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God's Theatre: Global Conceptions of Space in the Early Modern Mennonite Diaspora, c. 1550-1800

A printed map which folds out from a hefty sixteenth-century Bible shows the whole expanse of the earth, its continents, seas and islands.ⁱ The ‘theatre of the world’ is littered with place names, buildings, historical annotations, animals, and sea beasts. There was nothing new or unexpected about this map. It was originally created by the Dutch cartographer Arnoldus Floris van Langren in 1594, clearly modelled on the famous map in Abraham Ortelius’ *Theatrum orbis terrarum*, the first atlas of the world.ⁱⁱ The resemblance is remarkable, though there are some notable differences: updated geography, more place names, finer detail on the terrain, a more vicious monster attacking a ship in the Pacific.ⁱⁱⁱ Mapping globalised space was not a novel phenomenon by 1598, the year this bible was printed in Haarlem. The universalising tradition of the Ortelius map, commissioned by Philip II, reflected a Renaissance interest in imagining the world as God’s theatre.^{iv}

[Figure 1. Map of the world from the Schottland Bible]

Whilst the content was unsurprising, the place of publication was more puzzling: in a Mennonite bible, inserted just after the table of contents and before Genesis. Printing maps in Bibles was a particularly Protestant phenomenon, yet global notions of sacred space seemed to belong to Catholics.^v The polemic of universal cartography buttressed claims to global power as Catholicism expanded its reach through empire and mission to become the first world religion.^{vi} But here global space is placed in conversation with scripture for a Protestant and specifically Mennonite audience. The map is the first in a series of cartographic additions to the rare Schottland bible, a large, decorative volume produced for Danzig Mennonites sometime between 1595 and 1598. Mennonites had been migrating to the fertile Vistula Delta from the Netherlands from the mid-sixteenth century to escape persecution and seek new futures. Since Mennonites were not permitted to print in Danzig itself, these bibles came off presses in the Netherlands in Haarlem, probably from the workshop of Gillis Rooman. Its production had been banned both in Gorkum in 1595 and Amsterdam in 1597. Once printed, the Bibles were shipped to Danzig across the Baltic, and the Mennonite Elder Quirin Vermeulen distributed them from his home in Schottland, a suburb beyond the walls of Danzig where Mennonites were allowed to settle.^{vii}

Whilst the Schottland bible was striking in the number of maps it contained (a total of six), the subjects were common to other Protestant bibles.^{viii} As well as the world map, the Old Testament contained a cartographic representation of the wanderings of the patriarchs and Eden, a map of the Exodus, and a map of Jerusalem restored after exile. The New Testament included images of the peregrinations of Christ and the Apostles. The maps were not made specifically for the Bible but were cobbled together from multiple sources. Van Langren hailed from a family of famous cartographers, astronomers and globe-makers. His father Jacob Floris was born in Utrecht but moved to Amsterdam where sons Arnold and Hendrik were born. In 1592 the family received a decade-long privilege to make terrestrial and celestial globes in the United Provinces. Competition meant that the van Langrens struggled in the globe market, and around 1608 debt forced Arnold to move to Antwerp. In 1609 he became “spherographer” to the Habsburg viceroys, later moving to Brussels, and finished his career as Royal Cosmographer to the Spanish monarchy.^{ix} We know little of the circumstances of the creation of the 1594 world map, produced from a richly decorated copper engraving measuring 30.5x46cm. The alterations made to the Ortelius map of the world seemed to owe much to another famous cartographer, Peter Plancius.^x Van Langren’s map in the Schottland bible

originated in a rich tradition of mapmaking in the Low Countries.^{xi} The same is true of the maps of the Exodus, of Christ's journeys, and those of the apostles, all visually similar, which bear the name of Jan van Doetecum the Younger. He came from another family of accomplished print-makers, cartographers and etchers active in Antwerp, Deventer, and other German and Dutch towns.^{xii} The map showing the peregrinations of the patriarchs and the plan of Jerusalem are the visual outliers, both anonymous. Explanations of the places they represent accompany every map, with scriptural references. But why include a universal map of the world in a Mennonite bible? What did space mean for a community of dispersion such as the Mennonites? How did they conceive of themselves in the world?

A historiographical problem underpins the puzzle of this universal map in a Mennonite bible. Scholars of the Protestant reformations have not been as quick to globalise histories of religious change in the early modern era as those who study Catholicism.^{xiii} The reasons are explicable: Protestants were slower to missionise and spread global forms of Christianity, and they could not lay claim to the ideal of a universal church and history. Lacking this world which connects global Catholic cultures and places, scholars of the global in early modern Protestantism face a challenge in the spatial frameworks they might adopt.^{xiv} Furthermore, examining the worldwide effects of the Protestant reformations has left some historians uncomfortable with the totalising claims made for Luther's significance in the contemporary world.^{xv} Studies of diasporic communities seem to offer a way of thinking about global Protestant culture in different ways. Histories of refuge and exile provide a counterpoint to Catholic universalism, but also go beyond scholarship that has globalised the past by focusing on missions or colonialism. When the Huguenots left France in exile in 1698, their search for Edenic new worlds carried them to the limits of the Dutch and English Empires, whilst pasts of early modern refugees reveal transnational histories of global reform driven by displacement.^{xvi} Scholarship from historians such as Alison Games emphasises the importance of histories of movement and migration over narratives of more static populations as crucial forces that shaped early modern history. This work explores the people, spaces and processes implicated in movement, focusing on not just the land but also the sea as a historical space and uncovering lives of migrants, explorers and people on the move.^{xvii}

Mennonite diasporic history seems to integrate well with this scholarship on global religious cultures and broader histories of migration. Mennonites often moved or faced exiled, and groups had to negotiate the spatial experience of migration. Mennonites in Danzig who bought the Schottland bibles had migrated from the Netherlands in the sixteenth century, and in the eighteenth century many would move east once more to settle in New Russia, modern-day Ukraine, invited by Empress Catharine to settle these lands in 1787. By the nineteenth century, Mennonites looked across the Atlantic to the promises of north America as they resisted constraints imposed by the Russian empire, following the example of other Mennonites and Amish who had already made the journey alongside fellow European migrants.^{xviii} Space and landscape were essential to Mennonites' conception of themselves in the Netherlands, Prussia, and beyond, connecting them to Mennonites elsewhere and their past homelands. Despite movement and dispersion, communities had confessional identities connected across great distances.

A history of global Protestantism, however, cannot simply be a history of networks that relates points of contact. This criticism has been levelled more broadly at global history.^{xix} Sceptical assessments argue that an emphasis on networks, cosmopolitanism, and travel can simply list encounters and contact, overemphasising connectedness.^{xx} In David Bell's view, the notion of networks, a term borrowed from our age of digital connections, has created the

mirage of unending chains of association. Networks provide analytical frameworks offering ‘diminishing returns’ and neglect the small spaces of human experience.^{xxi} Jeremy Adelman does not disavow the importance of global histories but argues that narratives must be written in new ways to be meaningful. The global project was, he contends, born out of a particular moment when globalisation was on the rise and Higher Education establishments wanted scholarship that reflected the ideals of cosmopolitanism and global citizenship. Consequently, global history was rooted in the globe-trotting connectedness of its predominantly western authors and privileged integration over disintegration, far-flung spaces of connection over provincial or national experience.^{xxii}

The critiques are only partly fair, and arguably scholars doing global history are capable of meeting these challenges. Pre-modern global history is often rooted in attempts to question the centrality of the West in accounts of cosmopolitanism. Sanjay Subrahmanyam’s influential work on ‘connected histories’ and ‘histories that move’ in Eurasia countered both the dominance of the West and histories of Indian civilisation.^{xxiii} Other global pre-modern historians have reconfigured the way in which we think about connections in an era before of globalization, such as Rebeca Darley’s critique of accounts of medieval Sri Lanka that suggest implicit cosmopolitanism.^{xxiv} Historians of science such as Simon Schaffer have constructed accounts of how knowledge travels, shaped by encounters and movement across borders.^{xxv} Other research has examined the dynamics of early modern ‘world-making’, which combined science and empiricism with spiritual and metaphysical cosmologies.^{xxvi} Beyond the early modern period, recent scholarship has also attended to the challenges and opportunities presented by the mass digitalisation of records and explored how historians could integrate micro narratives into large scale accounts that often use big data.^{xxvii} Scholars are increasingly thinking about the local in the global and combining microhistory with large scale perspectives of connection and movement.^{xxviii} This dynamic scholarship on global history, movement, migration and knowledge goes far beyond a history of connections, and presents exciting possibilities for global accounts of early modern religion.^{xxix} A history of global Protestantism certainly needs to do more than give an account of the places to which Protestants travelled and why, or narrate connections across locations. Instead we must consider the way in which we can think meaningfully with spaces and times in global Protestant cultures.

The interconnected localities in early modern Mennonite diasporic communities present a particularly interesting and novel way of thinking about global religious histories. Mennonites constructed distinctive chronotopic imaginations.^{xxx} These co-existed on several levels, both local and distant, as they located themselves in a particular understanding of space and time, bound up with their faith. Time and space are inevitably intertwined. So, a productive way of writing global histories and histories of dispersion is also to think with time. The shift to a study of temporality (and not just time) emphasises that time is not ‘a neutral, universal substance’ but is shaped by cultures.^{xxxi} Temporality turns our attention to flows of movement and the entanglements of past, present and future, to points of rupture, events, to deep and long histories, to patterns of synchronicity, to the temporal nature of places.^{xxxii} Tim Ingold famously highlighted the temporality of landscape. If a landscape is seen ‘as the world as it know to those who dwell therein, who inhabit its places and journey along the paths connecting them’, it then can be read. It is not a mere backdrop but rather an entangled site of dwelling for humanity and nature, imbued with temporal meanings through people’s engagement with the world. Mennonite diasporic communities can be understood in terms of these entangled worlds of time, place, person and nature, where clear distinctions of past and present, and spatial boundaries dissolved.

For Mennonite communities in dispersion, three types of space-time were linked - past, present and future. There existed a tripartite connection to the local community, its point of origin, and the scattered, often imagined community.^{xxxiii} Movement in space did not flow in one forward direction, nor did these groups just look to the future, but also back to their pasts. Sociologist Avtar Brah has analysed the narratives constructed in and around diasporic space, which is shaped by both genealogies of dispersion and of staying.^{xxxiv} In confessional contexts, these narratives were overlaid with spiritual significance and situated in dialogue with scripture. Scholars such as Ole Peter Grell and Johannes Müller have allowed us to think creatively about the diasporic space, memory culture and networks of Calvinists exile.^{xxxv} Like these and other confessional migrants, Mennonite communities related dispersion both to actual experience and scriptural models.^{xxxvi}

The Mennonite diasporic experience, however, presents a particularly interesting example. Mennonites did always imagine themselves as exiles searching for one homeland but stressed chronological associations with the past, connecting sacred communities across varied locations. This understanding of space was different from that created by missionary culture or through the channels of state and empire - their spatial world did not go from centre to periphery. It was also more detached from national and institutional identities that shaped Calvinist and Huguenot exile. Dynamic connections across Huguenot and Calvinist diasporic communities have underpinned stories of their success as migrant, pioneering communities. They formed transatlantic Protestant worlds that drove processes of modernization.^{xxxvii} Huguenots cast themselves as the Israelites in Egypt or in exile in Babylon, breaking free from the tyranny of the king of France, who was either the Pharaoh or the Babylonian empire.^{xxxviii} They dreamed of a new Protestant France in fresh pastures abroad.^{xxxix} However, as Owen Stanwood has emphasised, Huguenot theologies of exile struggled to resist being recruited to nationalist and imperialist programmes, even if this was not the original intention in their search for Eden.^{xl} Johannes Müller examines how Huguenots narrated their diaspora in ways that permitted long-lasting translocal communities but also integration, since migrant memories could be reshaped to fit different contexts. But Mennonites offer a way of understanding how diasporic space functioned for dissenting communities across expansive geographies and over many decades without the same implication in national and imperial histories or the push to integration which ultimately dissolved some other distinctive confessional diasporas. A marked sense of Mennonite connectedness remains alive to this day. Early modern Mennonites, who disavowed the state and its institutions, created communities of dispersion which evoked correspondences across time. They make us consider the small spaces of global and transnational connectedness, spaces experienced at the intimate level of family, village or community but in translocal contexts.

Past

In 1805 Johann Donner became elder of the Orlofffelde Mennonites, a congregation located in the village of Orłowskie Pole, south east of Gdańsk in the delta of the river Vistula. Penning the foreword to the chronicle of the community's history, Donner promised to continue the work 'yearly with thanks to God's help, as long as the Lord grants me life and His grace to do it.'^{xli} He wrote in 1818, having taken up the mantle of chronicler from his father, Heinrich Donner, who had composed a 'relation', a history of the congregation and an annual record of his community since he had become elder in 1772.^{xlii} The 'relation', which was kept with the church membership records, consisted of a detailed yearly account but it also looked back to the long history of these Prussian Mennonite communities in the Netherlands. The first

entry recorded by Heinrich was for 1562, describing how Mennonites from Holland settled on the land on the invitation of the Van Loysen banking family.^{xliii} The chronicles captured the community's past and present and, as Johann's comment about continuing the record suggests, also looked to the future. The entries create a spatial as well as temporal community, detailing where the Orlofffelder Mennonites had come from and the contemporary situated history of the community in the Vistula Delta.

Exile and displacement meant leaving somewhere behind, and notions of diasporic identity always encapsulated a sense of the past, even when new opportunities were on the horizon.^{xliiv} As the Donner chronicles suggest, past space was evoked by migrating Mennonite communities who looked back to the place from which they had come. Even by the late eighteenth century, two hundred years of settlement did not erase the recollection of the community's Dutch origins and migration. The long memory of the Orlofffelder Mennonites was not unique. Church record books often started with brief histories of individuals or the community. Heinrich Donner opened his own chronicle with a short autobiography narrating his birth in Gdańsk (Danzig).^{xliv} The membership book of the Przechówko congregation, a village nestled close to the banks of the Vistula, 120km south of Gdańsk, was started in 1782 by elder Jacob Wedel. It recorded births, baptisms, marriages and deaths but also detailed the origins of the families in the church, dating back to the sixteenth century.^{xlvi} Some like the Richerts had come from Gdańsk, while the first Ratzlaff was a soldier from Sweden who became a Mennonite.^{xlvii} Whilst these records are gifts to genealogical researchers, such stories about tracing roots were not unfiltered recollections of the community's past but the product of self-conscious desires to map the community's history. In the act of creation, they created new genealogies of belonging that looked to the past and were also anchored in space.

[Figure 2. Wilsina Mennonite Church]

Communal and personal connections to spatial pasts were also reinforced by a relationship to the landscape which looked to the past. When Mennonites moved to the Vistula Delta, they evoked connections with the physical space that they had left behind. They drained land, made it ready for farming, built canals, and erected mills, houses and churches in the style of the Netherlands.^{xlviii} The Vistula Delta became known as 'klein Holland' and is dotted with former Mennonite settlements. Eleven wooden meeting houses were built from 1725 to 1800, and seven survived until 1945 but war, fire and looting has destroyed many of these buildings.^{xlix} With no Mennonite congregations in modern Poland, few now remain. Shadowy photos of the Polish countryside and its buildings, such as one of the former church of the Ladekopp congregation, give some sense of what this landscape of 'klein Holland' might have looked like. Some windmills, churches and homes remain as reminders of Mennonite communities. A wooden church dating from 1792, built by Jacob Jantzen, still stand in Wilsina. His signature is inscribed on the belfry column identifying him as the 'Baumeister'.¹ In Donner's community of Orlofffelde there is a recognisable 'dom podcieniowy' which were typical of the Mennonites.^{li} Mennonite Peter Epp owned one of the best preserved, dom podcieniowy nr 6 w Żuławkach. Dutch wall tiles still decorate the interior.^{lii} Cemeteries are now often the only remnant of Mennonite congregations. Many of these have too fallen into ruin though local volunteers have restored some.^{liii} Physical connections could last across centuries. When Mennonites moved to 'New Russia', windmills and churches were built in the 'Dutch style'. Windmills served as 'secular icons' for Russian Mennonites who later migrated to Canada, and were material actors in communities of memory bound together by place.^{liv} A distinct understanding of temporality emerged in the landscape. Mennonites looked back to Dutch pasts as they settled the land, and the unadorned design of their homes and meeting

houses seemed to evoke simpler presents which countered the modernity of their eighteenth-century contexts. But yet this landscape and these buildings were newly created in the contexts of the Vistula Delta or beyond. The dynamic between past and present, and movement and settlement, was embodied in the environment itself.

The specificity of localised experiences of space, remade across numerous points in the world, constructed a sense of global place. However, Mennonite conceptualisations of historic space were not parochial, nor did they only draw past connections to the place from which they had come but drew on much longer spatial pasts. Johann Donner's chronicle framed the history of the Orlofffelder Mennonites with reference to a deeper history. He gave an account not only of his community but of all Mennonites who, he said, represented the continuation of the first Apostolic church. True believers, like the Waldensians and the first 'Taufgesinnter' would always suffer, and this too was Mennonites' fate. Donner referenced van Braght's *Martyr's Mirror* and cited history by the German pietist Gottfried Arnold.^{lv} Mennonites needed to legitimise and justify their existence through writing a past, a fact common to all Protestant groups who could not make the claims to the same universal, eternal history as Catholics. In the reformation era, different confessions penned histories and created memorial cultures as a way of expressing belonging.^{lvi} Mennonites looked to the long history of martyrdom which connected early modern pasts with the martyrs of the early church, and the *Martyr's Mirror* has acquired canonical status amongst Mennonites.^{lvii} Mennonites made claims to universal history, but these were different from those made by Catholics and other Protestant groups. Their claims invoked deep connections to biblical pasts as God's chosen people and the true successors of the Apostolic church, as well as to the past experience of persecution. In this respect they echoed other confessional groups, but their history emphasised a continued sense of a dispersed, persecuted church in a way in which others did not and in ways which persisted.

[Figure 3. Map of the peregrinations of Christ from the Schottland Bible]

Histories and memories also evoked particular locations. Catholics looked to the ancient traditions of Rome, whilst Lutherans inscribed their memorial culture on the landscape of Saxony.^{lviii} As well as writing their own history, Mennonite communities imagined their connection to the past in spatial terms. The maps that accompanied the Schottland bible historicised sacred space, and cartography always shared an intimate relationship with history. The atlas produced by Ortelius was not just a catalogue of places but also a form of history, and the later addendum, the Parergon, made this even more explicit, for it mapped past world empires and mythical landscapes.^{lix} In the Schottland Bible, the maps occur throughout the Old and New Testaments at various chronological points. Space is not eternalised and universalised as on medieval T and O maps, but each landscape is historically imagined and unique. As the commentary on Christ's pilgrimages made clear, this was partly an exercise in determining the reality of historic space and to place before the Christian reader's eyes the places of Christ's peregrinations, 'a blessed land which flowed with milk and honey'.^{lx} As Justine Walden argues for Calvinist bibles, maps were not merely geographic but embodied the notion that the world was a theatre that showed God was immanent in place and time. One could read world history as the revelation of providence.^{lxi} Maps provided an aid to readers but also made historical arguments by linking historic, biblical space to the community in the present. Mapping the journeys of the patriarchs or the apostles underscored connections between the true church and Mennonites. Maps and chronicles both employed space as a form of sacred authority. Space described distant sacred pasts so that communities literally or figuratively could overlay histories onto the places inhabited by the patriarchs, apostles and martyrs. This global

imagining of space did not need to involve mission or empire but rather a conceptual connection to a mapped past intertwined with the reality of migration.

Maps, therefore, provided typological connections with biblical and ancient figures, and also presented a chance for ‘historical reflection and experiential identification’.^{lxii} The cartouches round the map of the patriarchs in the Schottland Bible detailed every example of exile in Genesis, such as the expulsion from Eden, the tower of Babel, and Jacob’s ladder.^{lxiii} Understanding pilgrimage or ‘peregrination’ was an act of scriptural interpretation but movement was also part of the experience of being a Mennonite, embedded in their imaginations. Heinrich Donner was not just interested in his own congregation but wrote a history of Hutterite migrations to the southern Russia Empire.^{lxiv} Biblical maps embodied multiple models of travel and different notions of space. Expulsion from Eden, the wanderings of the patriarchs, the Exodus, exile during the Babylonian captivity, and the apostolic missions were all different modes of framing travel and space.^{lxv} Sermons also reinforced the congregation’s connection to biblical pasts. Gerard Wiebe, elder of the Mennonite community in Elbing and a supporter of the Russian migrations, listed every sermon he preached to his congregations in his diary. In December 1787 for example, as these communities were contemplating the prospect of settling in new lands, Wiebe preached on a New Testament passages, from Thessalonians, Hebrews, Matthew, Luke and John, touching on Christ’s birth, on the resurrection of the dead, and miracles during the ministry in Galilee.^{lxvi} Different typologies prevailed at different times, as these groups negotiated the spatial encounters they confronted when they travelled or migrated. A map of Exodus, as it did for Calvinists or Huguenots, touched not simply on allegory but real experience for Mennonites who fled persecution in the sixteenth century.^{lxvii} Mennonites facing the challenge of settling in America in the eighteenth century emphasised the suffering of being in a strange land.^{lxviii} However, when the elder of the Groningen Mennonite community, Hendrik Berents Hulshoff travelled to the Vistula Delta to visit communities in the early eighteenth century, he presented his journeys as an apostolic or Christ-like experience, replete with brotherly affection, breaking bread, and feet washing.^{lxix} On its frontispiece, the Schottland Bible asked readers to pay heed to Romans 15:4: ‘For whatsoever things were written aforetime were written for our learning, that we through patience and comfort of the scriptures might have hope.’ For these communities, stories of exile, wandering, pilgrimage and martyrdom were a past that reflected on their present.

Present

Three small figures traverse a hilly landscape, dressed in the garb of early modern travellers. They set out with pack and stick on the road to Emmaus from Jerusalem. Perhaps they are the two disciples who failed to recognise the resurrected Christ who appeared to them, only revealing his identity at supper in Emmaus later that night. This detail appeared on the bottom of the map of Jerusalem in the Mennonite bible. It does not feature centre stage, but it alluded to the fact that the true church may not always be recognised but suffers snubs and mockery. It also spoke to the transformative experience of travel. The disciples encounter Christ on the road. The Emmaus story was a powerful metaphor, for it played on notions of Christ as pilgrim and traveller, a theme that proved popular in late medieval devotional art and plays.^{lxx} It also gained new meaning for Protestants for whom it served as a model for the revelation of the true church.^{lxxi} For Mennonites, it could encapsulate the feeling that being ostracised only reinforced identification with Christ. Emmaus existed as a real historical place

in the past – it was located on the map of Canaan in the bible – but it was also a model in the present and embodied hopes for the future, as the site for the revelation of the true church.

[Figure 4. Detail from the map of Jerusalem from the Schottland Bible]

Maps represented past space but also framed present experience. On the map of the world at the front of the Schottland Bible, an unusual inclusion in a bible, Danzig Mennonites could have picked out their current home as one point in the theatre of God's providence. Maps such as these were representations of the connection to God's church on earth and they displayed religious conviction and allegiance in an indisputably visual form.^{lxxii} But this expansive framework also rubbed alongside the more prosaic reality of settling somewhere like Danzig and calling it home. The way communities narrate and construct claims to home is central to diasporic space. Diaspora implies not just ordinary travel but dispersion from a home and then settlement in a new home. Home could be anywhere, where you settle or where you come from, depending on circumstances. Thus, in constructing a homeland there is a contested notion of the 'we', both about who goes and who is left behind, and in the way it relates to people who already live somewhere.^{lxxiii} For Mennonites, these notions of home existed on many scales, both temporal and chronological: the lived experience, the places from which they had come, the place where they might settle in the future. The imagination of the community had to contain these disparate forces.

One of the most obvious ways that Mennonites managed this tension in the face of dispersion, to settled in the here and now, was recording the community's spatial connections. Church membership books illustrated movement and connectedness but also embodied settlement in their desire to establish stability in documentary form. The oldest church record book from the Vistula Delta belongs to the Flemish Danzig community listing births, baptisms, marriages, and deaths from 1668 onwards, and the church elders as far back as 1567.^{lxxiv} Similar records exist for each congregation. Church books recorded settled locations, but they also connected these communities to wider locations by noting down who left and joined, where they came from, and where individuals went. The church book from Przechówko, for example, provides commentary on the entries. Trincke Isaacs married someone from the other side (the Frisians) by the name of Blocken, whilst Peter Isaac and his wife moved to Wischinka in Russia in 1783.^{lxxv} Baptismal records for 1699 for the Danzig community note that four of the baptisms happened in Holland, whilst by the later eighteenth century death records came to reflect the dispersion of the community.^{lxxvi} In 1799, thirteen people died. Most perished in various suburbs of Danzig such as Schottland or Stolzenberg, but Johann Toews, unmarried stepson of Isaac Toews, died in 'Russl.', southern Russia, at the age of twenty-six. By this time, the Vistula Delta communities had started to migrate to Russian lands. The present life of the community was constructed through these ebbs and flows of movement, but there is also a temporal shift in the records which mirrors people's movement: the older records look back to the Netherlands, the later ones look forward to settlement in southern Russia. Church member books provided a mental, physical and documentary map of space, and inscribed the conflicted dynamics between here and there involved in migration. The documents delineated a notion of home that meant being situated somewhere, but also existed in the connections to a dispersed community in the past and present.

This space-time was also rooted in family genealogies. Family narratives which trace genealogies across centuries, land, and sea embody movement, but genealogies also attempt to fix origins and solid sites of remembrances. The Przechówko church book sometimes records the exact time of birth or death, counting its members lives to the hour. This intimate level of

detail connected the living and the dead in the present by creating a physical record of the close knowledge of lives shared between members of the community. Mennonite communities in northern Europe were disparate, spread across large distances, but also intimate, for they existed in close familial connections that were recorded in documents. The Danzig record books, for example, are designed to be cross-referenced.^{lxxvii} Rather than seeing micro and macro as conflicting forces, or opposing the tension of staying put with movement, this global space is expressed through family, church and community.^{lxxviii} Critiques of global histories have asked how those who do not move fit into cosmopolitan narratives, and whether we then reduce them to mere consumers of global things and knowledge.^{lxxix} These problematic distinctions dissolve in Mennonite communities where a sense of space existed neither in cosmopolitan travel nor in sedentary participation in global knowledge but was reliant on movement through family connections.

The notion of 'we' remained contested, since Prussian Mennonites were split into two branches, the Frisian and Flemish.^{lxxx} The break originated in the mid-sixteenth century amongst Dutch Mennonites who disagreed over aspects of congregational life and ritual practice.^{lxxxi} The tension of multiple homelands was particularly acute in Mennonite communities who divided when they moved. By the late eighteenth century, when Catherine the Great and Russian officials were negotiating with Mennonites from Danzig to settle 'New Russia', families and communities spanned from the Netherlands to the Vistula Delta to southern Russia. It is perhaps no coincidence that church books accelerated in production as the Prussian Mennonites were on the verge of moving and as their situation seemed less certain. They fixed location at the moment of transition, in the need to secure a sense of place and home. Yet the notion of 'home' had to be fluid. In his chronicle, Heinrich Donner wrote about visits to Russia by the two Mennonite delegates who would negotiate the migration, Johann Bartsch and Jacob Höppner. Bartsch was 'from our community', by which Donner meant the Frisian church, and Höppner from the Flemish community.^{lxxxii} (The nearby Ladekopp church was Flemish). Whilst divided, there was still a sense of shared Mennonite community. These entangled notions of belonging were complicated further by migrations to Russia. The invitation from the Russian authorities was read in both Flemish and Frisian congregations, and despite disagreements, elders stressed the need for harmony when individuals moved.^{lxxxiii} Prussian Mennonites from both branches made the decision to leave, and congregations split. The Donners stayed in Orlofffelde, but other members of the community such as Hans Krueger and his wife and three children left for New Russia.^{lxxxiv}

Globalized space in Mennonite imaginations conceived of flows of movement that were able to contain multiple ideas of a homeland and of 'we', even when these were contested in different places. The notion of the world as God's theatre, throughout history and across space, was integral in the collapsing of time and place, tying different 'homes' together across the world: the Netherlands, the Vistula Delta, the Russian Steppe and ultimately in the nineteenth-, twentieth- and twenty-first centuries the plains of north America or the Mexican desert. Early modern Mennonites did not imagine that all the world was part of a universal Church, but there did seem to be a sense that all places in the world could be home to their church. Like modern Kenyan Pentecostals, home is imagined in 'radically de-territorialised terms' as the land of God.^{lxxxv} The land of God was imagined in many different ways but this conceptualisation of space held together the tensions of movement and settlement, home and away. Fragmentation itself could facilitate a global religious perspective, for Mennonite communities fractured when they moved but did not split entirely, nor forget connections with the places they had left. The short history of the congregation on the website of the Alexanderwohl church in contemporary Kansas tells the story of movement from the

Netherlands to Poland, Ukraine and then America. At each point the community reimagined the place they called home. This was not a linear transition but a process of fragmentation that resulted in multiple, entangled spatial connections. In one remarkable record from the church book of the Przechówko congregation we see the name of Jacob Ratzlaff who had moved to Alexanderwohl. The record freezes in time the simultaneous ‘homes’ of this congregation.^{lxxxvi}

Future

The documented snapshot of transition amongst the Przechówko Mennonites reveals a sense of the importance of future place. What happened when the community felt it could or should move? Like Huguenots seeking out any place in which they could construct Eden, Mennonites have sought places to be the ‘die Stillen im Lande’, finding landscapes on which they could inscribe notions of home which were transportable and connected across time.^{lxxxvii} In a farewell sermon preached to fellow Mennonites as he left Gdańsk for lands in Russia, elder Peter Epp told his congregation to rejoice. He was, he said, an old man who must struggle 3000 miles across difficult lands, but the journey was not in vain. Like Christ who told his disciples “You heard me say, ‘I am going away and I am coming to you’ ”, and that they should rejoice as he went to God, Epp told his listeners too to be glad about his farewell for he was accepting the burden of Christian duty. Hopes for the future played a crucial role in propelling movement to find a new homeland.^{lxxxviii} Claims to home situated within in biblical frameworks offer the hope of future fulfilment and thus are imbued with significance beyond the realm of human experience, time and space.

Future space and past space can often be seen as synonymous in a diasporic community since the goal is to return. In this respect the study of diasporic identities, especially confessional ones, is often modelled on Jewish imaginations of the diaspora, connected to the narratives of a chosen people who experienced the Exodus, wandering to find their home, and of exile from the Promised Land. Places where exiles had come from existed in a past and the longed-for place of return or Eden in the future. But this temporal-spatial correspondence is too crude. Mennonites did not often talk about going back or making a return to an exiled home, although they retained a belief they were a chosen people living under the sign of Thau as the elect church.^{lxxxix} Settling and searching for home meant living out this sense of a separatist, elect church, but what did this mean?

Scripture served as historical example rather than utopian future. On the map contained in the Schottland Bible, Eden is a firmly historical place, whilst the map of Jerusalem does not show the heavenly Jerusalem restored in future time, as an aspirational hope, but the historically restored Jerusalem.^{xc} The Jerusalem map was another rarity, one of only three known depictions of Jerusalem in sixteenth-century Bibles and completely unlike those in Calvinist Bibles. Literal interpretations of the Bible and its historical spaces was common to both Catholics and Protestants in the Reformation era.^{xc1} But it gave the Mennonite understanding of space in dispersion a particular meaning. The search for a future ‘promised land’ was separated from the historically located Eden and the historic Jerusalem. Though both inevitably shaped understandings of confessional movement, Mennonite imagination was not particularly taken with a theology of exile or the hope for a future Eden. Mennonites did think with biblical space. However, it is striking that Epp’s sermon uses New Testament parallels to frame his thoughts, drawing on passages from John 14 and Acts 13. He did not compare the experience of his congregation to Old Testament exiles, but instead drew connections with

Christ's suffering and the experiences of the Apostles. The congregation's 'heavenly calling and highest determination is now placed at its highest test, that is, much has to be risked, although we are still called in peace, we are not facing chains... as the Apostle Paul'.^{xcii} Notes from the front of the Schottland bible, presumably for suitable passages for sermons and instruction, focus on Old and New Testament passages but all are generally related to the theme of discipline, obedience, humility and, for the New Testament, following Christ's example. The list includes Exodus 20 (the Ten Commandments), Leviticus 19 (on God's law), and numerous specific verses from Proverbs alongside Matthew, Colossians, and Philippians. These passages allude to the theme of God's chosen people who keep his law, fulfilled in Christ, but this is not (at least in these notes) connected to an exile theology rooted in a sense of the scriptural promised land.^{xciii}

The land of God was a historic land but also a space and time which Mennonites in some sense claimed as successors of the true church, and in the present they lived out this belief as they drew connections with the Apostles and Christ. Meanwhile, the future always contained the potential for movement, a feeling that communities might be able to better express this connection with God and their calling in another place. Diasporic space, movement and the sense of home in confessional contexts was related to scripture. Seeing the world in biblical terms furnished particular notions of space and time, chronotopic imaginations that co-existed on several levels, both local and distant. It gave Mennonite diasporic identity dynamic vitality. The tripartite past, present and future did not map onto linear narratives of migration. Rather, past and future could collide in notions of biblical space, and the present could hold both the connection to the where they lived now, places left, and the world yet to come. There was little sense of eschatological expectation but rather the continual unfolding of sacred pasts in present and future.

For early modern Mennonites in Europe, the interaction of past, present and future shaped interactions with Vistula Delta. This was always seen as a land of fertile and plenty, perhaps the most obvious example of a promised land in the east. Amidst the confessional struggles of the sixteenth century, religious communities in the Netherlands told stories of a place of refuge in the east which circulated as early as the 1520s.^{xciv} The famous Dutch Mennonite dramatist Joost van den Vondel penned a play entitled *Gijsbrecht van Aemstel* in 1638 which describes the siege of Amsterdam in 1304 and a people who are offered a path to future freedom by the archangel Raphael. He proclaims in a vision:

“Depart, go to the fertile Prussian soil
Where the Vistula rushes down from the Polish mountains
And pleasantly washes its fruitful, luxuriant banks...
There build a city, called New Holland.”

As Peter J. Klassen has argued, the fact that this play was performed annually for many years in Amsterdam indicates how it resonated with migrant identities in the Netherlands and beyond.^{xcv} From as early as the 1530s, Anabaptist communities followed this tale of promise, emigrating along trade routes across the Baltic. However, as Epp's letters show, promises of new lands in the east drove migration in the late eighteenth century when the Vistula Delta was no longer the land of promise. After World War Two, it became a site of renewed longing, not as a site of resettlement, but as a place that evoked reciprocal connections. Mennonites travelled to Poland in the 1940s as part of charitable work performed by the United Nations Rescue and Rehabilitation Agency, and in 1958 Peter Dyck visited Gdańsk and the surrounding area in his role as director of the Mennonite Central Committee. Today, there are heritage tours of the

region.^{xcvi} The reasons for and means of travelling have changed, but these journeys are a reminder that flows of movement can work in multiple ways, and that past, present and future were and remain deeply intertwined.

Conclusion

In the countryside of the Vistula Delta lies the former cemetery of the Orlofffelder Mennonites. It is ringed by trees, distant from the village but its once quiet separation is now interrupted by the new S7 Express to the north. These graves still hold emotional resonance, fixed spaces of settlement which nonetheless effect entangled, distant connections. On one side of the cemetery is Johann Donner's headstone, which lies at an angle, grass round the base in summer and snow obscuring its engravings in winter. The life and afterlife of Johann Donner and his father Heinrich exemplifies the flows of space and time which connected the Mennonites of the early modern world. Heinrich was born in Danzig in 1735 but his family came from Hamburg. He moved to Schönsee and then Orlofffelde, where he died. The chronicles he and his son created stayed with the community until the congregation was destroyed in World War Two and were then moved to the MFS in Weierhof.^{xcvii} Yet his *Hausbuch*, which starts in 1759, ended up in archives in Kansas.^{xcviii} However, Johann's grave is a material reminder of the family's presence in Poland. These interlinked narratives of things, peoples and places is more than just another example of transnational connectedness or networks. Rather, this micro narrative on macro scales is a tangible reminder of the way in which global connections of Mennonite communities were embodied in people, the places they called home and the documents they created to record the experience of movement.

A diasporic community came from somewhere, was situated somewhere but also looked to possible futures. Early modern Mennonite communities, although dispersed, were linked through a shared past and a sense of future purpose, founded on their belief that they were the true church. This created connected notions of home across space. Spatial connections were distinct from the exile theology of Calvinists and Huguenots, in the way they have sustained communities beyond the bounds of national histories, but also different from early modern missionizing which imagined global space fanning out from a centre. Today Mennonite churches vary immensely and are very diverse, but there are shared spatial-temporal frameworks that contain past and present, and presence and distance by seeing multiple possible places in which to be God's people. Connections to the past exist, as is clear from the desire to visit Poland and seek out now abandoned cemeteries, but these are complicated by the sense the fact this is a diaspora which does not look back to one homeland. The afterlives of these early modern worlds of dispersion continue to distinguish Mennonites, From the plains of Manitoba to the Chaco jungle or the deserts, there persists a sense of the connected yet dispersed church with a deep past, a community of faith who have sought and continue to seek out new landscapes. How these ideas will continue to play out in the global south, where Mennonitism is growing fastest, remains to be seen.

To understand Mennonite migration in the early modern world, we have to think about the particular notion of global and transnational spaces of this dissenting community in movement. Mennonites thought about the chronological correspondences with their past and also with connected notions of home across space. Being a community in movement meant spanning spaces both physically and conceptually, as a distinct understand of time and space rooted in faith evolved. Understanding the local and yet expansive worldviews of Mennonites allows us to think about dissenting and migrating early modern religions as well as global

Protestantism and its legacies in new ways. We can place early modern Mennonites and their search for multiple homelands in a novel framework for global early modern history which encompasses the connectedness of time and space.

ⁱ Map entitled, ‘Typvs Orbis Terrarvm’, inserted after the table of contents and before Genesis, *Den Bybel ... uytten oirspronckelijcken Hebreuschen ende Griecschen ghetrouwelick verduytschet, etc* (Danzig, 1598, actually printed in Haarlem). BL 3041.h.5.

ⁱⁱ Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (Antwerp, 1570). The original edition contained 70 maps but the work was so popular subsequent editions were printed with additions. By 1579 the *Theatrum* had mushroomed to include 97 maps. On Ortelius see Marcel R. van der Broecke, “Introduction to the Life and Works of Abraham Ortelius”, in *Abraham Ortelius and the First Atlas Essays Commemorating the Quadricentennial of His Death, 1598-1998*, eds. Peter C.J. van der Krogt, Peter H. Meurer and Marcel R. van den Broecke (Utrecht, 1998), 29-54; Jerry Brotton, *Trading Territories: Mapping the Early Modern World* (London, 1997), 169-177.

ⁱⁱⁱ This map was printed as a standalone item. An example from 1600 can be seen here:

<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8490572r>, accessed 15 March 2019. For an overview of the Van Langrenns as cartographers see Johannes Keuning, ‘The Van Langren Family’, *Imago Mundi* 13 (1956): 101-109.

^{iv} Ann Blair, *The Theater of Nature: Jean Bodin and Renaissance Science* (Princeton, 2017), especially chapter 5; Tom Conley, “Early Modern Literature and Cartography: An Overview”, in *The History of Cartography*, vol. 3: *Cartography in the European Renaissance*, part 1, ed. David Woodward (Chicago, 2007), 408-409.

^v Catherine Delano-Smith and Elizabeth Morley Ingram, *Maps in Bibles, 1500-1600: An Illustrated Catalogue* (Paris, 1991); Pauline Moffitt Watts, “The European Religious Worldview and Its Influence on Mapping”, in *Cartography in the European Renaissance*, 387-390.

^{vi} Simon Ditchfield, “Translating Christianity in an Age of Reformations”, *Ecclesiastical History* 53 (2017): 164–195, doi.10.1017/stc.2016.11.

^{vii} Peter J. Klassen, *Mennonites in Early Modern Poland and Prussia* (Baltimore, 2009), 146-147; H.G. Mannhardt, *The Danzig Mennonite Church: Its Origin and History from 1569–1919*, trans. Victor G. Doerksen, ed. and annotated Mark Jantzen and John D. Thiesen (North Newton, Kansas and Kitchener, Ontario, 2007), 48; Edmund Kizik, “Religious Freedom and the Limits of Social Assimilation: The History of the Mennonites in Danzig and the Vistula Delta until their Tragic End after World War II”, in *From Martyr to Muppy: A Historical Introduction to Cultural Assimilation Processes of a Religious Minority in the Netherlands: the Mennonites*, eds. Alistair Hamilton, Sjouke Voolstra and Piet Visser (Amsterdam, 1994), 54.

^{viii} Smith and Ingram, *Maps in Bibles*, xvi.

^{ix} *Tooley’s Dictionary of Mapmakers. Revised Edition. K-P*, ed. Valerite Scott (Riverside, 2003), 85-6; John Robert Christianson, *On Tycho’s Island: Tycho Brahe and His Assistants, 1570–1601* (Cambridge, 2003), 308-311.

^x Johannes Keuning, “The Van Langren Family”, *Imago Mundi* 13 (1956): 104. See also Smith and Ingram, *Maps in Bibles*, 9–10, 34–35, 86–87, 106.

^{xi} On cartography in the Low Countries see chapters 43–46 in *Cartography in the Renaissance*, 1246–1462.

^{xii} *The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450–1700 The Van Doetecum Family*, compiled by Henk Nalis, eds. Ger Luijten and Christian Schuckam, 4 vols, (Rotterdam, 1998).

^{xiii} Ulinka Rublack, “Introduction”, in *The Oxford Handbook of the Protestant Reformations*, ed. Ulinka Rublack (Oxford, 2017), 14–17.

^{xiv} On thinking about global reformations see Merry Wiesner-Hanks, “Comparisons and Consequences in Global History”, in *Protestant Reformations*, 747-764; Charles H. Parker, “The Reformation in Global Perspective” *History Compass* 12.12 (2014): 924–934, doi.org/10.1111/hic3.12206.

^{xv} See Gerhard Ritter, *Die Weltwirkung der Reformation* (Leipzig, 1941). See recent reflections by Hartmut Lehmann on problems with this term and its potential relevance today: Lehmann, “‘Die Weltwirkung Der Reformation’: Anmerkungen Zu Einem von Gerhard Ritter Geprägten Historiographischen Begriff”, *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 108 (2017): 42-52. See also Heinz Schilling, “Ursprünge der Reformation: Umwälzung aus dem Geist des Evangeliums”, *Rotary Magazin* 6 (2014), <http://rotary.de/gesellschaft/umwaelzung-als-demgeist-des-evangeliums-a-5379.html>, accessed March 16 2019.

^{xvi} For example Eckhart Bernstiel and Crystal Bernat, *La diaspora des huguenots: les réfugiés protestants de France et leur dispersion dans le monde, XVIe-XVIIIe siècles* (Paris, 2001); Dagmar Freist and Susanne Lachenicht, *Connecting Worlds and People: Early Modern Diasporas* (London, 2016); Yosef Kaplan, *Early Modern Ethnic and Religious Communities in Exile* (Newcastle, 2017). Nicholas Terpstra, *Religious Refugees in the Early Modern World: An Alternative History of the Reformation* (Cambridge, 2015).

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- ^{xvii} Alison Games, *Migration and the Origins of the English Atlantic World* (Cambridge, Mass. And London, 1999); Games, “Atlantic History: Definitions, Challenges, and Opportunities”, *American Historical Review* 111.3 (2006): 741–75, doi.org/10.1086/ahr.111.3.741; Christian Buchet (ed.), *The Sea in History/La mer dans l’histoire*. 4 vols, ed. (Woodbridge, 2017), vol. 3: *The Early Modern World; La période modern*, eds. Christian Buchet and Gérard Le Bouëde. For broader works on the history of migration see Dirk Hoeder (ed.), *Cultures in Contact: World Migrations in the Second Millennium* (Durham, N.C., 2002); Patrick Manning (ed.), *Migration in World History*, 2nd edn, (Abingdon and New York, 2017).
- ^{xviii} This short survey tells only a part of Mennonite history. For the most comprehensive account see James Urry, *Mennonites, Politics, and Peoplehood: 1525 to 1980* (Winnipeg, 2011).
- ^{xix} Jeremy Adelman, “What is global history now?”, *Aeon*, March 2 2017; See also the response to Adelman, Richard Drayton and David Motadel, “Discussion: The Futures of Global History”, *Journal of Global History* 13.1 (2018): 1–21, doi.10.1017/S1740022817000262. On the current debate over global history: John-Paul A Ghobrial, “Introduction: Seeing the World like a Microhistorian”, *Past & Present* 242, Supplement 14 (2019): 1–10, doi.org/10.1093/pastj/gtz046, and Sebastian Conrad, *What is Global History?* (Princeton, 2017), 205–235.
- ^{xx} Adelman, ‘What is global history now?’
- ^{xxi} David Bell, ‘This is what happens when historians overuse the idea of the network’, *New Republic* 26, October 2013.
- ^{xxii} Adelman, “What is global history now?”
- ^{xxiii} Sanjay Subrahmanyam, “Connected Histories: Notes towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia” *Modern Asian Studies* 31.3, Special Issue: *The Eurasian Context of the Early Modern History of Mainland South East Asia, 1400–1800* (1997): 735–762.
- ^{xxiv} Rebecca Darley, “Implicit cosmopolitanism’ and the Commercial Role of Ancient Lanka”, in *Sri Lanka at the Crossroads of History*, eds. Zoltan Biedermann and Alan Strathern (London, 2017), 44–65.. See also Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Aux origines de l’histoire globale : Leçon inaugurale prononcée le jeudi 28 novembre 2013* (Paris, 2014), doi:10.4000/books.cdf.3606. Accessed August 30 2019.
- ^{xxv} See for example Simon Schaffer, Lissa Roberts, Kapil Raj and James Delbourg (eds), *The Brokered World: Go-Betweens and Global Intelligence, 1770–1820* (Sagamore Beach, MA, 2009); Focus section “Global histories of science”, *Isis* 101.1 (201); Sarah Easterby-Smith, “Recalcitrant Seeds: Material Culture and the Global History of Science”, *Past & Present* 242, Supplement_14 (2019), 215–242, doi.org/10.1093/pastj/gtz045.
- ^{xxvi} Ayesha Ramachandran, *The Worldmakers: Global Imagining in Early Modern Europe* (Chicago, 2015)
- ^{xxvii} Lara Putnam, “The Transnational and the Text-Searchable: Digitised Sources and the Shadow They Cast”, *American Historical Review* 121.2 (2016): 377–402, doi.org/10.1093/ahr/121.2.377; Julia Laite, ‘The Emmet’s Inch: Small History in a Digital Age’, *Journal of Social History* 53 (2020): 1–27, doi.org/10.1093/jsh/shy118.
- ^{xxviii} Francesca Trivellato, “Is There a Future for Italian Microhistory in the Age of Global History?”, *California Italian Studies* 2.1 (2011), <<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/0z94n9hq>>, accessed October 20 2019. See also the recent *Past & Present* supplement John-Paul A Ghobrial (ed.), *Global and Microhistory. Past & Present* 242, Supplement 14 (2019). In particular see Christian G De Vito, ‘History Without Scale: The Micro-Spatial Perspective’, 348–372.
- ^{xxix} See a recent critique of the term ‘circulation’ in global history, Stefanie Gänger, “Circulation: Reflections on Circularity, Entity and Liquidity in the Language of Global History”, *Journal of Global History* 12.3 (2017)” 303–318, doi.10.1017/S174002281700016X.
- ^{xxx} Mikhail Bakhtin developed the idea of the chronotope to refer to interconnectedness of spatial and temporal imaginations in discourse and literature. Mikhail Bakhtin, “Forms of Time and of the Chronotope in the Novel: Notes towards a Historical Poetic” in *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, ed. Michael Holquist, trans. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin, 1981), 84–258.
- ^{xxxi} Christopher Clark, *Time and Power, Visions of History in German Politics, from the Thirty Years’ War to the Third Reich* (Princeton and Oxford, 2019), 17.
- ^{xxxii} Clark, *Time and Power*, 18–19; Conrad, *Global History*, 150–170.
- ^{xxxiii} Liesbeth Corens, *Confessional Mobility and English Catholics in Counter-Reformation Europe* (Oxford, 2019), 65
- ^{xxxiv} Avtar Brah, *Cartographies of Diaspora: Contesting Identities* (London and New York, 1996, reprint 2005), 183.
- ^{xxxv} Johannes Mueller, *Exile Memories and the Dutch Revolt: The Narrated Diaspora, 1550–1750* (Leiden, 2016); Ole Peter Grell, *Brethren in Christ: A Calvinist Network in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge, 2011).
- ^{xxxvi} See also Nicholas Terpstra, “Mobility, Community and Identity in the Early Modern Period: An Alternative Reading of the Long Reformation”, in *Religious Communities in Exile*, 20–24.

^{xxxvii} Heinz Schilling, *Early Modern European Civilization and its Political and Cultural Dynamism*, (Lebanon, NH, 2008), 33-64; Schilling, "Innovation through Migration: The Settlements of Calvinistic Netherlanders in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Central and Western Europe", *Social History* 16 (1983): 7-33; Grell, *Brethren in Christ*.

^{xxxviii} David Onnekink, "Models of an Imagined Community: Huguenot Discourse on Identity and Foreign Policy", in *The Huguenots: History and Memory in Transnational Context: Essays in Honour and Memory of Walter C. Utt*, ed. David J.B. Trim (Leiden, 2011), 207.

^{xxxix} Owen Stanwood, "Between Eden and Empire: Huguenot Refugees and the Promise of New Worlds", *American Historical Review* 118 (2013): 1320, doi.org/10.1093/ahr/118.5.1319.

^{xl} Stanwood, "Between Eden and Empire"; Stanwood, *The Global Refuge: Huguenots in an Age of Empire*, (Oxford, 2020), 7.

^{xli} Kirchenbuch der Orloffferfelde Mennonitengemeinde: Chronik (Donner), Geburten, Trauungen, Taufen, Kirchenzucht 1800-1899, Mennonitische Forschungstelle Weierhof, KB.OR.02, fo. 6.

^{xlii} Heinrich Donner wrote in the chronicle: 'Habe ich in diesem buch angefangen anzuschreiben was sich in unsere Gemeinde, zeit meiner bedienung merckwürdiges zugetragen'; Heinrich Donner's Chronik, Mennonite Heritage Centre Archives Winnipeg (hereafter MHCA), Small Archives 4355, Box 2, cover (no folios). For the Relation and church records see Kirchenbuch der Orloffferfelde Mennonitengemeinde: Geburten, Taufen, Trauungen, Todesfälle 1727-1857, Mennonitische Forschungstelle Weierhof (hereafter MFS, KB.OR.01). See the work of Edmund Kizik, "Die Chronik Heinrich Donners. Eine wichtige Quelle zur Geschichte der Mennoniten in Westpreussen im letzten Viertel des 18. Jahrhunderts", *Mennonitische Geschichtsblätter* 49 (1992): 56-72; Klassen, *Mennonites in Early Modern Poland*, 57, 184-7.

^{xliii} MFS, KB.OR.01, p. 77

^{xliv} Marie-Aude Baronian, Stephen Besser and Yolande Jansen, "Introduction: Diaspora and Memory", in *Diaspora and Memory: Figures of Displacement in Contemporary Literature, Arts and Politics*, eds. Baronian, Besser and Jansen (Amsterdam, 2007), 11-12; Brah, *Cartographies of Diaspora*; Nicholas Van Haer, "Spheres of diaspora engagement", in *Diasporas Reimagined: Spaces, Practices and Belonging*, eds. Nando Sigona, Alan Gamlen, Giulia Liberatore and Hélène Neveu Kringelbach (Croydon, 2015), 32-5. On return and the tension of past and present space see also Alexander Schunka, "No Return? Temporary Exile and Permanent Immigration among Confessional Migrants in the Early Modern Era", in *Migrations in the German Lands*, eds. Jason Coy, Jared Poley and Alexander Schunka (New York, Paperback edn., 2018), 67-87.

^{xlv} Heinrich Donner's Chronik, MHCA, Small Archives 4355, Box 2, p.5

^{xlvi} <http://www.mennonitegenealogy.com/prussia/przech.htm>, accessed 5 April 2019; Ernst Crous and Richard D. Thiessen, 'Przechovka (Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship, Poland)', Global Anabaptist Mennonite Encyclopedia Online, March 2013, [https://gameo.org/index.php?title=Przechovka_\(Kuyavian-Pomeranian_Voivodeship,_Poland\)](https://gameo.org/index.php?title=Przechovka_(Kuyavian-Pomeranian_Voivodeship,_Poland)), accessed April 5 2019.

^{xlvii} Alexanderwohl/Przechowka Mennonite church record books, Mennonite Library and Archives, Bethel, KS (hereafter MLA), CONG. 15, box 11, pp. 3-6. See also scans here: https://mla.bethelks.edu/metadata/cong_15.php, accessed February 3 2019.

^{xlviii} Klassen, *Mennonites in Early Modern Poland*, 48-68. See also a project mapping the Mennonites in Europe. <http://eumen.net/en/locations/poland>, accessed March 20 2019

^{xlix} Konrad Nawrocki, 'Mennonickie domy modlitwy na Żuławach, w Elbagu i Gdańsku jako zjawisko architektoniczne i artystyczne', in *Mennonici na Żuławach: ocalone dziedzictwo*, eds. Grażyna Szcześniak and Iwona Ziętkiewicz (Gdańsk, 2007), 105.

^l Nawrocki, 'Mennonickie domy modlitwy', 95.

^{li} On these buildings see Jerzy Domino, 'Budownictwo i cmentarze mennonickie na Żuławkach Wiślanych', in *Mennonici na Żuławach*, 59-82.

^{lii} <https://zulawy.infopl.info/index.php/pndg/gstegna/zulawki>. See also Andrzej Kasperek, "Skarby Architektury drewnianej w Żuławkach", *Prowincja – kwartalnik społeczno-kulturalny Dolnego Powiśla i Żuław* 33 (2018).

^{liii} Karolina Manikowska, "Na ratunek cmentarzowi mennonickiemu w Pordenowie – akcja stowarzyszenia 'FORUM':", *Rocznik Żuławski* (Nowy Dwór Gdański, 2010): 11-13; Marta Koperska-Kosmicka, 'Zanikanie. Cmentarze w Przestrzeni Kulturowej Żuław', *Prace Komisji Krajobrazu Kulturowego* 22 (2013): 53-62.

^{liv} Tamara A. Sawatzky, "The Dutch Windmill as an Icon of Russian Mennonite Heritage", *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 79.2 (2005): 191-206.

^{lv} MFS, KB.OR.02: 7-8.

^{lvi} C. Scott Dixon “The Sense of the Past in Reformation Germany: Part 1”, *German History* 30.1 (2012): 1–21, doi.org/10.1093/gerhis/ghr121, and ‘The Sense of the Past in Reformation Germany: Part 2’, *German History* 30.2 (2012): 175–198, doi.org/10.1093/gerhis/ghs020; Katherine Van Liere, Simon Ditchfield, and Howard Louthan (eds), *Sacred History: Uses of the Christian Past in the Renaissance World* (Oxford, 2012); Alexandra Walsham, “History, Memory and the English Reformation”, *The Historical Journal* 55.4 (2012): 899–938, doi.10.1017/S0018246X12000362.

^{lvii} On the *Martyrs’ Mirror* see Peter Burschel, *Sterben und Unsterblichkeit: Zur Kultur des Martyriums in der frühen Neuzeit* (Munich, 2004), 159–194.

^{lviii} Siegfried Bräuer, „Kartographie-Luthermemorie-Sequestration: Die Mansfelder Geschichtskarte von Tilemann Stella/Johannes Mellinger 1571“, in *Kirche-Kunst-Kultur: Beiträge aus 800 Jahren Berlin-Brandenburgischer Geschichte; Festschrift für Gerlinde Strohmaier-Wiederanders zum 65. Geburtstag*, eds. Hartmut Kühne and Erdmute Nieke (Frankfurt am Main, 2008), 215–235; Simon Ditchfield, “Reading Rome as a Sacred Landscape, c. 1586–1635”, in *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Will Coster and Andrew Spicer (Cambridge, 2005), 167–192; Kat Hill, “Mapping the Memory of Luther: Place and Confessional Identity in the later Reformation”, *German History* 38 (2020): 187–210, doi.org/10.1093/gerhis/ghz098.

^{lix} Mercedes Maroto Camino, *Producing the Pacific: Maps and Narratives of Spanish Exploration (1567–1606)* (Amsterdam and New York, 2005), 88.

^{lx} Text entitled ‘Verclaringhe der Peregrinatie Jesu Christi’ to accompany the map inserted before the gospel according to Matthew, *Den Bybel ...* (1598).

^{lxi} Justine Walden, “Global Calvinism: The Maps in the English Geneva Bible”, in *Shaping the Bible in the Reformation: Books, Scholars and Their Readers in the Sixteenth Century*, eds. Bruce Gordon and Matthew McLean (Leiden, 2012). See an example of an English Bible with the peregrinations of Paul, to be read in terms of both time and space <https://exhibitions.lib.cam.ac.uk/reformation/artifacts/the-peregrinations-of-st-paul/>, accessed March 4 2019.

^{lxii} Walden, ‘Global Calvinism’, 194, 197.

^{lxiii} Map entitled ‘Peregrinatie der Patriarchen’, which is inserted before the eleventh chapter of Genesis, *Den Bybel ...* (1598).

^{lxiv} The Migration of the Hutterites to Southern Russia: A Manuscript originally prepared by Heinrich Donner, 1783. Copied in this edition by Jacob Wall, Neuendorf, South Russia, 1839, MHCA, Small Archives, 4335, box 3.

^{lxv} See also Corens, *Confessional Mobility*, 24.

^{lxvi} Aeltester Gerhard Wiebe Diary, Elbing, MHCA, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Small Archives 4355, 5, pp. 141–2. Janz article

^{lxvii} Walden, ‘Global Calvinism’, 198.

^{lxviii} Letter from Mennonites in America to Dutch Mennonites, 1745, in *Conscience in Crisis: Mennonite and Other Peace Churches in America, 1739–1789, Interpretation and Documents*, eds. Richard K. MacMaster, Samuel L. Horst, and Robert F. Ulle, (Eugene, Or, 2001),

^{lxix} Detail from map entitled ‘Jerusalem die voornaemste van allen Steden/ int middle des Jootschen Landts’, inserted before the thirty-third chapter of Numbers, *Den Bybel ...* (1598).

^{lxx} Rebekah Perry, “On the road to Emmaus: Tivol’s ‘Inchinata’ Procession and the Evolving Allegorical Landscape of the Late Medieval City”, in *Space, Place, and Motion: Locating Confraternities in the Late Medieval and Early Modern City*, ed. Diana Bullen Presciutti (Leiden, 2017), 145.

^{lxxi} See for example Urbanus Rhegius, *Dialogus von der schönen predigt, die Christus Luc. 24 von Jerusalem bis gen Emaus den zweien jüngern am Ostertag, aus Mose und allen Propheten gethan hat* (Wittenberg, 1537). Kat Hill, *Baptism, Brotherhood, and Belief in Reformation Germany: Anabaptism and Lutheranism, 1525–1585* (Oxford, 2015), 87–8.

^{lxxii} Walden, ‘Global Calvinism’, 207.

^{lxxiii} Brah, *Cartographies of Diaspora*, 181, 189.

^{lxxiv} https://mla.bethelks.edu/archives/cong_310/bdms17/0337.jpg, accessed November 16 2019.

^{lxxv} Trincke Isaacs is number 548 in the membership book and Peter Isaac is number 555. See the scanned versions: https://mla.bethelks.edu/archives/cong_15/prz/IMG_1860.JPG and https://mla.bethelks.edu/archives/cong_15/prz/IMG_1861.JPG, accessed January 21 2020.

^{lxxvi} https://mla.bethelks.edu/archives/cong_310/bdms17/0018.jpg, accessed January 18 2020.

^{lxxvii} See the various books of the Danzig community: https://mla.bethelks.edu/metadata/cong_310.php, accessed January 13 2020.

^{lxxviii} Dagmar Freist, “Lost in Time and Space?: Glocal Memoryscapes in the Early Modern World”, in *Memory before Modernity: Practices of Memory in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Erika Kuijpers, Judith Pollmann, Johannes Müller and Jasper van der Steen (Leiden, 2013), 203–222.

^{lxxix} Adelman, ‘What is global history now?’.

^{lxxx} Mannhardt, *Danzig Mennonite Church*, 47.

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- ^{lxxx} Kizik, 'Religious Freedom', 122–130. Urry, *Mennonites, Politics, and Peoplehood*, provides details of different confessions of faith by various branches of Mennonites, 44–50.
- ^{lxxxii} 'Es hatten zwey Mennoniten, von Dantzig eines Nahmens Bartsch, von den Unsern, und der andern Hepner, von den Flämischen sich nach Russland begeben', Heinrich Donner's Chronik, MHCA, Small Archives 4355, Box 2, cover: 94.
- ^{lxxxiii} Adolf Ens, "The Tie That Binds: Prussian and Russian Mennonites (1778–1794)", *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 8 (1990) 35; Abraham Driedger, "Heubuden (Pomeranian Voivodeship, Poland)", Global Anabaptist Mennonite Encyclopedia Online, October 2012, [https://gameo.org/index.php?title=Heubuden_\(Pomeranian_Voivodeship,_Poland\)&oldid=164367](https://gameo.org/index.php?title=Heubuden_(Pomeranian_Voivodeship,_Poland)&oldid=164367), accessed November 19 2019.
- ^{lxxxiv} <http://www.mennonitegenealogy.com/prussia/OrlofffelderImmigration.html>. Accessed 9 April 2020.
- ^{lxxxv} Nando Sigona, Alan Gamlen, Giulia Liberatore and Hélène Neveu Kringelbach, 'Introduction', in *Diasporas Reimagined*, p. xx
- ^{lxxxvi} https://mla.bethelks.edu/archives/cong_15/prz/IMG_1928.JPG. Accessed 9 April 2020.
- ^{lxxxvii} For history on this phrase see Isaias J. McCaffery, *Mennonite Low German Proverbs from Kansas* (Goessel, KS, 2008).
- ^{lxxxviii} 'Farewell sermon 2nd August, 1789, Peter Epp to the Danzig congregation', Hildebrand Nachlass, no. 13, MHCA, Unclassified.
- ^{lxxxix} Piet Visser, 'Under the Sign of Thau: The Bible and the Dutch Radical Reformation', in Mathijs Lamberigts, and A. A. den Hollande, *Lay Bibles in Europe 1450-1800* (Leuven: Leuven University Press', 2006), 97-116.
- ^{xc} For the mapping of Paradise in Renaissance cartography see Alessandro Scafi, *Maps of Paradise* (London: The British Library, 2013), 98-141.
- ^{xci} 'Farewell sermon 2nd August, 1789, Peter Epp to the Danzig congregation', Hildebrand Nachlass, no. 13, MHCA, Unclassified.
- ^{xcii} 'Farewell sermon 2nd August, 1789, Peter Epp to the Danzig congregation', Hildebrand Nachlass, no. 13, MHCA, Unclassified.
- ^{xciii} See handwritten notes at the front of the edition in the British Library, *Den Bybel...*(1598).
- ^{xciv} Mannhardt, *Danzig Mennonite Church*, 37.
- ^{xcv} Klassen, *Mennonites in Early Modern Poland*, 21–22.
- ^{xcvi} Frank H. Epp and T.D. Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada: 1939-1970: A People Transformed* (Toronto, 1996), 67–71; J. N. Byler, "UNRRA (The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration)", Global Anabaptist Mennonite Encyclopedia Online, 1959, [http://gameo.org/index.php?title=UNRRA_\(The_United_Nations_Relief_and_Rehabilitation_Administration\)&oldid=78411](http://gameo.org/index.php?title=UNRRA_(The_United_Nations_Relief_and_Rehabilitation_Administration)&oldid=78411), accessed September 18 2019. The Mennonites who travelled were known as Seagoing Cowboys,: see seagoingcowboys.com, compiled by Peggy Reiff Miller. For records on Dyck's visit see Geemente Amsterdam Stadsarchief, 1076 Inventaris van het Archief van de Stichting voor Bijzondere Noden in de Doopsgezinde Broederschap en Daarbuiten, [2.7 Documentation](#), 320 Foto's van een bezoek van J. Dyck van de Mennonite Central Committee. See also Peter Dyck's autobiography printed after his death Peter Dyck and Elfrieda Dyck, *Up From the Rubble* (Scottsdale, PA, 1991).
- ^{xcvii} See the entry notes on the front of both books; MFS, KB.OR.01 and MFS, KB.OR.02.
- ^{xcviii} Heinrich Donner's Hausbuch, MLA, SA-II-1906.