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Following the Sack of Rome in 410 CE, African Christians like Augustine welcomed migrants pouring onto their shores from Italy. This was part of a trend of catastrophic human displacement that anticipated—albeit in an inverted manner—the Mediterranean migrant crisis of the twenty-first century. It was in this context that Augustine wrote, in his *City of God*, of a *civitas* made up of *peregrini*—not merely 'pilgrims,' but 'migrants' or 'refugees.' The vision of community corresponding to Augustine's sense of *peregrinatio* was thus not the city, but the camp: the *civitas* that plays host to the migrant. As Agamben has reminded us, the prevalence of camps, in addition to embodying violence against the encamped, tells us something about the regime of law conditioning even those who supposedly live 'outside the walls.' In light of Agamben's insight, this article makes the case that Augustine's political theology of *peregrinatio* and *civitas* is best understood in terms of migrancy and the refugee camp.

On August 24, 2016, a magnitude-6.2 earthquake struck the Italian town of Norcia, successor to the Nursia of St. Benedict. Almost three hundred people died. Two months later, on October 26, 2016, another earthquake struck the same region. Four days later, it happened again. In this last earthquake, the Basilica of St. Benedict was destroyed. One of the monks at Norcia, Martin Bernhard, remarked that the earthquakes "really reminded us of the fact that we're pilgrims here on earth, and that this world will pass away, and that the biggest, most glorious things man can build, one day they will come to dust, and it's the soul that endures, and it's God."[1] Bernhard's words evoked a long rhetorical history of framing life in terms of "pilgrimage." The basilica was itself an object of pilgrimage, attracting as it did so many visitors in search of Benedict's intercession. Yet it was the destruction of the site that drew the monk's attention back to the character of all life as pilgrimage or what Augustine of Hippo called *peregrinatio*.

Two models of pilgrimage emerge out of this account. According to one, we march onward in search of absolution via the cult of the saints. According to the other, we share in the

experience of those left without a home, not solely like the Benedictines of Norcia, but like anyone who is forced to flee their homeland perhaps never to return. The former is *peregrinatio* as pilgrimage proper; the latter is *peregrinatio* as migrancy. To these two models we might add the existential *peregrinatio* of the eschatological journey undertaken by Christian souls. In some circles, it might be deemed desirable to separate this existential journey out as a third category, not to be confused with cultic travel or forced migrancy. It would make more sense, however, to see both cultic and migrant *peregrinatio* as ways of politically and theologically framing the fundamental condition of displacement that underlies these two forms of experience.

Regardless of their precise number, these models give rise to distinct lines of inquiry and alternative visions of community. Recent years have seen works aimed at sifting out the differences between the pilgrim, the tourist, and the refugee.[2] One of the most popular historical examples is Egeria, a mysterious woman who travelled across the Mediterranean in the late fourth century CE, looking for the Holy Land.[3] Egeria, however, never used the term *peregrinatio* to describe what she was doing.[4] The study of the migrant experience today, meanwhile, is of greater relevance, as displaced peoples around the globe continue to struggle in search of a homeland.[5] But this is not an exclusively modern concern. The Mediterranean world of late antiquity was no stranger to migrancy. Writing his *City of God* with that fact in mind, Augustine adopted the term *peregrinatio* not in order to map the cult of the saints onto the human condition, but to extend the migrant experience so as to encompass the entire human community. The vision of community that corresponds to his *civitas peregrina* was neither the basilica nor the monastery, but the migrant camp, which can always grow to the size of a city. Given the size of the *City of God* itself, with its twenty-two books, this analysis will be restricted to the first book alone.

Peregrinatio Beyond Pilgrimage

In addition to Egeria, late ancient figures like Prudentius, Athanasius, and Augustine are increasingly being studied through the lens of migrant exile.[6] Especially relevant is the work of Sarah Stewart-Kroeker, who has argued that Augustine's *peregrinatio* moves away from a Plotinian model of fugitive flight and towards a communal experience of embodied pilgrimage. The pilgrim's journey was always a "journey for the feet," not for some disembodied soul.[7] Yet *peregrinatio* need not be restricted to the realm of the martyr's cult.[8] Its more basic meaning of "travelling abroad" or "living in exile" is just as relevant.

This debate over *peregrinatio* is not new. Building on the French-language research of Pasquale Borgomeo and Jean-Claude Guy (too little attention to which has been paid in the North American scholarship), M.A. Claussen pointed out decades ago that the semantic layers of *peregrinatio* run deeper than expected.[9] One of its most quotidian uses, for instance, was in a legal context. The *peregrinus* was one who, living outside of their homeland, could find their "political and civil rights" restricted as they approached the imperial center.[10] This sense of juridical displacement left its mark on Augustine, familiar as he was with Roman law thanks to his younger days as a rhetor in Milan and his mature life as the bishop of a major African city. It was from "Roman law" that he "borrowed many of the ideas which formed the foundation of his ethics as they are presented in *City of God*."[11]

Augustine's life was further defined by his own experiences as a *peregrinus* living abroad. This is what enabled him to, as Molly Robinson Kelly phrases it, transform this "legal notion" of *peregrinatio* into a "spiritual doctrine."[12] As an African in Milan, he felt the alienation of seeing himself as others saw him: as a foreigner. Even his pronunciation was criticized as too African.[13] This sense of migrant exile—even economic migrancy for the sake of his chosen

career path—casts Augustine's use of *peregrinatio* in a new light. His writings mobilize the migrant experience to make a larger claim about existential alienation. Everyone, ultimately, is seeking eschatological sanctuary. But it is the "phenomenon of contemporary migration," as Gemma Tulud Cruz reminds us, that "drives home this point as it brings to mind the eschatological destiny of all humanity."[14]

Rereading Augustine in this way could allow the *City of God* to serve as a resource for theologies of migration in the twenty-first century. The writings of Ilsup Ahn and Daniel Groody, for example, have highlighted the paradigmatic character of the migrant for Christian theology.[15] Politically, making migrants theologically central can spur us on as we combat real-world injustices. Going even further, Peter Phan has foregrounded the migrant as the exemplar of the *imago dei*,[16] rooting his arguments in patristic sources.[17] "To put it in a Latin adage," Phan writes, "*extra migrationem nulla ecclesia*."[18] The interpretation of Augustinian *peregrinatio* offered here is meant to assist in this work of securing the historical foundations of these theologies of migrancy.

Shifting from the language of pilgrimage to that of migrancy would also complicate our understanding of any divine homeland (*patria*). Those who journey to the martyr's shrine are indeed travelling abroad, though with the expectation they will return home. But this cannot always be said for the migrant who seeks out a new homeland. Given Augustine's skepticism about the pre-existence of souls, the same logic applies to those journeying toward salvation.[19] Humankind seeks a homeland, not because we have literally been there before, but because our only current option is perpetual relocation from temporary camp to temporary camp. In this way, Augustine sidesteps the *Heimat*-beholden homesickness afflicting much of modern political theory.[20] To paraphrase *Confessions* 10: we long for a homeland, but that does not mean we have

already dwelt within its borders.[21] We catch a faint hint of the happy life, as if a fleeting memory from a time long past, but when we try to track it down, we fall short. It is not like remembering a previous trip to Carthage, as Augustine puts it.[22] It is more akin to setting out on an uncertain journey with an unknown destination, finding only periodic lodgings along the way, chasing the dream of a homeland that would finally grant us asylum.

Peregrinatio as Migrancy

Retranslating *peregrinatio* in the first book of the *City of God* should help us bring Augustine's sense of migrant exile to the fore. Here are the opening lines of Book 1:

> I have begun this work in defense of the most glorious community[23] of God against those who prefer their gods to its founder. As the times run on, this community is the most glorious, surviving on faith as a refugee among the godless. In the security of its permanent sanctuary, too, this community will be the most glorious. Now, though, it can only patiently await such security. It must wait until justice gets turned into a just decision. This community must wait until it reaches its destination and gets raised up in a final victory and with a settled peace.[24]

Such a revision of the *City of God* helps us imagine anew what it means to live in a *civitas peregrina*. Is this community anything like a city or a state? Does it have citizenship documents? Does it have homeland security?[25] Perhaps it does not, if its population is made up of transient migrants. But what kind of city consists entirely of inhabitants lacking any proper documentation?[26] This would be a community populated by people with nothing other than a refugee status. Rather than a *polis*, this *civitas* sounds more like a camp.

City of God 1 contains no less than seven instances of *peregrinatio*-related terms.[27] In most cases, Augustine weaves together the senses of existential alienation and migrant exile.

When, in *City of God* 1.9, Augustine is explaining why hard rain falls upon the just and unjust alike, he includes the observation that we should not let our business interests cloud our moral judgments. "Good folks can go about their business legitimately and innocently," he writes, "but these other people [who let money obstruct their morals] go about their business fueled by more desire than should those who are migrating [*peregrinantur*] through this world and holding out hope for the homeland [*patriae*] above."[28] The message here is: if you let profit trump morality, you are assuming you will be able to profit from your current situation forever. But, as any migrant knows, value is found not in trying to hold on to profits already made in one location, but in looking ahead to the next place of labor and refuge.[29] Being the richest man in Rome means little when Rome becomes a fast-moving flock of refugees.

Within Augustine's lifetime, Rome came closest to becoming a transient community during the upheavals of the late fourth and early fifth centuries, which were tied to the movements of groups like the Vandals and Goths.[30] Recent scholarship has sought to re-classify these former "barbarians" in order to close the gap between nomads and migrants,[31] while accounting for the fact that these groups played an integral role within the empire by the middle of the fourth century.[32] Rather than hordes of violent outsiders pouring across the Danube, they were migrant communities carving out a role for themselves within a new society, often through military service.[33] Along the way, these refugees were constantly on the move due to the pressure of other groups (like the Huns) and the imperial whims of Constantinople and Ravenna.

The culminating event of these demographic shifts was the Sack of Rome in 410 CE, which was the occasion for Augustine's writing of the *City of God*.[34] The heterogeneous group of displaced peoples who succeeded in taking Rome are referred to only reductively as the Goths.[35] A more appropriate demonym might be "outcasts and refugees."[36] Their leader was

Alaric, who himself adopted many personas, some more foreign than others, as he maneuvered his way toward political power. At times, Alaric was a good Roman soldier, furthering the imperial cause; at other times, he was *rex Gothorum*, a Germanic king; and sometimes, he was a borderline figure, shifting allegiances amid tensions with the half-Vandal Stilicho. Michael Kulikowski has argued that Alaric engaged in "post-colonial mimicry," to adopt the phrasing of Homi Bhabha.[37] Instead of picturing Alaric as a Germanic usurper,[38] Kulikowski sees him as a migrant subject of empire, improvising his way toward political legitimacy.[39] When Alaric's soldiers seized Rome in 410, it was simply another episode in the ongoing story of migrant displacement in late antiquity.[40] This was a case of migrants creating more migrants, as Roman refugees trickled into Africa,[41] informing Augustine's sense of *peregrinatio*.[42]

Turning back to *City of God* 1, we see *peregrinatio* also coloring Augustine's treatment of Romans like Marcus Atilius Regulus and Scipio Nasica. Regulus, the general whose honor compelled him to return to face punishment in Carthage even though he could have escaped, met his end through sleep deprivation in the ancient equivalent of an iron maiden. Where were the old gods then? Regulus had sworn to the gods he would return to the enemy city and make good on his divine oath. When he did so, it did him no good. As Augustine puts it: the gods allowed him to "lose his homeland without gaining a new one."[43] And what now of the refugees in the wake of Alaric's Sack of Rome? They too are in the process of losing their homelands. Shall they gain a new one? Perhaps, but it will be a place they have never seen before. It may not even be a spatiotemporal location. The trick for the refugee, however, is to realize how cheap the patriotic ideology of the homeland already was. The secret shared by these migrants, according to Augustine, was this: "They knew they were already refugees, even in their own homes."[44]

In the passage on Scipio Nasica, we find a surprisingly pejorative use of *peregrinatio*-language. Recounting Scipio's rhetorical assault against the extravagance of installing seats in theatres, Augustine writes that Scipio acted "lest foreign wickedness [*peregrinae… nequitiae*] have an open path to surprise the robust mores of the homeland with an attack of Greek luxury, conspiring to weaken and subvert Roman virtue."[45] Here we shudder to be reminded of today's anti-migrant screeds. But was Augustine as concerned about "foreign" wickedness as Scipio had been? Given that the point of the passage is to describe a rare example of Roman restraint in the face of theatrical temptation, it is reasonable to conclude that Augustine's concern lies with wickedness itself rather than its geographical origin.

Even from these brief examples, we get a sense of the semantic range of *peregrinatio*. Throughout and across all of its different meanings, however, Augustine persists in reimagining *peregrinatio* as central to human experience. Migrancy can awaken us to our existential situation relative to a transcendent goal, even as the migrant life remains an immanent trial, inundated with inscrutable tests and allegations of immorality. Taken as a whole, Augustine's rhetoric of *peregrinatio*, once separated from the framework of cultic pilgrimage, begins to unsettle old assumptions about what it means to be part of a *civitas peregrina*.

The City and the Camp

Rereading Augustine has brought us back to this basic question: is the *civitas* a city or a camp? The simple answer is that it can be both. This is no metaphor: think of Dadaab in Kenya (population: 245 000), Bidi-Bidi in Uganda (285 000), and, closer to Augustine's Algeria, the Sahrawi camps in the Maghreb (50-100 000).[46] The Calais jungle in France held only 10 000 migrants, but is most tragically remembered for incendiary attempts to forcibly relocate its population in 2016. Framing *civitas* as a "city-state," rather than a juridically ambiguous camp,

also risks assuming the presence of a governmental structure. Taking *civitas* as a camp, meanwhile, better conveys that this is a community of struggling migrants, afforded no security by any regulatory regime this world can offer.

Few analyses of the camp have been as incisive as those of Giorgio Agamben.[47] In *Remnants of Auschwitz* and *Means Without End*, Agamben incorporates camp-terminology into his critique of biopolitics.[48] Agamben's diction calls his audience back to the death camps of the Shoah,[49] but also forward to the refugee camps that continue to proliferate.[50] Yet his goal is to construct a theory of the camp as it applies to modern politics *in toto*. As one author, writing in the shadow of Guantánamo, put it: Agamben's "radical notion" is "that it is the camp rather than the city that has become the biopolitical paradigm of the West."[51]

In Agamben's own words, the camp has becxome "the *nomos* of the planet."[52] Here he uses the Greek term for "law" to refer to a regulating principle that informs the structure of everything it touches.[53] It does so, however, by way of the state of exception. Here Agamben is subtly altering Schmitt's dictum: "Sovereign is he who decides on the state of exception."[54] The key to sovereignty lies in the power to declare a state of emergency or an exceptional zone where normal rules do not apply. The camp is the exceptional zone *par excellence*, insofar as it allows rights to be abrogated for the sake of preserving the state of affairs in society at large.[55] Yet the fact that normative political life relies on this fateful exception gives the lie to many of our claims about rights or justice. For Agamben, the fact that modern society needs to operate by way of camps calls attention to the biopolitical structures conditioning the lives of every human being, even those who are not *stricto sensu* taken to be migrants, refugees, or inmates.

There is a parallelism between Agamben's theorization of the camp and Augustine's approach in *City of God* 1. In both cases, the situation of the camp inmate is both exceptional and

indicative of the situation of humankind at large. This need not mean that Agamben's theme of the camp is an exact replica of Augustinian *peregrinatio*. Agamben's aim is to critique the self-contradictory structures of today's political societies. Augustine's point in the *City of God* is to call every human being back to the fundamental experience of foreignness that characterizes our existence. For Agamben, the exceptionality of the camp calls attention to the violence of biopolitics taken universally; for Augustine, the experience of the refugee must be universalized in view of the impoverished nature of any earthly homeland we might envision.[56] The sordid history of camps imprisoning North Africans in both colonizing France and colonized Algeria offers us a sad reminder of the wisdom of Augustine's observation.[57]

A better interlocutor for Augustine is Thomas Nail, whose work is closer to what we find in the *City of God*.[58] For Nail, the migrant must be situated alongside other forms of mobile subjectivity, such as tourists, laborers, or even barbarians, who move in "waves."[59] He explains:

> The Goths lived, quite literally, pressed up against Rome's walls until the violent pressure of the Huns was too great. The Goths had nowhere else to go but across the river as refugees under the protection of Rome's walls. However, once the Goths were across, the Romans forced them into an even smaller area of the refugee camps, where starvation and disease killed hundreds of people […]. The Goths then organized under Alaric, and from the battle of Adrianople in 378 to the Sack of Rome in 410, the Goths were the largest and most successful refugee revolt in ancient history.[60]

The historical content of Nail's commentary is so abbreviated as to be misleading, but his general sensibility is in line with Kulikowski's above. The so-called barbarians, like other migrants, must be reconsidered in light of the inescapably dynamic character of human life.

In the end, as Nail writes, "the figure of the migrant is not a type of person or fixed identity but a mobile social position or spectrum that people move into and out of under certain social conditions of mobility."[61] That is what makes the migrant the exemplar of what Nail calls "kinopolitics:" a mode of politics centered on the mobility of persons, rather than sedentary notions of settlement or nationality.[62] Instead of framing migrancy as the opposite of normative stasis, Nail proposes a "new conceptual framework that privileges the primacy of the movement and flow that define the migrant."[63] Here is where Nail's analysis draws closest to Augustine's use of *peregrinatio*: both authors mobilize the figure of the migrant in order to make sense of the foundationally exilic quality of existence. For Nail, the goal is a political philosophy of motion; for Augustine, the goal is a theology of migrancy. For Nail, the mobility of the camp tells us something about politics in general; for Augustine, the characterization of the *civitas* as a migrant community—as a camp—reminds us of our alienation upon this earth. The parallels between Nail and Augustine suggest an exemplary instance of political theology. Augustine's theological framework anticipates and conditions Nail's philosophical account of kinopolitics as universalized migrant experience.

Conclusion: Augustine's Migrant Family

The preference for Nail over Agamben as a twenty-first-century Augustinian interlocutor should not prevent us from calling out the biopolitical structures and strictures that continue to enable the displacement of populations around the globe. Agamben's sharp-edged critique has long been aimed at the right problems, even if we cannot preserve every element of his analysis in our modified reconstruction of an Augustinian position here. As of 2020, the situation has only become more dire, as the COVID pandemic threatens both to disproportionately affect migrant communities and to make it less likely that their stories receive airtime in the media. In 2016, the

deaths of families trying to cross the Mediterranean still registered as a newsworthy event in the newsrooms of Europe and North America. Four years later, it would be surprising to see a story about troubled encampments crack the front page at venues like the *New York Times*.

In no way does this suggest that the crisis has abated for migrants on either side of the Atlantic. According to the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, the "number of globally forcibly displaced people topped 70 million for the first time" in 2018, including "26 million refugees, 3.5 million asylum seekers, and over 41 million internally displaced persons."[64] If we also include those who have been coercively displaced by economic forces, the amount of people affected climbs closer to 270 million. In February 2020, the Council on Foreign Relations updated its ongoing story on the detention of child migrants in the United States, emphasizing the fact that the number of displaced and detained minors was still increasing as migrant families were forcibly separated at the border.[65] As the COVID situation began to intensify, these draconian policies only worsened. The Trump administration has overseen the expansion of detention practices with few indications of impending abatement.

In September 2020, with the virus showing no signs of slowing down, a few stories on migrants did manage to break back into the news cycle thanks to a nurse named Dawn Wooten, who became a whistleblower about forced hysterectomies at the Irwin County Detention Center, an ICE facility in Ocilla, Georgia. ICE (Immigration and Customs Enforcement) is the government body that has played the most direct role in the proliferation of camps in North America, although its efforts have been aided by the broader biopolitical infrastructure of the United States and its allies. Wooten's leaked revelations led Project South, also known as the Institute to Eliminate Poverty and Genocide, to write a detailed report in the form of a letter addressed to leaders of various arms of the American government, from the Office of the

Inspector General to the Department of Homeland Security. The Project South report recounts a telling observation by one detainee, who described the Irwin County Detention Center as "an experimental concentration camp."[66] On September 18, 2020, Jessica Ordaz wrote about the interconnection between migrant facilities and medical abuse in the *Washington Post*.[67] The precipitating occasion was the Wooten revelation, but Ordaz pointed out that medical violence against migrants would be exacerbated in light of the pandemic. COVID could be used to license even more invasive violations of members of the detained populace, who would at the same time be subject to a heightened risk of infection thanks to the impossibility of physical distancing in closely encamped quarters.

The situation for migrants in Europe has not fared much better. On September 25, 2020, *Al Jazeera* reported on the death of at least sixteen people aboard a migrant ship that sunk in the Mediterranean, not too far from the Libyan coast.[68] Those who survived were rewarded with nothing but a return trip to their detention facility in Libya. Even those who do make it across the sea from Augustine's North Africa to Europe are faced with biopolitical structures that serve as roadblocks to migrant entry, whether they were intended to do so or not. Consider the Schengen border regime, which was theoretically a financial contrivance meant to be governed by economic rather than crudely nationalistic concerns. Yet the Schengen Zone aims to strengthen internationalism only by violating the humanity of those who find themselves on the outside looking in. As Mogens Hvam Hobolth has written, it has become clear that in many cases "economic interests play a lesser role than shared norms and migrant fears in the European border regime."[69] As long as these borders are policed by way of bioscanning, forced medical procedures, and similar acts of violence upon migrant bodies, restrictions placed upon the social mobility of communities of migrants living within Europe will continue to be tightened without

respite.[70] Confronted by resurgent nationalisms and pandemic-based measures, the outlook for this vulnerable group seems increasingly dire.

Even in the face of such developments and despite the theoretical parallels (explored above) between Nail's kinopolitics of the migrant and Augustine's theology of migrancy, taking *civitas* as a camp might still strike some readers of Augustine as overly pessimistic. There is, however, another word he uses to describe the migrant experience. The *civitas peregrina* is in some sense, as has been demonstrated above, a "city" of refugees. More accurately, it is a "camp" of refugees. Most of all, though, it is a "family" of refugees. The resonance between Augustine's choice of words in antiquity and the rising rates of the detention of migrant children torn away from their families today should not be lost on us. Here is how Augustine frames the integrity of the migrant family in *City of God* 1.29:

> The entire family of the highest, truest God has its consolation—not a fake consolation, not a consolation constituted by hope in things that sway and slide away, but real consolation. This family is not all that sorry about its temporal life, its training ground for eternity. As a family of refugees, they use what goods they can get without grasping after them, while being tested and strengthened by the bad.[71]

The *civitas Dei* is a *familia peregrina*, a migrant family. Far from being captains of industry, free to observe or ignore morality on the basis of financial convenience, this family of refugees takes what it can get. Its struggle only makes it stronger. Speaking also to the topic of pessimism, Agamben once remarked in an interview:

> I've often been reproached for (or at least attributed with) this pessimism that I am perhaps unaware of. But I don't see it like that. There is a phrase from Marx, cited by Debord as

well, that I like a lot: "the desperate situation of society in which I live fills me with hope."

I share this vision: hope is given to the hopeless.[72]

We could say the same of Augustine's migrant family. Its desperation grants it hope.

As if to make his point impossible to miss, Augustine returns to this familiar language in *City of God* 1.35, where he writes that the "family of our Lord Christ is a city of refugees" or (we can now say) a refugee camp, "ruled over only by Christ. We would do well to remember that future members of this [refugee] community lie hidden amongst its enemies."[73] Rendering the migrant experience normative for humankind can by no means be interpreted as excluding even those who dream themselves non-migrants. Those who think themselves so patriotically at home in their homeland are not as secure as they suppose. These patriotic citizens, standing proud outside the refugee camp, might one day find themselves within its walls. "Is it walls, then, that make a Christian?" Marius Victorinus once posed the question; Augustine recounted it, implying that it demanded an affirmative response.[74] In light of our re-reading of the first book of the *City of God*, we too must affirm that walls do to a certain degree demarcate Christians from non-Christians, refugees from patriots. But these are not solely the walls of the basilica. They are the walls of the city of migrants, of the refugee camp, of Dadaab and Bidi-Bidi and the Calais jungle. They are the walls of the family of God.

[1] Catholic News Agency, "Echoes of St. Benedict" (March 10, 2017).

[2] A good recent example is di Giovine and Picard, eds., *Seductions of Pilgrimage*. Classics in the field remain Brown, *Cult of the Saints*, and Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage*.

[3] McGowan and Bradshaw, *Pilgrimage of Egeria*; Sivan, "Who Was Egeria?," 59-72.

[4] Bitton-Ashkelony, *Encountering the Sacred*, 12-15.

[5] Horsmby, "Refugee Crisis," 1191, citing Groutsis, "Biggest Refugee Crisis," *Sydney Morning Herald* (Dec. 30, 2015); U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, "Global Trends: Forced Displacement" (June 20, 2016). For the most current statistics from the U.N., see the datasets provided as part of the U.N. Department of Economic and Social Affairs' recent report, "International Migrant Stock 2019."

[6] Barry, "Heroic Bishops," 155-174; O'Hogan, "Intertextual Journey in Prudentius," 270-288. See also the *Clerical Exile in Late Antiquity* project online, led by Julia Hillner, Jakob Engberg, and Jörg Ulrich, which recasts exile as "not only a form of punishment, but a catalyst for personal, social, linguistic, and theological encounter."

[7] Stewart-Kroeker, "Augustine's Incarnational Appropriation," 165-178; Stewart-Kroeker, *Pilgrimage as Moral and Aesthetic Formation*, 119, 244: "The centrality of Christ's mediation to the *peregrinatio* image reveals the continuity of the human, temporal, earthly realm and the divine, eternal, heavenly realm."

[8] On Augustine's gradual acceptance of cultic practices surrounding the saints, see: Brown, *Cult of the Saints*, 24-30; Burns and Jensen, *Christianity in Roman Africa,* 519-552; Wilhite, *Ancient African Christianity*, 240-263; and Ward-Perkins' *Cult of the Saints* database.

[9] Claussen, "*Peregrinatio* and *Peregrini*," 34, note 6, cites: Borgomeo, *L'Église de ce temps dans la predication de saint Augustin*, 137-150; Capánaga, "Agustín, guía de peregrinos," *Helmantica*, 73-85; Folgado Flórez, "Sentido ecclesial de la '*Civitas Dei*,'" 91-146; Guy, *Unité et structure logique de la 'Cité de Dieu' de saint Augustin*, 112-114; Schultz, "Der Gedanke der *Peregrinatio* bei Augustin," 79-110.

[10] Claussen, "*Peregrinatio* and *Peregrini*," 36.

[11] Claussen, "*Peregrinatio* and *Peregrini*," 73. *Peregrinatio* is also discussed in a legal context in Hirvonen, "*Civitas Peregrina*," 227-273.

[12] Robinson Kelly, *The Hero's Place*, 41-42.

[13] On Augustine's African identity, see Wilhite, *Ancient African Christianity*, 250-263.

[14] Cruz, *Toward a Theology of Migration*, 146.

[15] Ahn, *Theology and Migration*, especially 4-14; Groody, "Crossing the Divide," 638-667.

[16] Peter C. Phan, "*Deus Migrator*," 845-868. Cf. Groody, "Crossing the Divide," 648-649.

[17] Phan, "Migration in the Patristic Era," 35-61.

[18] Phan, "*Deus Migrator*," 854, quoted in Ahn, *Theology and Migration*, 4.

[19] O'Connell, "Augustine's Rejection of the Fall of the Soul," 1-32; Miner, "Augustinian Recollection," 435-450.

[20] Manning, "Beyond Accommodation," 51: "In response to the gnawing homesickness that characterizes modern thought, where the unity destroyed in Greek life must achieve realization at a higher level in modernity, modern philosophy writes the discourse of state sovereignty and national coherence as the organization of the political, thus perpetuating the notion that the *polis* is the homelike structure that organizes democratic political community. […] This desire to erect a home that serves as protection against homesickness results in a politics of inclusion in which the promise of home becomes the vessel for the perpetuation of racial, gendered, and state-centered exclusions, due, in large part, to the stringent security measures enforced in order to keep homelessness—or the discourse of the other—at bay."

[21] Augustine, *Confessions*, 10.20.29.

[22] Augustine, *Confessions*, 10.21.30.

[23] For "city" as "community" or *civitas* as *societas*, see Augustine, *City of God*, 14.9.

[24] Augustine, *City of God*, 1 (preface): *Gloriosissimam ciuitatem Dei siue in hoc temporum cursu, cum inter impios peregrinatur ex fide uiuens, siue in illa stabilitate sedis aeternae, quam nunc expectat per patientiam, quoadusque iustitia conuertatur in iudicium, deinceps adeptura per excellentiam uictoria ultima et pace perfecta, hoc opere instituto et mea ad te promissione debito defendere aduersus eos, qui conditori eius deos suos praeferunt, fili carissime Marcelline, suscepi, magnum opus et arduum, sed Deus adiutor noster est*. For the sake of brevity, I have left untranslated Augustine's address to Marcellinus and thanksgiving to God.

[25] See Manning, 52-53, citing Walker, "Sovereignty, Identity, Community," 172-175, on the rhetorical connection between "homeland" and "security."

[26] O'Donnell, "Inspiration," 77: "I use the customary English equivalence, *civitas* = City, with reservations. Augustine knew that *civitas* was not a city in our modern sense, but a group of citizens […]. The idea of owing allegiance to a city other than the one of one's birth was common in the Roman empire […]."

[27] In addition to the preface, see Augustine, *City of God*, 1.9, 1.15, 1.29, 1.31, and 1.35. Claussen, "*Peregrinatio* and *Peregrini*," 227, counts "almost one hundred" uses of *peregrinatio* across the *City of God*.

[28] Augustine, *City of God*, 1.9: *Illud est culpabile, quod hi, qui dissimiliter uiuunt et a malorum factis abhorrent, parcunt tamen peccatis alienis, quae dedocere aut obiurgare deberent, dum eorum offensiones cauent, ne sibi noceant in his rebus, quibus licite boni atque innocenter utuntur, sed cupidius, quam oportebat eos, qui in hoc*

mundo peregrinantur et spem supernae patriae prae se gerunt. Here is my translation of the entire passage: "What is blameworthy is that those who live in a different way and abhor the deeds of evil people nevertheless pardon the sins of others, which they ought to dispute and teach against, since they fear to offend, worried that they might harm their business. Good folks can go about their business legitimately and innocently, but these people go about their business more desirously than should those who are migrating through this world and holding out hope for the homeland above."

[29] For a theoretically informed statement on the contemporary connection between labor and migrancy, see Rajaram, "Dystopic Geographies," 475-506, especially 478-481.

[30] Fitzgerald, ed., *Augustine Through the* Ages, has no entries for either "refugees" or "migrants," but it does have one for "barbarian invasions," written by Jeremy Williams (92-94). Williams, 92, writes of the Goths that "their activities can variously be characterized as plundering and invasion, or as tribal migration and nomadic wandering." Missing here is any hint of the socioeconomic factors driving migration in late antiquity.

[31] Wilson, "Ambiguities of Space and Control," 38-60.

[32] For a general overview, see: Burns, *Barbarians within the Gates*; Ward-Perkins, *Fall of Rome*; Heather, *Fall of the Roman Empire*; and Heather, *Empires and Barbarians*. Landmarks of the older generation remain Goffart, *Barbarians and Romans*, and Liebeschuetz, *Barbarians and Bishops*.

[33] Pohl, "410 and the Transformation of the Roman World," in Lips, Machado, and von Rummel, 450: "We could certainly interpret the period as a process of re-alignment of discourses and identities, as a change of values, including the gradual disintegration of ancient hegemonial Roman high-status culture, which was replaced by Christian, military, and perhaps also peasant attitudes." See also Burns, *Barbarians within the Gates*, 244: "The 'Sack of Rome' in 410 was not the victory of barbarism any more than had been Constantine the Great's 'Sack of Rome' after his victory at the Milvian Bridge in 312. From the perspective of the Roman Army both were the predictable consequences of civil war. Alaric passed swiftly from the field of battle to the realm of legend."

[34] Eno, "Christian Reaction to the Barbarian Invasions," 139-161; von Rummel, "Ereignis und Narrativ: Erzählungen der Plünderung Roms im August 410 zwischen Textüberlieferung und Archäologie," in Lips, Machado, and von Rummel, 17-34.

[35] On the arbitrary nature of early medieval ethnogenesis, see Geary, *Myth of Nations*, 41-62.

[36] Burns, *Barbarians within the Gates*, 188: "The Goths of Alaric were the outcasts and refugees from the upheavals in the Balkans and within the Roman army; they were the recalcitrant who did not, or could not, accept the confines and rigors of Roman service; they were the dispossessed and their children." A number of "fugitive slaves" were among them: "Starvation was the weapon of choice for all participants. Honorius' government controlled the supplies of imported grain and left Rome and the towns of Italy to fend for themselves. Stilicho's troops, mostly barbarians, eventually joined Alaric as did many fugitive slaves."

[37] Kulikowski, "Failure of Roman Arms," in Lips, Machado, and von Rummel, 80: "Alaric's position—both his own miscalculations and the failure of contemporaries to predict what he might do next—can be clarified by reference to the postcolonial theories of Homi Bhabha, and particularly the concept of colonial mimicry. Colonial mimicry is induced by colonizers who want the colonized to look enough like them to be useful, but different enough to preserve their subjection and subalternity. At the same time, mimicry allows those engaging in it to subvert the semiosis of the hegemonic society that they are mimicking, to subtly critique the sign system in which they must necessarily attempt to participate." Kulikowski cites Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, and Skinner, "Dialectic Between Diaspora and Homelands."

[38] Kulikowski, "Failure of Roman Arms," 77.

[39] Kulikowski, "Failure of Roman Arms," 80: "Alaric came from a background that can legitimately be described as subaltern. Though born within the frontiers of the Roman empire, he was part of a population that had been settled in a degree of subjection and which was unintegrated into the structure of the Roman state. The third- and fourth-century empires had well-established ways of integrating ambitious members of subaltern groups, generally through the army […]." Kulikowski cites Spivak, "Subaltern Studies," 3-32, and Gandhi, *Postcolonial Theory*.

[40] For a demographic analysis, see Lo Cascio, "La Popolazione di Roma prima e dopo il 410," in Lips, Machado, and von Rummel, 411-422.

[41] Burns, *Barbarians within the Gates*, 278-279; de Bruyn, "Ambivalence within a 'Totalizing Discourse," 411, note 24: "The pagan character of Hippo Regius was much in evidence […] and, as the second port of Africa, the city also received refugees from Rome." De Bruyn cites Brown, *Augustine of Hippo*, 189-190, and Perler and Maier, *Les Voyages de saint Augustin*, 280-281, 400-401. See also O'Donnell, "Inspiration," 77: "We know from Augustine and from other sources as well that the fall of Rome set off a minor wave of refugees from

Italy towards North Africa […].” O’Donnell cites: Augustine, *City of God*, 1.32.21, Epistle 122.2, Epistle 125-126, Sermon 81.9, and Sermon 25.1, as well as Courcelle, *Histoire littéraire des grandes invasion germaniques*, 60-63.

[42] Recall O’Donnell, “Inspiration,” 78: “These refugees were themselves citizens of Rome, a great city far away, and only strangers (*peregrini*) in North Africa. They came into the country not as permanent residents or citizens would, but rather precisely as strangers.”

[43] Augustine, *City of God*, 1.15: *Verum quia de illis Christianis orta quaestio est, qui etiam captiuati sunt, hoc intueantur et taceant, qui saluberrimae religioni hinc inpudenter atque inprudenter inludunt, quia, si diis eorum probro non fuit, quod adtentissimus cultor illorum, dum eis iuris iurandi fidem seruaret, patria caruit, cum aliam non haberet, captiuusque apud hostes per longam mortem supplicio nouae crudelitatis occisus est, multo minus nomen criminandum est Christianum in captiuitate sacratorum suorum, qui supernam patriam ueraci fide expectantes etiam in suis sedibus peregrinos se esse nouerunt*. Here is my translation of the entire passage: “But since a question has arisen about captured Christians, those who would impudently and imprudently mock our healthy religion should take care to keep quiet. If it was not shameful for their gods to let one of their most attentive worshippers—who was justly keeping his oath to them—lose his homeland without gaining a new one, get captured by enemies, undergo an innovative torture, and suffer a drawn-out death, much less should the label ‘Christian’ be disparaged because holy Christians have been captured. In earnest faith, those Christians were still waiting for the homeland above. They knew they were already refugees, even in their own homes.”

[44] Augustine, *City of God*, 1.15. See previous note for full quotation.

[45] Augustine, *City of God*, 1.31: *ne Graecam luxuriam uirilibus patriae moribus paterentur obrepere et ad uirtutem labefactandam eneruandamque Romanam peregrinae consentire nequitiae* […].

[46] See Forth, *Barbed-Wire Imperialism*, on the imperial and colonial background of camps like these.

[47] Agamben publicized his concept of the camp in *Homo Sacer*, but see also Ek, “Agamben & the Spatialities of the Camp,” 363-386.

[48] Agamben, “What is a Camp?,” in *Means Without End*, 40: “Inasmuch as its inhabitants have been stripped of every political status and reduced completely to naked life, the camp is also the most absolute biopolitical

space that has ever been realized—a space in which power confronts nothing other than pure biological life without any mediation.”

[49] Agamben, *Remnants of Auschwitz*, 162: “The remnant is a theologico-messianic concept. In the prophetic books of the Old Testament, what is saved is not the whole people of Israel but rather only a remnant, which is indicated in Isaiah as *shear yisrael*, the remnant of Israel, or in Amos as *sherit Yosef*, the remnant of Joseph. The paradox here is that the prophets address all of Israel, so that it may turn to the good, while at the same time announcing to the whole people that only a remnant of it will be saved (thus in Amos 5:15: ‘Hate the evil, and love the good, and establish judgment in the gate: it may be that the Lord God of hosts will be gracious unto the remnant of Joseph;’ and in Isaiah 10:22: ‘For although the people be as the sand of the sea, yet a remnant of them shall be saved.’)”

[50] Agamben, *Means Without End*, 41: “The soccer stadium in Bari in which the Italian police temporarily herded Albanian illegal immigrants in 1991 before sending them back to their country, the cycle-racing track in which the Vichy authorities rounded up the Jews before handing them over to the Germans, the refugee camp near the Spanish border where Antonio Machado died in 1939, as well as the *zones d’attente* in French international airports in which foreigners requesting refugee status are detained will all have to be considered camps. […] In this sense, even certain outskirts of the great postindustrial cities as well as the gated communities of the United States are beginning today to look like camps.” See also: Fraser, “Dead Man Walking,” 397-417; Heins, “Agamben and the Current State of Affairs,” 845-860; and Holzer, “What Happens to Law in a Refugee Camp?,” 837-872.

[51] Ek, “Agamben and the Spatialities of the Camp,” 363. Cf. Gregory, “Guantánamo Bay and the Space of Exception,” 405-427.

[52] Agamben, *Means Without End*, 44, referring to Schmitt, *Nomos of the Earth*: “we can expect not only new camps but also always new and more delirious normative definitions of the inscription of life in the city. The camp, which is now firmly settled inside it, is the new biopolitical *nomos* of the planet.”

[53] Ek, “Agamben and the Spatialities of the Camp,” 377: “The dissolution of the geographical *nomos* pivoting around the nation or territorial state that dominated up until the First World War, the *ius publicum Europaeum*, has not been replaced by an alternative geographical *nomos* but by a biopolitical *nomos* whose geographies of

exception challenge geographers' engagement." See also Minca, "Agamben and the New Biopolitical *Nomos*," 387-403.

[54] See: Schmitt, *Political Theology*, 1-5; Agamben, *State of Exception*, 1-31; Manning, "Beyond Accommodation," 61-67; Damai, "Killing Machine of Exception," 255-276; and Jones, "Spaces of Refusal," 685-699.

[55] Agamben, *Means Without End*, 39: "In other words, if sovereign power is founded on the ability to decide on the state of exception, the camp is the structure in which the state of exception is permanently realized. Hannah Arendt observed once that what comes to light in the camps is the principle that supports totalitarian domination and that common sense stubbornly refuses to admit to, namely, the principle according to which anything is possible. It is only because the camps constitute a space of exception—a space in which the law is completely suspended—that everything is truly possible in them." See ibid., 40-41: "if the essence of the camp consists in the materialization of the state of exception and in the consequent creation of a space for naked life as such, we will then have to admit to be facing a camp virtually every time that such a structure is created, regardless of the nature of the crimes committed in it and specific topography it might have."

[56] This universalism was meant to be emancipatory for Augustine's fellow Africans. Cf. Aissaoui, *Immigration and National Identity*, 6, on Maoism's appeal to Algerians in the 1970s: "universalism as an ambivalent concept both inspired these people at an ideological level and underpinned the oppressive forces that alienated them as immigrants." See: Farah, "Refugee Camps," 76-94; Fontaine, "Treason or Charity?," 733-753; Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, "Ideal Women, Invisible Girls?," 91-108; and Venema, "State Formation."

[57] See Miller, "A Camp for Foreigners," 21-44.

[58] Nail, *Figure of the Migrant*, 3: "the migrant has been predominantly understood from the perspective of *stasis* and perceived as a secondary or derivative figure with respect to place-bound social membership. Place-bound membership in a society is assumed as primary; secondary is the movement back and forth between social points. […] [A] static place and membership are theorized first, and the migrant is the one who lacks both. Thus, more than any other political figure (citizen, foreigner, sovereign, etc.), the migrant is the one least defined by its being and place and more by its becoming and displacement: by its *movement*."

[59] Nail, *Figure of the Migrant*, 139.

[60] Nail, *Figure of the Migrant*, 144.

[61] Nail, *Figure of the Migrant*, 235.

[62] Nail, *Figure of the Migrant*, 235, 238: "There is much more to be done in the kinopolitical analysis of migration. The aim of this book has been to prepare the way for further analysis by creating a general conceptual and historical framework proper to the migrant (based on social motion) that can be used to perform further historical and contemporary analysis of migration elsewhere. No doubt the coming century of the migrant will require many new hybrid analyses."

[63] Nail, *Figure of the Migrant*, 235-236.

[64] U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, "Global Issues: Migration."

[65] Cheatham, "U.S. Detention of Child Migrants."

[66] Project South, "Lack of Medical Care, Unsafe Work Practices, and Absence of Adequate Protection against COVID-19 for Detained Immigrants and Employees Alike at the Irwin County Detention Center" (September 14, 2020), 19.

[67] Ordaz, "Migrant Detention Centers Have a Long History of Medical Neglect and Abuse," *Washington Post* (September 18, 2020).

[68] "At Least 16 Migrants Feared Dead in Shipwreck off Libya: IOM," *Al Jazeera* (September 25, 2020).

[69] Hvam Hobolth, "Border Control Cooperation in the European Union: the Schengen Visa Policy in Practice," 169.

[70] On interpreting violence against migrants in the era of Agamben, see: Nedoh, "A State of Refugees? Agamben and the Future of Europe;" Bruns, "Homogenous and Extraterritorial Border Regime? Migrations and Control Efforts Across the Eastern EU External Border;" Mccall, "European Union Cross-Border Cooperation and Conflict Amelioration."

[71] Augustine, *City of God*, 1.29: *Habet itaque omnis familia summi et ueri Dei consolationem suam, non fallacem nec in spe rerum nutantium uel labentium constitutam, uitamque etiam ipsam temporalem minime paenitendam, in qua eruditur ad aeternam, bonisque terrenis tamquam peregrina utitur nec capitur, malis autem aut probatur aut emendatur.*

[72] Agamben, "'I Am Sure That You Are Not More Pessimistic,'" 123-124, referring to Marx's remark in a May 1843 letter to Ruge: "You won't say that I hold the present too high, and if I do not despair of it, it is only because its desperate situation fills me with hope."

[73] Augustine, *City of God*, 1.35: *Haec et alia, si qua uberius et commodius potuerit, respondeat inimicis suis redempta familia domini Christi et peregrina ciuitas regis Christi. Meminerit sane in ipsis inimicis latere ciues*

futuros, ne infructuosum uel apud ipsos putet, quod, donec perueniat ad confessos, portat infensos; sicut ex illorum numero etiam Dei ciuitas habet secum, quamdiu peregrinatur in mundo, conexos communione sacramentorum, nec secum futuros in aeterna sorte sanctorum, qui partim in occulto, partim in aperto sunt, qui etiam cum ipsis inimicis aduersus Deum, cuius sacramentum gerunt, murmurare non dubitant, modo cum illis theatra, modo ecclesias nobiscum replentes. De correctione autem quorundam etiam talium multo minus est desperandum, si apud apertissimos aduersarios praedestinati amici latitant, adhuc ignoti etiam sibi. Here is my translation of the passage in full: "These are the kinds of answers the family of the Lord should use when responding to their enemies. If fuller, more fitting answers can be found, all the better. The family of our Lord Christ is a city of refugees ruled only by Christ. We would do well to remember that future members of the refugee community lie hidden amongst its enemies. If our community fails to remember this, it risks mistakenly supposing that bearing the attacks of our enemies until they come to confess is pointless. In the same way, as long as God's community is made up of migrants in this world, it bears within it many who are bound to it in sacramental communion but will not share the fate of the saints. Some are hidden; others are out in the open, not even hesitating to join our enemies in complaining about God, even as they share in God's sacrament. One minute, they are with us, helping to fill up our churches; the next minute, they are in the theatre with our enemies. Yet there is no need to despair over setting these folks straight, especially if our predestined comrades still lie hidden amongst our most open adversaries, however unknown they might remain to us."

[74] Augustine, *Confessions*, 8.2.4: *ergo parietes faciunt christianos?* O'Donnell's commentary points to a related statement in the sermon *De Excidio Urbis*: *an putatis, fratres, civitatem in parietibus et non in civibus deputandam?* My translation: "Brothers and sisters, surely you do not think that a city is defined by its walls rather than by its citizens?"