has been digested by now. Not to mention that Greece was the first ever Orthodox EU Member State with Cyprus second; also, they are both Eurozone adherents. This makes the Greek-Orthodox cases a model for study of more recent sizeable migrations of Orthodox Christians to Western Europe (e.g. Romanian, Bulgarian, Ukrainian, Russian).

However, there are notable differences between the two cases, which renders the comparison all the more productive. For instance, from a geographical perspective, Greece is attached by land to the European continent, allowing for an increased degree of communication, exchanges, trade, and geocultural influences with the entire broader region throughout the centuries; whereas Cyprus is a geographically detached island in the Eastern Mediterranean and in closer proximity to North Africa and the Middle East, and requires the use of sea

lanes and airlines in order to engage in physical exchange with Europe. More to the point, Greek-Cypriots often refer to mainland Greece as the 'National Centre', which points to a composite perception of identity, in that it encompasses the *atopic* element in itself.[68]

Greece has been an independent, sovereign – and geographically growing – state ever since the nineteenth century, not least, with the variable support of the Great Powers.[69] On the other hand, the Republic of Cyprus acquired its independence as late as 1960, having previously been a British colony, while it is still experiencing the collective trauma of Turkish invasion, occupation and division, which is quite uncommon for an EU Member State. Moreover, it was diachronically disfavoured by the Great Powers and it was part of the Non-Aligned Movement. In addition, their respective churches have different historical trajectories as well. For example, the Orthodox Church of Cyprus has been autocephalous since the year 431 and it has played a distinct ethnarchic role diachronically, while being an institution of noteworthy political weight. On the antipode, the Orthodox Church of Greece was unilaterally founded in 1833 as a national church, within the secularist context and circumstances of the time.[70]

Conclusion

The Greek-Orthodox Diaspora in Germany and Great Britain, comprising Greeks and Greek-Cypriots respectively, has seen the establishment and embedding of those communities into their host countries gradually since the 1950s, when noteworthy migratory movement was recorded. At the same time, the aforementioned migrants established themselves as religioscapes as well, as attested by an array of distinct symbolic points of reference in the public sphere, namely, their places of worship.

Those constitute heterotopias – although not always at first glance – as they are 'othered' from the mundane, worldly space. Their consecration renders them sacred, even though, merely the establishment of a religious community contributes decisively in the ontological transformation of sacred space amidst the profane as well. Notwithstanding the distinction between the latter, sacred space is still part of the profane, given that it remains part of the material world,

---

68   Trantas.

69   See Thomas W. Gallant, *From the War of Independence to the Present*, Bloomsbury, second edition, London, 2016, and, John S. Koliopoulos and Thanos M. Veremis, *Modern Greece: A History since* 1821, Hurst and Co., London, 2010. Also, Joseph S. Joseph, *Cyprus: Ethnic Conflict and International Politics – From Independence to the Threshold of the European Union*, McMillan Press, second edition, London, 1997, as well as, Caesar V. Mavratsas, Greek-Cypriot National Identity: A Clash between Geography and History, in: *Spatial Conceptions of the Nation: Modernising Geographies in Greece and Turkey*, Diamandouros Nikiforos P., Dragonas Thalia and Keyder Cağlar (eds.), Tauris Academic Studies, London, 2010, pp. 145-160, (p. 146).

70   Andreas M. Wittig, *Die Orthodoxe Kirche in Griechenland: Ihre Beziehung zum Staat gemäß der Theorie und der Entwicklung von 1821–1977*, Augustinus-Verlag, Würzburg, 1987, and also Kleitos Ioannides, *The Church of Cyprus: History and Culture of two Millennia*, Holy Monastery of Kykkos: Nicosia, 1999.

but as such, it demonstrates a dynamism as it reflects the interplay between ontological domains. Most notably, through, and due to this interplay, the sacred space encompasses codified abstractions of identity and belonging in a material and visual form, i.e. of architecture and religious art; therein, social structures, conditions, particularities and dimensions of power and agency, among others, are identifiable.

In addition, the inauguration of a migrant parish church is all the more significant, for, it symbolically anchors the corresponding religioscape in place while transforming the previous one, and in doing so it affirms re-territorialisation and appropriates the respective space. To be sure, such places of worship function, more often than not, both as containers of the appropriated attributes of the host society and as containers of homeland references. But all in all, this combination – which is more than the sum of the above-mentioned constituent attributes – attests to an emergent hybridity of identity, and when it is aesthetically codified within the place of worship, architecturally, iconographically, linguistically or otherwise, it constitutes a form of citation of a collective migratory narrative. This may appear to be a bold statement in light of the canonical constraints and entrenched norms in Christian Orthodox aesthetics, but there are ample examples from the history of Byzantine tradition up to nowadays that point to flexibility, adaptability and even modernist attempts – albeit those are few and to be found in Diasporas. In fact, this overall permissiveness has co-facilitated the evident illustration of social, political and cultural contexts.

The religiocultural, aesthetic study of Greek-Orthodox migration has much broader implications in examining Eastern Orthodoxy outside its domain. For example, the recently erected Russian Cultural Centre in Paris – with a predominant characteristic dome no less – not far from the Eiffel Tower, constitutes a symbolic statement in the public sphere; it is indicative of the increasingly important meaning of the Orthodox structures in the West, and highlights the need for scholars to approach the phenomenon of Orthodox migration to the West methodologically with a fresh glance, and with new suggestions, for instance, as the one I wish to put forward. The same applies to the ever increasing and expanding Orthodox Diaspora and its religioscapes abroad, given that the erosion of national borders means the relativisation of space and the formation of religioscapes anew, and hence it is an issue of major concern for churches of given spatial jurisdiction, which is attested by the fact that this matter was among the priorities in the agenda of the Holy and Great Council of the Orthodox Church in Crete, 19-26 June, 2016.[71]

In this framework, I anticipate that the successful completion of the project will produce knowledge that exceeds the bounds of the research sample and project focus, applicable more broadly on intra-European migration in conjunc-

---

71   Holy and Great Council, Pentecost 2016, The Orthodox Diaspora, *https://www.holycouncil.org/-/diaspora?_101_INSTANCE_ VA0WE2pZ4Y0I_languageId=en_US* (accessed 02.05.2019).

tion with the formation of religioscapes. Moreover, the project will shed light on novel dimensions of the theoretical as well as methodological approaches to religioscapes and shall make a contribution in the interdisciplinary application of Visual Culture, Religious Studies, Theology and Sociology of Religion. The expected theoretical and methodological outcomes will be implementable in a broader Eastern Orthodox context. Considering the contemporary and future dynamics of intra-European migration in the context of increased mobility – e.g. freedom of movement within the European Union –, the formation of religioscapes will continue; therefore, the phenomenon of post-secular utilisation of religiosity as a purveyor of a post-national sense of Europeanness, belonging, and cultural hybridity, is worth examining.

References

Anthias Floya, *Ethnicity, Class, Gender and Migration: Greek-Cypriots in Britain*, Ashgate, Aldershot, 1992.

Appadurai Arjun, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalisation*, Public Worlds, Vol.1, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis MN, 1996.

Appadurai Arjun, Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy, *Theory Culture Society*, Vol. 295, No. 7, 1990.

Assmann Jan and Czaplika John, Collective Memory and Cultural Identity, *New German Critique,* No. 65, 1995.

Beyer Peter, *Religion in the Context of Globalisation: Essays on Concept, Form, and Political Implication*, Routledge, London, 2013.

Castoriadis Cornelius, *Η Άνοδος της Ασημαντότητας [The Rise of Insignificance]*, Ypsilon Vivlia, Athens, 2000.

Castoriadis Cornelius, *The Imaginary Institution of Society*, translated from French by Kathleen Blamey, Polity Press, Cambridge, 1987

Chandler Daniel, *Semiotics: the Basics*, Routledge, second edition, London, 2007.

Christo Gus G., *The Consecration of a Greek-Orthodox Church According to Eastern Orthodox Tradition: A Detailed Account and Explanation of the Ritual*, The Edwin Mellen Press, Lewiston NY, 2005.

Deleuze Gilles and Guattari Félix, *Anti-Oedipus - Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, translated from French by Robert Hurley, Mark Seem, and Helen R. Lane, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis MN, 1972.

Doxiadis Constantinos A., *Building Entopia*, Norton, New York NY, 1975.

Ekklesia, Η Ναοδομία: Ιστορική και θεολογική θεώρηση [Church-building: Historical and Theological Theorisation], *http://www.ecclesia.gr/greek/holy-synod/commitees/liturgical/id_naodomia_2012.pdf* (accessed 02.05.2019).

Eliade Mircea, *The Sacred and the Profane*, translated from French by W.R. Trask, Harcourt, Brace & World Inc., New York NY, 1957.

Engler Steven and Grieve Gregory P., "Illuminating the Half-Life of Tradition: Legitimation, Agency, and Counter-Hegemonies", in: *Historicising "Tradition" in the Study of Religion*, Engler Steven and Grieve Gregory P. (eds.), Walter de Gruyter, Berlin, 2005.

Foucault Michel, "Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias", in: *Rethinking Architecture: A Reader in Cultural Theory*, Leach Neil (ed.), Routledge, London, 1997.

Foucault Michel, Des espaces autres, Conférence au Cercle d'études architecturales, 14 mars 1967, *Architecture, Mouvement, Continuité*, No. 5, 1984.

Gallant Thomas W., *From the War of Independence to the Present,* Bloomsbury, second edition, London, 2016.

Gregorios, Archbishop of Thyateira and Great Britain, The 90th Anniver-

sary of the Archdiocese of Thyateira and Great Britain, Encyclical of The Archdiocese of Thyateira and Great Britain, October 2012, London.

Hämmerli Maria and Mayer Jean-François (eds.), *Orthodox Identities in Western Europe: Migration, Settlement and Innovation*, Ashgate, Farnahm, 2014.

Habermas Jürgen, Religion in the Public Sphere, *European Journal of Philosophy,* Vol. 14, No. 1, 2006.

Habermas Jürgen, *The Postnational Constellation, Political Essays*, translated by Max Pensky, The MIT Press, Cambridge MA, 2001.

Hayden Robert M. and Walker Timothy D., Intersecting Religioscapes: A Comparative Approach to Trajectories of Change, Scale, and Competitive Sharing of Religious Spaces, *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, Vol. 81, No. 2, 2013, pp. 399-426.

Hirschon Renée, "Indigenous Persons and Imported Individuals: Changing Paradigms of Personal Identity in Contemporary Greece", in: *Eastern Christians in Anthropological Perspective*, Hahn Chris and Goltz Hermann (eds.), University of California Press, Berkeley CA, 2010.

Holy and Great Council, Pentecost 2016, The Orthodox Diaspora, *https://www.holycouncil.org/-/diaspora?_101_INSTANCE_VA0WE2pZ4Y0I_languageId=en_US* (accessed 02.05.2019).

Ioannides Kleitos, *The Church of Cyprus: History and Culture of two Millennia*, Holy Monastery of Kykkos: Nicosia, 1999.

Joseph Joseph S., *Cyprus: Ethnic Conflict and International Politics – From Independence to the Threshold of the European Union*, McMillan Press, second edition, London, 1997.

Kilde Jeanne H., *Sacred Power, Sacred Space: An Introduction to Christian Architecture and Worship*, Oxford University Press, New York NY, 2008.

Knott Kim, *The Location of Religion: A Spatial Analysis*, Routledge, London, 2014

Knott Kim, Spatial Theory and Method for the Study of Religion, *The Finnish Society for the Study of Religion Temenos*, Vol. 41, No. 2, 2005.

Koliopoulos John S. and Veremis Thanos M., *Modern Greece: A History since 1821,* Hurst and Co., London, 2010.

Kourelis Kostis and Marinis Vasileios, "An Immigrant Liturgy: Greek Orthodox Worship and Architecture in America", in: *Liturgy in Migration: Cultural Contexts from the Upper Room to Cyberspace,* Teresa Berger (ed.), The Liturgical Press, Collegeville MN, 2012.

Leontis Artemis, *Topographies of Hellenism: Mapping the Homeland*, Cornell University Press, London, 1995.

Lidov Alexei, Hierotopy. *Spatial icons and Image-Paradigms in Byzantine Culture*, Design. Information. Cartography, Moscow, 2009.

Makrides, Vasilios N., *Hellenic Temples and Christian Churches: A Concise History of the Religious Cultures of Greece from Antiquity to the Present*, New York

University Press, New York NY, 2009.

Manic Bozidar, Nikovic Ana, Maric Igor, Relationship Between Traditional and Contemporary Elements in the Architecture of Orthodox Churches at the Turn of the Millenium, *Architecture and Civil Engineering*, Vol. 13, No. 3, 2015.

Maguire Henry, The Profane Aesthetic in Byzantine Art and Literature, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers,* Vol. 53, 1999.

Mavratsas Caesar V., "Greek-Cypriot National Identity: A Clash between Geography and History", in: *Spatial Conceptions of the Nation: Modernising Geographies in Greece and Turkey,* Diamandouros Nikiforos P., Dragonas Thalia and Keyder Çağlar (eds.), Tauris Academic Studies, London, 2010.

McAlister Elizabeth, Globalization and the Religious Production of Space, *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, Vol. 44, No. 3, 2005.

McGuckin John A., The Theology of Images and the Legitimation of Power in Eighth-Century Byzantium, *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly*, Vol. 37, No. 1, 1993.

McLoughlin Seán, Migration, "Diaspora and Transnationalism: Transformations of Religion and Culture in a Globalising Age", in: *The Routledge Companion to the Study of Religions*, Hinnells John R. (ed.), Routledge, London and New York, 2005.

Neğrau Elisabeta, The Ruler's Portrait in Byzantine Art: a Few Observations Regarding its Functions, *European Journal of Science and Theology,* Vol. 7, No. 2, 2001.

Ousterhout Robert, An Apologia for Byzantine Architecture, *Gesta*, Vol. 35, No. 1, 1996.

Papastergiadis Nikos, *The Turbulence of Migration: Globalization, Deterritorialization and Hybridity*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 2000.

Ramfos Stelios, *Τριώδιον: Τόπος Υπερουράνιος – Η Παλινωδία του Παπαδιαμάντη – Μελέτη Θανάτου [Triodion: Locus Supernal – The Tergiversation of Papadiamantis – Study of Death]*, Armos Publications, Athens, 1995.

Roudometof Victor, "The Evolution of Greek Orthodoxy in the Context of World Historical Globalization", in: *Orthodox Christianity in 21st Century Greece: the Role of Religion in Culture, Ethnicity and Politics*, Roudometof Victor and Makrides Vasilios N. (eds.), Ashgate, Surrey, 2010.

Roudometof Victor, Greek Orthodoxy, Territoriality, and Globality: Religious Responses and Institutional Disputes, *Sociology of Religion*, Vol. 69, No. 1, 2008.

Stoeckl Kristina, "Orthodox Churches and Migration", in: *Eastern Christianity and Politics in the Twenty-First Century*, Leustean Lucian N. (ed.), Routledge, London and New York, 2014.

Stoeckl Kristina, "European Integration and Russian Orthodoxy: Two Multiple Modernities Perspectives", in: *Multiple Modernities and Postsecular Societies*, Rosati Massimo and Stoeckl Kristina (eds.), Routledge, London, 2012.

Thanasos Georgios M. Archimandrite, *Η ακολουθία των Εγκαινίων [The Inauguration Liturgy] Dissertation on Historical Theology*, Ιστορικολειτουργική Θεώρηση και Έντυπες Εκδόσεις, Athens, 2016.

Tönnies Ferdinand, *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft. Grundbegriffe der reinen Soziologie*, vierte und fünfte Auflage, Karl Curtius, Berlin, 1922.

Trantas Georgios E. and Tseligka Eleni D., Where the Byzantinesque Meets the Urbanesque: Architectural and Hagiographic Elements of Greek Orthodox Urban Reterritorialization in Germany, *Zeitschrift für Balkanologie*, Vol. 52, No. 2, 2016.

Trantas Georgios E., *Being and Belonging: A Comparative Examination of the Greek and Cypriot Orthodox Churches' Attitudes to 'Europeanisation' in Early 21st Century* [Erfurter Studien zur Kulturgeschichte des Orthodoxen Christentums, Band 16], Peter Lang, Berlin, 2018.

Tziovas Dimitris, *Greek Diaspora and Migration since 1700: Society, Politics and Culture*, Farnahm, Ashgate, 2009.

Uehlinger Christoph, Approaches to Visual Culture and Religion: Disciplinary Trajectories, Interdisciplinary Connections, and some Conditions for Further Progress, *Method and Theory in the Study of Religion*, Vol. 27, No. 4-5.

Van Leeuwen Theo, "Semiotics and Iconography", in: *Handbook of Visual Analysis,* van Leeuwen Theo and Jewitt Carey (eds.), Sage Publications, London, 2001.

Weber Max, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, translated by Talcott Parsons, George Allen & Unwin Ltd, third edition, London, 1950.

Wittig Andreas M., *Die Orthodoxe Kirche in Griechenland: Ihre Beziehung zum Staat gemäß der Theorie und der Entwicklung von 1821–1977*, Augustinus-Verlag, Würzburg, 1987.

Јоргос Е. Трантас

ГРЧКО-ПРАВОСЛАВНИ ОКВИР МИГРАЦИОНЕ ИНТЕГРАЦИЈЕ И ХИБРИДИЗАЦИЈЕ У НЕМАЧКОЈ И ВЕЛИКОЈ БРИТАНИЈИ: УПОРЕДНА АНАЛИЗА

Сажетак

Овај чланак уводи алтернативни приступ проучавању мигрантских заједница као верски заснованих заједница, из перспективе религиозне естетике. Наиме, овај рад се фокусира на Грчке и грчко-кипарске мигрантске заједнице у Немачкој и Великој Британији и истражује њихову верско-културну симболику у јавној сфери, нарочито оне које илуструју њихове личне перцепеције и миграционе наративе. У оба случаја, цркве служе као основе културе и идентитета. У временском оквиру, заједница и црква, које су у блиској вези, заједно конструишу њихове мигрантске наративе о де-теторизацији, културној адаптацији и хибридизацији, а нарочито њихов осећај постојања и припадања. У складу са тим, посматрају се феномени миграната и црквених наратива. Посебности су константно у изради и исказују се нарочито у архитектури, иконографији, естетици и концептима њихових цркава. Оно што је типично за византијску иконографску традицију јесте то да она осликава и показује друштвено-политичке услове одређеног времена и простора. Те визуелне манифестације су део социо-културне реалности и поседују симболичан садржај, док су у исто време средство комуницирања. У складу са тим, важно је декодирати тај садржај и наратив који из њега произилази.

Кључне речи: верски оквири, миграције, идентитет, де-теторизација, хибридизација, грчко православље