Urban Religion:
Religion and the City in Historical Perspective

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Abstract:

This paper starts from the claim that historically religious practices and urban life have shaped each other. It develops both sides of the reciprocal formation of religion and urban ways of life in a dual terminology of religion as a) an factor promoting and acting upon urban settlements ('urbanizing') and b) as being acted upon by urban factors ('urbanized religion'). Such an enterprise needs to start from a fundamental reflection on religion as a spatial practice. If what can be loosely seen as 'urban religion' can serve as a lens onto the historical entanglement of cities or even more loosely 'urban settlements', it is the specifically spatial character of religion, antedating any urban settlement, that needs to be understood and theoretically modelled. Is religion more, or better, differently spatial than other cultural practices? In the history of research, 'sacred places' have played a prominent role as loci of epiphanic character, above all in phenomenological approaches to religion, but also in studies of sacred centers or pilgrimage. In many other perspectives, the temporal aspects of religion (routine, crisis rituals and rites de passage, conversion, calendar) have been foregrounded, place has been reduced to a mere setting. This article presents some thoughts on reconstructing religious action as a spatial practice that is sensitive to and creative of the character of settlements, in order to thus deal with 'urban religion'.

Keywords:

Urbanization, lived religion, religious change, spatial practices, urbanness

Introduction

Inquiring into the 'reciprocal formation of religion and urbanity'[1] needs concepts to more precisely define the theoretical and empirical objects of this inquiry. Evidently, my primary interest is in religion and the history of religion. 'Religion' is nothing given, but construed as the theoretical object behind the empirical respectively historical research pursued and envisaged here and also the theoretical object behind the conceptual reflections undertaken to operationalize this research.[2] Recent research that is interested in the relationship of religion and the urban suggests starting from the concept of 'urban religion'. Like 'visible religion', 'material religion' or 'iconic religion'[3] the term approaches religion from a particular angle. Urban religion, however, does not focus on aesthetic, or rather, in terms of practices, media properties of religion, but on a specific spatial setting, namely religion in the city and in particular, as we will see, post-secular religion in the contemporary globalized city – the very point I would like to question in this paper.

It is the aim of this paper to scrutinize the concept of urban religion with a view to an employment for historical research. Even if my material is taken from the ancient Mediterranean world, I suggest to apply the concept in a heuristical manner far beyond. As will quickly become obvious, 'urban religion' offers a loose umbrella term that might help to connect a nearly exclusively presentist line of research with much longer processes (1). However, as a descriptor of a contingent constellation (religion that happens to be urban religion) rather than a theorized concept of religion (religion if seen as urban religion), the current use of 'urban religion' needs to be supplemented by a more fundamental reflection on religion as a spatial practice (2). Only on such a basis the analysis can return to the question of the most fruitful perspective on religion and 'the city'. Here I suggest to look for the entanglement of religion and urbanization rather than 'the city' or even urban space (3). This entanglement needs a twofold approach, if it is to be analytically disentangled. First, I will have a quick glance at the role of religious practices and ideas in urbanization processes, that is, in the rise of cities (4), and secondly, at the effect of urbanization on religion, which is my foremost subject (5). Both paragraphs serve to plausibilize the importance of a historical turn in research on urban religion rather than to even attempt to summarize a multitude of different paths in the mutual formation. Thus, both paragraphs end with the suggestion of more nuanced and sharper terms for further inquiries, namely 'urbanizing' and 'urbanized religion'. The paper will conclude by recalling the limits of both terms (6).

1. Focusing on Religion in the City

From the point of view of a historian, and the more so a historian of ancient Mediterranean religion, the relationship of religion (probably a very old way of acting) and the city (certainly a much younger form of human settlement) has been thematized in two very different lines of research. On the one hand, religion has been viewed as an important factor in stabilizing cities and rendering them governable. In studies on the ancient Mediterranean world, 'polis religion' or 'civic religion' have been the terms to capture this. On the other hand, a fresh view into contemporary cities has discovered new forms of religion and interpreted the wide variety of religious phenomena by adducing modernization theory and identifying 'urban religion'. I will attempt in this first paragraph to briefly review these different strands and idioms and for the first time to bring them together, thus preparing the way to replace more simple explanatory models, whether focusing on legitimation of power or on diversity, by a more complex view, acknowledging diverging or even contradictory processes in the constitution of such urban religion in different historical periods and geographical spaces.

1.1 Religion and the Ancient City

It is not a new observation that religion has been the cause for dramatic developments in the history of cities: for instance, foundations and foundation rites of cities, waves of immigration, transformations, ghettoization and destruction. Religion has been a decisive factor in forming the concept of citizenship as well as in justifying the expulsion of large groups, it has contributed to the monumentalization of centers and or has given importance to ex-centric places. Even a recent introduction to 'Religion and space in the United States' goes so far as to state that 'historically religion has been largely an urban phenomenon: religion and cities have been inextricably related throughout human history, mutually dependent in their development.' Drawing on a rare historically oriented sociological account, namely Robert N. Bellah, the author of that introduction quickly indicates that this is meant to be much more narrow than it might be read. 'Religion, power, and the places of power were intricately interconnected in symbiotic relationships—in cities. This pattern of the co-production of religion and urban life has continued throughout much of history.' [4] This statement is frequently illustrated with the image of Mesopotamian temple-mounts, the *zikkurat*. In the tradition of European research, it was, however, another period that allowed for much more detailed investigation into the relationship, namely, the time-span from the Greek Archaic age to the Roman Empire in the Mediterranean basin, a period of renewed and

extended waves of urbanization.

In fact, research on the relationship of religion and urbanization in a historical perspective was opened by a classicist, Numa Fustel de Coulanges's *La cité antique,*[5] an important teacher of French sociologist Émile Durkheim. In Urban Studies, Fustel is acknowledged as a pioneer.[6] For Religious Studies, too, his complex approach has much to offer, as I have shown elsewhere.[7] In the History of Religion, however, his name is surprisingly absent even in the many studies of ancient religion, in which some of his ideas are so present. It is in this line of sustained, even if problematically narrow, reception that a term has been developed that seemed to have a larger potential, above all in the complex model of centers and periphery *(chora)* proposed by François de Polignac for Greek politically independent cities *(poleis).*[8] *Polis religion* has widely been used in order to capture the location of temples in critical, usually central places and the creation of public space for public rituals.[9] This has led to a number of fruitful studies on political communication and the rise of ancient cities, but the focus has been on civic identity rather than spatial practices, if not spatial *political* practices.[10]

In an interesting reversal of Orsi's detection of 'Gods of the city' on the basis of his previously developed 'lived religion' approach,[11] in the research on ancient 'metropolitan religion' the concept of lived religion was adapted and enlarged into 'lived ancient religion'.[12] It could be demonstrated that funerary ritual and domestic religion, the social and ritual practices of voluntary associations ('cults' and 'religions') and the political use of religion by administrators and political elites were neither independent strands of religious practice nor replications of or counter-models to 'civic religion'. The latter is best conceptualized as a single field of action with many loci of religious authority in permanent fluctuation.

The Lived Ancient Religion approach has developed tools for analysing the religious practices of political elites, writers, practitioners and the general populace in its diversity.[13] Focusing on practices and religious action as communication,[14] this approach has questioned the simplistic dichotomy between public and private,[15] and has developed concepts for exploring religious agency, the instantiation of religion in practices and media, the effects of such instantiated religion upon action and experience, the (re-) narration of religion, and finally the roles of narrated religion. Religion here is seen as 'religion in the making'.[16] It is from this premodern study of South and West European, West Asian and North African religion that the necessity to address the city as focal point of movements and relations and a particular social and spatial arrangement crucial to religious practices and as the driving

force of religious change arose. How do other, and that is to say, different, paths of urbanization like the Chinese or Indian ones or the late ancient Eastern, medieval central and early modern north European modified religious practices and beliefs and how were these processes shaped by religion? Naturally, eyes turn to globally articulated 'urban religion'.

1.2 Religion in the Modern, Global City

On the whole, the variegated field of Urban Studies has rarely addressed religion as an essential element of cities, and even overlooked the 'geography of religion' that has been developing since the 1980s.[17] However, one has to admit that the contributions by this sub-discipline for the conceptual development of the field have remained modest; even in its latest shape it remains limited to some empirical studies and the search for further topics.[18] Modernization and globalization – above all migration due to the 'urban aspirations' themselves produced by images and imageries of cities and life in them[19] – and the concomitant development of new forms of religious practices and the appropriation of urban space by non-elites[20] have, however, triggered a new interest in religion in contemporary cities in the fields of Religious Studies and Anthropology.

These disciplines are now fully aware of spatiality and the social character of space as articulated by Michel Foucault, Henri Lefebvre and Edward Soja (exploring the counter-cultural space in particular)[21] and taken up by the sociology of space and class-based differences in the appropriation of space and 'place making'.[22] This 'spatial turn' has been taken up by Kim Knott, quickly giving her 'spatial analysis' of 'the location of religion' a programmatic drive for Religious Studies.[23] It is however anthropologist Stephan Lanz, who has proposed a comprehensive definition of 'urban religion' 'as a specific element of urbanization and urban everyday life … intertwined with … urban lifestyles and imaginaries, infrastructure and materialities, cultures, politics and economies, forms of living and working, community formation, festivals and celebrations.'[24] This is further specified as '… a continual process in which the urban and the religious reciprocally interact, mutually interlace, producing, transforming and defining each other.'[25]

Parallel to the critique of *civic religion* mentioned before, Lanz focuses on the enlargement of the range of agents when invoking 'subaltern urbanism' and characterizing religious practices as a '"prescriptive regime" (Marshall 2009:11), where technologies of power and technologies of the self intermesh in its practice of governmentality'.[26] The interest is in practices of mediation of the urban and the religious, thus opposing the idea of a principally secular character of the city, widespread in religious views of cities on the part of

traditions like Buddhism or Christianity.

Lanz's definition is deictic rather than delineating. It makes aware of the thoroughness of the interaction. The object defined by 'urban religion' is a process, in which religion and the urban are involved, a state of religion rather than an identifiable subset of 'religion' (or the 'urban'). The boundaries to the object under scrutiny are rather implied in the framework of the project represented by Lanz, 'Global Prayers'. They are spelled out more clearly by the review of the field by David Garbin and Anna Strhan in a book on urban religion in 2017.[27] Apart from older questions for example on the role of religion for welfare and justice, two related, but not necessarily convergent, processes are defining. This is on the one hand the rise of the post-secular. Regardless of the take on the new developments of the secular-religious divides and their different regimes[28] 'a pluralization of options' has been diagnosed by everybody,[29] up to the point of making religion central to 'super' or 'hyper-diversity', that is to say, the crossing of many different divisions and the complex processes of situational salience of the one or the other (which could even become hegemonic as demonstrated by 'Muslim' as a religious category in recent European discourses).[30] The old academic practice of defining religious agents by assigning them to different 'religions', I would add, simply does not work, neither for Japan or China, nor for Europe of the distant past or present.[31] On the other hand, globalization is not only a major force for urbanization and pluralization by way of the many types of migration,[32] but also the presence of flows that involve and trans-localize cities. With regard to religion, trans-local contacts and the trans-local presence of an ever growing number of 'universal' religions shape local religion – as much as cities – without denying the importance of locality. Here, a multi-layered 'glocalization' has to be accommodated for, showing very different and at times quite contrary effects, questioning or reinforcing local religious or urban power.[33]

The dominant use of 'urban religion' in these studies – and again I am trying to embrace, but also further develop the term - has three important implications and consequences. First, pervasively the generic object of them (in Jonathan Zittel Smith's terms) is not religion, but globalization. 'Religion' serves as a 'lens' onto globalization. The interlacing of globalization, cities and religion does not open up a space for historical research, even if historians of religion have been willing to employ the concept of globalization for premodern phenomena of translocality, for universalization, regionalization and localization and their interaction.[34] The underlying theories of Modernity, even if non-Eurocentric, put a stop marker here to its further use. The direction of analysis has a second implication. Religion is never more closely defined with relation to its spatial properties.

Religion just happens to be confronted with and has to employ tools to deal with space; here it is only the discourse on 'iconic religion', which more closely came to address this problem.[35] The variability of post-secular religious pluralism seems to allow begging the question. Finally, surprisingly, 'the city' or 'the urban' is just treated as a given, unquestionable in the face of global metropolises, whether defined by a minimum of eight or ten million inhabitants.[36] Cities are not regarded as culturally produced orders, making differences – of urban and non-urban, of religious and secular – that 'make a difference'.[37] These deficits set the agenda for the next paragraphs.

2. Religion as Spatial Practice

The generic object I am interested in are forms of human action and experience that are set apart from other cultural forms by consisting of or building on communication with what is conceived by the human actors as special[38] agents. These special agents (sometimes including objects) have properties different from everyday human, they are dead (ancestors) or unborn (angels), are just (demon) or fully superhuman (gods). But it is not the properties these addressees have, but the way how they are addressed, that makes this communication different. The fact that they are accorded agency, that is, the ability to act in *this* situation, and the relevancy of such an action for *this* situation is not unquestionably plausible. This relates as much to the ascribed quality of the addressees as to the situation of this ascription and hence its relevance. Religious communication, thus, is a risky form of communication. What I try to capture from the perspective of religious actors can also be aggregated into a systemic view, in which 'religion has to do with the problem of how one can describe the transcendence that *cannot be represented in everyday experience with immanent means,* so how one can transform the unavailable into the available.'[39]

From the point of view of the actors, this religious form of communication is a consequential form. Communication with or concerning such 'divine' agents (to use this as a shorthand) might reinforce or reduce human agency, create or modify social relationships and change power relationships.[40] Religious agency is a coin with two sides, a) the agency attributed to the non-human or even super-human agents, and b) the agency thus arrogated by or attributed to the addressant entering into such communication. Such a speaker can thus not only attribute agency to the 'divine' (however construed on the spot and in the underlying traditions), but also arrogates agency and can attribute her or his own agency, usually claimed to be attributed by these divine addressees, to other members of his group, whether

present or absent. Religion, as stated before, could serve as much as a technique of power as a technique of the self. In both, it is a mode of action set apart by practitioners and maybe even observers.

Like any other cultural practice, religious communication is a spatio-temporal practice, it is located in space and time and it is engaging with space and time. 'Appropriation' is one way to describe this engagement, which is not just a passive usage, as Michel de Certeau has insisted.[41] The use of a particular space is preceded by a selection, it is recognizing and accepting the character of spaces as defined by previous, common or prescribed usage, but it is also modifying this space through performance and thus also changing the future memory of the place. Even religious 'traditions' are not simply given, but need permanent reproduction and are modified by the micro (and sometimes revolutionary) modifications of the users. This is central for any dynamic view of religion.

Such appropriation relates to space as much as time, usage of both can be flexible. It can be ephemeral (to use a temporal metaphor). Usage can also be rhythmical or permanent. Given its problem to address the not unquestionably given, to transform the unavailable transcendent into an available, religious communication tends to be massively mediatized, tends to be 'material religion'. Tools for and in the communication, that is media, might be more or less, temporarily or permanently associated with religious communication and thus 'sacralized'. As such, spaces might be contested, by different religious or non-religious agents, invisibly or illegally occupied. Open, accessible space (not always centrally administrated and in 'public' ownership) might be fought about or occasionally ceded.

'Place-making' offers a different perspective on such processes, likewise metaphorically applicable to something like 'calendar-making', i.e., organizing and differently qualifying time, too. Now, the mental maps, the feeling-at-home and the patterns of actual usage correlating with the experience of a certain atmosphere and an emotional relation to places, above all attachment to places, is stressed. Identifiable relationships, clear marks or even ownership is central. Religious practices and signs can serve as tools for this, but more relevant are processes of grouping, the formation of networks or even closer organizations. Small shrines or blind alleys, a neighborhood or a widely visible sanctuary could be the result of such place-making, sometimes sacralized, sometimes not. Here, we are more and more dealing with specifics of practices seen as 'religion'. Yet, such places, too, might be appropriated by others, might be disappropriated by being declared 'heritage' of some other or larger group (like the nation) – a massive trend since the 1980s[42] or simply by the invasion of tourists as witnessed at Kyoto in recent decades.[43]

The initial definition suggests that there is a specific spatial character of religious communication, a conceptual relationship not likewise valid for other cultural practices. If place-making can be equated with 'dwelling' and is frequently achieved with religious practices, religious communication is inherently also a practice of 'crossing' – to quote the tension pointed out by Thomas Tweed.[44] 'Religion' as used here is *defined* as action transcending (in a very simple sense) the immediate and unquestionably given situation. Balancing the relationship of *hic* and *illic* is a difficulty already for the *here* and *there* of locative cult in its domestic and public variants as formulated by J.Z. Smith. The trans-local references inherent to religious communication by way of agency claims need not wait for radicalized axial-age transcendence and posterior debates on icons, re-presentation and presence, anthropomorphic or non-anthropomorphic forms, images or no image.[45]

If urbanization is about densification and differentiation of space, about inclusion (or even trapping) and exclusion on a larger scale, the type of action here defined as 'religion' and developed in periods long before any recognizably 'urban' settlement, is uniquely conducive and uniquely clashing with urbanization – uniquely at least before the rise of efficient telecommunication. Under this perspective, religious places would be at the same time a) places in an eminent, super-empirical sense, heterotopias in the words of Michel Foucault rather than non-places, transit zones without identities in the words of Marc Augé,[46] but also b) places that signal, focus and intensify specific urban identity.[47] Ritual can be miniaturized or virtualized, the prayer in the heart can take place *anywhere*. Urban techniques of control via representation have been used to escape place by shifting religious practices to intellectual debate and scripture, commenting on ritual rather than practicing ritual. For a complex notion of the entanglement of religion and urbanization this aspect needs to be taken into account.

3. Religion and Urbanization

It has become a truism among scholars of religion to stress that religion is not simply given. It is a scholarly construct that needs to be made explicit in order to allow for open discussion of its limits and usefulness. As I have argued elsewhere, in an actor-centered version as briefly sketched above, it avoids many of the pitfalls that are associated with the standard criticism of its being a Christian-biased or Western concept and allows to model religion as a spatial practice. The conceptual status of the 'urban' and even 'cities' is not different. Despite the pre-reflexive overwhelming evidence these terms need a closer

delineation. Even if such details seem to unnecessary in the face of present urban growth, we have to be aware that an unknown, but certainly substantial portion of recent 'urban growth' is the result of a reclassification of settlements as parts of urban settlements, [48] reflecting administrative approaches and ideas about cities rather than changed patterns of settlement. Cities like (Greater) London demonstrate how such conceptualizations can change within a few decades, sometimes less. What is 'urban' is a matter of classification and declaration, not of statistical facts.

I take 'city' as an object language term implying a self-differentiation from the non-city, whether described as 'rural' or 'wilderness' or 'uncivilized' or – less derogatory (at least sometimes) – villages and countryside. Thus, 'city' is just an invitation to look for the classificatory operations used by people to differentiate and often rank forms of settlements (including nomadic ways of live or transhumance).

In the following, I will use 'urban' as a meta-language term, implying dense settlement patterns of a larger number of people (far beyond the order of magnitude of 150 persons able to keep up face-to-face contacts between all [49]). It is characterized by a corresponding density of interaction. But it has also external links also with other settlements likewise seen as 'cities' in the aforementioned, culturally and historically variable sense.[50] The second element has two important consequences: Urban settlements do not appear individually, but in networks – even if these might have only very distant corresponding nodes. And urban diversity transcends the mere effect of numbers, but is reinforced by inter-cultural contacts and migration – even if this is restricted to more regional variants and distances.

On that basis I follow Erfurt historian Susanne Rau in differentiating between 'urbanization' or more precisely urbanizations as different and reversible paths of growth and spread of settlements as 'urban settlements' (that is, 'the history of the constitution, perception and appropriation of urban spaces') and 'urbanity' as the specific way of life in such cities defined by the fact that the inhabitants realized that they are living *in a city* (again, however they define 'city'). [51] It is urbanizations as larger historical processes that is proposed to offer a 'lens' on religious change here. This is not closing the eyes against claims of an encompassing 'planetary urbanisation' as diagnosed for instance by Christian Schmid.[52] It is part of the unequal, hegemonic character of urbanity that elements of urban ways of life have been acknowledged and partly copied in far-distant areas, not least thus producing immigration into cities. And yet the urban did also cause violent or whole-heartedly rejections, from emigration to alternative models of living and settlement, whether

in extra-urban monasteries or – 'back to nature' in garden cities or remote islands. Whether the agents are urban ones opting out or non-urban ones rejecting absorption is an important question, not least for the history of religion. That the 'global city' today is the solution to all problems regarding climate change, demographics and sustainability is a claim by urban scientists that might be correct, but must stand the test of *Ideologieverdacht*, of primarily being part of hegemonic urban ideology. Our own enterprise needs to self-reflexive, with regard to claims about the urban as much as about religion.

4. Religions as Urbanizing Factor

In the discourse on religion and urbanization it is only very recently that the potentially disruptive effects of religion have been addressed, by pointing to the observations that the close proximity of exclusivist groups could produce tension and cause division and that religion might reinforce other dimensions of difference.[53] Failing to start from the much more complex reconstruction for instance by Fustel de Coulanges, briefly sketched above, the focus has been on religion as a way of legitimizing power or increasing the sociability of people.[54] As a tool to enlarge agency for holders of power as well as for opposing or marginalized agents religious communication is to be found on both sides of the characteristic urban tension between trapping, ruling and homogenizing on the one hand and stabilizing diversity and carving out individual space on the other. Analysing the relationship of religion and urbanization needs to follow complex and conflicting lines even looking back into pre- and early urban settlement periods.

In many narratives, religion is used as a tool in the actual foundation of cities. From the point of view of a broader range of agents another quality of religious practices, related to strategies of appropriating, sometimes marking or even sacralizing space, seems much more important. In the diversity and density of urban settlements, religious communication and its association with space and people supports making 'places' out of underdefined space.[55] At ancient Rome, the separation of settlement space and tombs, enforced from early on, drove the ancestors and all the place-claiming strategies frequently related with funerary practices and ancestor cult out of the space between the walls. Here perhaps the conceptual separation of the Lares, a type of divine addressees found at the hearth and at home, enabled an appropriation of space not any longer possible by closely relating the space of the living and the dead.[56]

Summing up the argument just hinted at here, I do not claim that religious practice were the prime factor in all or most urbanization processes. It was, however, an important factor from early on. As such, it was a factor in enabling, if not outrightly co-creating diversity and heterarchy in urban settlements.[57] You could stay in the city and also stay different. All of this is not to deny that in the history of urban settlements religious practices might shape the urban topography, architecture and even the atmosphere and the 'branding' of such a settlement in terms of memories and 'heritage'.[58] But much more fundamentally, religion catered for urban aspiration and place-making as much as for ruling and administration. This is testable hypothesis from Nara to Tenochtitlan.

5. Urbanized Religion

Religion is a factor in urbanizing processes far beyond the occasional growth of a place for pilgrimage into an urban settlement or the application of foundation rituals for urban foundations planned on other reasons or in their later narrative embellishment – even if I do not suggest that these constellations were without importance. But such religious practices, ideas and social forms of institutionalization were also changed or better: formed by urban conditions, that is by urban space and the further characteristics of urban settlements. For me, this is a central field of research for the coming years rather than a field for looking back and summarizing results. Thus, I can only offer first tentative observations, suggesting potentially fruitful questions rather than arguing causal relationships. Let me name here six different items.

1) For millennia, religion from its most immanent to its most transcendent forms had served as a means to stabilize or even establish relationship of power, from sacred kings[59] to shamans,[60] from the early empires to rulers of the 21st century. Continuing this function in the densely built environment of cities demands visibility, impressive and lasting visibility. *Monumentalization* of religion is a widespread phenomenon, now seen in Moscow, Bangkok, Istanbul, and Mecca as in many other places in past and present. Against a background of rather dim divine figures and more diffused notions of the divine, found in objects as well as in ancestors, monumental sanctuaries not only made religious use of space permanent. They also defined divine characters, codified them as gods or saints related to specific places and easily elaborated on their stories, creating images and thus an ever more stable net of material icons, names, and narratives. Such a stable form of complex poly-theisms (whether

based on gods or saints) was hard to imagine in many pre-urban societies and often flies in the face of more elaborate transcendental concepts of the divine.

2) European thinkers of the age of massive urban growth from the late 19th to the early 20th centuries stressed the demands of the new environment on the personalities of those living in cities. Urban life demanded and created new forms of subjectivization. The individual is shaped by the many social circles of which he (as the male writers put it) was a member and needed to develop a certain distance in social encounters,[61] a new type of *individualization* able to deal with the fluidity of the environment and to always imagine the significance of chance encounters.[62] In religious terms, the subject lost its connection to its ancestors and one's own (and their) place of living.[63] Religious practices like prayer, meditation, or asceticism helped to develop a new kind of urban self, a process already visible in the ancient circum-Mediterranean cities as much as in other pre-modern cultures across the world.[64]

3) If urbanization lastingly changed both ends of the axis of religious communication, it had even more consequences for the media employed between them. The challenge of administering urban crowds and complexities, amassing, storing, and distributing supplies for instance, early on created systems of notations, of writing in a broader sense. Relations and the transfer of property as employed in many acts of religious communication were influenced and developed thereby. Dedications of objects could be lastingly and visibly marked by names of donators and recipients. Complex prayers could be developed in the form of curses that were readable for the powers invoked, but remained invisible to all others, especially the persons targeted. *Scripturalization* of religion goes further, however. The production of texts not only allowed for more precise and repeatable prayers and hymns, but also for the systematization of ritual practices, for the piecemeal ascription of meaning to such practices, and ultimately for sacred scripture and a systematic reflection on the character of the addressees, resulting in what is called theology. Genealogies and historical narratives create sharp (and often polemical) identities and claims. Medieval and early modern books of secret rituals made for a virtualization of religious practices that is a precursor of today's internet religion. Calendars and maps result from the same process, religion being slightly more prominent in the systematization of time than in the systematization of space, where it is more strongly challenged by urban administrations.

4) All such activities demand specialists. The sheer number of people in the same place, the many different types of exchange, and the necessary (and possible) specialization in the hubs produced a division of labor that had repercussions on religious traditions. Supported by, and contributing to, the processes mentioned before, *professionalization* was not only also developed in religious contexts, but particularly therein. Producing cakes for offerings or for *pūjā*, selling services as diviner, caring for the soul, administrating a sanctuary—religious specialists and priesthoods are part of urban forms of religious action along lines of gender, social status, education, and wealth that were easily exported beyond the walls.

5) Such specialists often supported a consistent development that seems beyond alternatives in the present, though only at first sight, the *institutionalization* of organized religions in the plural. From the start, and even more so today, cities were places of high tensions. Support from unseen powers was not only claimed by those in power, often rivalling visible power and its unseen, but visualized resources. Religious action could likewise serve the many smaller processes of group formations, whether in small or extended families, in neighborhoods or in networks across cities. Shared religious practices and places helped very much to produce and define such groups,[65] to even produce ethnicity where unrelated individuals had just come together.[66] Such groups, whether imagined or existing, could stabilize religious options developed in the course of individualization.[67] Religious actions and ideas might be used as a resource for the homogenization of inhabitants as well as for the stabilization of differences between the people living in a city.

6) If "religions" are one pervasive legacy of the urban history of religion, the *globalization* of religion in the form of "world religions" or the universalization of religion is another to at least the same degree. If cities are not just an amassment of people, but are hubs of internal *and* external flows,[68] the discourses that define urbanness, self-reflexive urbanity, always includes references to and comparison with other cities. In such discourses and inter-urban networks the spatial dimension of religion as practices focusing on the immanent or transcendent Beyond plays out. References to other cities or places as well as references beyond all localities, to no-places like heavens or netherworlds bolster the independence of religious agents. They certainly help to build up resilience against urban mischief and even persecution. In these respects, the city is not only a prerequisite, but also the topic of religious discourses. But even here, religion reaches beyond intellectual discourses. Religion and city are something that is being "done".

6. Conclusion

In an attempt to overcome a presentist bias in many, even not all instances of employing the concept of 'urban religion' I have argued (1) that we need to understand the spatial character of religious practices more intimately (2) and to replace the timeless pair of 'religion in the city' or 'religion and the city' by a focus on the entanglement of religious change and urbanization (3). Finally, I have argued that for such a historical enterprise it would be useful to analyze religion as an (active) agent (4), preparing and pushing in processes of urbanization as well as (passive) patient (5), reacting and adapting to urban conditions and thus becoming part and parcel of urbanity. I have suggested the terminological pair of urbanizing and urbanized religion for those two different but interlinked perspectives on the same complex of phenomena.

One of the main arguments about a conceptual rather than historically contingent relationship between religion and urbanization and hence the mutual formation of religion and urbanity was the specific spatial character of religious communication even in acts as simple as prayer to refer in very different manner and multi-layered meanings to a beyond of the situation, to physically distant places and heterotopias, but at the same time being a primary tool for situationally appropriating specific place. As such, religious practices are compatible with globalization as well as localization. But they are also compatible with a *tertium*, a beyond distance and closeness. Religious practices could also serve not only to employ, but to actively create 'no-place', negating the importance of the spatial character and hence spatial limits of a place.[69] This might be translated as the 'anywhere' of Jonathan Z. Smith or approached to the transcendence and the *sui-generis*-character attributed to religion in a lot of classical studies in History of Religion. But I admonish everybody to resist that temptation. It is only in a spatial perspective that the place of no-place can be seen.

Notes

[2]   I use the distinction of Jonathan Z. Smith, 'The History of the History of Religions' History,' *Numen*

48. 2 (2001), 142, understanding 'religion' as follows: 'The generic category supplies the field with a theoretical object of study, different from, but complimentary to their particular subject matters.'

3   For these concepts see e.g. Christoph Uehlinger, 'Visible Religion und die Sichtbarkeit von Religion(en): Voraussetzungen, Anknüpfungsprobleme, Wiederaufnahme eines religionswissenschaftlichen Forschungsprogramms,' *Berliner Theologische Zeitschrift* 23. 2 (2006), 165-184, and the earlier journal 'Visible Religion' (1982-1990, Brill); the journal 'Material Religion' (2005-, Berg) and Kim Knott, Volkhard Krech, and Birgit Meyer, 'Iconic Religion in Urban Space,' *Material Religion* 12. 2 (2016), 123-136, for 'iconic religion'.

4   Katie Day, 'Space and Urban Religion in the United States,' *Oxford Encyclopedia of Religion* (2017).

5   Numa Denis Fustel de Coulanges, *La cité antique, étude sur le culte, le droit, les institutions de la Grèce et de Rome* (Paris, Strasbourg: 1864).

6   See Norman Yoffee and Nicola Terrenato, 'Introduction: a history of the study of early cities,' in *The Cambridge world history 3: Early cities in comparative perspective, 4000 BCE-1200 CE* (Norman Yoffee ed.; Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2015), 7.

7   Jörg Rüpke, 'Religion als Urbanität: Ein anderer Blick auf Stadtreligion,' *Zeitschrift für Religionswissenschaft* 27. 1 (2019), 174-195.

8   François de Polignac, *La naissance de la cité grecque: cultes, espace et société VIIIe--VIIe: siècles avant J.-C.* (Textes à l'appui: Histoire classique; Paris: Découverte, 1984)/Engl. Francois de Polignac, *Cults, territory, and the origins of the Greek city-state* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

9   E.g. Arjan Zuiderhoek, *The ancient city* (Key themes in ancient history; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 65.

10 E.g. Karl-Joachim Hölkeskamp, 'Capitol, Comitium und Forum: Öffentliche Räume, sakrale Topographie und Erinnerungslandschaften der römischen Republik,' in *Studien zu antiken Identitäten* (Stefan Faller ed.; Würzburg: Ergon, 2001), 97-132; 'Raum – Präsenz – Performanz. Prozessionen in politischen Kulturen der Vormoderne – Forschungen und Fortschritte,' in *Medien der Geschichte – Antikes Griechenland und Rom* (O. Dally, et al. eds.; Berlin, 2014), 359-395; 'Performative turn meets spatial turn,' in *Raum und Performanz: Rituale in Residenzen von der Antike bis 1815* (Dietrich Boschung, Karl-Joachim Hölkeskamp, and Claudia Sode eds.; Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2015), 15-74; Rodney D. Fitzsimons, 'Urbanization and the Emergence of the Greek Polis: The Case of Azoria, Crete' in *Making Ancient Cities: Space and Place in Early Urban Soieties* (Andrew T. Creekmore, III and Kevin D. Fisher eds.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 220-256.

11 In the sequence of Robert A. Orsi, *The Madonna of 115th Street: Faith and community in Italian Harlem, 1880-1950* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1985); 'Everyday Miracles: The Study of Lived Religion,' in *Lived Religion in America: Toward a History of Practice* (David D. Hall ed.; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 3-21; *Gods of the city: Religion and the American urban landscape* (Religion in North America; Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana Univ. Press, 1999); briefly: David Garbin and Anna Strhan eds., *Religion and the Global City* (Bloomsbury Studies in Religion, Space and Place New York: Bloomsbury, 2017), 5.

12 Jörg Rüpke, 'Lived Ancient Religion: Questioning "Cults" and "Polis Religion",' *Mythos* ns 5 (2011), 191-204; *On Roman Religion: Lived Religion and the Individual in Ancient Rome* (Townsend Lectures/Cornell studies in classical philology; Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2016); 'Lived Ancient Religion,' *Oxford Research Encyclopedia, Religion* (2019).

13 Rubina Raja and Jörg Rüpke, 'Appropriating Religion: Methodological Issues in Testing the "Lived Ancient Religion" Approach,' *Religion in the Roman Empire* 1. 1 (2015), 11-19; 'Archaeology of Religion, Material Religion, and the Ancient World,' in *A Companion to the Archaeology of Religion in the Ancient World* (Rubina Raja and Jörg Rüpke eds.; Malden: Wiley, 2015), 1-25.

14 Jörg Rüpke, 'Religious Agency, Identity, and Communication: Reflecting on History and Theory of Religion,' *Religion* 45. 3 (2015), 344-366.

15 See Clifford Ando and Jörg Rüpke eds., *Public and Private in Ancient Mediterranean Law and Religion* (Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten 65; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2015).

16 Janico Albrecht et al., 'Religion in the Making: The Lived Ancient Religion Approach,' *Religion* 48. 4 (2018), 568-593.

17 See Lily Kong, 'Mapping "New" Geographies of Religion: Politics and Poetics in Modernity,' *Progress in Human Geography* 25. 2 (2001), 211-233.

18 See Peter Hopkins, Lily Kong, and Elizabeth Olson eds., *Religion and place: Landscape, politics and piety* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2013), and in particular 16-18. Cf. the remarks by Garbin and Strhan, *Religion,* 6.

19 Peter van der Veer, 'Introduction: Urban Theory, Asia and Religion,' in *Handbook of religion and the Asian city. Aspiration and urbanization in the twenty-first century* (Peter van der Veer ed.; Oakland, Calif.: Univ. of California Press, 2015), 2-12.

20 E.g. Daniel P. S. Goh and Peter van der Veer, 'Introduction: The sacred and the urban in Asia,' *International Sociology* 31. 4 (2016), 367-374; Knott, Krech, and Meyer, 'Iconic religion".

21 Michel Foucault, 'Space, Knowledge, and Power,' in *The Foucault Reader: An Introduction to Foucault's Thought* (P. Rabinow ed.; London, 1984), 239-256; Henri Lefebvre, *La production de l'espace* (Collection société et urbanisme; Paris: Éd. Anthropos, 1974); and Edward W. Soja, *Postmetropolis: Critical studies of cities and regions*, First published ed. (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2000); *Postmodern Geographies* (London u.a.: Verso, 1989); *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996); 'Regional Urbanization and the Ende of the Metropolitan Era,' in *The New Blackwell Companion to the City* (Gary Bridge and Sophie Watson eds.; Wiley-Blackwell Companions to Geography Malden, Mass.: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), 679-689.

22 Doreen H. Massey, *Spatial Divisions of Labour: Social Structures and the Geography of Production.* (London: 1984); Martina Löw, *Raumsoziologie* (Wissenschaft 1506; Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 2001)/*Sociology of space. Materiality, social structures, and action* (Cultural sociology; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016); *Soziologie der Städte* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2008); 'The intrinsic logic of cities: Towards a new theory on urbanism,' *Urban Research and Practice* 5 (2012), 303-315; Helmuth Berking and Martina Löw eds., *Die Eigenlogik der Städte: Neue Wege für die Stadtforschung* (Interdisziplinäre Stadtforschung 1; Frankfurt/Main: Campus, 2008); Helmuth Berking et al. eds., *Negotiating Urban Spaces: Interaction, Space and Control* (Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2006). For cities, these reflections go back to the Chicago School of Urban Studies of the 1930s and their successors.

23 Kim Knott, 'Spatial Theory and the Study of Religon,' *Religion Compass* 2. 6 (2008), 1102-1116; *The location of religion: A spatial analysis* (London: Equinox, 2005); exemplary: 'Walls and Other Unremarkable Boundaries in South London: Impenetrable Infrastructure or Portals of Time, Space and Cultural Difference?,' *New Diversities* 17. 2 (2015), 15-34.

24 Stephan Lanz, 'Assembling Global Prayers in the City: An Attempt to Repopulate Urban Theory with Religion,' in *Global prayers: Contemporary manifestations of the religious in the city* (Jochen

Becker, et al. eds.; MetroZones 13, Zürich: Müller, 2014), 25.

25 Ibid., 26.

26 Ibid., 24 and 28 (quotation); he adds the characterization as 'sensational form', quoting Birgit Meyer, *Aesthetic formations. Media, religion and the senses* (Religion, culture, critique; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 201. The reference is to Ruth Marshall, *Political spiritualities: The Pentecostal revolution in Nigeria* (Chicago.: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

27 Garbin and Strhan, *Religion*, in particular 6-11.

28 On the latter see Marian Burchardt and Monika Wohlrab-Sahr, "Multiple Secularities: Religion and Modernity in the Global Age' – Introduction,' *International Sociology* 28. 6 (2013), 605-611.

29 Peter Beyer, 'Questioning the secular/ religious divide in a postWestphalian world,' ibid., 676.

30 P. J. Aspinall and M. Song, 'Is race a 'salient ...' or 'dominant identity' in the early 21st century: The evidence of UK survey data on respondents' sense of who they are,' *Soc Sci Res* 42. 2 (2013), 547-561.

31 See e.g. for China, Anna Sun, 'The Study of Chinese Religions in the Social Sciences: Beyond the Monotheistic Assumption,' in *Religion and Orientalism in Asian Studies* (K. Paramore, ed.; London: Bloomsbury, 2016), 51-72.

32 The large differences are only occasionally stressed, already for antiquity see Laurens Ernst Tacoma, *Moving Romans: Migration to Rome in the Principate*, First edition ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016) and Greg Woolf, 'Movers and Stayers,' in *Migration and Mobility in the Early Roman Empire* (Luuk de Ligt and Laurens Ernst Tacoma eds.; Leiden: Brill, 2015), 438-461.

33 Garbin and Strhan, *Religion*, 15-18; see e.g. Sara Moser, 'New Cities in the Muslim World: The Cultural Politics of Planning an 'Islamic' City,' in *Religion and place: Landscape, politics and piety* (Peter Hopkins, Lily Kong, and Elizabeth Olson eds.; Dordrecht: Springer, 2013), 39-55, on 'new Islamic cities' or van der Veer, 'Introduction", on 'worlding'.

34 Hubert Cancik and Jörg Rüpke eds., *Römische Reichsreligion und Provinzialreligion* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1997); Jörg Rüpke ed., *Antike Religionsgeschichte in räumlicher Perspektive: Abschlussbericht zum Schwerpunktprogramm 1080 der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft 'Römische Reichsreligion und Provinzialreligion'* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007); 'Reichsreligion? Überlegungen zur Religionsgeschichte des antiken Mittelmeerraums in römischer Zeit,' *Historische Zeitschrift* 292 (2011), 297-322; 'Roman Religion and the Religion of Empire: Some Reflections on Method,' in *The Religious History of the Roman Empire: Pagans, Jews, and Christians* (John A. North and Simon R.F. Price eds.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 9-36. Translocality: Ulrike Freitag and Achim von Oppen, 'Introduction: "Translocality": An Approach to Connection and Transfer in Area Studies,' in *Translocality: The Study of Globalising Processes from a Southern Perspective* (*eaed.* eds.; Studies in Global Social History 4, Leiden: Brill, 2010), 1-21.

35 Knott, Krech, and Meyer, 'Iconic religion', but again above all pointing to space as a contingent parameter.

36 See Jennifer; Allen Robinson, Scott; Taylor, Peter, *Working, Housing: Urbanizing The International Year of Global Understanding - IYGU* (2016), 18.

37 Adopting a phrase of Markus Hirschauer, 'Un/doing Differences: Die Kontingenz sozialer Zugehörigkeiten/Un/doing Differences: The Contingency of Social Belonging,' *Zeitschrift für Soziologie* 43. 3 (2014), 183.

38 For the concept of 'special' see Ann Taves, *Religious experience reconsidered: A building block approach to the study of religion and other special things* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University

Press, 2009); 'Experience as site of contested meaning and value: The attributional dog and its special tail,' *Religion* 40. 4 (2010), 317-323.

39 Volkhard Krech, 'Dynamics in the History of Religions - Preliminary Considerations of Aspects of a Research Programme,' in *Dynamics in the history of religions between Asia and Europe: encounters, notions, and comparative perspectives* (Volkhard Krech and Marion Steinicke eds.; Dynamics in the history of religions 1, Leiden: Brill, 2012), 24.

40 Rüpke, 'Religious Agency.'

41 Michel de Certeau, *Arts de faire*, Nouvelle ed. par Luce Giard ed. (Paris: Gallimard, 2007)/*The practice of everyday life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984).

42 Yamini Narayanan, *Religion, heritage and the sustainable city: Hinduism and urbanisation in Jaipur* (Routledge research in religion and development; Abingdon: Routledge, 2015).

43 See Michael Stausberg, *Religion and tourism: Crossroads, destinations,and encounters* (London: Routledge, 2010).

44 Thomas A. Tweed, *Crossing and dwelling: A theory of religion* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2006; repr., 2008); cf. 'Space,' *Material Religion* 7 (2011), 116-123.

45 Bibliography is endless within and across religious discursive formations.

46 Marc Augé, *Non-lieux: Introduction à une anthropologie de la surmodernité* (La librairie du XXe siècle; Paris: Seuil, 1992).

47 For the concept of cultural intensification see Douglas Davies, 'Cultural Intensification: A Theory for Religion,' in *Religion and the Individual: Belief, Practice, Identity* (Abby Day ed.; Bodmin, Cornwall: MPG Books, 2008), 7-18.

48 See Robinson, Scott, and Taylor, *Working, Housing,* 18.

49 Cf. Greg Woolf, *The Life and Death of Ancient Cities: A Natural History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020), 35.

50 Cf. Robinson, Scott, and Taylor, *Working, Housing,* 5: 'Cities are distinguished from other human settlements by two key features: they constitute dense and large clusters of people living and working together, and they are the focus of myriad internal and external flows. This is what makes cities uniquely active and vibrant places that are always more cosmopolitan than culturally uniform.'

51 Susanne Rau, *Räume der Stadt. Eine Geschichte Lyons 1300-1800* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2014), 405-6.

52 E.g. Neil Brenner and Christian Schmid, 'The "Urban Age" in Question,' *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 38. 3 (2014), 731-755.

53 Thus Inger Furseth, 'Why in the city? Explaining urban fundamentalism,' in *The fundamentalist city? Religiosity and the remaking of urban space* (Nezar AlSayyad and Mejgan Massoumi eds.; London: Routledge, 2011), 46. On such a role of religion in warfare see Jörg Rüpke, 'Krieg,' in *Handbuch religionswissenschaftlicher Grundbegriffe* (Hubert Cancik, Burkhard Gladigow, and Karl-Heinz Kohl eds.; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1993), 448-460; 'Holy War,' *The Brill Dictionary of Religion* 2 (2006), 877; 'War/Armed Forces,' *The Brill Dictionary of Religion* 4 (2006), 1960-1963.

54 For the latter e.g. Ara Norenzayan, *Big gods: How religion transformed cooperation and conflict* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), critized by Jörg Rüpke, 'Is history important for a historical argument in religious studies,' review of Norenzayan, Big Gods, *Religion* 44. 4 (2014), 645-648. See more general Michael Stausberg, 'Bellah's Religion in Human Evolution: A Postreview,' *Numen* 61. 2-3 (2014), 281-299.

55 For the differentiation see Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and place: The perspective of experience*

(Minneapolis, Minn.: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1977), see also Helmuth Berking, 'Contested Places and the Politics of Space,' in *Negotiating Urban Conflicts: Interaction, Space and Control* (id. *et al* eds.; Bielefeld: transcript, 2006), 29-39. For Rome, Jean Christian Dumont, 'L'espace plautinien: de la place publique à la ville,' *Pallas* 54 (2000), 103-112; Carlos R. Galvao-Sobrinho, 'Claiming places: Sacred dedications and public space in Rome in the Principate,' in *Dediche Sacre nel mondo greco-romano: Religious Dedications in the Greco-Roman World* (John Bodel and Mika Kajava eds.; Acta Instituti roman Finlandia, Rome: Institutum Romanum Finlandiae 2008), 127-159; Harry O. Maier, 'From Material Place to Imagined Space: Emergent Christian Community as Thirdspace in the Shepherd of Hermas,' in *Early Christian Communities between Ideal and Reality* (Mark R. C. Grundeken and Joseph Verheyden eds.; WUNT Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2015), 143-160, and Jörg Rüpke, 'Crafting complex place: Religion, antiquarianism, and urban development in late republican Rome,' *Historia Religionum* 9 (2017), 109-117.

[56] For the debate see Jörg Rüpke, *Urban Religion: A historical approach to urban growth and religious change* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2020), 88-113.

[57] For the concept of a diversity of conflicting or at least changing systems of ranking power or prestige see Alison E. Rautman, 'Hierarchy and Heterarchy in the American Southwest: A Comment on Mcguire and Saitta,' *American Antiquity* 63. 2 (1998), 327 with the definition of Crumley: 'heterarchies are systems in which the component elements have (1) "the potential of being unranked (...)' and/or (2) ... of being 'ranked in a number of ways, depending on systemic requirements".'

[58] Cf. Moser, 'New Cities". For Antiquity see Carla Sulzbach, 'From Urban nightmares to Dream Cities,' in *Constructions of Space V: Place, Space and Identity in the Ancient Mediterrranean World* (Christl M. Maier and Gert T. Princeloo eds., LHBOTS 5; New York: Bloomsbury, 2015), 226-243.

[59] Alan Strathern, *Unearthly Powers: Religious and Political Change in World History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019).

[60] Peter Jackson ed., *Horizons of Shamanism: A Triangular Approach to the History and Anthropology of Ecstatic Techniques* (36; Stockholm: Stockholm University Press, 2016).

[61] Georg Simmel, 'Individualismus,' *Marsyas* 1 (1917), 33.39.

[62] Manfred Russo, *Projekt Stadt: Eine Geschichte der Urbanität* (Basel: Birkhäuser, 2016), 67-164.

[63] Jörg Rüpke, *Pantheon: A New History of Roman Religion* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018), 234-247.

[64] Jörg Rüpke, 'Urban Selves: Individualization in the Cities of the Ancient Mediterranean,' in *The Self in Antiquity* (Maren R. Niehoff and Joshua Levinson eds.; Leiden: Brill, 2019), 391-416; *The Individual in the Religions of the Ancient Mediterranean* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Martin Fuchs *et al* eds., *Religious Individualisations: Historical Dimensions and Comparative Perspectives* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2020).

[65] Éric Rebillard and Jörg Rüpke, 'Introduction: Groups, Individuals, and Religious Identity,' in *Group Identity and Religous Individuality in Late Antiquity* (*id.* eds.; CUA Studies in Early Christianity, Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2015), 3-12.

[66] Joane Nagel, 'Constructing Ethnicity: Creating and Recreating Ethnic Identity and Culture,' *Social Problems* 41. 1 (1994), 152-176; Rogers Brubaker, *Ethnicity without Groups* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 2004).

[67] Jörg Rüpke, *Religious Deviance in the Roman World: Superstition or Individuality*, trans. David M. B. Richardson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

[68] Robinson, Scott, and Taylor, *Working, Housing,* 5.

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[69] On the term see Joanne Punzo Waghorne ed., *Place/No-Place in Urban Asian Religiosity* (ARI - Springer Asia Series Singapore: Springer, 2017).