

Urban Heterarchies

Changing Religious Authority and Social Power in Cities

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TITLES AND ABSTRACTS

Bärbel Beinhauer-Köhler

"The Patriarch's Visit to the Vizier: a Coptic Chronicle Mediating Different 'Publics' in Fatimid Cairo"

The official *History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church* documents a procession through the streets of Cairo in the year 1103: The newly elected head of the Copts, Abā Maqāra, officially visited the Fatimid vizier al-Afdal. The later was of Armenian origin but in service of the Ismāʿīly calif. The Coptic performance demonstrated the claim to political impact, as it was visible in public to the multiethnic and multireligious groups of inhabitants: mostly Sunni Muslims and Copts, but also others like Jews. Later, in the vizier's house, court officials observed a semi-public meeting of balanced diplomacy within a ruling elite. That is at least, what the official narrative tells.

We gain all this information primarily from a Coptic perspective and one function of the text seems to have been the documentation of public and political influence under Muslim reign. Besides, historical information of this type had not exclusively been used by a certain religious group, as we find them in Muslim historiography as well. Historians of any religion generally had been part of an educated milieu overlapping with the court administration. This example might be useful to discuss the topic of heterarchies, as we can distinguish between several layers of media and public, communicating different perspectives and negotiations of political roles: the performance in the street, the meeting in the vizier's house and finally the text which is itself a medium of politics in 12th century Cairo.

Elisabeth DePalma Digeser

“Heterarchy in Late Ancient Autun: A Case Study”

Using a series of speeches from the *Panegyrici Latini* as well as recent archaeological data, this paper will identify the existence of various power structures in the city of Autun (Augustodunum) from the late third to the early fourth century. The city will serve as a case study to understand why this region proved so loyal to the emperor Constantine (306-37) despite – or perhaps because of – the ambiguity of his religious attachments.

Francesca Fulminante

“Exploring Hierarchies and Heterarchies at the Birth of First Cities and State Organizations in Pre-and Proto-historic Central Italy”

Between the 10th and the 5th century BC Italian populations underwent radical changes in the social, political and ethnic organization which led from the mainly ‘egalitarian’ communities of the dispersed villages of the Bronze Age, to the ‘hierarchical’ and ‘centralised’ societies of the Archaic cities. Many scholars have contributed to delineate this trajectory by looking at various aspects of the social structure, production, economy but probably the religious aspect has been less intensively investigated, apart the emphasis posed by Alessandro Guidi on early urban cult places, preceding the monumental realization of the temples of the Archaic Period, especially in Latium vetus. By analysing settlement organization, including funerary and cult places, through Network Analysis, and by looking at the funerary evidence in Latium vetus and Etruria in Pre-historic and Proto-historic times, this paper will explore the dynamics of hierarchies and heterarchies at the birth of the first cities and state organization in Central Italy.

Asuman Lätzer-Lasar

“Emergent Religious Authority”

The aim of this paper is to describe the strategies that priesthoods were applying during the Roman period in order to create their own religious authority. In doing this, they were suspending a state-given political hierarchy. The priest office was a highly political office that every Roman statesman fulfilled at least for some time. However, there were also priests that held this office for lifetime. Lacking the possibility of generating prestige through lobbying, economic or political success, the permanent priesthood had to establish prestige, and consequently their social power, through different techniques. As a case study I discuss the priesthood of the Mater Magna, a religion that emerged in Rome during the 2nd century BCE. Unique to this religious group was the initiation ritual of the priests, who

had to emasculate themselves when entering the priesthood. This life changing and irreversible action had tremendous impact on the visual presentation and the semantic reception of them in the Roman society. However, I argue that the priesthood of the Mater Magna – although they were even defamed for it – used their ‘otherness or being different’ in order to generate a religious authority that put them up in hierarchy. This authority was created through a notion of authenticity and archaism that represented the primordial power of the deity and the strong will of the priests to act contrary to the laws of nature in order to honour and worship this powerful goddess.

Nimrod Luz

“Religious Gentrification and Heterarchies of Urban Planning: Reflections on the Religious Neighbourhood in Acre”

Planning, as the argument goes, is the: ‘interconnection of people and places, activities and territories’ (Healey, 2005). In recent years modern urban planning usually characterized by a rational, centralistic and top-down state control apparatus is challenged by both by formal (State agencies, planners) and informal (gray spacing, informality) forces. Therefore, planning as a hierarchal concept is becoming vulnerable to a variety of heterarchical agencies and networks. Following Crumley’s conceptualization of heterarchies (1994) as systems in which the component elements have the potential of being unranked I argue that religion(s) and religious groups are growingly contributing to changes in the politics of planning of our cities and hence their very landscapes. This is particularly relevant urban regimes where liberalism and the Lefebvrian idea of the ‘right to the city’ are not a stable constitutional order and ethnic-group conflicts over territory and control inform daily practices and essentialize divides over race and religious affiliations (Yiftachel, 2006). Taking the case of a recently developed gentrified religious Jewish neighbourhood in Acre, a multi-ethnic and multi-religious town in northern Israel I explore the ways in which urban planning and landscape are being shaped by three interrelated processes: the production of space driven by forms of capitalism intertwined with local projects of space and power; as a set of social struggles over urban space; and framing of urban identity along religious and ethnic logic. Thus, enhancing the role of religiosity is shaping and shaking contemporary cities.

Anne Murphy

“Marked by the Periphery? Punjabi Linguistic and Literary Production and Religious Institutional Formations in Urban and Semi-Urban Contexts²

The court and, by extension, the urban centre associated with the court, were not the major agents in the emergence of the Punjabi language, and religious expressions also appeared outside of formal institutional centres. At the same time, and in diverse textual contexts, religious communitarian formations, organized in both local and supralocal forms and in both urban and semi-urban centres, did matter in the construction of a Punjabi literary imaginary, strongest in Sufi contexts (with strong Punjabi flavouring in the work of Sufi poet Farīd (14th c.) and Waris Shah (18th c.)) but also with Sikh and other religious articulations, and perhaps strongest in extra-canonical religious works. This paper seeks to take up the question of the heterarchical religious relationships that Punjabi's emergence may reveal, where Punjabi emerges as an *alternative* to institutional powers (articulated in cosmopolitan languages like Persian and Braj),¹ but in dynamic and changing relation to them, connected to a generalized sense of regionality expressed not only in that language, and important perhaps particularly *because* it did not map to established state or religious institutions.² This inquiry is linked to the question of the urban and the power relations it enabled and embodied, multiple and situationally determined as the concept of ‘heterarchy’ allows, because of the relationship between institutional formations and the urban: if the urban can be defined by its developed institutions and formalized structures of power, how do we locate Punjabi as a peripheralized language within a landscape of religious urban and semi-urban sites that bear complex relation to the rural, and through which Punjabi has made its mark. This paper will allow for reflection on how to conceptualize the urban centre through the periphery, and how language can reveal the relationship between these two nodes.

Ronie Parciack

“Discourses of Sacred Islamic Geographies in Urban India”

Though aspiring to extend its reach worldwide, Orthodox Islam is endowed with very specific, well-defined geographic authoritative loci; namely, Mecca and Medina (and to a certain extent, as concerns Shi'i traditions, Karbala). All these urban spaces are located in the Arabian Peninsula and the Hijaz. The spatial authority of these Arabian urban spaces,

¹ This has continued to a degree into the modern period, perhaps in keeping with Tariq Rahman's description of Punjabi's association ‘with pleasure [that] is connected with a certain kind of Punjabi identity’ (Rahman (2002), p. 395). See Murphy (2018) for discussion.

² I made this suggestion in Murphy (Forthcoming 2019) and develop this line of questioning here out of that essay.

and the ideal Muslim's geo-political orientation and hierarchy, are further reinforced through obligatory Islamic practices such as the Hajj pilgrimage to Mecca and Madina, which must be carried out at least once in a person's lifetime by all adult Muslims who are physically and financially capable of undertaking the journey, and the five daily prayers, in which one's body's position is directed to the coveted authoritative locus of Mecca (*qibla*). However, for the vast majority of Muslims in India, these spaces are far away (geographically, 3,841 kilometres separate Delhi from Mecca) and financially out of reach. In addition, ethnic and linguistic differences complicate the formally illegitimate alienation from these authoritative Arab spaces (See Hasan and Jalil, 2009). No wonder then that Indian Muslims have shaped their own hierarchy of sacred loci and authorities embedded within Indian urban spaces.

During the hundreds of years of Islamic rule, India underwent a slow process of acknowledgment as a sacred Islamic land (Carl Ernest 1995; Nile Green 2012); moreover, Indian urban spaces are informally accepted as equally authoritative as Mecca, Medina and to a certain extent, Karbala. This presentation discusses these urban spaces, first and foremost in Delhi (but also in the important city of Ajmer) to describe how they challenge and re-establish the authoritative Islamic spaces of Arabia within Indian contemporary urban spaces. Mecca, Madina and Karbala are informally embedded within Indian urban territories, but furthermore, their significance in contemporary India does not apply solely to the inter Indo-Islamic discourse or inter-*Maslaki* (Islamic interpretative communities) debate, but also reveals a certain Brahminization of Indian Islam in the era of Hindutva. Methodologically, I address both the formal and informal levels; the formal through an analysis of excerpts from Islamic preaching (*da'wah, hutbah*), as well as interviews with Shaiks and Peers belonging to various *Maslaks* and *Tareeqas*. On the informal level I examine some of the vast repertoire of visual images available on informal audiovisual media distributed in Islamic bazaars as well as on *Chaddars* (scarves offered as a ritual practice in Sufi spaces) in shaping what Sandria Freitag termed 'cognitive map' (2007).

Heidi Pauwels

"The Making of Heritage Sites: Contested Hierarchies and Heterarchies in Fifteenth-Century Gwalior"

This paper pieces together some of the complex processes of urban history of Gwalior (MP) over a period of roughly a century. In the hindsight of the 20th century, this urban area at the foot of a fort in what is currently MP is often seen through a communal lens with a history of alternating Muslim and Hindu overlordship. This paper seeks to reveal the complexity behind that apparent duality, laying bare the contestations of hierarchies and tendencies towards heterarchies during the 15th century. At that time, under the Tomar dynasty it was a flourishing center of commerce and culture, with a very active Jain trading community that was involved in both Muslim and Hindu governments. The paper studies

narratives of architectural interventions of rulers, merchants, and religious leaders. One of the important aspects of the city includes the making of Jain heritage sites, which took off in the reign of Dūngar Singh Tomar, when the Jain merchants conspicuously displayed their wealth by sponsoring the huge Jain images of 'peaceful conquerors' or *jinas* that still line the access road to the fort. Sources are the architecture itself as well as prashastis in inscription and colophons of manuscripts, and an Old Hindi chronicle of which I have recently rediscovered a manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris.

Rubina Raja

"Investigating Early Church Buildings in Gerasa (5th-8th Centuries) as Reflections of Urban heterarchies"

While the narrative evolving around the transition from the 'pagan' to the Christian city and later the Islamic city in the Levant is one, which often is described as a linear one, we all know that the reality was more complex than that. Massive sanctuaries, often taking up large parts of city centres were abandoned (we don't always know how and when), some – but few – temples were turned into churches, numerous churches were constructed and for some centuries pagan cults existed in some places alongside Christian buildings. Furthermore the societal civic restructuring, which took place in these centuries as often assumed simply to have happened, being imposed by the rulers changing 'faiths' and accepted in the local societies. However, again these processes were more complex than often described. This paper turns to the church buildings in Gerasa of which there are numerous that were constructed in the period 5th-8th centuries CE. I will address the chronology of the churches and hold them up against other evidence for non-Christian cults, as well as what we know about the societal civic structure of Gerasa in this period and the region in general. This analysis might give insight into some of the issues, which we wish to explore at the conference, namely in which ways urban heterarchies were reflected in the urban material landscape and what their nature were. In particular evidence for the interplay between sponsors of buildings (churches, pagan cults), military intervention and the civic structure of the city will be addressed.

Susanne Rau

"Canons, Aldermen and *Confrères*: Changing Power Constellations in the City of Lyon (Late Middle Ages, Early Modern Times) "

Integrated into the Kingdom of France only around 1300, Lyon is a typical example of a city where diverse and potentially conflicting power resources reigned for a long time and

influenced urban life in different ways. Lyon, therefore, could be taken as a typical case of urban heterarchy. The paper will first describe these power structures and the potential influence of urban and ecclesiastical institutions: archbishop with cathedral chapter (St John), monasteries and convents (the mendicant orders), consulate (with its main church St Nizier and the chapel St Jacquême in which they sat) as well as the confraternities (secular associations). This synchronic picture alone shows two things: first, the Church in this city was not at all a unit but was composed of different actors with different roles and responsibilities. Secular power did not belong only to the consulate but also to the confraternities and, later, to the royal officers. Second, there were fixed powers as well as interactions between religious and political structures and changes in power. For example, ecclesiastical and secular jurisdiction long belonged to the Archbishop, who had to hand it over to the city's royal officers from 1550 onwards. The confraternities, especially that of the Trinity, occupied the intermediate position between the church and the laity. In the third part of the paper, I will show how the constellation of powers and its evolution are reflected in the urban space by territorial demarcations, by the implantation of symbolic buildings, and by processions organized by ecclesiastical actors and local authorities.

Miri Rubin

“Sisters, no longer: *ecclesia* and *synagoga* in urban space”

In understanding urbanity, its power to connect as well as to develop distinctions and exclusion, we must address the visual environment commissioned by institutions and individuals, and observed in public, exclusive, or private spaces. When it comes to urban groups, Europe's Jews were often portrayed in monumental sculpture, altarpieces, and on the pages of prayer books owned by wealthy townspeople. Most commonly they were depicted after 1200 as active agents of the Crucifixion, in increasing detail and animation. Judaism was also portrayed in another manner, through the paired allegorical figures of *ecclesia* and *synagoga* - Church and Synagogue - a type which appeared in Europe from the ninth century on objects designed for the altars of cathedrals and religious houses. By the early-thirteenth century, it appeared on the monumental facades of cathedrals, like those of Paris, Rochester, Lincoln, Bamberg, Reims, most famously in Strasbourg, and of course at Erfurt, too. The figures are made similar in size, style, dress, and beauty, though Church is victorious and Synagogue dejected. Yet there is an underlying affinity, which suggests a deep link between the two, and which points to an apocalyptic future in which Synagogue converts.

This image spread into diverse contexts and was portrayed in different genres, but by 1400 it had run its course. Or rather, it was transformed: the images now emphasised radical difference rather than family resemblance; artists used techniques of differentiation such as gender, age, style, to make Church and Synagogue different and incompatible. The shift is very striking, and it affected texts and drama too.

Given the project's preoccupation with religion and urbanity, and specifically the making of difference and hierarchy, here is an excellent example for discerning a shift in attitude. It is also a occasion to reflect on the role of the visual in our research.

Jörg Rüpke

“Urban Places of Religious Authority”

The relationship of administrative and religious authority has been a matter of intensive debate in many different contexts, from theories of “sacral kingship” to the Italian Binom of *sacerdotes* and *magistratus*, priests and magistrate, from the Indian relationship of Brahmins and warriors to the European dichotomy of temporal and eternal power. My contribution will venture a new perspective on these debates by consistently asking about urbanity and urban space as a factor. It will explore the usage of city-related *arguments* on the one hand and inquire into the actual location, the urban (or perhaps extra-urban) places of religious authority, in relationship to political rulership and urban administration.

Jesse Spohnholz

“Fractured Lives: The Challenges of Sixteenth-Century Netherandish Exiles in German Urban Communities”

In the mid-sixteenth century, harsh persecution and warfare drove over a hundred thousand Netherlandish Protestants into exile in England and the Holy Roman Empire. The bulk of the scholarship on how this migration affected host communities has focused on two questions: 1) did Dutch migrants reinvigorate local economies or challenge their guild systems and 2) to what extent did foreign migrants challenge local religious norms or convert local populations. In 1972, Heinz Schilling found a correlation between these two patterns, suggesting that challenges to local economic structures often underlay conflicts over confessional norms. Since Schilling wrote his pioneering work, considerable new archival research has been accomplished that more fully explain the social and cultural lives of sixteenth-century Netherlanders who fled abroad. I currently co-supervise a five-person, six-year research project that is looking into the experiences of Netherlandish refugees in cities and towns along the Rhine River corridor (including the lower Main). My paper at this Urban Hierarchies' conference will compare the relationships of hosts and migrants in three types of communities: large imperial cities (Aachen, Cologne and Frankfurt), medium-sized territorial cities (Wesel, Heidelberg), and small 'Home Towns' (Goch, Gennep, Xanten, and Kalkar). The purpose will be to explore how refugees challenged or incorporated into local ecclesiastical, economic, political and social hierarchies. The paper will argue that confessional norms and economic structures, and even the distinction between Dutch-ness and German-ness, are insufficient analytical categories to understand these interactions. Instead, social networks and personal relationships also offer helpful ways to consider how migrants affected urban hierarchies.

Sanjay Srivastava

“Urban Theo-topias: Religious Claims to Space and the Language of Administrative Rationality in the New City of Gurgaon, India”

The district and city of Gurgaon in the state of Haryana has been a site of intense urban developments over the past two decades. The district lies on the southern borders of Delhi and is now well established as a satellite suburb of the national capital. The newer parts of Gurgaon are also home to a very large number of multi-national companies, thereby constituting a very significant site of employment in the National Capital Region (NCR). The district is also the largest contributor to the state coffers in terms of tax revenue. The current population of Gurgaon is estimated at around 1.5 million. Rapid urbanisation has attracted a variety of workers from different parts of the country. Unlike Hindus, however, the majority of the Muslim migrants to the city tend to be poor and unskilled. In recent times, there has been a great deal of public debate and conflict over Muslims offering *namaz* at different public places in the city. The worshipers have largely been working-class Muslims unable to access Mosque premises for a variety of reasons. Both official and private observations regarding public worship by Muslims has been in the language of urban administrative rationality: the 'proper' uses of public land; religious practice as a possible source of permanent illegal occupation of public land; and threats to urban security by possibly interlopers from Bangladesh.

Focusing on Gurgaon, this presentation will explore the manner in which specific discourses of planning and administration -- despite their 'neutral' vocabulary -- become aligned to political and cultural agendas of urban 'theo-topias', viz., the processes of producing religion-specific spaces. This has particular significance in contexts of new urbanisation as it provides opportunities for establishing a 'rational' discourse of religious life within a perceived environment of rationality and contract, viz., a city produced primarily through private capital and ruled by its rhythms of work and leisure.

Katalin Szende

“From Model to Rival? Competition or Complementarity in the Spatial Setup of Bishops’ Seats in East Central Europe”

In the process of urban transition from Antiquity to the Middle Ages, episcopal sees played a model role by transmitting the concept and spatial arrangement of urbanity, i.e. a central place that served both as a religious and a civic centre. This concept was taken over, with considerable modifications, in the tenth-eleventh century by the newly Christianized monarchies of Bohemia, Hungary and Poland. The main difference was that here the rulers or representatives of state power also claimed their authority over the settlement. The sites of bishops' seats were selected following strategic considerations, and the internal division of space also reflected an initial duality of monarchic and church power. The gradually developing communities of indigenous and immigrant populations and their ecclesiastic institutions (parishes, chapels, friaries and hospitals) had to find their place – both physically and in the metaphorical sense – within this framework.

The relationship of these sources of power, however, was subject to changes over time due to both local factors, state-level processes and social transformations affecting the entire broader region. In understanding the reasons for and the consequences of these changes, the concept of heterarchy offers a useful analytical tool. Since the availability of written evidence is limited and uneven, I shall pay special attention to the competing or overlapping use of space, for which archaeological and topographic evidence can also be utilized. The questions I intend to discuss include: How long, where, and in which form were secular authorities present in bishops' cities? Which locations were assigned to or occupied by the bishops? What impact did this have on the way the bishops asserted their power, and how did the civic use of space and the urbanity of the settlement change over time? Were there new entities added, founded or developed by the bishops, the monarchs or princes, the cathedral or collegiate chapters?

After the decisive social transformations of the thirteenth century, the development of bishops' cities took different courses: in Bohemia, Silesia and Poland the duality of secular and ecclesiastic presence remained, with newly chartered towns added to the existing settlements. In Hungary, however, the royal power – with a couple of exceptions – withdrew from the bishops' cities. How did this influence the relationship between the bishops and the civic communities, and to what extent did the bishops retain their control over spaces of commercial exchange and administration, or become marginalized? In turn, what degree of civic autonomy characterized these cities, what religious or secular institutions did they have, and what spaces did those occupy? After describing the broader framework, I will examine cases of interference, cooperation and competition through a series of selected examples from Olomouc, Wrocław, Poznań, Pécs and Zagreb. I shall also raise the question why the bishops remained mostly in residence in their seats in these cities while they so often decided or were forced to move out in case of the episcopal sees of the Holy Roman Empire.

Emiliano Rubens Urciuoli

“When Intellectualism Confronts Heterarchy: The Case of Cyprian of Carthage”

This paper sets out to address the relationship between two most important features connected to the state of early Christ religion in the 2nd Century Rome as urban religion. First, the major change in ancient Mediterranean religions tagged as 'intellectualization/textualization of religion' (Rüpke 2016) and associated with the rise of so-called 'the freelance religious experts' in the Roman empire (Wendt 2016). Among these self-authorized and -styled purveyor[s] of religious teachings and practices, small-group entrepreneurs specialized in Christ religion stood out as inventors a new biographical genre, outstanding writers and dispatchers of letters, virtuosi of the textual controversy, and collectors of holy scripts. Then my analysis will address a second element characterizing city life and, not infrequently, also relations among cities: the tendency towards a non-hierarchical arrangement of power, *aka* 'heterarchy.' Urban spaces tend to function as heterarchical systems where various types of power and ways of gaining authority over people coexist and compete, as well as different manners of ranking, un-ranking or re-ranking those powers are situationally possible (Crumley 1995). Not linearly ranked and topographically fractionated, the first urban Christ groups, too, were pretty much heterarchical formations shaped by the assorted types of power coalescing in urban environments. My final case study, which will bring us to the imperial Carthage of the mid-3rd century, points to the intersection of the two phenomena. It will show the disruptive effects that the enforcement of a textually designed and conceptually sophisticated project of 'Church order' ended up producing on a loosely structured network of Christ believers.

Shana Zaia

"In the Shadow of Nineveh: Assessing the Hierarchies and Heterarchies of Temples and Cult Cities in the Neo-Assyrian Empire"

One of the most important tasks of the king of the Neo-Assyrian Empire (c. 1000-610 BCE, modern-day Iraq) was to support and maintain the cities and temples of his domain, conducting lavish and expensive renovation projects in exchange for divine favor and the gods' guarantees for a successful reign and a prosperous empire. While many temples are mentioned as receiving the king's patronage in the Assyrian state texts, particularly in the royal inscriptions, the focus tends to be on the major, prestigious temples: that is, the Aššur temple in the traditional religious centre at Assur, and the temple of the patron deity of the political capital at the time. But these were not the only temples in Assyria: every city had at least one patron god, so there were numerous minor and peripheral temples scattered across the empire, wherever there was an urban centre. Cultic personnel working in a prestigious temple could be sure that their temple would have certain features thanks to the imperial framework of royal patronage: financial stability, regular maintenance, adequate staff and cultic resources including ritual equipment, regular offerings, and the gods' accessories, and even exemptions from taxes or labour obligations. While the state was, in principle, responsible for supporting all of its temples, the problem is that resources and royal attention were finite and the lion's share of imperial patronage, including campaign spoils, taxes, and labour, consequently went to the core cities and major temples. This created a problem for minor temples, for whom a lack of resources meant they had

difficulty with daily operations and were at risk of shutting down entirely. In this context, 'minor' and 'peripheral' do not necessarily mean unimportant; in fact, many of the temples in this category were dedicated to high-status deities, usually in their regional forms. This category included smaller temples, temples that were in geographically peripheral cities, temples in conquered foreign territories, and even minor temples in the same city as a major temple. Though often invisible in royal inscriptions, letters and administrative documents provide modern scholars with an insight into the daily concerns of these institutions and how cultic personnel and political officials navigated their circumstances. Using the Neo-Assyrian period as a case study, this paper will explore the relative statuses of temples and their cities within the empire and the effects of these statuses on royal ideology and in everyday life to reassess the application of traditional hierarchies and to engage with the theoretical conception of heterarchies.

Simone Wagner

“Forced Hierarchies: Spatial Formations, Processions, and Heterarchies of Monasteries in the City of Constance”

Late medieval cities harboured several different religious communities. To date, few studies have focused on the ranking of religious communities in medieval cities from a cultural historical perspective. However, the question should be addressed as to how their social status in the city was constructed and how religious communities related to each other. This paper focuses on the example of processions in Constance by showing the complexity of religious ranking: namely, the monasteries of Kreuzlingen and Petershausen fought over their place in processions in Constance.

The conflict originated from the discrepancy of heterarchical and hierarchical classification systems in the city. It is well known that rituals reflected and – most importantly – constructed concepts of social order. Thus, processions were a constant source of tension between monasteries. Spatial conditions of processions made it necessary that monastic communities processed successively. Processions gave the impression of a clear hierarchical religious order in the city which was at odds with the perception of the actors. In contrast to the clear hierarchical system of the procession, the monasteries seemed to be unranked in other social civic situations. Furthermore, in order to understand the extent of the conflict a variety of possible religious rankings has to be assumed.

The paper explores how different social categories helped to shape religious ranking in the city and if religious and urban categories were pitted against each other. Therefore, the importance of institutional age, religious lifestyle, and family background of the monastic members is examined. How did both adversaries justify their claim to a more prominent place in the procession? Which claim was successful in the end, and why? Such an analysis

gains important insights into the complexities of the urban religious landscape and the interplay of different systems of ranking.