

The African Inversion of Global Christianity: Religious Studies and Philosophical-Historical Aspects

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This study is interdisciplinary in nature, integrating religious studies, political philosophy, and African studies. Drawing on Louis Hartz's concepts of the "transplanted ideology" and the "freezing of ideological fragments," the article analyses the African "fragment" of Christianity that emerged free from European feudal traditions, the church-state conflict, and the secular critique of the Enlightenment. These conditions gave rise to an epistemologically autonomous religious system representing a distinct type of Christian modernity. Unlike European Christianity, which underwent a millennium of institutionalisation, the Reformation, and secularisation, African Christianity developed in conditions where these processes either did not occur at all or unfolded in a radically different sequence and configuration, producing the conditions for inversion — a new and syncretic variety of Christianity. Similar processes have taken place in other regions of the world, giving rise to Asian-syncretic, sub-Saharan, and Latin American variants of global Christianity. While Christianity is experiencing a crisis in Europe that is reflected in political processes, interest in the religion is, on the contrary, growing beyond the European continent, albeit in its autonomous and polycentric form. This shift marks a displacement of the centre of Christianity from Europe to the Global South, where approximately 70% of all Christians now reside. The most rapid growth in the number of Christians across all denominations is occurring in Africa. These findings were presented at the General Assembly of the World Evangelical Alliance (WEA), held in Seoul in October 2025. The study establishes that among the key reasons for the rapid growth of Christianity in Africa are its decentralisation, polycentrism, its separation from the historical memory shaped within the framework of European collective memory, and its paradoxical combination of tradition and modernity.

KEYWORDS

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Introduction

According to data from the Pew Research Center, the global distribution of the Christian population has shifted as follows:

in 2010: 1. Europe (25.8%), 2. Latin America (24.7%), 3. Sub-Saharan Africa (24.8%), 4. North America (12.4%), 5. Asia-Pacific (11.8%);

in 2020: 1. Sub-Saharan Africa (30.7%), 2. Latin America (24.1%), 3. Europe (22.3%), 4. Asia-Pacific (11.8%), 5. North America (10.5%) (*Pew Research Center, 2025*).

Philip Jenkins, in his article *The Next Christendom*, predicted that by 2025 the absolute majority of Christians would reside in the Global South (*Jenkins, 2007: 114*) — a projection that has since become reality.

Ukraine follows the broader European trend of declining religiosity. According to research by the Razumkov Centre, the level of religiosity rose to 74% of respondents in 2022, at the onset of the full-scale war, but subsequently declined to 70.5% in 2023, 68% in 2024, and 70% in 2025 (*Razumkov Centre, 2025*).

According to statistical data from the Fides Agency, against the backdrop of a declining number of bishops in Europe, notable growth is observed in Africa and Asia. Although the number of women religious fell to 589,000 globally in 2025, both Africa and Asia are registering increases. The total number of students in major seminaries worldwide stands at 106,500, and in minor seminaries at 95,000, with overall growth occurring exclusively in Africa (*Vatican – Catholic Church Statistics, 2025*).

These processes gained additional significance in 2025 following the death of Pope Francis, which heightened expectations regarding the possible election of the first African pope. Among the leading candidates was Cardinal Fridolin Ambongo Besungu, Archbishop of Kinshasa, Democratic Republic of the Congo where, alongside Nigeria, the rate of Christian growth is among the highest in the world. Both states are also characterised by high levels of persecution of believers by members of other confessional groups. The



"martyrdom for the faith" experienced by contemporary African Christians draws striking parallels with the early Christians of the first centuries after the birth of Christ.

According to the annual report of Open Doors, the majority of religiously motivated crimes are committed in Nigeria, a country where 3,490 killings of Christians were documented in 2025, compared to 3,100 recorded in the previous year. Attacks on Christians in the DRC are also frequent. On 8 September 2025, militants of an Islamist group killed at least 70 worshippers during a funeral in the village of Ntoy.

African churches and ministries (through projects involving multicultural evangelisation, integrated forms of service, and community initiatives) are integrating theological, social, and missionary practices oriented towards societal transformation in European cities. This phenomenon represents not only a quantitative shift in the number of believers but also a qualitative transformation of global Christianity. Its centre has moved from Europe to Africa and Latin America. The question of how far this new Christian civilisation constitutes a continuation of the European tradition, or whether it is creating something fundamentally new, remains a pressing one. In this case, historical context and the particularities of historical memory are of crucial importance.

Unlike the Americas, where Christianity arrived together with colonists in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, mass Christianisation in Africa took place later, predominantly in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, through Catholic and Protestant missions. This temporal displacement is of fundamental significance for understanding the distinctive character of African Christianity and the reasons behind its current growth against the backdrop of declining Christian numbers in Europe, as well as its greater doctrinal orthodoxy.

The relevance of this study is further underscored by the fact that in Ukraine, the humanities' engagement with African studies remains at an early stage of development, and the scope of scholarly inquiry is largely limited to the analysis of socio-political processes within the framework of postcolonial studies. Interdisciplinary research combining religious studies, philosophy of history, and political philosophy is nearly absent, whereas the humanities in the West have devoted substantial attention to these questions.

Questions of African cultural identity, including the distinctive features of African religious worldviews received sustained attention within the ideological and intellectual movements of the twentieth century, notably Pan-Africanism (Kwame Nkrumah) and Négritude (Léopold Sédar Senghor). Following the collapse of the colonial system, these movements focused on promoting Pan-African ideology as a basis for solidarity among the peoples of the African continent and the African diaspora across other continents, transcending ethnic and religious differences. Pan-Africanism and Négritude gave primary attention to socio-political and socio-economic dimensions, while religious and philosophical-historical perspectives remained secondary. However, both movements laid the foundations for research within the framework of postcolonial studies.

The popularisation of African philosophy and the study of its nature are associated with the Belgian missionary Placide Tempels, author of «Bantu Philosophy» (1945). The Kenyan Christian theologian John Mbiti, author of African Religions and Philosophy, is also regarded as a follower of the ethnophilosophical strand in historical-philosophical inquiry. Various aspects of African philosophy

have been examined by H. Odera Oruka, M. B. Ramose, S. Oluwole, E. Kezilahabi, K. Wiredu, S. Ebo, A. Mbembe, while a comprehensive historical survey of African philosophy has been offered by B. B. Janz (*Komienko, 2024*). In Ukraine, the history of African philosophy has been studied by O. Komienko (*2023: 127–133*).

Among African Christian theologians, a prominent place belongs to Kwame Bediako, whose work is central to the present study. Significant contributions to Ubuntu theology have also been made by Stanlake Samkange and Desmond Tutu.

The concepts of Louis Hartz and their influence on political philosophy have been analysed by Ukrainian scholars V. Husiev, O. Drach, and others.

The **aim of this study** is to deepen understanding of the reasons behind the rapid growth of Christianity in Africa through an analysis of its inversions.

Research objectives:

1) applying Hartz's methodology, to analyse which "fragments" of European Christianity became "frozen" in African Christianity, and which underwent transformation as a result of conflicts between historical memories;

2) to trace the distinctive features of African theology that have enabled its epistemological autonomy within the system of global Christianity.

Research Methods

In addressing these objectives, the authors draw on the concept of the "transplanted ideology" developed by the American political philosopher Louis Hartz (1919–1986), which serves as the methodological foundation of the study. In his classic work *The Liberal Tradition in America* (1955), Hartz argued that the United States developed a unique form of liberalism as a result of the absence of a feudal past (*Hartz, 1955: 6*). Unlike Europe, where liberalism emerged as an antithesis to feudalism and always coexisted with conservative and socialist alternatives, American liberalism existed as a cultural monostructure, a single ideological tradition that faced no external pressure. Accordingly, the liberal ideology of the United States became preserved in the form of Lockean liberalism, born free from any struggle to achieve it.

This thesis of the "born free" nation explained a fundamental question in American history: why, in the country with the most developed capitalism, no powerful socialist movement arose, and why attempts to create one ("American Marxism") suffered historical defeat. Hartz wrote that socialism is largely an ideological phenomenon arising from the principles of class and from the revolutionary liberal rebellion against them, both of which were inspired by the old European order (*Hartz, 1955: 6*). The United States, lacking a feudal inheritance, had no social conditions for the emergence of class consciousness in the European sense.

In his later work *The Founding of New Societies* (*Hartz, 1964*), Hartz extended his theory to other colonial societies, analysing Canada, Australia, Latin America, and South Africa. In his view, each of these societies constitutes a "fragment" extracted from a specific historical period of European civilization, which then "freezes" in its new environment. When a part of a European nation breaks away from the broader trajectory of European development and arrives on new soil, it loses the stimulus for change that was characteristic of the Old World and falls into a kind of immobility. Australia, for instance, tends toward socialist radicalism, and French Canada toward neo-feudalism, be-

cause at the moment of their departure their home countries were undergoing similar transformations. This concept of the "freezing of ideology" in a new environment became a key to understanding why colonial societies do not replicate the European trajectory of development, but instead create their own, often paradoxical combinations of tradition and modernity.

Hartz's theory provoked both enthusiasm and criticism in academic circles. Rogers Smith, in his article *Beyond Tocqueville, Myrdal, and Hartz* (1993), argued that Hartz ignored the plurality of American traditions, including racism, patriarchy, and ascriptive hierarchy, which existed alongside liberalism (Smith, 1993: 550–555). James Kloppenberg, in a retrospective analysis (2001), noted that Hartz underestimated the dynamism of American society, constructing an image of consensual democracy that in reality concealed deep ideological divisions (Kloppenber, 2001: 464). Hartz himself, in the preface to the second edition of his works, acknowledged the limitations of his approach, emphasising the need to account for racial and gender factors that he had overlooked in his original work.

Despite this criticism, Hartz's methodology remains valuable for the analysis of colonial and postcolonial societies, as it allows for the perception of alternative trajectories of modernisation. Although Hartz applied his theory primarily to political ideologies, its heuristic potential can be extended to religious systems. Christianity, like liberalism, was exported from Europe to different parts of the world in different historical eras, and each such export created a unique "fragment" that developed according to its own internal logic. If Christianity came to North America together with the Protestant individualism of the seventeenth century, in Africa it was implemented through Catholic and Protestant missions of a later period that already carried modern ideas of progress and civilising duty, yet encountered African cultures possessing their own cosmological systems and social structures.

Results and Discussion

The central hypothesis of this study is that African Christianity can be understood as a "fragment" of European Christianity, stripped of the latter's historical inheritance from the early Middle Ages to the modern era. Africans did not reproduce feudal or early-modern European structures; instead, they encountered an already-modernised Christianity that had passed through the Reformation and the critique of the Enlightenment. This constitutes the first argument in support of the hypothesis.

The second argument is that the colonial period was relatively brief — largely spanning from the 1880s to the 1960s. Therefore, indigenous religions remained alive in the memory of Africans. The people of sub-Saharan Africa rapidly took control of ecclesiastical structures following decolonisation, which led, as the Ghanaian theologian Kwame Bediako would later describe, to a "twofold process": on the one hand, the evangelisation of African culture in such a way as to enable it to be integrated into the eternal Christian heritage and to continue to enrich that heritage, making it more "Catholic"; and on the other, the institutionalisation of Christianity to the point where it becomes a constituent of the spiritual and cultural inheritance of Africa (Bediako, 1995: 177). Andrew Walls, in his tribute to Bediako, emphasises that the latter developed the concept of "primal imagination", an epistemological framework that enables Africans to read the Bible without European intermediaries, in their own mother tongue (Walls, 2008: 188–193). This points to the conclusion that African people

are conscious of their estrangement from "authentic" scholastic Catholicism, and affirm their autonomy through the very act of regarding traditional Christianity as something foreign.

The third argument returns us directly to Hartz's methodology. Following his logic, American liberalism was born free from feudalism, which allowed it to avoid the class struggles and socialist movements that dominated European politics. It may be supposed that African Christianity was similarly born free from several key European burdens that fundamentally shaped the development of Christianity in Europe.

The first such burden is the conflict between church and state. In Europe, a millennium of struggle for supremacy between Pope and emperor, the Protestant Reformation, and the religious wars all shaped an understanding of Christianity as a political force intimately intertwined with state institutions. Africa has no such history. Christianity arrived as a missionary movement that frequently criticised colonial authority and acted as a defender of the indigenous population against exploitation.

The second burden is the Enlightenment and secularisation. European Christianity passed through the traumatic critique of rationalism, deism, and atheism, which gradually led to the secularisation of society and the separation of religion from the public sphere. African theology did not undergo this trauma; it took shape after the Enlightenment, yet not as its product, but as an alternative modernity without secularisation.

Hartman confirms this view, interpreting Bediako's position that African Christianity bypassed the Enlightenment critique, and this allowed it to preserve a pre-critical biblical literalism (Hartman, 2022: 117). Nevertheless, Bediako deliberately sought to "save" African Christianity from the Enlightenment also because it is a product of Western intellectual culture, which is a stance that may be characterised as an intentional estrangement from the object of its own "conservation" (Hartman, 2022: 117). It should be noted, more broadly, that African theologians hold the Old Testament in particularly high regard. This pre-critical stance represents an alternative epistemological concept which, although it might appear to contain elements of primitivism, is in fact a powerful instrument of consolidation and identity.

The third burden is the individualism of the Protestant ethic. Max Weber, in his classic work *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, described how Protestantism created a culture of individual responsibility and a "capitalist spirit" in which each person stands before God alone, without the mediation of church or community. African theology, by contrast, integrated Christian faith into communitarian structures, preserving family and clan ties and practising Ubuntu, i.e., a philosophy of collective humanity in which the person is defined through community. Salvation in the African context is not a purely individual act; it encompasses ancestors, family, and tribe as part of spiritual practice.

Kwame Bediako developed the concept of the "translatability of Christianity", referring to the capacity of the Gospel to be translated into any cultural language without loss of essence. In his work *Theology and Identity* (1992), he explicitly argues that African Christianity is not a derivative form of Western Christianity but an authentic expression of the Christian faith in its own right (Bediako, 1992: 238). Bediako was critical of the tabula rasa missionary model, according to which Africans were expected to abandon their own culture in order to receive Christianity. In-

stead, he proposed a model of appropriation and transformation, in which Christianity takes up certain African practices, e.g the veneration of ancestors but transforms them in the light of Christ.

This syncretism can be interpreted as a form of partial appropriation, in which Africans become active subjects of theological thought, possessing broad autonomy. Hartman summarises Bediako's project as one of "demonstrating that African Christians possess epistemological autonomy and do not need Western intermediaries to read the Bible or understand God" (Hartman, 2022: 82).

European critics often accuse African Christianity of mixing Christian and traditional beliefs. Such discourse is rooted in a particular bias towards Africa. As Stanley Ebo notes, in the West, Africa has been regarded as the "Dark Continent," incapable of culture and intellectual progress. Ebo argues persuasively that the cradle of philosophical thought was ancient Egypt, and that Christianity itself has roots in Egyptian mysteries, the influence of which was systematically eradicated in the process of the institutionalisation of the Roman Church (Ebo, 2018: 13).

From the perspective of Hartz's theory, the mixing of borrowings and local spiritual practices may be interpreted as an adaptive advantage. Hartz wrote of the "freezing of ideology" in a new context, where ideology adapts to local conditions. Thus, such mixing is not a direct continuation or imitation of European Christianity, nor should it be, making criticism from the standpoint of "authentic" Christianity questionable in this case.

African theology has integrated elements of traditional religions, e.g., the spirit world, healing, communality were rejected by the European Reformation as relics of paganism. Philip Jenkins provides the example of charismatic churches that practise exorcism and divine healing. For African Christians, the spiritual world is as real as the material: demons, angels, and ancestral spirits are genuine realities. Bediako calls this "primal imagination", i.e., the capacity of Africans to preserve a pre-Christian sense of the sacred and combine it with Christian faith (Jenkins, 2007: 115).

For the African Christian, the world remains saturated with the presence of the supernatural. This approach stands in contrast to the European tradition, formed after the Enlightenment, which sought to rationalise faith and distance itself from the magical worldview of the Middle Ages. The situation is the opposite in the African context, where a holistic cosmology is preserved, where God, spirits, humanity, and nature exist in an interconnected order of being.

To deepen understanding of the research question, we shall now examine the epistemological differences between European and African Christianity. The first of these — European Christianity, particularly after the Reformation and the Enlightenment, as already noted, became deeply rationalist. Protestantism emphasised sola scriptura, without tradition or mysticism, while Catholicism developed a scholastic theology in which faith was to be reconciled with reason. African Christianity, by contrast, is praxeological. As Hartman observes, African theology is lived within communities. In this way, "a focus on 'people's theology' prevents academic theology from becoming detached from the community of believers... [like an isolated] conversation... among a guild of scholars" (Hartman, 2022: 116).

Thus, faith is lived through prayer, miracles, and healing. This explains the popularity of charismatic and Pentecostal movements in Africa. Prayer for healing, prophecy, speaking in tongues, exorcism — these are all normal elements of worship. Bediako argued that Africans are closer

to early Christian epistemology than Europeans. Early Christians believed in a world full of spirits, miracles, and divine interventions; modern Europeans have lost this worldview, but Africans continue this trajectory (Bediako, 1992: 230–263). This is a noteworthy observation because at the moment of Christianity's "transplantation" into Africa, it had already completed the journey from the magical to the secular-intellectual, yet the African form of belief merged it with indigenous culture, continuing an alternative line of Christianity's modern development.

The second difference lies in the social functions of African and European Christianity. Where Weber identified the individualist Protestant model, the African tradition preserves the collective logic of Ubuntu, in which spiritual charisma can override established social hierarchies, opening access for women to prophetic and pastoral ministry.

The third difference concerns institutional organisation. European Christianity has historically been hierarchical. The Catholic Church headed by the Pope, Orthodoxy by patriarchs, Anglicanism by archbishops. Even Protestantism gave rise to denominational structures, e.g., Lutheranism, Calvinism, Methodism, with clearly defined organisational hierarchies. African Christianity is far more decentralised. Thousands of independent African churches operate without external oversight. They recognise neither Roman nor Genevan authority. Their authority is local, charismatic, grounded in the personal holiness of the leader or his capacity to perform miracles.

In Africa, a new church may be founded by anyone who feels a calling from God with little need for theological seminaries, ordination councils, or denominational hierarchies as mandatory prerequisites (Barron, 2022: 88–89). This gives rise to extraordinary diversity of practice, ranging from the conservative to the radically innovative. The reverse side of this freedom is the absence of institutional filters, charismatic authority without accountability mechanisms can transform into authoritarianism.

The fourth difference — African theology exhibits a paradoxical combination of tradition and modernity. It is traditional in the epistemological sense, preserving belief in spirits and a literal reading of the Bible, yet modern in the organisational sense, creating megachurches and utilising global media. This paradox is resolved by abandoning the Eurocentric paradigm in which modernity necessarily entails secularisation. Africans demonstrate an alternative modernity in which technological progress is not accompanied by the disenchantment of the world.

It is precisely in this context that the phenomenon of the Prosperity Gospel should be understood as a characteristic manifestation of the African variant of modernisation. J. R. Barron's research shows that the African holistic worldview, in which the physical and spiritual dimensions are inseparably intertwined, generates a fundamentally different religious logic compared to the dualist tradition of the West (Barron, 2022: 96). Most Africans, as he observes, inhabit a cosmos in which the material and the spiritual constantly intersect and mutually influence one another.

David Maxwell, in his analysis of Zimbabwean Pentecostalism, documented that the Prosperity Gospel provides believers with "a framework for responding to the pressures of modernisation" and concrete points of orientation for material success amid painful socio-economic transitions (Maxwell, 1998: 357–358). This confirms that African theology reprocesses the challenges of modernity through its own epistemological foundations of a holistic worldview.

Other scholars have argued that Neo-Pentecostal and charismatic African Christianity has "uncritically absorbed the soteriological discourse of African traditional religions," in which salvation is inseparable from material well-being. The West has separated the sacred from the secular; Africa maintains their unity. Research by Bolaji Idowu and John Mbiti in the 1960s showed that traditional African religions contain a profound sense of God which did not disappear with the arrival of missionary Christianity, but rather transformed it from within through dialogue (Bediako, 1992: 237–238). The paradox of the traditional-modern in African Christianity thus testifies to an organic synthesis that selects from modernity its technologies and organisational forms, while rejecting its secular metaphysical horizon.

The fifth difference is the decentralisation of Christianity as a return to the early Christian model. During the first three centuries, Christianity was a mosaic of local communities without a single centre. Today, African, Asian, and Latin American Christians are creating their own Christianity, that may shape the future of the religion.

Alongside decentralisation stands the polycentrism of African Christianity. Bediako agreed with Bolaji Idowu that for African theology, Christianity is both universal and local, and no single cultural tradition holds a monopoly on its interpretation (Bediako, 1992: 271–275). A reviewer of Bediako's work, K. Lamak, emphasises that Bediako drew a parallel between early Christian thinkers and contemporary African theologians, demonstrating that questions of cultural identity and contextualisation are a constant throughout the entire history of the Church (Lamak, 2023: 239). Tatian defended the right of the "barbarians" to profess Christianity in their own cultural categories — so too, today, African bishops and pastors refuse to follow the directives of the contemporary Vatican.

The polycentrism of African Christianity has its own institutional dynamic. Thousands of African Initiated Churches (AICs) operate outside any external control. The absence of theological education or denominational hierarchy in these communities gives rise to enormous diversity of practice, but simultaneously to risks. Yet even these critical phenomena are, in their essence, African responses to their own challenges, rather than the import of foreign errors.

Conclusions

Applying Louis Hartz's "fragment" theory to African theology allows us to understand the latter as an epistemologically autonomous system with its own internal logic. Christianity became embedded in Africa under conditions characterised by the absence of a feudal past and any historical memory of it, as well as without the secular critique of the Enlightenment or the individualist Protestant ethic. It is precisely this that allowed African Christianity to preserve a holistic cosmology, embed faith within communitarian structures, and develop decentralised organisational forms incompatible with any single ecclesiastical centre.

The paradox of tradition and modernity inherent in African Christianity is evidence of an organic synthesis. It appropriates the technologies and organisational forms of modernity while fundamentally rejecting its secular metaphysical horizon. The phenomenon of the Prosperity Gospel is indicative of the fact that African religious and philosophical thought processes the challenges of the market economy and social mobility through its own epistemological categories of a holistic worldview.

Hartz's methodology, despite its original limitations in its application to politics, reveals considerable heuristic force with respect to global religious transformations. It

renders visible the erroneousness of the assumption that Westernisation or secularisation constitutes the only possible vector of modernity, and enables a distinction between the multiple trajectories along which non-Western societies move as they construct their own versions of the contemporary. African theology is one such version.

The polycentric model it embodies resonates with Bediako's prophecy of a "new era in Christian history", in which no continent, no denomination, and no theological school can any longer claim a monopoly on representing "true" Christianity. If Hartz was right that fragments freeze into their own forms, then African Christianity is a fragment that is actively crystallising.

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Африканська інверсія глобального християнства: релігієзнавчий та філософсько-історичний аспекти

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Автори дослідження, інтегруючи релігієзнавство, політичну філософію та африканістику та спираючись на концепції Луїса Харца про «пересажену ідеологію» й «заморожування ідеологічних фрагментів» аналізують африканський «фрагмент» християнства, що виник вільним від європейських феодальних традицій, конфлікту між церквою та державою та секулярної критики епохи Просвітництва. Ці умови зумовили появу епістемологічно автономної релігійної системи, що представляє особливий тип християнського модерну. Показано, що на відміну від європейського християнства, яке пройшло тисячоліття інституціоналізації, Реформацію та секуляризацію, африканське християнство розвивалося в умовах, де ці процеси або не відбувалися взагалі, або розгорталися в радикально іншій послідовності та конфігурації, створюючи умови для інверсії — нового синкретичного різновиду християнства. Подібні процеси відбувалися і в інших регіонах світу, породивши азійсько-синкретичний, субсахарський та латиноамериканський варіанти глобального християнства. Сьогодні, висновують автори, коли у Європі християнство переживає кризу, що відображається в політичних процесах, за межами європейського континенту інтерес до релігії, навпаки, зростає, хоча й у її автономній та поліцентричній формі. Цей зсув позначає переміщення центру християнства з Європи до Глобального Півдня, де зараз проживає близько 70% усіх християн. Найшвидше зростання кількості християн усіх конфесій спостерігається саме в Африці. Ці результати були представлені на Генеральній асамблеї Всесвітнього євангельського альянсу (WEA), що відбулася в Сеулі в жовтні 2025 року. Дослідження встановлює, що серед ключових причин стрімкого зростання християнства в Африці — його децентралізація, поліцентризм, відокремленість від історичної пам'яті, сформованої в межах європейської колективної пам'яті, а також парадоксальне поєднання традиції та модерну.

Ключові слова: політична філософія, історична пам'ять, глобальне християнство, африканська теологія, лібералізм, епістемологічна автономія, постколоніальна філософія історії.

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