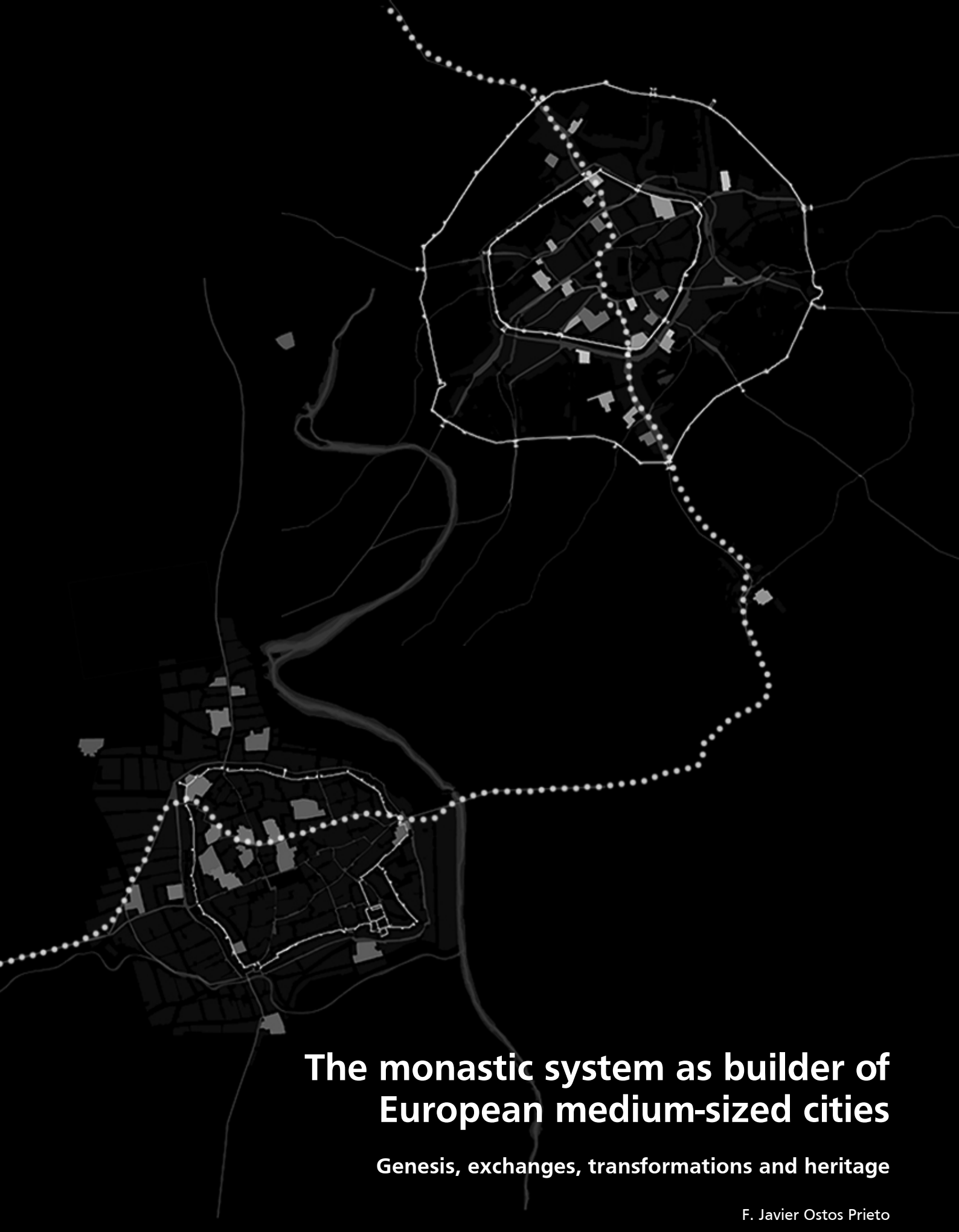

The monastic system as builder of European medium-sized cities

Genesis, exchanges, transformations and heritage

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Cover: Monastic system of the cities of Aachen (top right) and Écija (bottom left) in the 18th century. Own elaboration.

Back cover: On the left the symbol of the sun, from Écija. On the right the symbol of Charlemagne, from Aachen.

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Genesis, exchanges, transformations and heritage

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"Do not trouble your hearts overmuch with thought of the road tonight. Maybe the paths that you each shall tread are already laid before your feet, though you do not see them"

(Tolkien, 1954, p.359)

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To the cities
- Aachen
- Arcos de la Frontera
- Brenes
- Campinas
- Écija
- General Roca Río Negro
- Gummersbach
- Jerez de la Frontera
- La Paz
- Leskovac
- Málaga
- Neuerburg
- Roma
- Sevilla
- Úbeda
- Wuppertal

ABSTRACT

The European medium-sized cities have formed one of the largest scenes of monastic typology production. Monasteries and convents have been key elements in determining the future of urban growth and development. The regions of Andalusia and North Rhine-Westphalia are two territorial locations where one medium-sized city stands out in each of them. These are Écija and Aachen. An analysis and comparison of each city is carried out following a methodology which allows for the identification of the monastic system of the medieval and modern city. The research covers the first appearance of monasteries in the two cities, the exchanges between city and monastery, the urban transformations produced by these buildings and their current consideration as heritage through its protection and conservation.

Keywords: Aachen, Écija, Europe, heritage, medium-sized cities, monastic urban system, urban transformation.

KURZFASSUNG

Die europäischen mittelgroßen Städte bilden einen der größten Schauplätze der klösterlichen Errichtung. Klöster waren Schlüsselelemente bei der Gestaltung des zukünftigen städtischen Wachstums und ihrer Entwicklung. Die Regionen Andalusien und Nordrhein-Westfalen sind zwei Gebiete, in denen jeweils eine mittelgroße Stadt hervorsticht. Es handelt sich um Ecija und Aachen. In jeder dieser Städte wird eine vergleichende Studie durchgeführt, die sich auf eine Methodik stützt, welche es ermöglicht, das Klostersystem der mittelalterlichen und modernen Stadt zu identifizieren. Die Untersuchung befasst sich mit dem Auftreten der Klöster in beiden Städten, dem Austausch zwischen Stadt und Kloster, den städtischen Veränderungen, die durch diese Gebäude hervorgerufen wurden, und ihrer heutigen Berücksichtigung als Kulturerbe durch ihren Schutz und ihre Erhaltung.

Stichworte: Aachen, Écija, Europa, Kulturerbe, mittelgroße Städte, klösterliches Städtesystem, städtischer Wandel.

RESUMEN

Las ciudades medias europeas han formado uno de los mayores escenarios en la producción de la tipología monástica. Los conventos han sido piezas clave configurando los futuros crecimientos y desarrollos urbanos. Las regiones de Andalucía y Renania del Norte-Westfalia son dos territorios donde destacan principalmente una ciudad media en cada uno. Estas son Écija y Aquisgrán. En ellas, se realiza un estudio y comparativa siguiendo una metodología propia que permite la identificación del sistema monástico de la ciudad medieval y moderna. La investigación abarca desde la primera aparición de los monasterios en las dos ciudades, los intercambios entre ciudad y convento, las transformaciones urbanas producidas por estos edificios y su consideración actual como patrimonio a través de su protección y conservación.

Palabras clave: Aachen, Écija, Europa, patrimonio, ciudades medias, sistema urbano conventual, transformación urbana.

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SUMMARY

In Europe, medium-sized cities have formed one of the major scenes in the production of monastic typology. This urban model, along with the development of monasticism, has generated a common identity on the continent which persists to this day. The role of monasteries and convents plays a deciding factor in the construction of the medieval and modern city. These buildings were inserted into the urban fabric, changing and modifying it through three fundamental stages: implantation, confiscation and urban transformation. The first took place with the appearance of mendicant orders in the 13th century; they were the first to establish foundations within cities. The second began with the Napoleonic advance in the 19th century when nigh the entire monastic heritage was secularised, ultimately producing transformations in the urban fabric which coincided with the new advances and modernisations in the 20th century city. Monastic typology is positioned as a key element in urban development, shaping a new panorama of political, social and urban life.

The presence of these buildings all over the continent is more than remarkable with regard to monastic heritage, and their importance is highly evident. This leads to the main research question of how do the convents and monasteries influence urban development of a medium-sized city. Additional questions arise from said subject, generating the research objectives of the doctoral thesis. In order to answer these questions and fulfil said objectives, a methodology has been developed as the foundation of the work. Its creation is of high relevance due to the methodological nature of the work; it is the usage and application of this methodology that prevails. The methodology has been divided into three interconnected phases which are used to carry out the analysis of urban monastic systems in medium-sized cities: contextual, analytical and comparative-propositional. Moreover, the unique graphic and cartographic production is of great importance to this process; a visual character is given throughout each analysis and result. In order to verify the methodology, two regions in which the medium-sized city model is widely present, and both have a strong monastic character, are taken as case studies on a European level. These are Andalusia and North Rhine-Westphalia. In these regions, the cities of Écija and Aachen stand out from the rest in terms of their monastic production.

The study of the selected regions and cities highlights the multi-scale character of the monastic phenomenon. It encompasses not only the city, but also the territory and the European scale. This has made it necessary to go beyond the study of the monastic layer and deepen the understanding of the phenomenon in all its historical, political, social and urban complexity. First of all, the origin of monastic typology is analysed on a continental

scale. Furthermore, given that they are a key to understanding the appearance of monasteries, the various events which mark the development of Christianity, with the inclusion of struggles and conflicts, are taken into consideration. In this context, European urban development, its demography, and the factors which generate cities throughout Middle and Modern Ages, are also enunciated. Secondly, the scale is changed with the focus firstly on the contexts of present-day territories of Spain and Germany, to continue on a smaller scale in the regions of Andalusia and North Rhine-Westphalia. This point is decisive as it allows a detailed understanding of territorial, urban and monastic developments in these two areas of Europe. For this purpose, a historical-political analysis of the ecclesiastical territory is followed by a study of the aforementioned monastic cities. The latter establishes parameters such as the total number of foundations or types of religious orders in the two geographies.

Understanding a city's monastic system requires an analysis of its implantation inside the urban fabric. The study of the monastic cities of Écija and Aachen is carried out individually, although both have a nigh identical structure as the same methodology is applied to their study. The time frame ranges from the beginning of the monastic foundations, i.e. the 10th century in Aachen and the 14th century in Écija, to their development in the present day. The study of socio-political events is linked to urban development and the establishment of the monasteries. It is important to take an urban perspective in which the monastic location, and its relationship with the structure of the city, are analysed. Each order in the cities has been identified, along with their dates of establishment and disappearance, both in their male and female branches. Additionally, an in-depth analysis of their characteristics, following the establishment of each order, has been carried out. In the 18th century, 25 foundations were located in Aachen and 21 in Écija. The monastic foundations are analysed in depth according to their location and type of religious order, divided into male and female. The city position establishes different urban relationships, as well as important parameters which determine the position of the building. Another important characteristic of monasticism is its foundational expansion from one city to another. In this sense, the impact on other cities and foundations in the region is studied, along with their importance.

The monastery is a complex architectural typology composed of two essential parts: the church and the cloister. Firstly, the building is characterised by the church. Its urban position and floor plans are analysed in detail by taking in the data of built and unbuilt surface area. The cloister is taken for the free space next to the orchards, characterising authentic urban voids with

surfaces greater than 4,000 m2 in some cases. In addition to the architectural elements of the monastic building, its functionality and uses are outstanding. It is not only a religious facility, but forms the basis for a health and education facility, and a social system. The importance and relationship between the city and monastery are also reflected in the street map. Numerous streets and squares derive their names from monastic spaces. Considering that monasteries and convents are religious in essence, it is crucial to refer to the urban relationship through rite and procession.

The political, social and urban influences of the 19th century determined the development of cities. The advances of the French Enlightenment, great confiscation processes, population growth, new urban ideals, the appearance of new facilities and the exponential development of urban cartography, completely changed the image of the 19th-century city. In this section, a new monastic phase appears in Aachen, which determines its growth. The monastic buildings, due to their being large in number and size, were affected the most by urban transformation. For the study of secularisation, the persistence and fragments of monastic buildings have been located. This allows us to know the type of transformation and the remains of monasticism. Furthermore, it is important to note that the absence and need for large public spaces such as squares or avenues generates the expropriation of monasteries that end up becoming urban spaces. This type of transformation into urban spaces is analysed in a different section. One of the final and most relevant aspects of urban transformations is the complete disappearance of monasteries. Identifying and locating former monasteries and convents is key to understanding the monastic city as a whole.

The urban monastic landscape is studied from back to the historical iconography of the 16th century and up to the satellite images of the 21st century, which provides a visual basis of great relevance for understanding the city. The 16th-century iconography is the oldest visual source, offering a detailed view of the city, and is supported by a visualised analysis in the form of the identification of monastic buildings. These representations are characterised by a complete view of the city from outside its walls. The monastic typology is distinguished by its towers, spires and bell gables. These architectural elements stand out from the settlement and form one part of both cities' urban landscape; one can see to this day how the towers comprise one segment of urban enclaves.

The 20th and 21st century presented a new stage in urban development. In the case of Écija, the population was focused

on rural activity and it hardly grew until the middle of the 20th century. A large part of monasticism has managed to survive the events marked by the urban transformations and confiscations of the 19th century. Since then, there has been a growing awareness of the need to protect and conserve monastic buildings. From the 1930s onwards, there has been protection of monastic heritage in Écija, which spread onto its historic centre in 1966. The exponential growth of Aachen was marked by its industrialisation and mining activity, which was interrupted by the war and post-war years between 1940 and 1950. Namely, the Second World War led to the destruction of almost the entire city, especially its historic centre. Therefore, churches, convents and monasteries were destroyed or severely damaged. Due to their value and importance, they were rebuilt, allowing for their typology to be identified today. From the 1960s and 1970s onwards, an intensive process of monastic heritage protection has been carried out. However, it was not until 2011 that the urban centre was under protection.

The comparison between the two selected case studies is decisive for the understanding of urban monastic development as a European phenomenon. From the territorial scale of Andalusia and North Rhine-Westphalia, similarities and differences between territorial monastic systems can be discussed. Thanks to the methodology used, once the cases of Aachen and Écija were developed, the mapping of the two produced was compared. The main difference is the divergence in size and population between the two cities in the 20th century. While Aachen has undergone industrialisation and evolution, Écija remains encapsulated and maintains itself with little growth. Subsequently, the graphical and numerical results of the foundations in the two cities are compared and contrasted. The most relevant fact is that the amount of monastic buildings is quite similar, with the monastic surface areas of 0.82km2 and 1.01km2. The comparison is made in greater depth both in terms of the buildings' floor plans and in terms of surface areas and usages complementary to the religious one. The fourth point shows urban transformations of monasteries in the two cities. Again, types of urban transformation, as well as the data on surface areas and densities, are compared. The urban landscape is compared from the 16th century to the present day. Finally, in the current state of Écija and Aachen, a total number of 15 monastic buildings in 2023 in the two cities has been counted. On the other hand, current usages differ greatly from one case to another, being more diverse in the German city. With regard to heritage protection, although all monasteries are protected, significant differences in the regulations have been detected. A division into only three heritage categories in North Rhine-Westphalia is in contrast with an extensive diversity of heritage figures in the Spanish and Andalusian laws.

The conclusions are presented in five sections. The first section is contextual in nature, as well as representative of the cities taken as case studies, Écija and Aachen. It is followed by a discussion of the results obtained from the comparison between the two cities. One of the foremost conclusions is the similarity in monastic development between the two case studies. Despite their geographical location and historical context, both have a very similar trajectory and processes of foundation, transformation and confiscation. The third section closes the thesis by returning to the first introductory chapter. In this chapter, the research questions are answered, and it is verified whether the stated objectives have been achieved and whether the methodology used has proved to be adequate. The latter has demonstrated its suitability and potential regarding both case studies and its possible extension to other cities. The fourth point explores the contributions and impact of this research, both of which can be in relation to urbanistic and scientific fields. For both Écija and Aachen, they constitute a new basis that allows us to know and work on the city both from the past and in its future. The new urban plans can take many of the key points set out in the monastic study, which are decisive for the construction of the city, as a reference point. The final section points out possible future lines of research derived from the work presented in the doctoral thesis; it proposes an extension to other countries or regions wherein one could continue verifying the monastic implantation in Europe. Furthermore, an approach is proposed regarding the territorial and UNESCO World Heritage scales of monastic systems, wherein other components such as culture and tourism are highlighted. Finally, an advance of the suitability of urban monastic systems for territorial and urban planning is proposed, materialised in urban planning and proposals for sustainable urban development.

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

In Europa waren die mittelgroßen Städte einer der wichtigsten Schauplätze für die Entwicklung der Klostertypologie. Dieses Stadtmodell hat zusammen mit der Entwicklung des Mönchtums eine gemeinsame Identität auf dem Kontinent geschaffen, die bis heute anhält. Die Rolle der Klöster ist ein entscheidender Faktor beim Aufbau der mittelalterlichen und modernen Stadt. Diese Gebäude fügten sich in das städtische Gefüge ein und veränderten es in drei grundlegenden Phasen: Einsetzung, Aufhebung und Umwandlung der Stadt. Die erste Phase fand mit dem Auftreten der Bettelorden im 13. Jahrhundert statt. Sie waren die ersten, die in den Städten gegründet wurden. Die zweite Phase beginnt mit dem napoleonischen Vormarsch im 19. Jahrhundert, als praktisch das gesamte Klostererbe säkularisiert wird. Schließlich führte dies zu Veränderungen im städtischen Gefüge, die mit den neuen Fortschritten und Modernisierungen in der Stadt im 20. Jahrhundert einhergingen. Die Klostertypologie wird als Schlüsselelement der Stadtentwicklung positioniert, das ein neues Panorama des politischen, sozialen und städtischen Lebens prägt.

Die Präsenz dieser Gebäude auf dem gesamten Kontinent ist durch das Klostererbe mehr als bemerkenswert und ihre Bedeutung ist offensichtlich. Daraus ergibt sich die Hauptforschungsfrage: Wie beeinflussen die Klöster die Entwicklung einer mittelgroßen Stadt? Darauf aufbauende Fragen bestimmen die Forschungsziele der Dissertation. Um die Fragen beantworten und die vorgeschlagenen Ziele erreichen zu können, wurde eine Methodik entwickelt, die die Hauptgrundlage für die Arbeit darstellt. Ihre Erstellung ist wegen der methodologischen Natur der Arbeit von großer Bedeutung, d. h. die Verwendung und Anwendung dieser Methodik steht im Vordergrund. Die Methodik, auf die die Analyse des städtischen Klostersystems einer mittelgroßen Stadt beruht, wurde in drei miteinander verknüpfte Phasen unterteilt: kontextuelle, analytische und vergleichend-propositionelle. Wichtige Rolle in diesem Prozess spielt auch die einzigartige grafische und kartografische Produktion; die der Analyse und den Ergebnissen visuellen Charakter verleiht. Um die Methodik zu überprüfen, werden zwei Regionen, in denen das Modell der mittelgroßen Stadt weit verbreitet ist und die beide einen starken klösterlichen Charakter haben, als Fallstudien auf europäischer Ebene herangezogen. Es handelt sich um Andalusien und Nordrhein-Westfalen. In diesen Regionen heben sich die Städte Écija und Aachen in Bezug auf ihre klösterliche Produktion von den anderen ab.

Die Untersuchung der ausgewählten Regionen und Städte verdeutlicht den vielschichtigen Charakter des klösterlichen Phänomens. Es umfasst nicht nur die Stadt, sondern auch das Gebiet und die europäische Ebene. Dies machte es notwendig, über die Analyse der klösterlichen Schicht hinauszugehen, um

unser Verständnis des Phänomens in seiner ganzen historischen, politischen, sozialen und urbanen Komplexität zu vertiefen. Zunächst wird der Ursprung der Klostertypologie auf kontinentaler Ebene analysiert. Danach werden die verschiedenen Ereignisse, die für das Verständnis des Auftretens der Klöster entscheidend sind und die die Entwicklung des Christentums kennzeichnen, sowie Kämpfe und Konflikte untersucht. In diesem Zusammenhang werden auch die städtische Entwicklung in Europa, seine Demografie und die Faktoren, die die Entstehung von Städten im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit beeinflussen, dargelegt. Zweitens wird der Rahmen geändert, indem zunächst die heutigen Gebiete Spaniens und Deutschlands in den Blick genommen werden, um dann in kleinerem Rahmen in den Regionen Andalusien und Nordrhein-Westfalen fortzufahren. Dieser Punkt ist ausschlaggebend, da er ein detailliertes Verständnis der territorialen, städtischen und klösterlichen Entwicklungen in diesen beiden Gebieten Europas ermöglicht. Zu diesem Zweck folgt auf eine historisch-politische Analyse des kirchlichen Gebiets eine Untersuchung der Klosterstädte. Das zuletzt Erwähnte ermittelt Parameter wie die Gesamtzahl der Gründungen oder der Ordenstypen in den beiden Gebieten.Um das Klostersystem zu verstehen, ist eine Analyse seiner Einbettung in das städtische Gefüge erforderlich. Die Klosterstädte Écija und Aachen werden einzeln untersucht, obwohl beide eine fast identische Struktur aufweisen, da für ihre Untersuchung dieselbe Methodik angewandt wird.

Der zeitliche Rahmen stellt der Beginn der Klostergründungen dar, vom 10. Jahrhundert in Aachen und dem 14. Jahrhundert in Écija, bis zu ihrer Entwicklung in der Gegenwart. Die Untersuchung der sozio-politischen Ereignisse ist mit der Stadtentwicklung und der Gründung der Klöster verbunden. Es ist wichtig, eine städtebauliche Perspektive einzunehmen, in der der klösterliche Standort und seine Beziehung zur Struktur der Stadt analysiert werden. Alle Orden in den Städten wurden identifiziert, ebenso wie die Daten ihrer Gründung und ihres Verschwindens, sowohl in ihren männlichen als auch in ihren weiblichen Zweigen. Darüber hinaus wurde eine eingehende Analyse der Merkmale aller Orden nach ihrer Gründung durchgeführt. Im 18. Jahrhundert befanden sich 25 Klöster in Aachen und 21 in Écija. Die Klostergründungen werden nach ihrer Lage in der Stadt und nach der Art des Ordens analysiert und in Männer- und Frauenorden unterteilt. Aus der Lage in der Stadt ergeben sich unterschiedliche städtebauliche Beziehungen sowie wichtige Parameter, die den Standort des Gebäudes bestimmen. Ein weiteres wichtiges Merkmal des Mönchtums ist seine gründungsbedingte Ausbreitung von einer Stadt zur anderen. In diesem Sinne werden die Auswirkungen auf andere Städte und Gründungen in der Region sowie deren Bedeutung untersucht.

Das Kloster ist eine komplexe architektonische Typologie, die aus zwei wesentlichen Teilen besteht, der Kirche und dem Kreuzgang. Erstens wird das Gebäude durch die Kirche charakterisiert. Seine städtebauliche Lage und seine Grundrisse werden anhand der Daten über die bebaute und unbebaute Fläche eingehend analysiert. Der Kreuzgang wird als freier Raum neben den Obstgärten betrachtet, der authentische städtische Leerräume mit Flächen von teilweise mehr als 4.000 m2 charakterisiert. Neben den architektonischen Elementen des Klostergebäudes sind auch seine Funktionalität und seine Nutzungsmöglichkeiten herausragend. Es ist nicht nur eine religiöse Einrichtung, sondern es bildet auch die Grundlage des Systems von Gesundheits-, Bildungs-, Sozial- und anderen Einrichtungen. Die Bedeutung und Beziehung zwischen der Stadt und dem Kloster spiegelt sich auch im Straßenverzeichnis wider. Zahlreiche Straßen- und Platznamen leiten sich von klösterlichen Räumen ab. Da Klöster und Konvente einen religiösen Charakter haben, ist es unvermeidlich, auf die städtische Beziehung durch den Ritus und die Prozession hinzuweisen.

Die politischen, sozialen und städtebaulichen Einflüsse des 19. Jahrhunderts bestimmten die Entwicklung der Stadt. Die Fortschritte der französischen Aufklärung, die großen Enteignungsprozesse, das Bevölkerungswachstum, neue städtische Ideale, das Auftauchen neuer Einrichtungen und die exponentielle Entwicklung der städtischen Kartographie veränderten das Bild der Stadt im 19. Jahrhundert völlig. In diesem Abschnitt taucht eine neue klösterliche Phase in Aachen auf, die das Wachstum der Stadt bestimmt. Die Klosterbauten waren aufgrund ihrer großen Zahl und Größe am stärksten von den städtischen Transformationsprozessen betroffen. Für die Untersuchung der Säkularisation wurden die Überreste und Fragmente der Klosterbauten lokalisiert. Auf diese Weise lassen sich die Art der Umwandlung und die Überreste des Mönchtums feststellen. Darüber hinaus ist es wichtig zu betonen, dass das Fehlen und der Bedarf an großen öffentlichen Räumen wie Plätzen oder Alleen zur Enteignung von Klöstern führt, die schließlich zu städtischen Räumen werden. Diese Art der Umwandlung in städtische Räume wurde bereits in einem anderen Abschnitt analysiert. Einer der letzten wichtigen Aspekte der städtischen Umwandlungen ist das völlige Verschwinden von Klöstern. Die Identifizierung und Verortung ehemaliger Klöster ist der Schlüssel zum Verständnis der klösterlichen Stadt in ihrer Gesamtheit.

Die städtische Klosterlandschaft wird von der historischen Ikonographie des 16. Jahrhunderts bis zu den Satellitenbildern des 21. Jahrhunderts untersucht, was eine bedeutsame grafische Unterstützung für das Verständnis der Stadt darstellt. Die Bilder aus dem 16. Jahrhundert sind die ältesten grafischen

Quellen, die einen detaillierten Überblick über die Stadt bieten. Hinzu kommt eine grafische Analyse zur Identifizierung der Klostergebäude. Diese Darstellungen zeichnen sich durch eine vollständige Ansicht der Stadt von außerhalb der Stadtmauern aus. Die Klostertypologie zeichnet sich durch ihre Türme, Türmchen und Glockengiebel aus. Diese architektonischen Elemente heben sich von der Siedlung ab und sind Teil des Stadtbildes beider Städte. Auch heute noch sind die Türme in vielen städtischen Enklaven Teil des Landschaftsbildes. Das 20. und 21. Jahrhundert stellten eine neue Phase der Stadtentwicklung dar. Im Fall von Écija konzentrierte sich die Bevölkerung auf ländliche Tätigkeiten, und die Bevölkerung wuchs bis Mitte des 20. Jahrhunderts kaum. Ein großer Teil des Mönchtums hat geschafft, die von den städtischen Umwälzungen und Enteignungen des 19. Jahrhunderts zu überleben. Seitdem wächst das Bewusstsein für die Notwendigkeit, die Klostergebäude zu schützen und zu erhalten. Ab den 1930er Jahren begann man in Écija mit dem Schutz des klösterlichen Erbes und setzte ihn 1966 im historischen Zentrum fort. Die Stadt Aachen ist von einem exponentiellen Wachstum durch Industrialisierung und Bergbau geprägt, das durch die Kriegs- und Nachkriegsjahre zwischen 1940 und 1950 unterbrochen wurde. Vor allem der Zweite Weltkrieg führte zur Zerstörung fast der gesamten Stadt, insbesondere des historischen Zentrums. So wurden auch Kirchen und Klöster zerstört oder schwer beschädigt. Aufgrund ihres Wertes und ihrer Bedeutung wurden sie wiederaufgebaut, so dass diese Typologie auch heute noch erkennbar ist. Ab den 1960er und 1970er Jahren begann ein intensiver Prozess zum Schutz des Klostererbes. Das Stadtzentrum wurde jedoch erst 2011 unter Schutz gestellt.

Der Vergleich zwischen den beiden ausgewählten Fallstudien ist für das Verständnis der städtischen Klosterentwicklung als europäisches Phänomen entscheidend. Ausgehend vom räumlichen Maßstab Andalusiens und Nordrhein-Westfalens können Gemeinsamkeiten und Unterschiede zwischen territorialen Klostersystemen diskutiert werden. Dank der angewandten Methodik wird nach der Entwicklung der Fallbeispiele von Aachen und Écija die erstellte Karten miteinander verglichen. Der Hauptunterschied besteht darin, dass die beiden Städte im 20. Jahrhundert in Bezug auf Größe und Bevölkerung unterschiedlich waren. Während sich das industrialisierte Aachen weiterentwickelt, ist Écija eingekapselt und bleibt mit geringem Wachstum bestehen. Anschließend werden die grafischen und numerischen Ergebnisse der Gründungen in den beiden Städten miteinander verglichen. Die wichtigste Tatsache ist, dass die Anzahl der Klostergebäude mit einer Klosterfläche von 0,82 und 1,01 km2 recht ähnlich ist. Der Vergleich wird sowohl in Bezug auf die Grundrisse der Gebäude als auch in Bezug auf die Flächen und Nutzungen, die die religiöse Nutzung

ergänzen, vertieft. Der vierte Punkt zeigt die städtebaulichen Veränderungen der Klöster in den beiden Städten. Auch hier werden Daten über Flächen und Dichten sowie über die Art der städtischen Umgestaltung verglichen. Wir ziehen einen Vergleich zwischen dem Stadtbild aus dem 16. Jahrhundert und der Gegenwart. Schließlich wurde für den heutigen Zustand von Écija und Aachen eine Gesamtzahl von 15 Klostergebäuden im Jahr 2023 in den beiden Städten ermittelt. Andererseits ist die derzeitige Nutzung sehr unterschiedlich, wobei sie in der deutschen Stadt vielfältiger ist. Was den Denkmalschutz angeht, so sind zwar alle Klöster geschützt, doch wurden erhebliche Unterschiede in den Vorschriften festgestellt. Die Einteilung in nur drei Denkmalkategorien in Nordrhein-Westfalen steht im Gegensatz zu einer großen Vielfalt von Denkmalen in den spanischen und andalusischen Gesetzen.

Die Schlussfolgerungen sind in fünf Abschnitte gegliedert. Der erste Teil bezieht sich sowohl auf den Kontext als auch auf die als Fallstudien herangezogenen Städte Écija und Aachen. Eine der wichtigsten Schlussfolgerungen ist die Ähnlichkeit der klösterlichen Entwicklung in den beiden Fallstudien. Trotz ihrer geografischen Lage und ihres historischen Kontextes weisen beide einen sehr ähnlichen Verlauf und Prozesse der Gründung, Umwandlung und Beschlagnahme auf. Der dritte Abschnitt schließt die Arbeit ab, indem er auf das erste Einführungskapitel zurückkommt. In diesem Kapitel werden die Forschungsfragen beantwortet, es wird überprüft, ob die gesetzten Ziele erreicht wurden und ob sich die verwendete Methodik als angemessen erwiesen hat. In einem vierten Punkt werden die Beiträge und Auswirkungen dieser Forschung projiziert. Diese beziehen sich sowohl auf den städtebaulichen als auch auf den wissenschaftlichen Bereich. Sowohl für Écija als auch für Aachen stellen sie eine neue Wissensbasis dar, die es uns ermöglicht, die Stadt sowohl aus der Vergangenheit als auch aus der Zukunft zu kennen und zu erforschen. Die neuen städtebaulichen Planungen können sich an vielen der in der Klosterstudie dargelegten Eckpunkte orientieren, die für den Aufbau der Stadt entscheidend sind. Ein abschließender Abschnitt zeigt mögliche zukünftige Forschungslinien auf, die sich aus den in der Dissertation vorgestellten Arbeiten ergeben. Darin wird eine Ausweitung auf andere Länder oder Regionen vorgeschlagen, um die monastische Einpflanzung in Europa weiter zu bestätigen. Darüber hinaus wird ein Ansatz vorgeschlagen, der das Klostersystem auf territorialer Ebene und auf der Ebene des UNESCO-Weltkulturerbes betrachtet, wobei andere Komponenten wie Kultur und Tourismus hervorgehoben werden. Schließlich wird die Eignung des städtischen Klostersystems für die Raum- und Stadtplanung hervorgehoben, die sich in der Stadtplanung und in Vorschlägen für eine nachhaltige Stadtentwicklung niederschlägt.

RESUMEN EXTENDIDO

En Europa, las ciudades medias han formado uno de los mayores escenarios en la producción de la tipología monástica. Este modelo urbano unido al desarrollo del monacato ha generado una identidad común en el continente que persiste hasta la actualidad. El papel desarrollado por los conventos es determinante para la construcción de la ciudad medieval y moderna. Estos edificios se insertan en la trama urbana, cambiándola y modificándola a través de tres etapas fundamentales: implantación, desamortización y transformación urbana. La primera tiene lugar en el inicio de las órdenes mendicantes en el siglo XIII, primeras en establecer fundación dentro de ciudades. La segunda comienza con el avance napoleónico en el siglo XIX, donde prácticamente la totalidad del patrimonio monástico es secularizado. Finalmente, esto produce transformaciones en la trama urbana coincidiendo con los nuevos avances y modernizaciones en la ciudad en el siglo XX. La tipología conventual se posiciona como pieza clave en el desarrollo urbano, conformando un nuevo panorama en la vida política, social y urbana.

La presencia de estos edificios por todo el continente es más que notable a través del patrimonio monástico. Su importancia es evidente. Esto nos lleva a plantear la pregunta principal de la investigación sobre ¿cómo influyeron los conventos en el desarrollo urbano de las ciudades medias europeas? A partir de esta pregunta aparecen otras sucesivas generando los objetivos de la investigación. Para poder dar respuesta a las preguntas y alcanzar los objetivos propuestos, se ha elaborado una metodología como base principal para el trabajo. De hecho, su creación adquiere una elevada relevancia ya que el trabajo es eminentemente metodológico, es decir, el uso y aplicación de esta metodología es lo que prevalece. La metodología ha sido divida en tres fases interrelacionadas entre sí, fase contextual-documental, analítica y comparativo-propositiva. A través de estas se realiza el análisis del sistema monástico urbano de una ciudad media. En este proceso es de elevada importancia la producción gráfica y de cartografía inéditas realizadas. Se proporciona un carácter más visual a la investigación en todos los procesos de análisis y resultados. Para poder verificar la metodología, se toman como casos de estudio a nivel europeo dos regiones en las que el modelo de ciudad media se encuentre ampliamente presente y ambas posean un fuerte carácter monástico. Estas son Andalucía y Renania del Norte-Westfalia. En ellas, las ciudades de Écija y Aquisgrán destacan en su producción monástica frente al resto, eligiéndose estas dos para poder construir una comparativa a nivel europeo.

El estudio de las regiones y ciudades seleccionadas pone de manifiesto el carácter multiescalar del fenómeno monástico, abarcando no solo la ciudad sino también el territorio y la escala europea. Carácter que ha exigido ir más allá del estudio

de la capa monástica para profundizar en la comprensión del fenómeno en toda su complejidad histórica, política, social y urbana. En primer lugar, es analizado el origen de la tipología monástica desde la escala continental Además se comprenden los diferentes acontecimientos que marcan el desarrollo del cristianismo, así como luchas y conflictos, claves para comprender la aparición de monasterios. En este contexto se enuncia también el desarrollo urbano en Europa, su demografía y los condicionantes que generan ciudad durante la Edad Media y Moderna. En segundo lugar, se cambia la escala poniéndose el foco primero en los contextos de los territorios actuales de España y Alemania, para continuar a una menor escala en las regiones de Andalucía y Renania del Norte-Westfalia. Este punto es determinante ya que permite comprender de manera pormenorizada los desarrollos territoriales, urbanos y monásticos en estas dos áreas de Europa. Para ello, un análisis histórico-político y del territorio eclesiástico, es seguido del estudio de las ciudades monásticas. Este último establece parámetros como número total de fundaciones o tipos de órdenes religiosas en las dos geografías.

Comprender el sistema monástico en la ciudad requiere un análisis de su implantación en la trama urbana. El estudio de las ciudades monásticas de Écija y Aquisgrán se realiza individualmente, aunque las dos tienen una estructura prácticamente idéntica al ser aplicada la misma metodología para su estudio. Como marco temporal se toma el inicio de las fundaciones monásticas, siglo X en Aquisgrán y XIV en Écija, hasta su desarrollo en la actualidad. El estudio de los acontecimientos socio-políticos está unido al desarrollo urbanístico y la implantación conventual. Es importante una mirada urbana donde se analice el emplazamiento monástico y su relación con la estructura de la ciudad. Se han identificado todas las órdenes de las ciudades, sus fechas de implantación y desaparición, tanto en sus ramas masculinas y femeninas. Además, se ha realizado un análisis en profundidad de las características según la implantación de todas las órdenes. En el siglo XVIII, en Aquisgrán se han localizado 25 fundaciones y 21 en Écija. Se analiza en profundidad las fundaciones monásticas según su implantación en la ciudad y el tipo de orden religiosa, dividiéndose entre masculinas y femeninas. La situación en la ciudad establece diferentes relaciones urbanas, así como los parámetros importantes que determinan la posición del edificio. Otra de las características importantes del monacato es su expansión fundacional de unas ciudades a otras. En este sentido, es estudiado el impacto en otras ciudades y fundaciones de la región, así como su importancia.

El convento es una tipología arquitectónica compleja compuesta por dos partes esenciales, la iglesia y el claustro. En primer lugar,

el edificio está caracterizado por el templo. Su posición urbana y plantas son analizadas detalladamente tomando los datos de superficie construida y no construida. El claustro es tomado como espacio libre junto a las huertas, caracterizando auténticos vacíos urbanos con superficies mayores a 4.000 m2 en algunos casos. Además de los elementos arquitectónicos propios del edificio monástico, su funcionalidad y usos son destacados. No es solo un equipamiento religioso, sino que constituye la base del sistema de equipamientos sanitarios, educativos, sociales, etc. La importancia y relación entre la ciudad y monasterio se traslada también al callejero. Numerosos nombres de calles y plazas derivan de los espacios monásticos. Al tener los conventos una esencia religiosa, es ineludible referenciar la relación urbana a través del rito y la procesión.

Las influencias político-sociales y urbanas del siglo XIX determinaron el desarrollo de la ciudad. Los avances de la Ilustración francesa, los grandes procesos desamortizadores, los crecimientos demográficos, los nuevos ideales urbanísticos, la aparición de nuevos equipamientos y el desarrollo exponencial de la cartografía urbana cambian por completo la imagen de la ciudad decimonónica. En este apartado, en Aquisgrán aparece una nueva fase monástica que determina el crecimiento de la ciudad. Las edificaciones monásticas, debido a su elevado número y sus grandes dimensiones de parcela fueron las más afectadas en los procesos de transformación urbana. Para el estudio de la secularización se han localizado las persistencias y fragmentos de los edificios monásticos. Esto permite conocer el tipo de transformación y los restos del monacato. Además, es importante señalar que la ausencia y necesidad de grandes espacios públicos como plazas o avenidas genera la expropiación de monasterios que acaban convirtiéndose en espacios urbanos. Este tipo de transformación a espacios urbanos se ha analizado en un punto diferente. Uno de los últimos aspectos más relevantes de las transformaciones urbanas es la desaparición total de conventos. La identificación y localización de antiguos conventos resulta clave para comprender la totalidad de la ciudad monástica.

El paisaje monástico urbano es estudiado desde la iconografía histórica del siglo 16 hasta las imágenes satelitales del siglo 21. Este supone un soporte gráfico de gran relevancia para comprender la ciudad. Las del siglo 16 son las fuentes gráficas más antiguas, ofreciendo una visión detallada de la urbe. A ello se le suma un análisis gráfico de identificación de los edificios monásticos. Dichas representaciones están caracterizadas por una visión completa de la ciudad desde el exterior de sus murallas. En ella se distingue la tipología monástica por sus torres, agujas y espadañas. Estos elementos arquitectónicos sobresalen del caserío urbano construyendo y protagonizando

parte del paisaje urbano de ambas ciudades. En la actualidad aún puede verse cómo las torres aún constituyen parte del paisaje de muchos enclaves urbanos.

Los siglos XX y XXI representan una nueva etapa para el desarrollo urbano. En el caso de Écija la población se centra en la actividad rural y su población apenas crece hasta mediados del siglo XX. Una gran parte del monacato ha logrado sobrevivir a los acontecimientos marcados por las transformaciones urbanas y desamortizaciones del siglo XIX. A partir de entonces, la conciencia patrimonial para la protección y conservación de los edificios monásticos es cada vez mayor. A partir de los años 30 del siglo XX en Écija comienzan la protección del patrimonio monástico, continuada por su centro histórico en 1966. La ciudad de Aquisgrán está marcada por un crecimiento exponencial gracias a la industrialización y la actividad minera, interrumpido por los años de la guerra y posguerra entre 1940 y 1950. Concretamente, la Segunda Guerra Mundial ocasionó la destrucción de prácticamente toda la ciudad, especialmente su centro histórico. Así, iglesias, conventos y monasterios son destruidos o gravemente dañados. Debido a su valor e importancia estos son reconstruidos, permitiendo que aún hoy pueda identificarse esta tipología. A partir de los 60 y 70 se inicia un intenso proceso de protección patrimonial monástica. Sin embargo, hasta el año 2011 no se produce la protección del centro urbano.

Para la comprensión del desarrollo monástico urbano como un fenómeno europeo es determinante la comparativa entre los dos casos de estudio seleccionados. Desde la escala territorial de Andalucía y Renania del Norte-Westfalia, pueden comentarse similitudes y diferencias de los sistemas monásticos territoriales. Gracias a la metodología empleada, una vez desarrollados los casos de Aquisgrán y Écija, se compara la cartografía producida entre sí. La principal diferencia se pone de manifiesto en la divergencia que presentan las dos ciudades en el siglo XX en tamaño y población. Mientras que Aquisgrán se industrializa y evoluciona, Écija se encapsula y se mantiene con escasos crecimientos. Posteriormente se comparan los resultados gráficos y numéricos de las fundaciones en las dos ciudades. El dato más relevante es que el número de edificios conventuales es bastante similar, contabilizándose una superficie conventual de 0,82 y 1,01 km2. Se profundiza en la comparativa tanto en las plantas de los edificios, como en superficies y usos complementarios al religioso. El cuarto punto muestra las transformaciones urbanas de los conventos en las dos ciudades. Nuevamente son comparados datos de superficies y densidades, así como tipos de transformación urbana. La comparativa del paisaje urbano se hace desde el siglo XVI hasta la actualidad. Finalmente, en el estado actual de Écija y Aquisgrán, se ha contabilizado un

número total de edificios monásticos en 2023 de 15 en las dos ciudades. Por otro lado, los usos en la actualidad difieren mucho en un caso y otro, siendo más diverso en la ciudad alemana. Respecto a la protección patrimonial, aunque todos los conventos se encuentran protegidos, se ha detectado notables diferencias en la normativa. Una división en solo tres categorías patrimoniales en Renania del Norte-Westfalia contrasta con una extensa diversidad de figuras patrimoniales en las leyes española y andaluza.

Las conclusiones han sido estructuradas en cinco apartados. En primer lugar, se comienza con el contexto, así como con las ciudades tomadas como casos de estudio, Écija y Aquisgrán. Posteriormente, se encuentra la discusión de los resultados, obtenidos a partir de la comparativa entre las dos ciudades. Una de las principales conclusiones es la semejanza del desarrollo monástico entre los dos casos de estudio. A pesar de su situación geográfica y contexto, ambas tienen una trayectoria y procesos de fundación, transformación y desamortización muy similares.

En el tercer apartado se cierra la tesis retornando al primer capítulo de introducción. En este son respondidas las preguntas de la investigación planteadas, comprobados si los objetivos enunciados han sido alcanzados y si la metodología empleada ha resultado ser la adecuada. Esta última demuestra durante el desarrollo de la investigación su idoneidad y potencial tanto para estos casos de estudio, como su posible extensión a otras ciudades. Se plantea un cuarto punto donde se proyectan las contribuciones e impacto de esta investigación. Estas son relativas tanto al campo urbanístico como al ámbito científico. Tanto para Écija como Aquisgrán constituyen una nueva base de conocimiento que permite conocer y trabajar en la ciudad tanto desde el pasado como en su futuro. Los nuevos planes urbanísticos pueden tomar como referencia muchas de las claves enunciadas en el estudio monástico, determinantes para la construcción de la ciudad. Un último apartado señala posibles líneas futuras de investigación derivadas a partir del trabajo presentado en la tesis doctoral. En estas se plantea una extensión a otros países o regiones en las que continuar verificando la implantación monástica en Europa. Además, se plantea un acercamiento desde la escala territorial y de Patrimonio Mundial de la Unesco del sistema monástico en los que otras componentes como la cultural o la turística se ponen de manifiesto. Finalmente, se propone un avance en la idoneidad del sistema monástico urbano para la planificación territorial y urbana, materializado en planeamiento urbanístico y propuestas de desarrollo urbano sostenible.

1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 PREVIOUS

Monastic foundations constitute one of the most important episodes of religious and urban life of Europe from the Middle Ages to the present day. The Church used monastic establishment on the continent as a tool for Christian evangelisation and to ensure greater control of power. It was also an exercise to establish its sovereignty in both political and cultural terms (Krüger, 2007). As a result of the Christian policy, a large number of religious buildings were created, including cathedrals, churches, monasteries and convents. The two latter are the most interesting due to their typological characteristics, their large number in the city and their enormous influence on urban life. The religious orders that inhabit them can be divided into two groupings, according to their rural or urban nature. While the first refers to the isolated monasteries scattered throughout the territory, unconnected to the outside world, the second are those associated with the mendicant orders. The latter tried to solve the new problems of society by moving the monastery to the city. In fact, the map of Franciscan and Dominican foundations at the beginning of the 14th century is the urban map of Europe (Le Goff, 1982). These foundations began in the 13th century and one of their main characteristics was community life linked to the urban world.

Between the 13th and 18th centuries there are different stages of expansion and foundation of the mendicant orders, extending in some cases until the 19th and 20th centuries. However, the period of greatest monastic boom was the 18th century, when cities had an authentic system of monastic buildings. These were inserted into the urban fabric and provided a counterweight to civil architecture such as hospitals and town halls (Mitre Fernández, 2010). From the 19th century onwards, confiscations were a common denominator throughout the continent. These processes led to the loss of a large part of the monastic heritage. Many ecclesiastical buildings were expropriated and demolished, partially or totally, in order to generate urban changes such as the opening of squares, streets, new buildings, new uses, etc. Their disappearance was not at all, but is still perceptible in the modern city of the 21st century. In this new period, processes of protection and conservation of heritage, especially monastic heritage, took place. This marks the beginning of the protection of monastic architecture as cultural heritage.

The doctoral thesis has not been begun from scratch, but there is a background of publications on the proposed research. Previous work has been carried out on the subject of study, the monasticism and its urban relationship, its territorial component, as well as complementary studies. In this sense, two Master Theses have been essential to generate this research. The first one deals with the study of the monastic system in a city as a

Figure 1. Cover page of the Master Thesis in the Master's degree in heritage. Author, 2018.

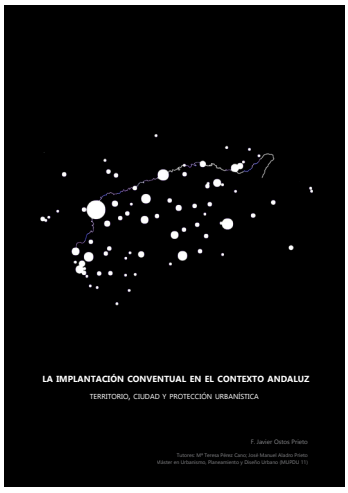


Figure 2. Cover page of the Master Thesis in the Master's degree in urban planning. Author, 2020.

case study, Écija[1] (Figure 1). The work is entitled *La estructura conventual en Écija. Génesis, influencias, transformaciones y continuidades en ciudades medias*[2] (Ostos Prieto, 2018). This city is a relevant example and there had been no deep studies of its urban monastic system. The second Master Thesis delves into the multi scalar territorial component of monasticism. For this purpose, the region of Andalusia (Figure 2) is taken as a case study, where the case study of Écija is located. In this territory, the research entitled *La implantación conventual en el contexto andaluz. Territorio, ciudad y protección urbanística*[3] (Ostos Prieto, 2020). It takes an approach to Andalusian monastic development, analysing different territorial, political and even social layers that work together with urban and territorial planning.

On the other hand, contributions have been made to international congresses following this line of research. An example of this are some conferences given by Ostos Prieto entitled: *From Asis to Europe. Territorial-urban development of the Franciscan order* (2023), *Urban development of the European monastic city through the conventual system in Aachen* (2022) or *Monastic heritage protection through the urban planning use as a tool of tutelage and conservation. Écija as a monastic city in Andalusia* (2018). These constitute some outstanding research projects in which the study of monasticism from an urban perspective is manifested. Therefore, there are notable advances that generate partial results of the doctoral thesis. Finally, it is worth mentioning the generation of scientific articles that have been decisive for the reading of the monastic layer of the city of Écija. For this reason, the article *Manuel Spínola'splan for the urban configuration of Écija in 1826* in the journal *Architecture, City and Environment*[4] (Ostos Prieto, Aladro Prieto & Pérez Cano, 2022) is relevant. This analyses the first urban plan of the city where all the monastic buildings can be seen. It has also generated interesting results for the understanding of the city development, with a better comprehension of its urban fabric and urban transformation processes.

The role played by monasteries and convents is a determining factor in the construction of the medieval city and the modern European city. For this reason, the title of the doctoral thesis is *The monastic system as builder of European medium-sized*

1 This city is located in the south of Spain, between the cities of Seville and Cordoba. A detailed description of its location is given below.

2 Carried out in 2018 as Master Thesis of the Master's Degree in Architecture and Historical Heritage of the University of Seville. Supervisors: María Teresa Pérez Cano & José Manuel Aladro Prieto.

3 Carried out in 2020 as Master Thesis of the Master in Urbanism, Planning and Urban Design of the University of Seville. Supervisors: María Teresa Pérez Cano & José Manuel Aladro Prieto.

4 Journal with SJR Q2 indexing index, 0.27. Data obtained from https://www.scimagojr.com/journalsearch.php?q=19900192151&tip=sid&clean=0 (15/05/2023).

cities. This brings together the object of study, which allows an understanding of the monastic system in the urban fabric. Meanwhile, the subtitle entitled *Genesis, exchanges, transformations and heritage* refers to the four main stages of the monastic process. The first, the foundation phase, takes place at the beginning of mendicant monasticism around the 13th and 14th centuries. From an initial urban establishment, the orders spread rapidly throughout Europe. Their movement from different geographical locations generated exchanges of thoughts, cultures and ideas that would impact both the development of cities and their inhabitants. Influences came from present-day regions such as Italy, France and Germany at a time when communications were not as fast and immediate as they are today. In this sense, there is a high importance and relevance to the flow and foundations between the place of origin of an order and other cities.

The proposed research approaches monasticism through the urban system of the monasteries and convents in the cities themselves. This approach is not trivial, since in the 17th century the importance of a city was considered to be marked by its monastic buildings (Braunfels, 1974). Thinking about monasticism and Christianity can generate a direct relationship with issues linked to religion or faith. However, in this research such topics have not been considered, as the approach is based on the architectural and urban components caused by monasteries in the city. The cities of Écija in Spain and Aachen in Germany have been selected as case studies for the research[5] (Figure 3). The scope of the thesis is presented from the perspective of the medium-sized city, which has generated an important system in the territory. The main focus is on the relationship between monastic buildings and the city.

At present, the monastic structure from an urban point of view has not been enough studied. Few studies highlight the importance of the monastery in cities, while other more artistic and architectural points of view have been taken into account. Most of the studies that have been carried out deal with the monastery in a singular way, sometimes as a whole, dealing with questions related to its architectural style, its history or its movable assets. Therefore, the point of view proposed in this research sets out new areas of study such as the city and the territory. Monastic buildings in the city are analysed, as well as the relationships between them within the urban area. When constructing these buildings monastic cities, it is also important to consider the territorial dimension. Their characteristics in the territory will be relevant to understand the processes not only on the regional scene, but also on the European continental scale.

5 The selection of the case studies is explained in section 1.4.

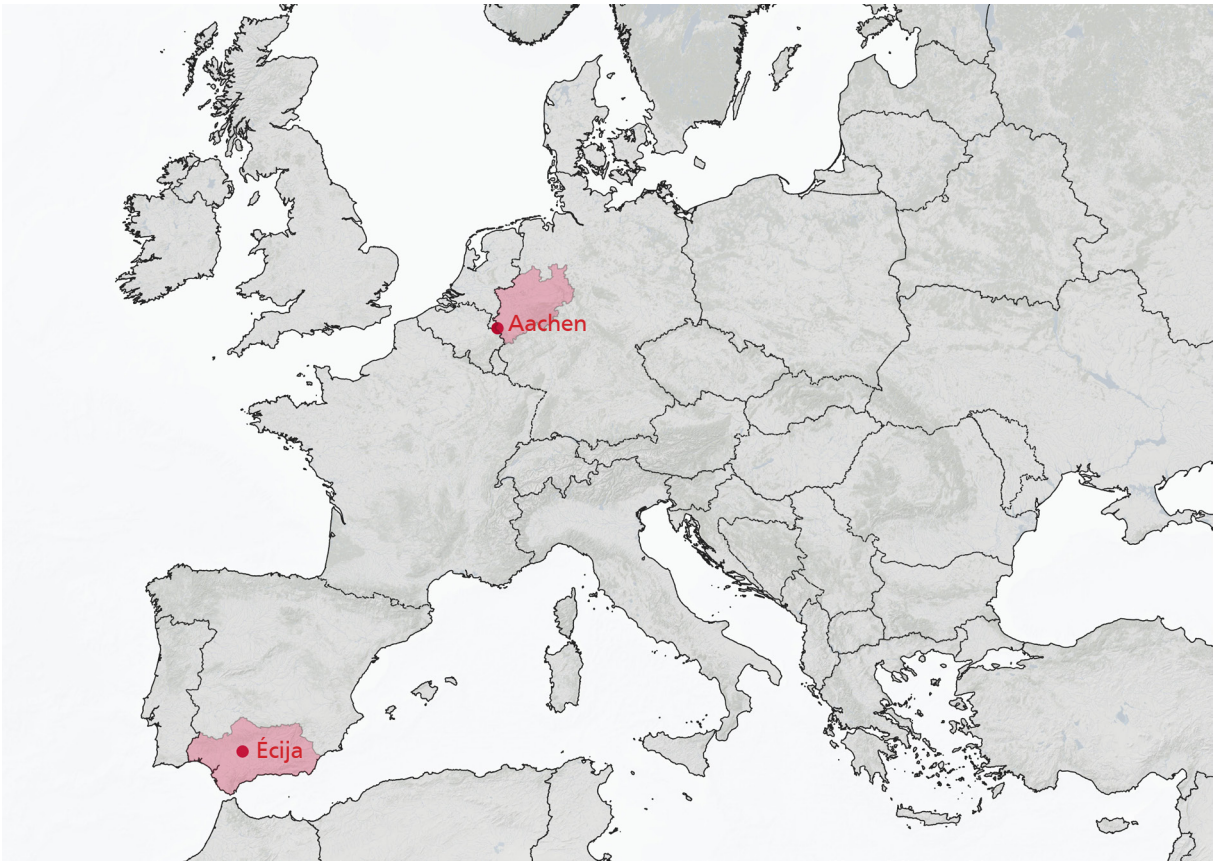


Figure 3. Location of Andalusia and Écija and North Rhine-Westphalia and Aachen in Europe in the 21st Century. Own elaboration.

1.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The proposed research requires the establishment of questions that establish the basis for the objectives and methodology to be used on the proposed topic. In order to do this, a general question that encompasses the doctoral thesis is used as a starting point, followed by others on a second level that address specific sections of the work. In fact, this question acquires great relevance as it is the first one which has generated the beginning of this research:

> How did the convents and monasteries influence the urban development of the European medium-sized city?

From the first question formulated, others begin to appear that will gradually build up the structure of the work. These approach the research to the different scales of monasticism, focusing especially on the urban scale and the European territory. During the development of the doctoral thesis, the questions set out here will be answered progressively. In this sense, the specific questions are structured in four blocks. The first deals with the territorial scale, the second with metho-

dology, the third with urban monastic development, and the fourth with questions about monasticism today.

The first group focuses mainly on the urban monastic development that began during the Middle Ages, especially in the Christian territory of Europe. Thus,

Can monasticism be considered as a homogeneous European urban phenomenon?

Does monastic heritage have a significant identity in the medium-sized European city today?

Is it possible to say that there are monastic cities in Europe defined by the historical significance that the development of the monastic system achieved in them during the Middle and Modern Ages?

The existence of monasteries in cities raises new questions,

It is possible to develop a methodology for analysing the monastic system for the medium-sized European city?

Do monasteries and convents in cities in different parts of Europe operate in the same way?

Do they have the same characteristics in the urban context?

Focusing on the urban scale, the third grouping sets out other questions.

What is the impact of monastic buildings on the construction of the medium-sized city?

What is the importance of the monastic urban landscape for the city?

What has been the evolution and development of these buildings in the city since the 13th century to the present day?

How did the monasteries begin their foundations in the city?

Finally, in a last group, questions are asked about the contemporaneity and current relevance of monasteries and convents. In the past monastic life was an important fact, but monastic buildings and the number of orders have decreased considerably. Apart from the religious one,

What other uses do these buildings have in the city today?

How valid is the religious condition that led to the construction of the monastic system today?

At the same time, the urban monastic heritage is still perceptible in the cities,

What is the heritage dimension of the remains of the inherited monastic system for the society and the city of the 21st century?

How is this heritage managed in the city? How is it protected and preserved?

What are the possibilities for a new use?

1.3 OBJECTIVES

The elaboration of the doctoral thesis is supported by the definition of the objectives. These set the focus of the urban monastic system along the work. The research questions asked in point 1.2 are essential for the construction of the objectives. These will try to mark the answers that will follow in the development of the thesis.

Therefore, in the definition of objectives, two groups should be highlighted. Main objectives and specific objectives. The four main objectives of the thesis are generated from the main research question. These focus on general areas ranging from determining the significance of the monastic system to generating a methodology for analysis. Afterwards, the specific objectives are built on specific sections, which will be reached chapter by chapter.

The main objectives are:

Determining the importance and transcendence of the monastic system and its suppression in the definition of the urban structures within the medium-sized city from 13th to 21st century. Studying what processes have been decisive in the generation of this system of monasteries and convents. Furthermore, it is important to see which situations and transformations have arisen as a result of their suppression on the urban scale.

Obtaining the tools and bases for the urban analysis of the monastic city. Establishing which resources and elements are the most suitable for carrying out research into the urban monastic system.

Generating a methodology for the analysis of the urban convent system that can be extended to other cases of medium-sized cities and applicable to the study of new cases. Developing this methodology in two case studies and corroborating its effectiveness, as well as the possibility of transferring it to any example of a medium-sized city on the continent.

Establishing relations and comparisons between medium-sized monastic cities on a European scale in order to understand the monastic phenomenon on an international scale. Analysing monastic development in two case studies in order to verify similarities or differences in their European context.

The specific objectives are:

Determining and establishing two case studies of European medium-sized cities that are similar to each other. A comparison between the two allows to establish whether monastic development is an isolated or a common phenomenon.

Deepening the analysis of a case study of an Andalusian monastic city, once identified by the potential of its historical monastic structure.

Deepening the analysis of a case study of a monastic town in North Rhine-Westphalia, once identified by the potential of its historical monastic structure.

Developing a basis of the Iberian and Germanic monastic context, taking the regions of Andalusia and North Rhine-Westphalia, respectively. Taking these areas and territories is based on the position of the selected case studies. It is important to have a territorial view of the city and not to take it only as an isolated element.

Identifying and analysing urban developments generated from monastic implantation and urban evolutions. Understanding the urban context through the historical layers from the construction of the city from the 13th century to the present day.

Researching and analysing the implantation of the monastery in the urban system and its chronology. Identifying how the different orders establish foundation and establishment strategies in the urban fabric. Studying how these buildings are used within the urban system and the relevance of their situation in the city throughout its transformation processes.

Determining the urban transformations and repercussions that may have been caused by the buildings of the monastic system in the contemporary city.confiscations, departure of orders,

political and social contexts are factors that define a before and after in the construction of the monastic city.

Claiming the importance of the monastic system as a cultural heritage that defines the construction and identity of the city (Figure 4). Its recognition is undoubtedly decisive for understanding the historical, current and future urban development of the medium-sized city.

Comparing the heritage legislation in each case study with the urban planning. Detecting its impact on the urban fabric today in relation to the monastic system, analysing both cities in a comparative cross comparison, as they are case studies with different contexts.

Analysing the levels of protection of monastic heritage through urban planning tools. Both the heritage law and urban plans protect monastic buildings. It is essential to observe the degree of protection, the current state of conservation and its implications.

Figure 4. Hieronymites monks. Monastery of San Isidoro del Campo, Santiponce (Spain). Author, 2021.

1.4 METHODOLOGY AND CASE STUDY SELECTION

In this research, the methodological approaches, as well as defining the set of procedures and tools used throughout the research, have become one of the fundamental keys on which the results of this work are based. The research questions have generated several objectives that determine the importance of the elaboration of a methodology which builds the body of the thesis. In fact, this research is a mainly methodological study where, starting from the method, it is verified through the case studies. A case study may not be enough to verify the methodology. Thus, at least two cities on an international scale have to be taken for two purposes. The first is to test the suitability of the methodology as a study tool for the analysis of the monastic system in a medium-sized city in different contexts. Secondly, a comparison between two cities with similar characteristics to verify the methodology and establish new relationships between urban monastic systems on a continental scale.

Another important aspect of the methodology is the use of graphic material. Not only using images, planimetry or reference photographs, but also creating plans and cartographies showing the research process. Graphical tools have been used as a method of identification, analysis and also representation of results. Three different moments in the work. In fact, these have an objectual, urban, territorial and even comparative component. This is a doctoral thesis with a strong graphic component, which is essential for the understanding of the field of study, the city. From the urban and architectural point of view, drawing is a fundamental tool that transmits the information expressed together with the text. Therefore, each of the methodological phases proposed requires its consequent graphic representation, which can be seen in the development of the work. At the same time, a large number of tables are also used as a graphic and textual support element for the study. As with the cartographic material, many of the tables have been decisive in establishing the results and conclusions of the doctoral thesis.

In relation to monastic terminology and specific vocabulary for the work, a glossary of terms has been compiled. This includes words specific to the monastic field, but also to urban planning, history and architecture. In addition, due to the international work of the thesis in two countries with different languages, words in the original language, whose terms cannot be translated or are hardly similar to an English word, have been included. One of the most relevant issues in this glossary is the use of the terms 'monastery' and 'convent' in English, compared to the Spanish terminology of *monasterio* and *convento*, or the German terminology of *Abtei* and *Kloster*. Although they

may seem synonymous, they are not, since according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, 'monastery' are male[6] buildings and 'convent' are female[7] buildings . This contrasts with the German and Spanish terms which can be considered synonyms, referring to the position of the building, isolated in a rural or urban environment.

The methodology is structured in three phases: Phase 1-Contextual-documentary, Phase 2-Analytical and Phase 3-Comparative-Propositive. Although this is also the order of work, this does not mean that each phase is static. In fact, it is a process of constant revision from one phase to the next, following a feedback process. After a comparative-propositive framework has been established, there may be a need for a check or continuity of research on the theoretical frame. Thus, between each of the phases, there is a constant revision and addition of new material. These are described below. Phase 1 mainly constitutes the construction of the research base. In this stage, the search for information, data and materials that build the basis of the study is carried out. In phase 2, the information from the previous part is taken, analysed, processed and worked on to generate the future results in phase 3. In the latter, the findings are described, from which the conclusions of the research are obtained. This whole process is detailed below:

Phase 1 | Contextual-documentary

1.1 Creation of a theoretical basis for a further study of the foundations of monasticism. Information, data and cartography have been sought to show the urban structure of monasticism in Europe on both a territorial and urban scale. Examples of cities where monastic buildings are studied have also been located. In this sense, the sources detailed in point 1.5 State of the Art are of particular relevance.

1.2 Selection of city case studies with similar urban characteristics which constitute examples of an international European character. A survey of the number of monastic buildings and size of populations to allow for further comparisons. By using one case in Spain and one in Germany, the work site has been divided between two universities. On the one hand, the University of Seville, and on the other hand, the University of Aachen. This selection is justified below.

6 Retrieved from: https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/monastery?q=monastery (31/05/2023)

7 Retrieved from: https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/convent?q=convent (31/05/2023)

1.3 A research of documentary sources, bibliography, planimetry, etc. on the urban monastic system of the selected case studies. For this purpose, digital consultation through the network of documentary collections, archives, libraries, etc. is essential, as well as a personal visit. Because most of the documentation is not digitised and needs to be consulted in person. For Écija and Aachen, the following places, among others, have been visited: Archivo Municipal de Écija, Archivo de la Parroquia de Santa María y Santa Bárbara, Library of Écija, Library of the University of Seville, Library of RWTH Aachen University, Stadtarchiv Aachen, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen and LVR-Amt für Denkmalpflege im Rheinland, historisches Archiv. The Landesarchiv NRW, Portal de Archivos Españoles, Biblioteca Digital de la Real Academia de la Historia, Biblioteca Digital Hispánica, Bibliothèque Nationale de France-Gallica or British Museum Archiv have also been consulted digitally[8].

1.4 Multiscale monastic framing of each case study. Both the territorial and urban scale must be considered, as they offer different visions. When they are used together, they provide the necessary keys to recognise the monastic importance of a city. For this purpose, it has been essential to search for aerial and satellite images. Some of the sources have been[9]: Fototeca digital, Mapea-sigc, Portal Rediam, Geodatenportal Stadt Aachen, TIM-online, Geoportal NRW o Regioplaner.

1.5 Identification and study of the legislation and regulations in each context. As these are case studies with international European significance, the legal documents are different from each other. In the case of Écija, the national law *Ley del Patrimonio Histórico Español 16/1985* and the regional law *Ley del Patrimonio Histórico Andaluz 14/2007* are applied. In Aachen, the *Gesetz zum Schutz und zur Pflege der Denkmäler im Lande Nordrhein-Westfalen* (DSchG) of 11 March 1980 (Figure 5). Its study allows a deeper understanding of the heritage reality of each city, allowing later a possible comparison between the two models.

1.6 Identification of urban planning documents such as urban plans or special protection plans that have an impact on monastic heritage. In fact, in addition to the heritage laws, as

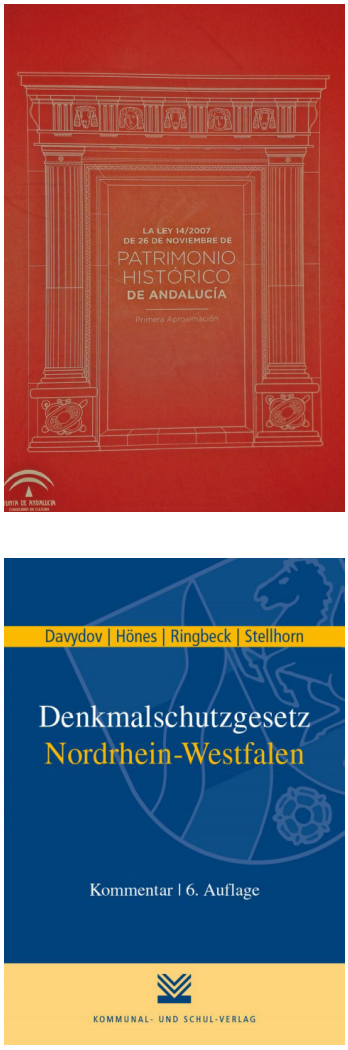


Figure 5. Cover page of the heritage law in Andalusia (top) and North Rhine-Westphalia (down).

8 Retrieved from: Landesarchiv NRW (https://www.archive.nrw.de), Portal de Archivos Españoles (https://pares.culturaydeporte.gob.es), Biblioteca Digital de la Real Academia de la Historia (https://bibliotecadigital.rah.es), Biblioteca Digital Hispánica (https://www.bne.es), Bibliothèque Nationale de France-Gallica (https://gallica.bnf.fr) o British Museum Archiv (https://www.britishmuseum.org/) (31/05/2023).

9 Retrieved from: Fototeca digital (https://fototeca.cnig.es/fototeca/), Mapea-sigc (http://mapea-sigc.juntadeandalucia.es/), Portal Rediam (https://portalrediam.cica.es/comparaWMS/index.html) Geodatenportal Stadt Aachen (https://geoportal.aachen.de/), TIM-online (https://www.tim-online.nrw.de/tim-online2/), Geoportal NRW (https://www.geoportal.nrw), Regioplaner (https://www.regioplaner.de/service/luftbilder) (31/05/2023).

well as being urban tools, the plans have a legal character. For the case studies it has been consulted the *Plan de Ordenación del Territorio de Andalucía* (POTA) (2006), the *Plan General de Ordenación Urbana* (PGOU) of Écija (2009), the *Plan Especial de Protección, Reforma Interior y Catálogo del Conjunto Histórico Artístico de Écij*a (PEPRICCHA) (2014), the *Masterplan Aachen2030* (2013), the previously mentioned computerised plans such as Geodatenportal Stadt Aachen or TIM-online, as well as the *Satzung für die Erhaltung des Denkmalbereiches "Innenstadt"* (2011) of Aachen.

Phase 2 | Analytical

2.1 Development of the case studies analysis of Écija and Aachen according to different categories: foundational stage, territorial influence, urban transformations, present-day city and heritage recognition of the monastic system. These are thematic groupings that are combined with each other during the development of the thesis.

2.2 Work and analysis of the historical planimetry and localised iconography to build up the historical layers of the cities taken as case studies, Écija and Aachen (Figure 6). In addition to the historical study, this documentation allows the structure of the monastic system to be confirmed and verified. In Écija, the first urban plan of 1826 by Manuel Spínola stands out, as well as the 1863-1867 plan by Courtars and the engineer's plan of 1895. In Aachen, the first urban plan of the Stadtarchiv of 1740 also stands out, as well as the Rappardplan of 1860, the Tiefbauamtplan of 1910 or the Zerstörungsplan of 1946. Regarding iconography, in Écija the views of Hoefnagel in 1567, Wijngaerde in 1567 or Meisner in 1623, together with

Figure 6. Monastery of Burtscheid in Aachen. By Josua le Grave, 1669. Stadtarchiv Aachen (StAAc H219 0014).

those of Aachen, such as the two views of Hoefnagel in 1567, that of Meisner in 1623 or that of Merian in 1647, are worth mentioning. Identification of towers, bell-glabes and church spires as part of the urban monastic landscape.

2.3 Establishment of the foundational stage in the monastic city. In order to understand its development, it has been necessary to elaborate a chronological axis, together with the urban plans that show its situation in the city and a table with the data of the building names, year of foundation, religious order, gender and year of confiscation of all the monastic facilities that have existed in each case study. In addition, the functioning of this system is examined in depth, as well as the analysis of the built and unbuilt spaces of the monastic typology.

2.4 Study of the territorial influence of the monastic system, through distances in kilometres and the number of nearby cities with foundations from the city of origin. As it has a multi-scale component, it is necessary to verify other foundations from the city chosen as a case study to other cities.

2.5 Recognition of urban transformations and the monastic system in the 19th and 20th centuries. As in the other sections, graphic representation has been very important here, as it allows to see what these changes have been like. These include changes such as in the plot, buildings or blocks. In addition, relevant urban parameters for the monastic system such as plot surface, built surface, open space surface, occupation and use have to be taken into account. On the other hand, temporal data such as the date of foundation, date of confiscation, date of disappearance of the monastic building from the plot, as well as data on initial and current surface areas are added.

2.6 Evaluation of the current state of the monastic system analysed, as well as its transformation up to the present day. Tables are drawn up and data on the foundation process, such as dates or initial orders, are considered for comparison with current data. In addition, important aspects such as the current monastic fragments and their use in the city are analysed (Figure 7). A detailed graphic representation of the ground plan of the monastic buildings is made, differentiating between the church, cloister and other built spaces.

2.7 Heritage evaluation of monasteries and convents in cities. These have to be considered as they determine part of the importance of protection and conservation. These, together with heritage laws and urban planning, dictate the present and future of the convents and monasteries. Recognition of monastic spaces for the population in each city, as well as their influence on it in a tangible and intangible heritage. This

Figure 7. Church of the Franciscan monastery in Aachen (top) and Écija (down). Author, 2023.

research has focused on material aspects such as the totality of the building, highlighting churches and cloisters. In relation to the immaterial, the monastic urban landscape in both cities has also been analysed, as well as other points such as toponymy, rite and procession, and the mention of the monastic gastronomic heritage.

2.8 Fieldwork in the selected cases. This work is reflected in visits to the cities of Écija and Aachen, as well as to their monasteries and convents. During the work, photographs were taken and data was collected in order to draw up the planimetry of the buildings. Drone flights have also been used in Aachen to obtain panoramic photographs of the city (Figure 8). In addition to the case studies, visits to other European cities are important for understanding the monastic phenomenon on the continent. Because the number of cities is large, the countries where they are located are listed: Spain, Germany, Portugal, France, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands (Figure 9), Luxembourg (Figure 10), Poland and Serbia.

2.9 Systematisation of the information collected in the preparation of tables and their subsequent graphic representation through the use of GIS georeferencing tools. This tool is used, which manages layers and allows cross analysis of the information. New cartography and unpublished information is produced, with which most of the plans of the thesis have been elaborated. The main databases for obtaining new planimetry include GADM, GISCO-Eurostat, Line@, Ideandalucia, Geoportal NRW, Openstreetmap and DIVA-GIS.

Figure 8. Drone view of Aachen and Salvatorberg. Author, 2022.

Phase 3 | Comparative-Propositive

3.1 Identification of foundational strategies and characteristics of the monastic system in each city, both in the past and in the present. Among these, the position of buildings has been graphically identified according to whether they are male or female, inside or outside the walls, urban monastic axes and relationship with the city gates. This makes it possible to establish similarities or differences between the different urban models and the urban keys that generate answers about the construction of the monastic city.

3.2 Comparison of case studies to corroborate common characteristics in the monastic system of the medium-sized European city. A comparison not only from a numerical point of view in terms of number of buildings or surface area in square kilometres, but also graphically, using the same comparative scale. Comparison of time scales of foundation, plans of the monastic foundations, plans of settlement strategies, plans of colonies and plans of monastic influence in other cities.

3.3 Identification of indicators of the monastic system in the construction of the medium-sized European city. These will be composed of parameters of surface area, number of buildings, type of orders, number of plots, architectural forms, population data, uses, etc. The indicators are the monastic index as a result of the division of the monastic area by the urban area, the similarity in orders of both cities, population sizes, number of monastic remains in the city (complete building, church and fragments or only church), uses in the monastic plots and number of vertical elements of the urban landscape.

3.4 Strategies for the conservation of monastic heritage. In addition to its current consideration, new proposals can be addressed to ensure the safeguarding of this heritage in the city. These are the identification of monastic buildings with monastic orders or current religious use, monasteries used as urban facilities and the protection of the entire monastic heritage according to urban planning and heritage laws. In addition, the protection of the historic city centre should be included.

3.5 Analysis of possibilities for future lines of research. As a continuation of the work, exploration and research paths can be carried out on the cities of Écija and Aachen. Specifically in those aspects such as the establishment of uses or heritage protection that can be applied to other cities. In this sense, it has been sought to confirm the suitability of the method used in the doctoral thesis for its application to other case studies. Not only should new research be considered within the case studies themselves, but it should also be expanded to other cities.

Figure 9. Interior of St. Benedictusberg Abbey in Vaals (Netherlands). Author, 2021.

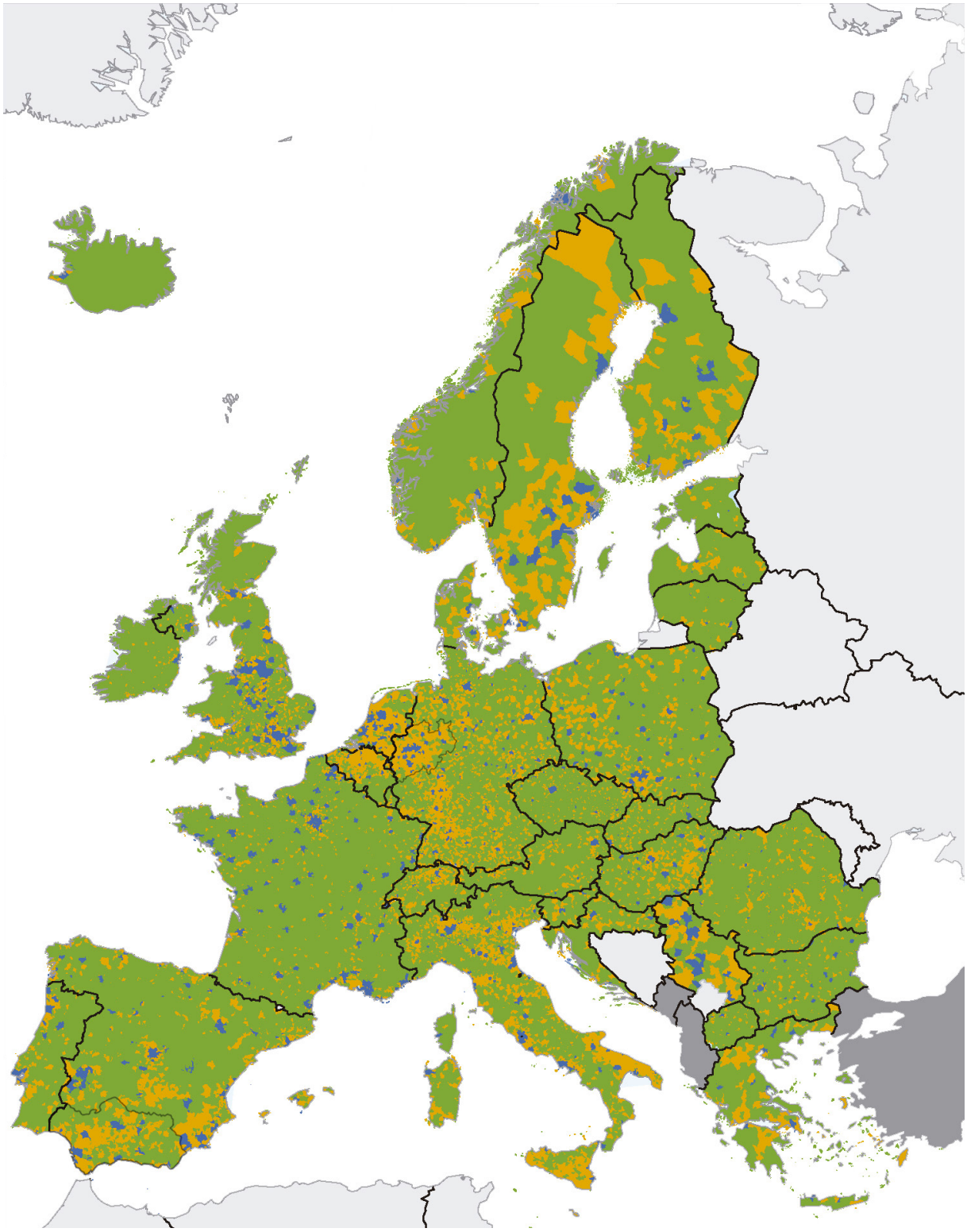
Figure 10. View of the Benedictine monastery of Neumünster in Luxembourg. Author, 2021.

Case study selection

The beginning of monasticism does not take place in a specific region, but is a continental phenomenon that extends to practically the whole of Western Europe. In this sense, the European scale is taken as a starting point, from which two case studies of cities are selected. Once the spatial scope has been defined, it is narrowed down to the time frame. For this reason, the arrival of the mendicant religious orders in each city is taken as the starting point, and their time course up to the present day. From the 10th century in Aachen and the 14th century in Écija to the 21st century. This is a large period in the timeline, but at the same time necessary to understand the historical development and current impact of the urban monastic system. On the other hand, within the religious panorama of the Catholic Church, only the mendicant orders are considered. One of the criteria adopted in this work has been the non-consideration of congregations, brotherhoods or religious institutions such as Salesians, Lasallians, etc., as they do not constitute bodies of consecrated life. In fact, they are not considered as orders according to the classification of the ecclesiastical hierarchical structure, according to the *Canon law of the Catholic Church* of 1917.

For the selection of the case studies, if we take the European plan of Degree of urbanisation for local administrative units (LAU), we can observe three levels, large cities (blue), medium-sized cities (orange) and rural areas (green). Considering this difference, it can be seen that the density of medium-sized cities plays an important role. In Europe this phenomenon occurs especially in countries such as Belgium, the Netherlands, Germany, Italy or the southern half of Spain (Figure 11). The overlaying of the current religious layer in the 21st century (Figure 12) excludes countries such as, Romania, Serbia, Bulgaria or Greece, where the predominant religion is Orthodox Christianity, whose monastic production is not included in this study. Neither have countries such as the United Kingdom, the Netherlands or the Protestant territories of Germany been considered. For the selection of two areas and their comparison, it is of particular interest that they have different cultural and monastic development characteristics, both historically and at present. In this way, Andalusia (Spain) and North Rhine-Westphalia (Germany) represent two relevant and interesting cases in comparison with other European regions.

The selected territories are representative examples to be compared in order to check whether monasticism does indeed have an international European component. In Andalusia and North Rhine-Westphalia a high monastic presence has been detected. Therefore, for the selection of a case study, the number of



Cities - Densely populated areas: at least 50% of the population lives in urban centres.

Towns and suburbs - Intermediate density areas: less than 50% of the population lives in rural grill cells and less than 50% of the population lives in urban centres.

Rural areas - Thinly populated areas: more than 50% of the population lives in rural grill cells.

Data not available.

Figure 11. Degree of urbanisation for local administrative units (LAU) in Europe. Source: Eurostat - GISCO.

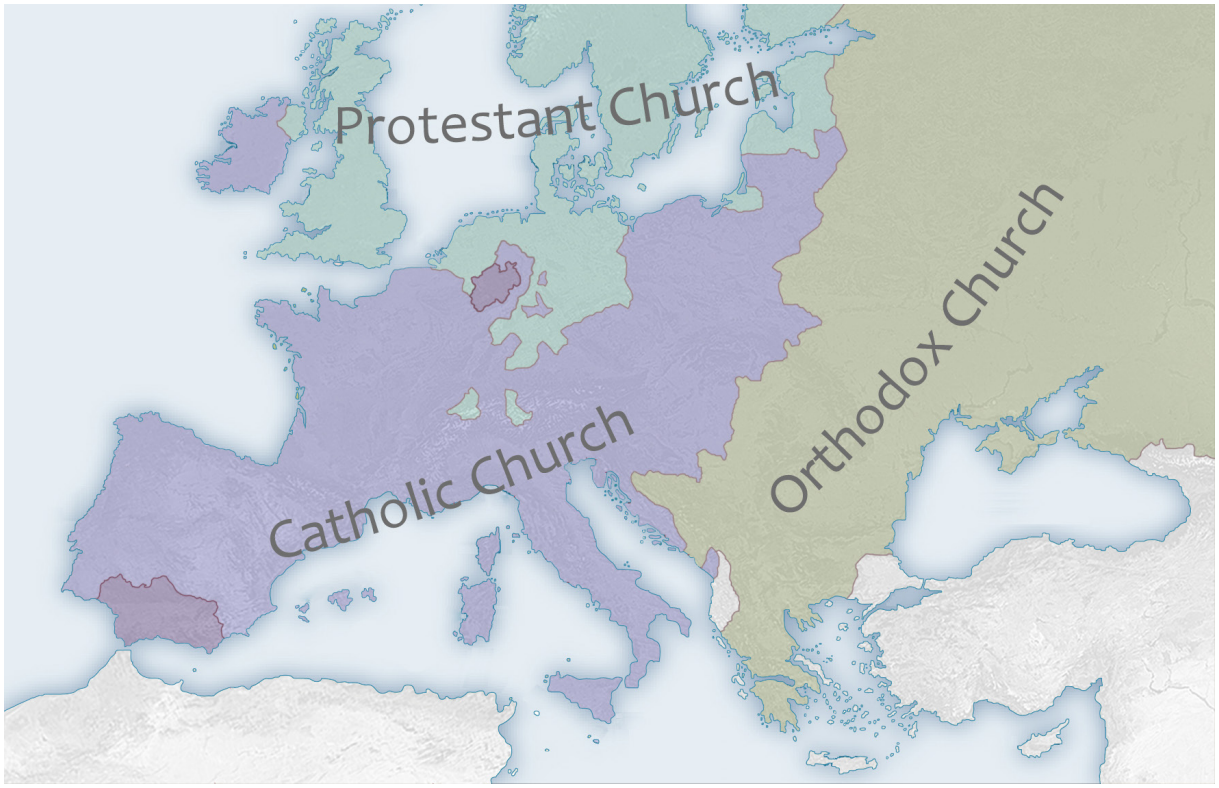


Figure 12. Distribution of Christianity in Europe in 2023. Own elaboration.

monasteries in the city was quantified and their political-territorial importance was evaluated. The city of Écija[10], second in the Kingdom of Seville in terms of the number of monasteries and convents and fifth in Andalusia, was proposed as the first case study. Moreover, since Roman times it has been an important location due to its central geographical position, as a later frontier city with the Kingdom of Granada. On the other hand, in North Rhine-Westphalia, the city of Aachen[11], second in number of convents in the bishopric of Cologne and second also in North Rhine-Westphalia, is proposed as a second case study. The city was a strategic enclave of the Roman Germanic *limes*, the capital of the Carolingian Empire, as well as an important trade node in the territory, and a historical border city with Belgium and the Netherlands. While Seville and Cologne are the first cities in terms of the number of monasteries and convents, their scale is far from the concept of a medium-sized city. Therefore, the second level of cities with monastic importance is used. Both Écija and Aachen are medium sized cities with many differences, different urban routes but at the same time, a multitude of similarities and resemblances such as in the size of their historical centres, territorial positions or monastic development.

10 The name of Écija is used regardless of the language, as it has no official translation into other languages.

11 The name of Aachen is used in both English and German. However, the city changes its name in languages such as Spanish 'Aquisgrán', French 'Aix-la-Chapelle' or Dutch 'Aken'.

1.5 STATE OF ART

With certain exceptions, the study of monasticism and monastic architecture is often carried out from an artistic, constructive or graphic perspective. Usually a monastic building is taken and studied in isolation according to one of the above-mentioned perspectives. These research studies are of great interest and help to advance the knowledge of the heritage asset. However, in many cases, the overall view and the context of the monastery system in the cities is lost. For this reason, the perspective adopted in this research is proposed from an urban perspective. Monastic architecture is studied as a whole, as well as its relationship with the city and the urban context where it develops. For this reason, although there are some visions of the state of the art that come outside the field of urban planning, these are complementary and help to build and create a new discourse.

The construction of the state of the art has been divided into three groups, according to the themes they deal with. In addition, within each group, information can be found on cities, the monastic institution, heritage legislation, historical context, etc. A first grouping includes references to the context of monasticism and Europe. As the continent was the main setting for monasticism during the Middle Ages, it is important to search for references on this scale. Thus, one of the main references in relation to the European context are Le Goff's 1965 book *Das Hochmittelalter* and his 1982 book *La civilisation de l'occident medieval*. Le Goff approaches medieval society not only from a historical, but also from a political, economic, social and even urbanistic point of view. Le Goff's understanding of Europe is complemented by the vision offered by Pounds (2005) in *The medieval city*, where crucial aspects of the urban setting where monastic foundations were initiated are again analysed. In the European panorama, Wilson (2020) in his publication *The Holy Roman Empire* shows the complexity of this territory and how it is the seed of modern Europe. On the other hand, the creation of the European Union has allowed numerous studies on the territory, among which the Degree of Urbanisation (DEGURBA) classification is particularly interesting. Through the website link [12]it is possible to consult population densities and sizes, which, compared with those of previous periods, have been key to the selection of the case studies.

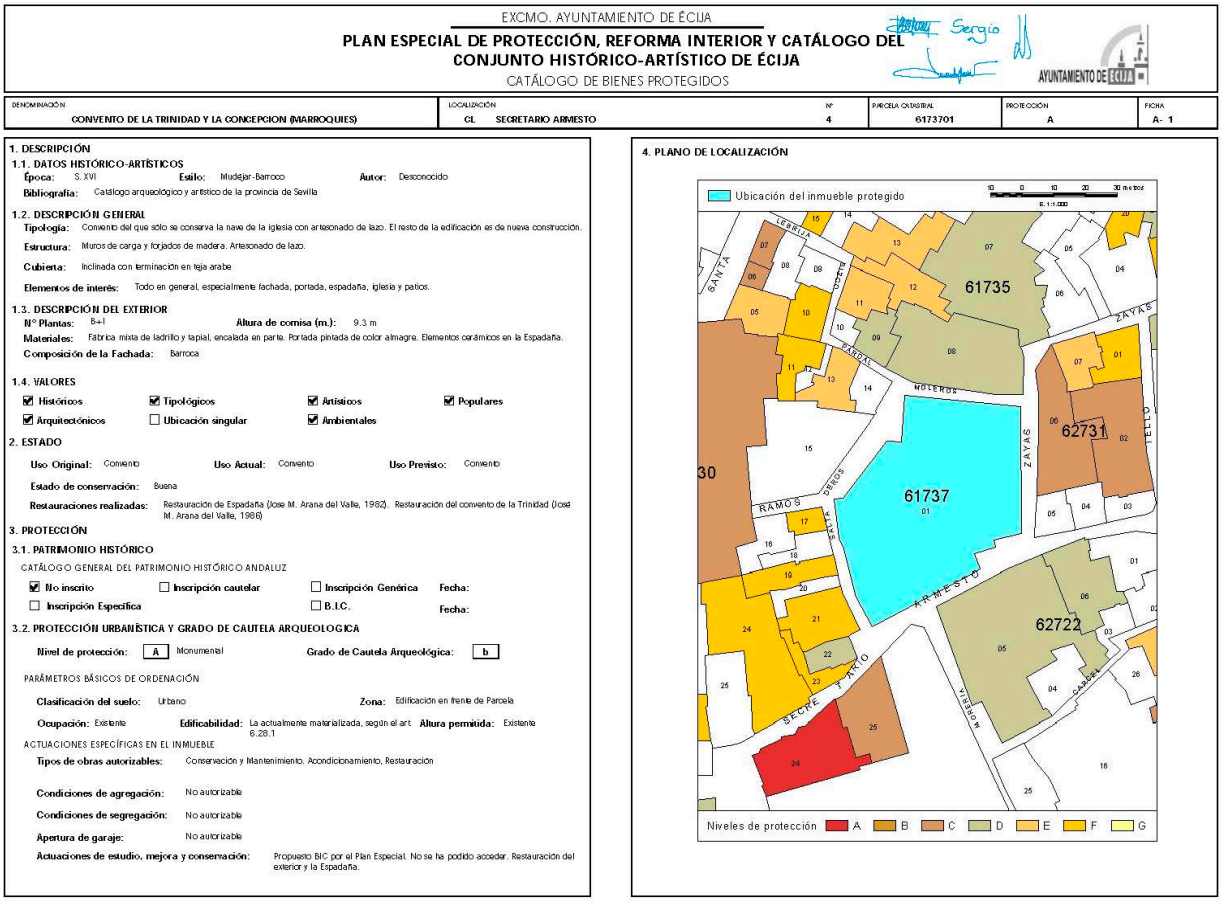
On religious and monastic contextualisation in Europe, Lyman Hurlbut's 2016 updated edition of *The Story of the Christian Church* provides insight into the context of the Church and continental Christianity. However, Braunfels' work in *Abendländische Klosterbaukunst* published in 1974 is of great significance.

12 Retrieved from: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/degree-of-urbanisation/background (31/05/2023)

It undoubtedly represents the basis of research into European monasticism, as well as its main characteristics and the establishment of the beginning of the urban monastic system. In this line there are other later researches such as Schenkluhn's (2000) *Architektur der Bettelorden. Die Baukunst der Dominikaner und Franziskaner in Europa*, which studies the characteristics of the two most important mendicant orders. Later, Krüger (2007) provides a comprehensive analysis of monasticism in *Orden und Klöster 2000 Jahre christliche Kunst und Kultur*. Although the focus is on art and architecture, there is also an extensive cartographic representation of monastic foundations on the continent. In fact, other types of monasticism, such as Byzantine monasticism, are analysed, although these are not included in this research.

The second and third groups are composed of the selected case studies and their territorial contexts. The second group includes research to establishing the state of art in the context of monasticism in Andalusia. Firstly, there are four main research on monasteries and convents in urban areas. The case of Seville is studied by Pérez Cano (1997) in *Patrimonio y ciudad: el sistema de los conventos de clausura en el centro histórico de Sevilla: génesis, diagnóstico y propuesta de intervención para su recuperación urbanística*. Her research highlights not only the importance of Seville as a monastic city in Spain, but also the study of the convent buildings belonging to the women's orders and the building of the urban convent system. Also noteworthy are his publications with Mosquera Adell like *Las clausuras sevillanas. Vida consagrada, Arquitectura, Ciudad* (2009) or *Arquitectura en los Conventos de Sevilla: una Aproximación Patrimonial a las Clausuras* (1991). From the perspective of cloisters and open monastic spaces, it has been considered the Molina Liñán's thesis entitled *Compases, patios, claustros, jardines y huertos: los espacios abiertos de la estructura conventual femenina de Sevilla. Una propuesta de valorización y conservación patrimonial* (2021). The aforementioned study of Pérez Cano in Seville is followed by Rodríguez Marín (2000), which studies Malaga in *Málaga Conventual. Estudio histórico, artístico y urbanístico de los conventos malagueños*. Like Pérez Cano and Rodríguez Marín, the work entitled *Baeza Conventual*, by García Torralbo (1998), highlights the importance of the monastic system in the World Heritage city of Baeza. Likewise, another research, such as that of Aladro Prieto (2021), entitled *La escala urbana del jerez. Los complejos bodegueros jerezanos en el siglo XIX* (2021) has also influenced the development of the research. In addition to including the monastic system of Jerez as a section, it focuses on a city-building architectural typology, the wine cellar. In this sense, it is important to understand how a building typology builds and generates a city.

The understanding and studies on the territory of Andalusia have been carried out taking the cartographies and data found in Martín de Agar y Valverde, R. [coor.] (2009) *Atlas de la Historia del Territorio de Andalucía*. This publication contains a complete series of maps and historical, geographical and political layers, etc., covering the earliest signs of human life in Andalusia up to the present day. Regarding the aforementioned system of medium-sized cities in Andalusia, key urban planning documents have been analysed for their identification and understanding, such as the *Plan de Ordenación del Territorio de Andalucía* (POTA). This is a territorial plan covering the whole of Andalusia, which defines the main characteristics of the territory, as well as future development strategies. Along these lines, other essential urban planning documents have also been analysed in order to understand the case study of the city of Écija: the *Plan General de Ordenación Urbana* (PGOU) and the *Plan Especial de Protección, Reforma Interior y Catálogo del Conjunto Histórico Artístico de Écija* (PEPRICCHA). The former is a plan for the development and management of the urban area of the city, while the latter deals in detail with the area of the historic centre and the protection of the architectural and urban heritage (Figure 13). The protection of this heritage is not only managed through urban planning tools, but is also protected by law. In Écija the national law L*ey del Patrimonio Histórico Español 16/1985* and the regional law *Ley del Patrimonio Histórico Andaluz 14/2007* are applicable. In fact,



EXCMO. AYUNTAMIENTO DE ÉCIJA

PLAN ESPECIAL DE PROTECCIÓN, REFORMA INTERIOR Y CATÁLOGO DEL CONJUNTO HISTÓRICO-ARTÍSTICO DE ÉCIJA

CATÁLOGO DE BIENES PROTEGIDOS

DENOMINACIÓN	LOCALIZACIÓN	Nº	PARCELA CATASTRAL	PROTECCIÓN	FICHA
CONVENTO DE LA TRINIDAD Y LA CONCEPCION (MARROQUIES)	CL SECRETARIO ARMESTO	4	6173701	A	A- 1

1. DESCRIPCIÓN

1.1. DATOS HISTÓRICO-ARTÍSTICOS

Época: S. XVI Estilo: Mudejar-Barroco Autor: Desconocido

Bibliografía: Catálogo arqueológico y artístico de la provincia de Sevilla

1.2. DESCRIPCIÓN GENERAL

Tipología: Convento del que sólo se conserva la nave de la iglesia con artesonado de lazo. El resto de la edificación es de nueva construcción.

Estructura: Muros de carga y forjados de madera. Artesonado de lazo.

Cubierta: Inclinada con terminación en teja arabe

Elementos de interés: Todo en general, especialmente fachada, portada, espadaña, iglesia y patios.

1.3. DESCRIPCIÓN DEL EXTERIOR

Nº Plantas: B+I Altura de cornisa (m.): 9.3 m

Materiales: Fábrica mixta de ladrillo y tapial, encalada en parte. Portada pintada de color almagre. Elementos cerámicos en la Espadaña.

Composición de la Fachada: Barroca

1.4. VALORES

☑ Históricos ☑ Tipológicos ☑ Artísticos ☑ Populares

☑ Arquitectónicos ☐ Ubicación singular ☑ Ambientales

2. ESTADO

Uso Original: Convento Uso Actual: Convento Uso Previsto: Convento

Estado de conservación: Buena

Restauraciones realizadas: Restauración de Espadaña (Jose M. Arana del Valle, 1982). Restauración del convento de la Trinidad (José M. Arana del Valle, 1986)

3. PROTECCIÓN

3.1. PATRIMONIO HISTÓRICO

CATÁLOGO GENERAL DEL PATRIMONIO HISTÓRICO ANDALUZ

☑ No inscrito ☐ Inscripción cautelar ☐ Inscripción Genérica Fecha:

☐ Inscripción Específica ☐ B.I.C. Fecha:

3.2. PROTECCIÓN URBANÍSTICA Y GRADO DE CAUTELA ARQUEOLÓGICA

Nivel de protección: A Monumental Grado de Cautela Arqueológica: b

PARÁMETROS BÁSICOS DE ORDENACIÓN

Clasificación del suelo: Urbano Zona: Edificación en frente de Parcela

Ocupación: Existente Edificabilidad: La actualmente materializada, según el art. 6.28.1 Altura permitida: Existente

ACTUACIONES ESPECÍFICAS EN EL INMUEBLE

Tipos de obras autorizables: Conservación y Mantenimiento, Acondicionamiento, Restauración

Condiciones de agregación: No autorizable

Condiciones de segregación: No autorizable

Apertura de garaje: No autorizable

Actuaciones de estudio, mejora y conservación: Propuesto BIC por el Plan Especial. No se ha podido acceder. Restauración del exterior y la Espadaña.

4. PLANO DE LOCALIZACIÓN

Figure 13. Catalogue file of the convent of Las Marroquíes in Écija of the Special Protection Plan. Retrieved from PEPRICCHA, 2014.

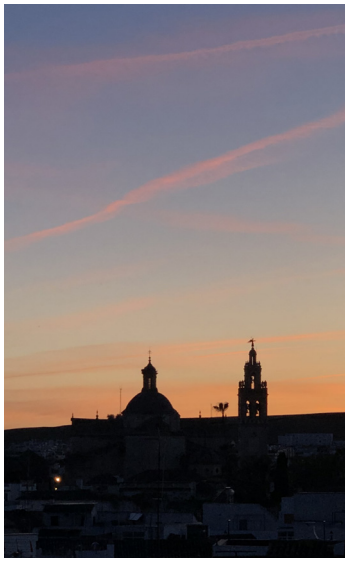


Figure 14. Church of Santa Cruz in Écija. Author, 2023.

Figure 15. Aerial view of the convent of Santa Florentina in Écija. Source: PNOA, 2022.

the application of the heritage law in conjunction with urban planning protection is extensively studied by Becerra García (2020) in his publication La conservación de la ciudad histórica en Andalucía. *El planeamiento urbanístico como instrumento de protección en el cambio de siglo.* This shows the use of urban planning tools and heritage legislation in the city within the Andalusian panorama.

Concerning the case study of Écija, there are several references on the city, but the three publications mentioned above have been key to generate the basis for this research. The first is the publication by Caldero Bermudo (1984) *Guía de conventos ecijanos*, which offers a description and list of the monasteries and convents in the city. Alongside this one, the recent publication by García León & Martín Ojeda (2018) *Écija artística* is also highlighted. The book contains a meticulously detailed review of all the religious (Figure 14), palatine and civil architecture of Écija to date. It offers numerous details together with graphic documentation on the artistic and constructive processes of the monasteries. For an understanding of the present-day city, its urban transformations, confiscations and major changes, it is essential to consult López Jiménez (2016) *Más allá de la ciudad barroca. La morfología urbana de la Écija contemporánea*.

Not only have the aforementioned publications created the basis for the doctoral thesis, but also these and the previous ones have been used to produce two Master Theses, which are indispensable for the current doctoral thesis. However, due to their importance and the information they contain, they should be mentioned again as they also constitute part of the state of the art. The first Master Thesis belongs to the Master in Architecture and Historical Heritage at the University of Seville, entitled *La estructura conventual en Écija. Génesis, influencias, transformaciones y continuidades en ciudades medias*. This research has studied the urban monastic structure of Écija (Figure 15), although during the doctoral thesis the study is further deepened and made more complex. The second Master Thesis is part of the Master's Degree in Urbanism, Planning and Urban Design at the University of Seville, entitled *La implantación conventual en el contexto andaluz. Territorio, ciudad y protección urbanística*. Here, the monastic system was analysed and studied from an urban and territorial point of view. The importance of cartography and historical iconography for the understanding of its urban evolution and monastic system must also be emphasised in Écija. Among the plans, the one drawn up by Manuel Spínola and studied in Ostos Prieto, Aladro Prieto & Pérez Cano (2022) *Manuel Spínola's plan for the urban configuration of Écija in 1826* stands out. In this article, the aforementioned plan has been studied in minute detail, as it was the first localised plan of the city and was decisive for Écija.

The third group mentioned above corresponds to the city of Aachen and the territory of North Rhine-Westphalia. In the same way as has been done for the Andalusian context and Écija, in this case the basis and foundation of the other selected case study is provided. Regarding the configuration of the region and the importance that the Ruhrgebiet has had on the territory, Reicher's publications have been taken as a basis. These are Reicher et al. (2011) *Schichten einer Region. Kartenstücke zur räumlichen Struktur des Ruhrgebiets* and Reicher et al (2017) *Raumstrategien Ruhr 2035+. Konzepte zur Entwicklung der Agglomeration Ruhr*. Both contain detailed studies on the urban-territorial configuration of the territory as well as future development strategies. On the other hand, two fundamental sources have been used for the elaboration of the basis and contextualisation of Aachen itself. The first focuses on a historical-political perspective, published by Römling in 2014, entitled *Aachen. Geschichte einer Stadt.* This publication contains all the information on historical and socio-political events that have shaped the development of the city. From an urbanistic and morphological point of view, Curdes' research, *Die Entwicklung des Aachener Stadraumes*, published in 1999, is particularly noteworthy. It shows the urban configuration of Aachen, the evolution of the city, as well as historical planimetric analyses. Indeed, Curdes' work represents a fundamental basis for the understanding of the city.

From the monastic perspective of Aachen and its territory, different publications belonging to the same research have been located. The *Land* of North Rhine-Westphalia (Figure 16)

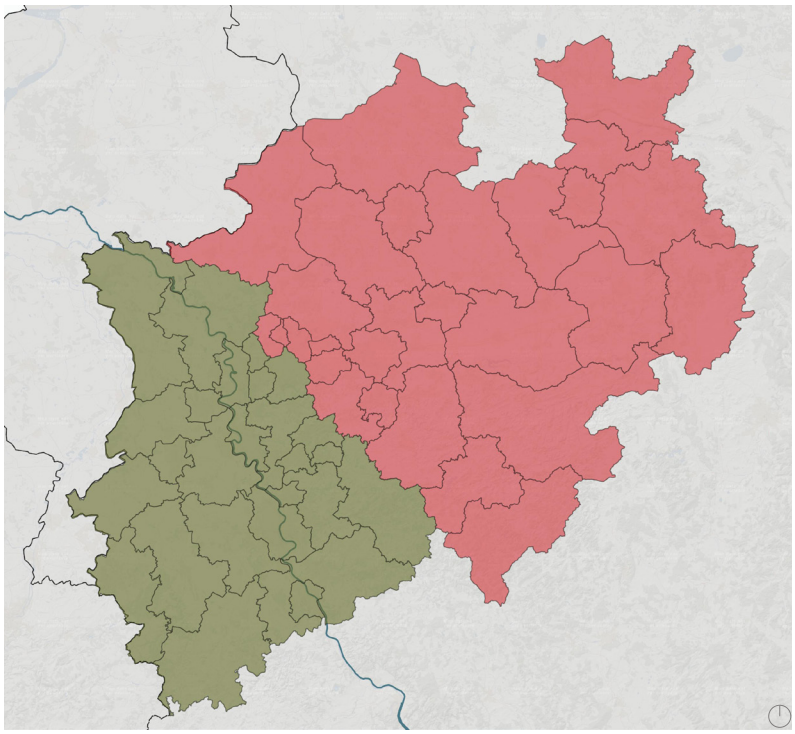


Figure 16. Political subdivision of North Rhine-Westphalia in Landschaftsverband Rhineland and Westfalen-Lippe. Own elaboration based on Landschaftsverbände.

Figure 17. Church of St. Theresia in Aachen. Author, 2023.

is geographically divided into two separate areas, Rhineland and Westfalen-Lippe. This not only has territorial implications, but also has an impact on the scientific output, so that separate studies are carried out. In this sense, and on the monastic institution, research has been located that brings together the various sources and references to monastic buildings. This was initiated by Hengst (coord.), entitled *Westfälisches Klosterbuch. Lexikon der vor 1815 errichteten Stifte und Klöster von ihrer Gründung bis zur Aufhebung*, divided into part 1 in 1992 and part 2 in 1994. Each and every monastery and convent in Westphalia up to 1815 is examined in detail. Cities such as Aachen or Cologne are therefore excluded from these publications. The continuation of this work, but in the part of Nordrhein, is carried out by Groten et al. (2009) *Nordrheinisches Klosterbuch. Lexikon der Stifte und Klöster bis 1815. Teil 1*. Similar to Hengst, the monastic buildings up to 1815 are analysed again, but this time in the territory of the Nordrhein (Figure 17). This first part includes the towns from Aachen to Düren. Later, in 2012, the second part was published in alphabetical order from Düsseldorf to Kleve. Finally, in 2022, a third part dedicated exclusively to the city of Cologne was published due to its size and monastic importance. Irrespective of the existing publications, these are part of a research project of the University of Bonn which publishes the complete list of monastic buildings, referenced in the website link[13]. The project is finished, although the

Figure 18. Aachen Cathedral. Author, 2023.

13 Retrieved from: https://www.igw.uni-bonn.de/fnzrlg/de/forschung/rheinische-landesgeschichte/nordrheinisches-klosterbuch (15/05/2023).

publication process is usually slow, therefore it explains why the fourth part is still unpublished.

In terms of urban planning, several documents and tools have been considered, as in the previous case study. Firstly, the *Masterplan Aachen2030* has been consulted, a document which contains the main development proposals for the city, as well as aspects related to heritage and urban protection. At the same time, the Geodatenportal Stadt Aachen[14] database was consulted on the current state of the city. This database contains up-to-date information on the city, functioning like the information plans of any urban plan. In addition to this, the TIM-online[15] database, whose geographical scope is the whole of North Rhine-Westphalia, has to be added.

For the study of the heritage protection of the monastic buildings in Aachen, in addition to data from the Geodatenportal, legislative and urban planning documents in addition to related publications were consulted. As far as the latter is concerned, the work carried out by Raabe in 2015 in *Denkmalpflege. Schnelleinstieg für Architekten und Bauingenieure* should be mentioned. In this work, a study and analysis is made of the *Gesetz zum Schutz und zur Pflege der Denkmäler im Lande Nordrhein-Westfalen* (DSchG) of 11 March 1980 from an architectural and construction perspective. In this research, the aforementioned law is taken from an urban perspective for the protection of heritage. Furthermore, it is linked to the local regulations of Aachen, approved on 24 March 2011, being the document *Satzung für die Erhaltung des Denkmalbereiches "Innenstadt"*, where the typological and protective characteristics of the historic centre are established. In addition, the Unesco World Heritage protection of the cathedral (Figure 18) in 7 June 1978 has also been analysed. Its Buffer zone affects the entire historic centre.

Finally, taking the aforementioned databases and publications, further progress has been made in the urban monastic system of Aachen. One of the contributions is the presentation carried out by Ostos Prieto, Reicher and Pérez Cano in 2022, named *The construction of the European convent city through the projection of monasticism in Andalusia and North Rhine-Westphalia*. Moreover another important contribution is the work carried out by Ostos Prieto, Reicher, Aladro Prieto, and Pérez Cano in 2022, entitled *Urban development of the European monastic city through the conventual system in Aachen*. The contribution was presented in a research seminar approaching the monastic reality of Aachen and its relationship with the city.

14 Retrieved from: https://geoportal.aachen.de/ (31/05/2023).

15 Retrieved from: https://www.tim-online.nrw.de/tim-online2/ (31/05/2023).

2

A MULTI SCALAR EUROPEAN PHENOMENON

2.1 ORIGIN OF CHRISTIAN MONASTICISM

Europe's complexity is one of the characteristics that has marked the continent. It is reinforced by its development on one of the smallest continents on the globe. The diversity of peoples, cultures, languages and individual characteristics is both a richness and a challenge. The difficulty of converting a continent under a common identity is even greater. Throughout history, attempts have been made to unify Europe under different flags. The most prominent method has been the creation of a single kingdom or empire, with examples such as the Roman, Carolingian, Holy Roman or Napoleonic Empires. However, these political proposals have not survived the test of time. Political union does not resolve other issues, such as Europe's cultural diversity.

In recent decades, the construction of the European Union seems to have found certain keys to the management and stability desired in the past. Nevertheless, this is not a definitive formula; it is still a challenge to continue working on. On the other hand, throughout history, other phenomena have appeared in the construction of Europe which, in addition to using the political sphere, have also encompassed the social and cultural fields. In this sense, the Christian religion stands out as one of the most successful, as it has managed to remain in existence since its appearance until the present day. Despite the different frontiers and cultures, Christianity was able to establish links between the different European people and give them a common identity. This is reflected not only in religion but also in literature, art and architecture. Thus, it succeeded in creating a multi-scale European phenomenon, which did not acquire a dimension from the human scale to the urban and territorial European scale.

Monasticism has played an essential and fundamental role in the consolidation of the Christian religion. Monasteries originated as an isolated, isolated type of retreat, with no connection to the surrounding area. However, from the Middle Ages onwards they became one of the pillars of Catholicism. In fact, if one looks up the word monk in the Oxford Dictionary, the origin of the word comes from the Old English *munuc*, based on the Greek word *monakhos* 'solitary', which comes from *monos* 'alone'. The solitary life is the main characteristic of monks. However, it should be noted that this kind of life is not only found in Catholicism, as Orthodox Christianity is also noted for a large number of monasteries. These can be found in former territories dominated by the Eastern Roman Empire, as well as in modern Orthodox countries such as Romania, Serbia, Bulgaria or Greece. In fact, monasteries are also found in other religions and parts of the world. In the Hindu world they are called Ashram, while Viharas are Buddhist. On the other hand, in China there are famous monasteries such as

those of the Shaolin monks where both Buddhism and Taoism are practised. Given this diversity of religions and monasteries, as mentioned in the introduction, this research has focused on Catholic Christian monasticism, specifically those built in cities by the mendicant religious orders.

In order to understand the origin of Christian monasticism, it is necessary to know briefly its origin and beginnings as the dominant religion in Europe. From its birth in the 1st century, Christianity was subjected to multiple repressions and persecutions by the authorities of the Roman Empire who sought its abolition. However, the Emperor Constantine first used the Church as an element of unity, associating it with civil power (Lanuza, 2003). At the end of the 4th century, Emperor Theodosius finally proclaimed Christianity as the official religion of the Empire. Thereafter it became a dominant force in shaping the civilisations of the Western world up to the present day (Coffin et al. 2002). From Hispania to Mesopotamia, and from Egypt to Britain, Christianity spread rapidly and without any barriers.

One of the earliest Christian political and territorial structures is based on the pentarchy. This is a concept that appeared during the Roman rule of Justinian I where the government is based on the authority of five persons (Hurlbut, 2016). In the 6th century, these are located in the five most important episcopal sees and cities of the empire: Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem (Coffin et al. 2002) (Figure 19). In addition to these cities, the development of the ecclesiastical structure uses the former capitals of Roman provinces as administrative and governmental centres (Pounds, 2005). Although in this period the Roman Empire is practically divided and occupied by the Germanic peoples, the Christian map still maintains the Roman territorial unity with the exception of the island of Britannia, which would later be Christianised.

In its early days, monasticism spread more rapidly in the East than in the West. It was not until the 8th century with the Benedictine rule that the monastic boom began in Europe (Coffin et al. 2002). The origin of the monastery as an architectural typology used for isolation and seclusion initially developed in Egypt. More than 33 foundations are known to have existed in this region, which was fully Christianised before its Arabisation (Krüger, 2007). At the beginning, these communities did not have any common characteristics but came together to practise retirement together. In fact, many of these monasteries developed into small urban centres, as Greek monasticism did. They created monumental monastic complexes by building monastery-villages and monastery-towns (Braunfels, 1980). The appearance of Islam in the 7th century had as its main consequence in the Mediterranean the Islamisation of numerous

Figure 19. Patriarchates of the Pentarchy in 6th century. Own elaboration based on Lanuza (2003).

Rome
Constantinople
Antioch
Alexandria
Jerusalem

Christian territories such as the Iberian Peninsula, North Africa, Egypt and the Middle East. This resulted in the loss of territories of the patriarchate of Rome, as well as the disappearance of the patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem. By the end of the 7th century, three successor civilisations to the Roman world had emerged, Byzantine, Islamic and Western European (Coffin et al. 2002). The Arabisation of the ancient patriarchates also had the effect of causing the disappearance of monastic development in these regions.

The two surviving patriarchates soon clashed in internal conflicts and disagreements over political and religious issues. Although the Christian religion was a common unifying element, issues such as the acceptance of the Trinity caused disputes between Christians. Finally, the East-West Schism took place in 1054. The patriarchates of Rome and Constantinople split, forming the new and current branches of Catholic and Orthodox Christians (Hurlbut, 2016). This division marked the path of monasticism in the two Christian worlds. In both cases, the monastic typology is maintained as an isolated building in the territory. However, in the Catholic sphere, monasteries will soon begin to be linked to the cities, while in the Orthodox area this phenomenon rarely takes place.

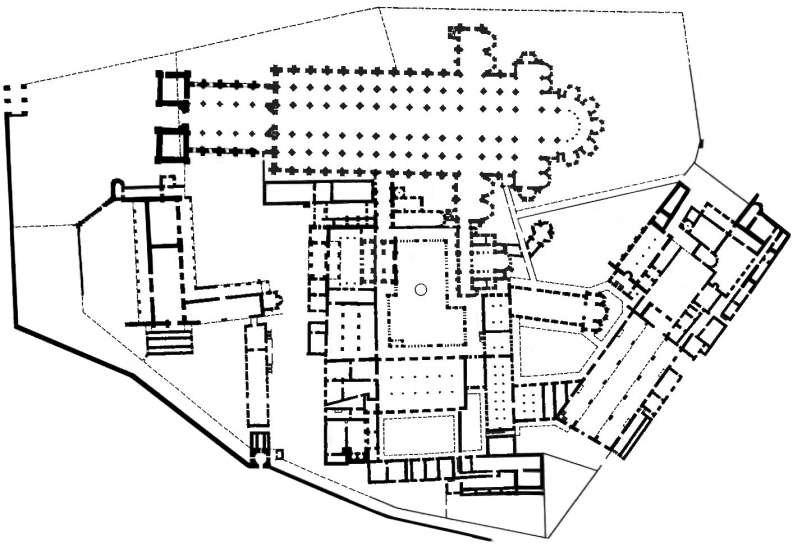
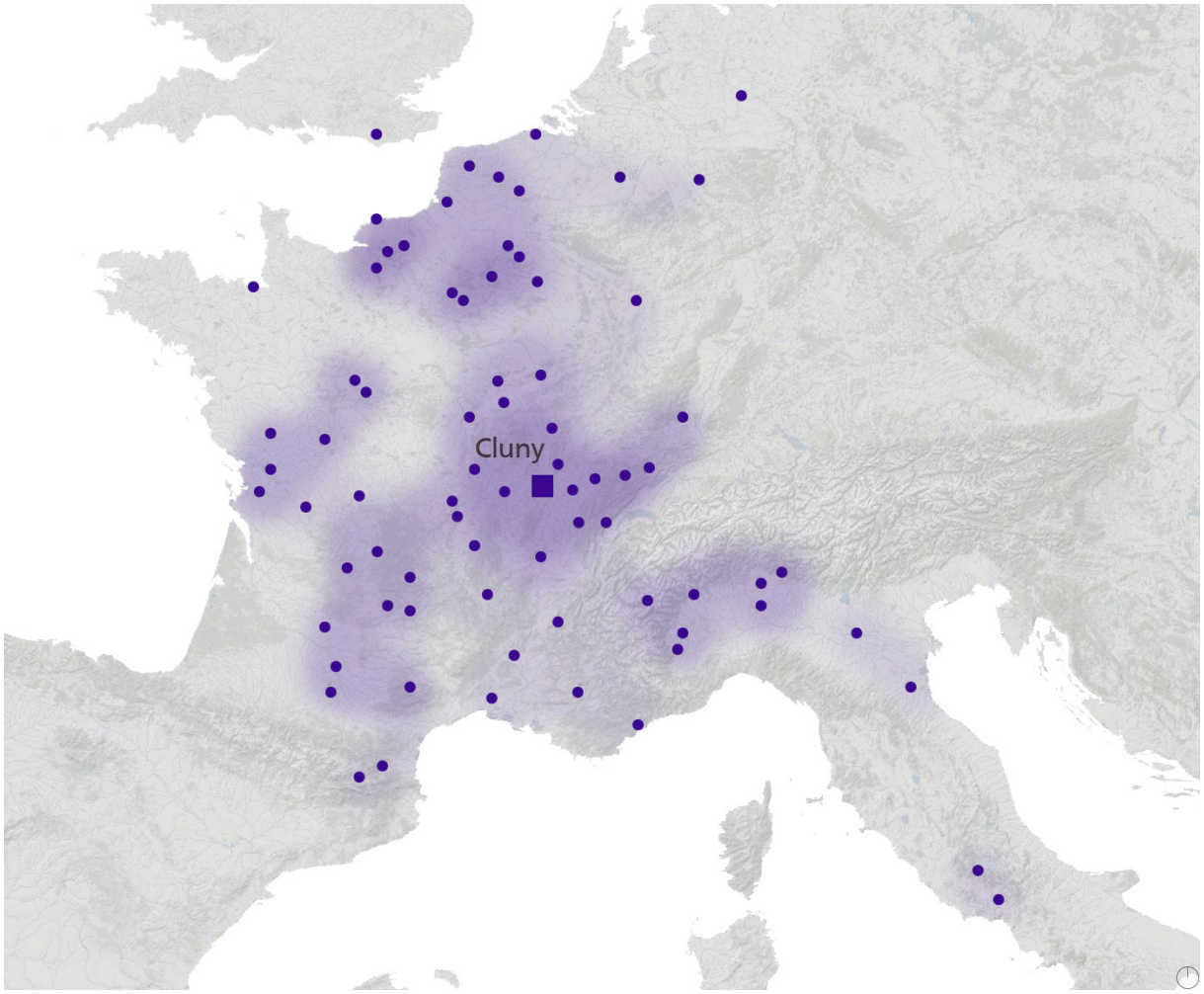


Figure 20. (right) Plan of Cluny in 1150. Hypothesis according to K. J. Conant. From Krüger (2007).

Figure 21. (down) Location of Cluny foundations in the 10-11th centuries. Own elaboration based on Krüger (2007).



When monasticism moved to Europe, it was in a similar way similar to the Egyptian monasticism. Isolated, unconnected buildings with no common characteristics. The reformation of the 10th century led to the appearance of the first European monasteries based on a common rule. Cluny founded the first mother house (Figure 20) from which the emergence of twin monasteries began, establishing the first common European network (Figure 21) (Krüger, 2007). These rules deal not only with the monastic way of life, but also with the architectural and typological characteristics of the buildings. In addition to the monastic church, there are cloisters, dormitories, refectories and outbuildings such as kitchens, infirmaries, storerooms or rooms for lodging (Pounds, 2005). In this respect, the characteristics of different religious orders can be highlighted. The Cistercians had to have a cloister, chapter house, fountain, refectory and dormitory. On the other hand, Carthusian monasteries are fortified monasteries without monumental architecture, without a basilica, with individual dormitories and complete enclosure (Braunfels, 1980).

Regarding the types of monastic spaces, the cloister is one of the most prominent. However, this was not present in the first monasteries, but originated to connect different spaces and buildings within the monastery. The grouping of buildings created a common courtyard which gradually became more complex and was later used as a space for meetings and religious activities (Krüger, 2007). The construction of Cluny marks the beginning of European monasticism. Furthermore, these buildings in Europe were used by the Church itself as new tools for the management and control of the territory, as well as for its expansion. An example of this is the missionary activities carried out in the 8th century in the former Anglo-Saxon Britain and its conversion to Christianity (Coffin et al. 2002). Undoubtedly, monasticism will take on a much greater role in European society, no longer as a building dedicated to isolation and prayer. Finally, the religious implantation ends up being transferred to urban life, with the presence of the church as a spiritual, ideological place and possessor of propaganda and legitimacy (Mitre Fernández, 2010).

2.2 URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN EUROPE

Urban development in Europe is a complex phenomenon not only because of its scale across the continent but also because of its broad temporal trajectory. It is a long and complex process that spans from the earliest human settlements to the present day. The aim of this section is not a detailed analysis of these urban processes in Europe, which is beyond the scope

of this research. Rather, this section analyses and studies those fundamental aspects that create the context for monastic development in Europe. Monasticism is not an isolated component in the territory, but is linked to urban, demographic growth, trade and cultural aspects. In this sense, these issues are analysed in relation to the monastic perspective. Thus, the time frame is between the medieval period, 6th century, and the beginning of the Napoleonic secularisation, 19th century.

At the beginning of the medieval period, Christianity, a primarily urban religion, maintained the continuity of the city in the West (Le Goff, 1982). Despite the existence of a great ruralisation and a decrease in urban life, the bishop's sees and the greater influence of the Church maintained the cities as centres of importance. One of the main causes of this ruralisation is the dedication mainly to work activities belonging to the primary sector. Later, with the creation of new jobs and trades in the city, as well as population growth, these will gradually increase. The population of Western Europe increased from 27 million in the 8th century to 42 million in the 11th century and to 73 million in the 13th century (Bennett, 1937). In the mid-medieval period there was a progressive new urbanisation of old and new cities. In the 13th century there was a great demographic surge. It has been estimated that from 1200 to 1300 the population of Europe increased from 61 to 73 million. Between 1200 and 1340 the population of France would have increased from 12 to 21 million, that of Germany from 8 to 14 and that of England from 2.2 to 4.5 (Le Goff, 1965). In percentage terms, the European population grew by more than 16% in just one century. In fact, the German case is paradigmatic, since in 1025 there could be as many as 200 towns. In 1150 their number exceeded 600 cities and in the year 1250 more than 1500 (Wilson, 2020). Therefore, urban development must be measured in two indices, population growth and the construction of new cities.

The construction of new walls materialised the growth of the oldest cities in the whole Christianity. Between 1155 and 1156, Genoa extended its 952 wall. Cologne built a new wall in 1106 that included the new districts outside the old wall. Paris built a new wall in 1212 and Vienna had up to four walls between 1100 and 1230 (Le Goff, 1965). This urban development soon reached the rest of the non-Romanised territories, with new cities and important urban centres appearing in the territory. In the case of new settlements, it is difficult to differentiate the toponymy of villages, towns and cities[1]. In this case the toponymy is confusing because in many cases, the names Villeneuve, Ville-

1 This classification is generalised, taken as a reference from the images shown in the book by Schedel, H. (1493).

franche, Sauventé in France, Freistadt or Neustadt in Germany, Villafranca or Villanova in Italy, Wola or Igota, Nowe Miasto in Poland, Ujezd, Lhota or Nové Mesto in Bohemia, evoke the privileges enjoyed by their inhabitants (Le Goff, 1965). In this sense, it is necessary to turn to other sources where the hierarchy of an urban settlement can be located. One example is the work entitled *Die Schedelsche Weltchronik*[2] by Schedel (1493). Here he differentiates between the types of cities in the Holy Roman Empire (Figure 22). Taking the images as a reference, the first level consists of cities with walls and cathedrals, signs of urbanisation and growth, such as Aachen in the third row. Below this is the smaller town of Haguennau, without walls but with a central church. Finally, with a more rural character, smaller scale buildings and poorer materials, is the village of Coblenz. This figure is an indicator of the classification of towns during the Middle Ages, which, according to their buildings and characteristics, can be placed in one of three categories.

Urban development is especially linked to cultural growth in the cities. At the beginning of the Middle Ages, culture was relegated to monasteries such as Montecassino or Ripoll (Krüger, 2007). It is the role of Charlemagne, who has a great impact on the expansion of culture in the Carolingian Empire. For this purpose, he built an academy in Aachen, attracting English, Irish and Italian scholars, and transferred this idea to other cities. After the creation of the Holy Roman Empire, Otto I encouraged the creation of schools in monastic abbeys where the translation of classics into High German began (Lanuza, 2003). In addition, these monasteries were noted for works such as those in Hildesheim and Echternach.

2 This publication also contains the first map of the territory and cities of the European centre located to date.

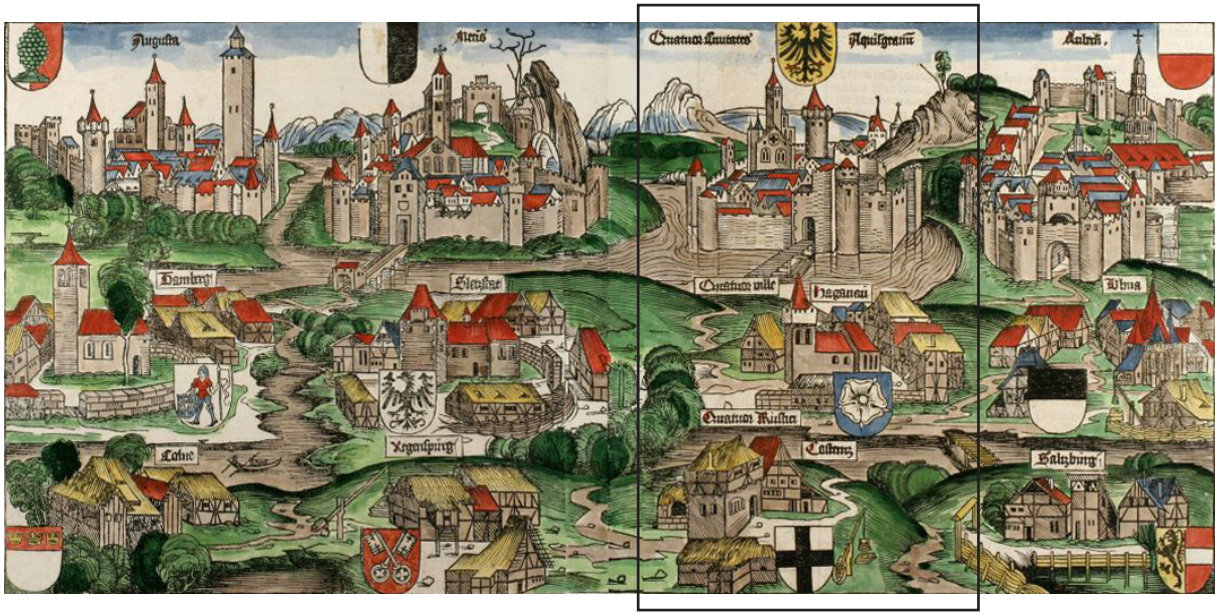
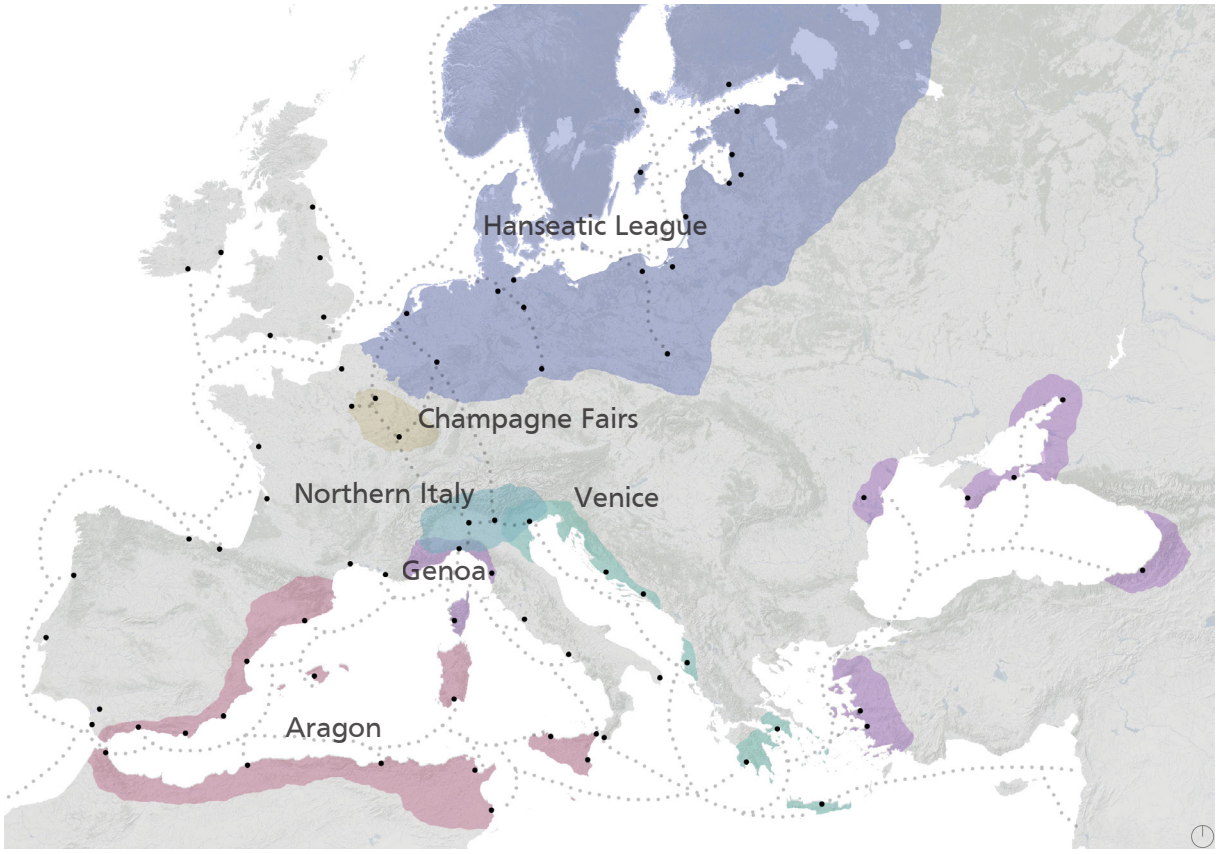


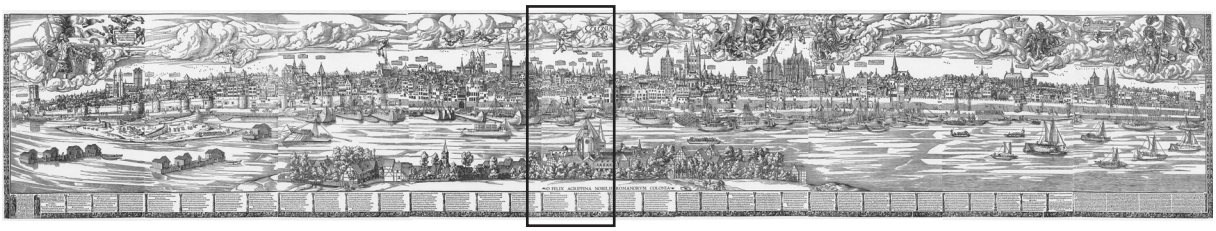
Figure 22. Classification of cities in the Holy Roman Empire, 1943. Highlighted in black box: Aachen, Haguennau and Coblenz. In Schedel, (1493) *Die Scheldesche Weltchronik*.

As urban development continued from the 10th century onwards, the creation of schools and universities in Europe was a continuous process. These were mainly located in large cities and urban centres, which even came to specialise according to subjects and areas of knowledge. Thus, Chartres was known for grammar studies, Bologna and Pavia for law, medicine in Montpellier, or philosophy and theology in Paris (Lanuza, 2003). The demand for students was quite high, added to the difficulty of travelling from different regions of Europe to attend a particular university. The Dominican order, not being able to send all the monks to study in Paris or Bologna, had to set up their own schools in monasteries. This led in the late 13th century to the appearance of schools in monastic centres in cities such as Oxford, Cologne, Bologna, Montpellier, Florence or Barcelona (Krüger, 2007).

Between the 12th and 14th centuries, trade once again took on a decisive role on a continental scale. If after the disappearance of the Roman Empire it had diminished on a local or regional scale, it once again played a decisive role in the construction of Europe and its cities. Commercial areas appeared among which important nodes began to stand out (Figure 23). Among these, the regions of Flanders and northern Italy stand out, working for the export of textiles and acquiring the dimensions of a quasi-industry (Le Goff, 1982). The main trading areas can be grouped into those of the Mediterranean trade, distributed in

Figure 23. Nodes and trade routes in Europe from the 13th to the 15th century. Own elaboration based on Lanuza (2003) and Le Goff (1965).





Aragon, Genoa and Venice, as well as those of the North Sea, constituted by the Hanseatic League [3].

Not only the regions themselves are important, but also the communications and trade routes that were established between them. In this sense, the connection between Flanders and northern Italy by land favoured the growth of the French markets, especially the Champagne Fair, where products from England, France, Scandinavia, Germanic countries, Eastern and Southern Europe were crossed (Lanuza, 2003). In fact, the beginning of this route takes place in the city of York and ends south of Rome, with an important branch to Santiago de Compostela controlled by Franks and religious orders (Coffin et al., 2002). If the trade axes mentioned above overlap with the pilgrimage routes of the Way of St. James and the Via Francigena[4], the two are entirely coincident. It is by no means coincidental to take advantage of the pre-existence of pilgrimage routes on which to establish trade routes. This, together with the monastic infrastructure on these important routes, led to the construction of a complex territorial network.

Figure 24. (top) View of Cologne. (down) Detail of monasteries in Cologne. Anton Woensam, 1531. In Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin.

Among the characteristic buildings that define the medieval city, the religious buildings stand out. The monasteries, together with the city walls and the cathedral, determined the characteristic image of a city (Braunfels, 1980). This can be seen in Anton Woensam's 1531 view of Cologne's perspective (Figure 24). The author highlights the position not only of the cathedral, which is under construction, but also of all the churches, monasteries and convents of the city above the urban landscape. In fact, those are exaggerated, because of their size or distance, they were impossible to see from the author's point of view. This represents the importance of the urban monastic system for the city. The number of monastic buildings is directly related to its population. When in the mid-15th century, most cities on German territory had less than 2,000 inhabitants, and only 30 with more than 10,000, Cologne had about 40,000 inhabitants (Wilson, 2020).

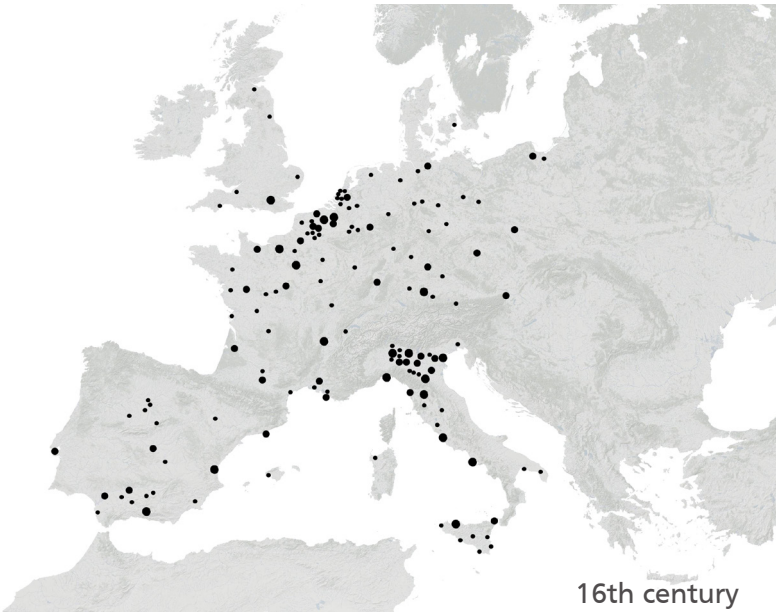
3 The Hanseatic League brought together 180 German cities and merchant associations and linked northern and eastern European trade with the Mediterranean (Lanuza, 2003).

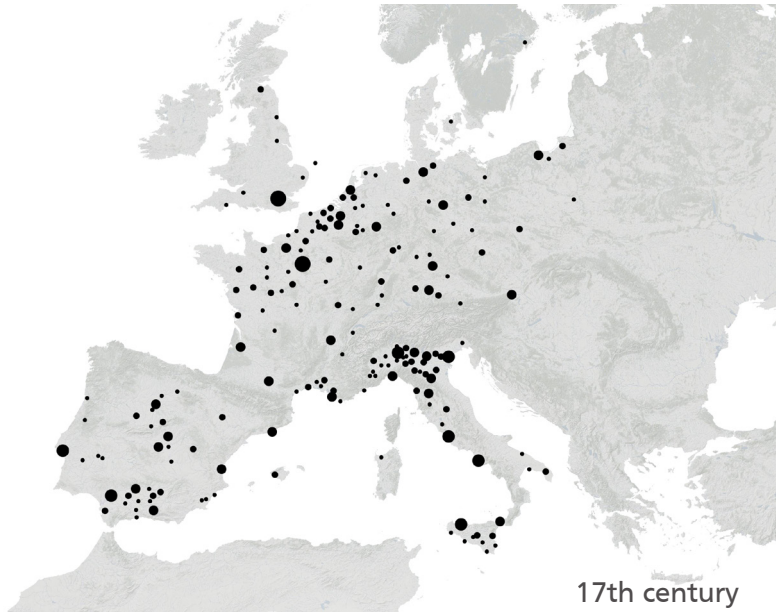
4 The references and planimetry of these roads are given in point 2.3.

At the beginning of the 14th century, few cities exceeded 100,000 inhabitants, including Venice, Milan or Paris. On the other hand, Bruges, Ghent, Toulouse, London, Hamburg, Lübeck and others of equal importance had 20-40,000 inhabitants (Coffin et al., 2002). In early 16th century Western Europe, urban growth is mainly centred on the large commercial nodes in Flanders and Northern Italy (Figure 25 - top). Other clusters of large urban populations can be observed, such as in Andalusia or Sicily. The former boosted by trade from America and the latter by trade from the Mediterranean. In addition, urban centres such as London, Paris, Rome and Vienna stand out in terms of importance and size. These urban growths coincide with the views that appeared in Georg Braun's Civitates Orbis Terrarum between 1572 and 1617. A comparison between the Van der Krogt study (2008) and the population map of Europe shown here confirms the importance of these cities as depicted in Braun's publication. In fact, 543 cities were drawn in which the centre of Europe, the region of Flanders and the region of Andalusia stand out (Van der Krogt, 2008).

The urban growth of the 17th century highlights the developments in the above-mentioned regions of the previous century (Figure 25 - middle). However, new urban centres with populations of between 50,000 and 100,000 inhabitants began to appear. In addition to London and Paris, which are in first position, places such as Lisbon and Seville stand out on the Iberian Peninsula. On the other hand, in France, Lyon, Toulouse, Bordeaux, or Marseille are beginning to show a strong growth. On the Italian peninsula, in addition to the aforementioned Rome, Naples, Palermo and Venice are experiencing a demographic expansion. In central Europe, cities such as Munich, Nuremberg, Cologne, Berlin, Hamburg and Gdansk are becoming increasingly important on a territorial scale.

Finally, at the beginning of the 19th century, different assessments of urban growth can be observed (Figure 25 - down). The historical regions of commercial nodes such as Flanders, Northern Italy, Andalusia and Sicily maintained their importance but with limited growth. In contrast, there is a concentration and centralisation of population towards large cities, especially the capitals. Lisbon, Madrid, Rome, Paris, Vienna, Berlin, London or Dublin stand out with populations well above 100,000 inhabitants. In addition, the growth of countries such as the United Kingdom, France or the Holy Roman Empire can be observed, with a large number of cities in their territory, in contrast to countries such as Spain, Portugal or Italy. From this point on, the population grows exponentially in the industrialised areas and regions, as well as in the capitals of the countries. The rest of the cities manage to maintain a medium-sized city status between large centres and small settlements.





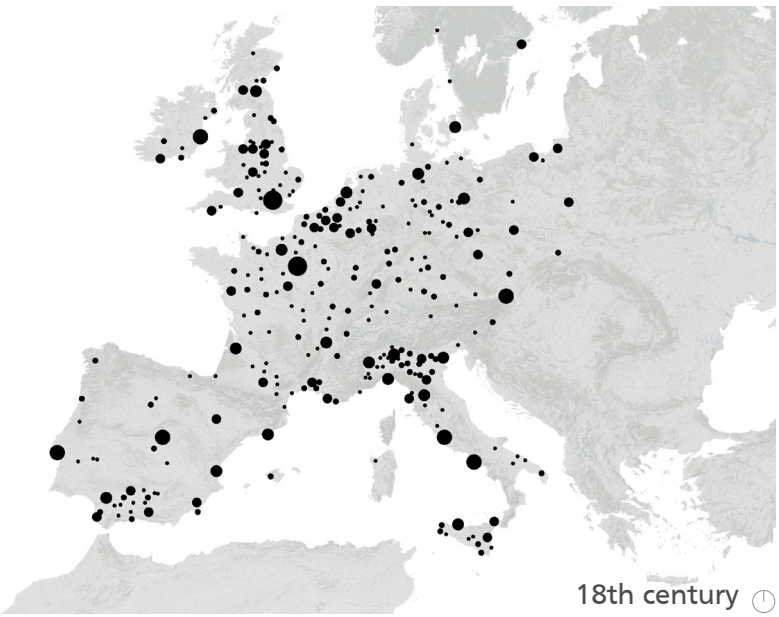


Figure 25. Historical demography of Europe. Own elaboration based on Instituto de Estadística y Cartografía de Andalucía (2009).

- < 20,000
- 20,000 - 50,000
- 50,000 - 100,000
- 100,000 >

2.3 MONASTIC ORDERS IN EUROPE

Figure 26. Franciscan Churches in Krakow, Poland (top), Novi Sad, Serbia (middle) & Tarifa, Spain (down). Author, 2019-2023.

Figure 27. (right page) Franciscan (top) and Dominican (down) provinces and monasteries in 1300. Provincial capitals (dark) and other cities (light).Own elaboration based on ESRI cartographic base and data from Schenkluhn (2000).

Franciscans

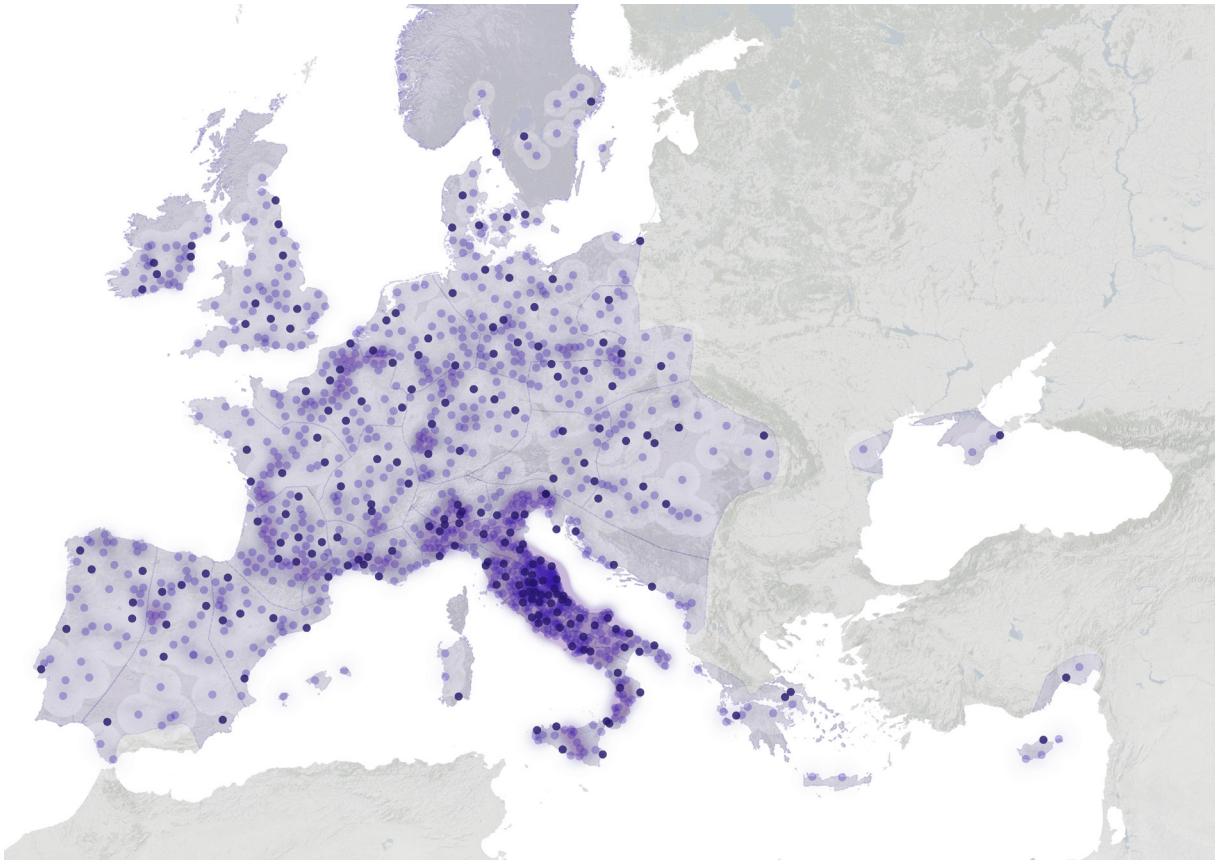
Dominicans

The early days of monasticism in Europe are marked mainly by the character of the religious orders. At the beginning, their characteristics favoured the establishment in the territory in isolation, without any connection to urban life. The monastery order of Cluny, mentioned in 2.1 above, had more than 1,500 buildings in all regions of the European continent by the 12th century (Braunfels, 1980). This expansion and foundation phenomenon in Christian territory was emulated by other orders, mainly the mendicant orders. This means that the establishments made by religious orders are not characteristic of one region or culture, but are considered a globalising phenomenon for the whole of Western Europe (Ostos Prieto et al., 2019). This statement redefines borders, territory and even political-social relations based on a common element that builds a European identity.

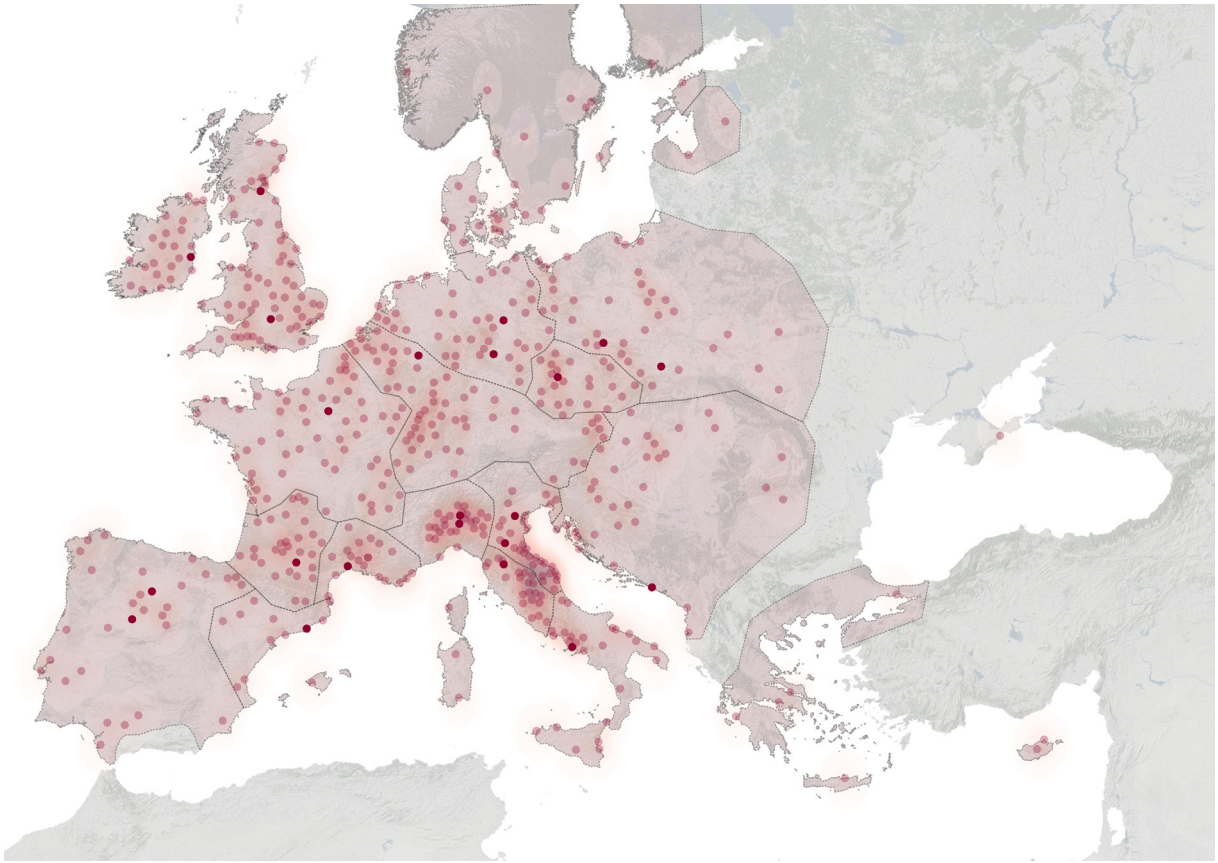
During the Middle Ages, Europe was characterised by a great dispersion of small urban settlements throughout the territory. In many cases this disintegration was managed by ecclesiastical power, incorporating rural areas into parishes. This generated a village centre that helped to forge community identity (Wilson, 2020). Gradually, monastic influence moved closer to the cities, until the emergence of the mendicant orders. The great difference between these orders and the previous ones is the combination of a contemplative and an active life. Thus, in the 13th century, the Pope approved two of the great European mendicant orders, the Franciscans in 1209 and the Dominicans in 1216. These were followed by other notable orders such as the Carmelites in 1247 and the Augustinians in 1256 (Pounds, 2005). These new orders are characterised by their foundation in cities, taking as a reference an urban and territorial dimension. However, monastic expansion is not at all easy in Europe. Jakob Swinka, archbishop of Gniezno at the end of the 13th century, complains that the German Franciscans do not understand Polish. Therefore, he ordered prayers to be said in the vernacular language for the defence and promotion of the Polish language (Le Goff, 1982).

Despite the difficulties the religious orders might encounter, the statistics of foundations during the 13th century by Dominicans and Franciscans (Figure 26) are remarkable. From a single foundation, by the end of the century the Dominicans had some 414 monasteries (Braunfels, 1980) and the Franciscans 1254 monastic buildings[5] (Schenkluhn, 2000) (Figure 27). According to Le Goff (1965), at the end of the 13th century, the map of the monasteries of Europe is the urban map of

5 It should be noted that this expansion was not only in Western Europe, but in all Catholic territories. Some states, such as the Republic of Venice or Genoa, controlled cities and regions in the East, such as Greece or the Crimea.



Franciscan provinces and monasteries



Dominican provinces and monasteries

Figure 28. Dominican Churches in Rome, Italy (top) & Salamanca, Spain (down). Author, 2019-2023.

Christendom. Expansion is linked both to the spread of the Christian faith and to the performance of tasks specific to each religious order. In this sense, one of the tasks of the Dominicans was the fight against heresy, as well as the conversion of Jews and Muslims. This led them to develop new ways of controlling heretics through legal procedures and justice (Coffin et al, 2002). Thus, their new foundations are closely linked to territories such as the Iberian Peninsula, formerly Muslim and in the midst of Christian conquest during the Middle Ages. They also stand out for their involvement in the fight against the Cathars in the south of France, especially during the 13th century (Cantera Montenegro & Cantera Montenegro, 1996).

Just as the religious order established unique rules and habits for all its members, the same was true for its buildings. In this sense, the monastic typology must be differentiated according to each order. Although they shared common elements such as the church, the cloister or the refectory, the characteristics of the buildings were different. An example of this is the building regulations approved by the Dominicans. They establish that the construction should be modest, not too large and the height of the church should not exceed thirty feet[6]. Only the choir and the sacristy may be vaulted and the church must not feature sculptures, paintings or spectacular pavements (Krüger, 2007). Although these guidelines are the initial rules, they are modified over time. An example of this is the incorporation of sculptures, paintings and ornamental materials within the churches (Figure 28). Nevertheless, most monasteries maintain their austere character on the outside.

In addition to written sources, some graphic references, such as Schedel's book *Die Schedelsche Weltchronik* (1493), show the architectural differences between monasteries. In this publication, the different religious orders are discussed, from Cluny and the Cistercian order to the Templar, Carthusian, Dominican, Augustinian, Franciscan, Carmelite and other orders. During the description of the text, images of the different temples and monastic architecture referenced in each of them appear (Figure 29). It is not a faithful and real reproduction of the building, but rather generic figures that could present the monastic typology with respect to one order or another, since some of them are repeated in different chapters. However, it is worth noting the difference between some of them, showing that since the 15th century the difference between orders was very clear, not only in the style of life, but also in their architecture.

The importance of monasticism in Europe can be seen not only in its religious architecture or the number of foundations in

6 About thirty feet would be equivalent to about ten metres in the International System.

cities, but also in its territorial scale. In fact, the foundation of monasteries is considered by some authors such as Braunfels (1980) as a branch of territorial planning, which has so far not been given the attention it deserves. Early on, this architectural typology perfectly dominated the territory by seeking the most advantageous natural positions. The use of the land was not only intended for the order itself, but also for the control and management of the territory. This component was added to the creation of sacred sites, through which pilgrimage routes began to emerge.

Pilgrimage sites played a dual role in the monastic development of Europe. Firstly, they became centres of attraction for all Christian territories, favouring demographic and economic growth. Many of them, cities or even isolated monasteries, became important centres of commercial or industrial activity. Examples include Santiago de Compostela in Spain, Bobbio in the Italian Apennines, Sankt Gallen, Maria Lach in the German Eifel, Ely, an island in Britain, or Glastonbury in the Somerset Marshes (Pounds, 2005). At the same time, other traditional Christian sites such as Rome and Jerusalem[7] saw a sharp increase in the number of pilgrims and visitors.

Secondly, in order to visit these pilgrimage sites, Europe-wide routes and safe itineraries were built. Two of the best known routes in Europe are the Way of St. James[8] and the Via Francigena (Figure 30). The first is the best known and the most fervent, and it is known that in 1139 the first Pilgrim's Guide was created (Le Goff, 1965). This guide was followed by several publications, the most important of which was the guide of 1495 entitled *Die Walfahrt und Straß zu Sankt Jakob*. Here, the

7 It should be remembered that the pilgrimage to Jerusalem produced the well-known Crusades in the 11th century.

8 It has been a UNESCO World Heritage Site since 1993. Retrieved from https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/669 (31/05/2023).

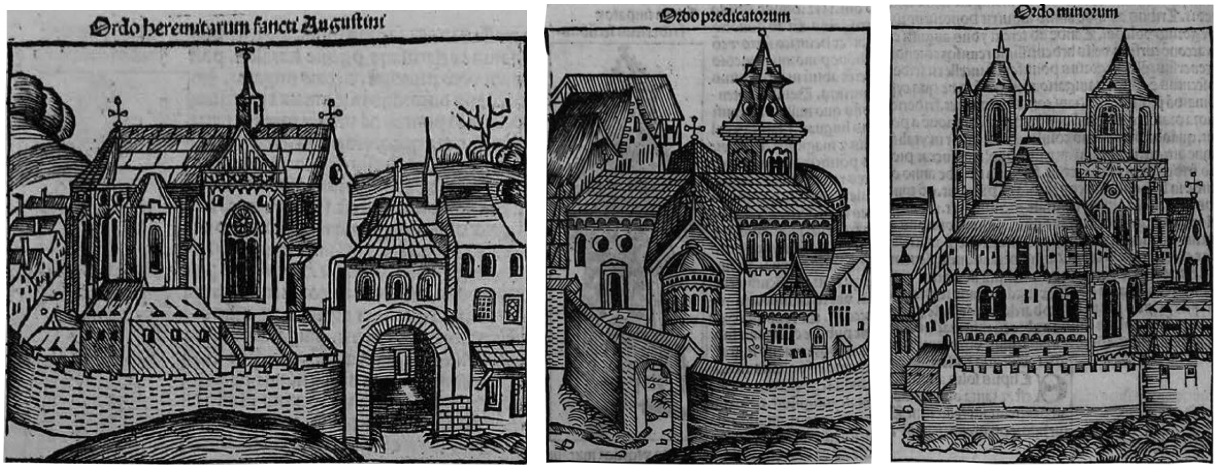


Figure 29. Types of monastery (left to right) Augustinian, Dominican and Franciscan. Images by Schedel (1493).

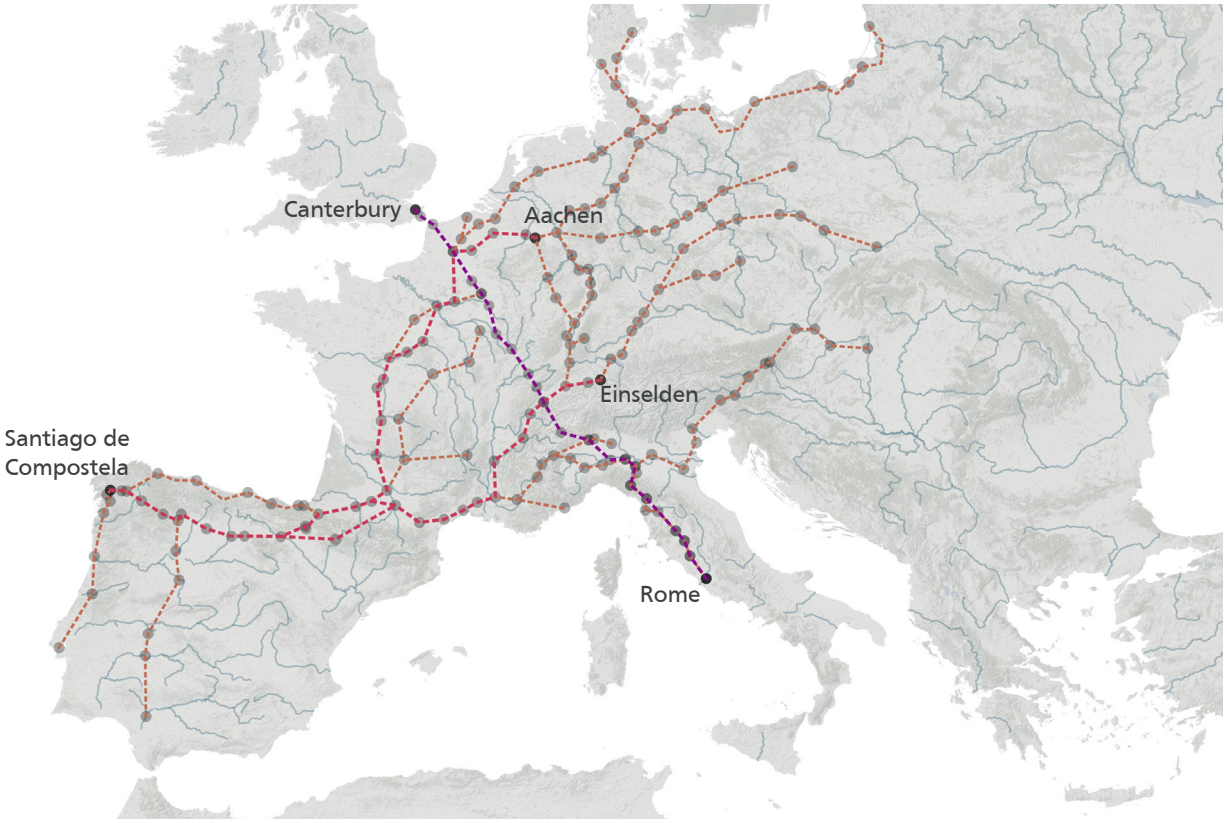


Figure 30. Pilgrimage routes in Europe in the 15th century. Own elaboration based on Herbers (2011) and Krüger (2007).

- Via Francigena
- Main Way of Saint James
- Other Ways of Saint James

Figure 31. Sign of the Pilgrims' Chapel of St. James in Aachen. Author, 2022.

monk of Künig gives a detailed description of the entire route. In fact, he establishes two starting points in Europe, Aachen (Figure 31) and Einselden (Herbers 2011), up to Santiago de Compostela. Therefore, the pilgrimage route is not a linear route, but from the Pyrenees onwards, it splits into two. Although this is the main or major route, there were also a large number of smaller roads or routes that connected with the main one all over the continent. A network of road infrastructure was woven around this pilgrimage route that spans the whole of Europe.

The Via Francigena is less known but equally important from the 10th century. Its route starts in the English city of Canterbury and ends in Rome. In addition to this itinerary, there are other roads to Rome, but of a second level. All these roads offered themselves as an ideal place to establish monastic foundations, as they fulfilled a social function for the care of pilgrims (Krüger, 2007). This care was not only spiritual, but the monasteries acted as day and night resting places. It must be remembered that the routes during the Middle Ages cannot be seen from today's perspective, but that they were long and slow. A fast traveller, such as a merchant, could cover between 25 and 60 km per day depending on the terrain. In this sense, he would need two weeks to go from Bologna to Avignon[9], and 11 or 12 days to go from Florence to Naples[10] (Le Goff, 1982). For

9 The distance between Bologna and Avignon is about 730km.

10 The distance between Florence and Naples has been calculated at about 470 km.

the Santiago and Rome routes, calculations could be made by taking an average of about 40km per day according to Le Goff's estimates. Taking the Aachen-Santiago route, the approximate calculation in kilometres is about 1900km. This gives a total of 47.5 days on the outward journey. On the Canterbury-Rome route of 1700km, the duration would be about 42.5 days.

In the case of Jerusalem and the Holy Land, pilgrimages were also common. However, the greater distance, the dangers of the route both by land and sea, and the crossing of regions belonging to other religions made the creation of major routes as on the continent extremely difficult. In turn, these difficulties facilitated the emergence of new orders in this context, especially of a religious and military nature. As an example, some orders such as the Templars or the Hospitallers, known as the Knights of St. John, were decisive in facilitating the pilgrims' journey to Jerusalem (Lyman, 2016). In addition, the Teutonic order appeared in this region in 1190, which by 1261 already had foundations in the Lower Rhine (Wilson, 2020). The order was also key in its development in Europe, building one of the main monastic states in territories east of the Baltic.

In this period of monastic growth and expansion during the Middle Ages, new internal conflicts again arose within the Church. The most prominent one took place between 1378 and 1417, known as the Western Schism or the Papal Schism. The difficult political situation of the Church caused two bishops to dispute the papacy and there were even two popes at the same time, Urban and Clement, the Pope of Avignon and the Pope of Rome[11] (Lyman, 2016). This conflict divided the Church again as the previous Eastern Schism did in 1054. The division even led religious orders such as the Dominicans to side with Avignon or Rome. Moreover, many dioceses were divided into two bishops or monasteries in two abbots (Cantera Montenegro & Cantera Montenegro, 1996). Finally, in 1417, Martin V was elected as the new and sole successor to the Papacy in Rome, putting an end to the internal Christian division and reunifying the Catholic territory. This new crisis laid the foundations for new ideals and asceticism on the continent, giving rise in the near future to a new reformation, the Protestant Reformation.

During the 16th century, a new event divided Catholic Europe again into two camps, the Reformation. This doctrine is directly opposed to the authority of the Church, without recognising the Pope or the ecclesiastical structure (Coffin et al, 2002). In 1517, the Augustinian monk Martin Luther put forward new reformist ideas on the concept of the political structure of the

11 The confrontation was joined by the appearance of a third pope, Alexander of Pisa in 1410 (Lyman, 2016)).

Church and Christianity itself. In the wake of the Lutheran Reformation, new movements such as the Anglican or Calvinist Reformation[12] emerged. The Anglican further developed Protestant ideas, denying papal authority, but building its own church by taking the English monarchy as its new leader (Lyman, 2016). However, John Calvin was inspired by Lutheran theses to establish a new system based on public election and equality of the people, contrary to the absolutist system and centred on both the monarchy and the Church (Lanuza, 2003). The crisis within the Church became more than evident.

No other event altered the map of monasticism in Europe as much as the Reformation. In just a few decades, countless monastic buildings and religious orders were suppressed (Krüger, 2007). Faced with the disappearance of monasteries and convents, the Catholic Church did not adopt a passive stance, but rather the opposite. The Catholic response to Martin Luther's Protestant ideas was called the Counter-Reformation. Its aims included the renewal of the Church itself, as well as preventing the Protestant advance. In fact, in the German territories, the Catholic Reformation was known by the term *Rekatholisierung*, which directly means a return to Catholicism. As became obvious, the ecclesiastical struggle was transferred to the political arena and religious wars were the main stage in the centre of Europe. For example, the power struggle in the Low Countries between the Dutch and the Spanish reached a religious dimension in the Thirty Years' War between 1618 and 1648 (Wilson, 2009). Thus the map of Europe changed completely (Figure 33) in the 16th century. One can observe the strong Lutheran influence within the Holy Roman Empire, while the Italian, Spanish or French territories still maintain a strong Catholic character. In France, however, a strong reform process appeared, fuelled by the Huguenot reform, but it did not achieve a wide extension. On the other hand, other regions of the Holy Roman Empire, the Netherlands, England, Scotland, Bohemia and the Kingdom of Hungary were largely reformed.

The emergence of Protestantism was the beginning of a series of reforms that spread across much of Christian territory. Most of these reforms have been maintained to the present day, which is a major process of transformation on the European map. These changes were not only religious or ideological. As mentioned above, they directly affected the ecclesiastical structure, i.e. the management of territory and cities, the system of government in ecclesiastical provinces, dioceses and parish districts. In addition to cathedrals and parishes, the monasteries and convents play an essential role in the management and control of the religious structure. In this sense, the Reformation

12 Another term also known to refer to the French Calvinist doctrine is Huguenots.

rejected the monastic idea. Por ejemplo, el monasterio franciscano de Berlin fue disuelto y reutilizado como laboratorio y escuela posteriormente (Figure 32). Although there were some attempts to adapt the monastery to the new ideas, such as the monastery of Husum, they were not effective (Braunfels, 1980). Therefore, the disappearance of orders and the prohibition of new foundations were common.

Figure 32. Franciscan church in Berlin, Germany. Author, 2022.

In the monastic sphere, many of its orders were reformed, such as the Carmelites or Franciscans. The reform of these orders were the Discalced Carmelites and Capuchins respectively. The idea of the new branches was to return to the initial spirit of the order. In fact, the Capuchins had a strong counter-reformationist preaching work especially in Germany and France (Krüger, 2007). New orders such as the Jesuits also appeared. Their work was mainly educational and formative, creating schools and universities to fight Protestantism. They were seen as a political weapon as they not only managed to influence the local population, but also the higher political spheres (O'Malley, 2006). The struggle between Catholics and Lutherans moved into the academic sphere, into the control of education and teaching. Following this educational line, other orders such as the Ursulines devoted themselves entirely to female education, especially in the areas most affected by Lutheranism such as the German territory.

Figure 33. The Reformation in Europe, 16th century. Own elaboration based on Krüger (2007).

Protestantism not only introduced an ecclesiastical conflict that divided Catholicism, but also generated a new monastic boom in response. The old orders intensified their founding activity, the new orders aimed to fight the new ideas, making foundations in practically every urban settlement. Thus, monasticism not only had a strong influence not only in the big cities, but during this period it reached even the smallest settlements. An example of this is the town of Hagenau, with 2,000 to 3,000 inhabitants at the end of the 18th century. Although it was a small town, it housed more than 11 monasteries and convents with orders such as the Premonstratensians, Franciscans, Poor Clares, Augustinians, Dominicans, Penitents, Chilermists, Sanjuanists, Beguines, Jesuits and Capuchins (Braunfels, 1980). The last two orders are the result of the Catholic Counter-Reformation, which in a short period of time reached a rate of monastic foundation very similar to that of ancient orders such as the Dominicans or the Franciscans.

Finally, the beginning of the 18th century marked the end of the monastic boom in Europe. The new ideals promoted by the French Revolution of 1789, together with Napoleon's rise to power, led to the suppression and confiscation of practically all monasteries and convents. Although it began in France, Napoleon's conquests spread throughout the whole of Europe, encompassing all Catholic regions where religious orders existed. An example of this is the Wutemberg region where 95 abbeys were suppressed to be used as barracks, schools, sanatoriums or offices in 1806 (Wilson, 2020). In contrast, other territories such as Great Britain, which were not invaded by the French, had no monasteries at the time, as they had previously been suppressed by the Anglican Reformation. Thus, to a certain extent, European monastic development culminated as a common and transcendental element in the development of the territory and cities. From the 18th century onwards, the diverse socio-political events and territorial developments marked the monastic trajectory in each region, establishing differences that had hitherto been practically non-existent.

2.4 SPANISH PENINSULAR FRAMEWORK

The Spanish territory taken as a reference for its study is that defined by the borders of the Iberian Peninsula. This peninsula has a perimeter situation in Europe, with a strategic position between the Mediterranean Sea and the Atlantic Ocean. Politically and historically it is divided by two countries, Portugal and Spain. Its status as a peninsula has meant that the borders have hardly changed. Therefore, a historical, political and territorial approach is made to the Spanish territory on the

peninsula. For the chronological scope, the most characteristic or determining historical layers are taken for this analysis, since a detailed analysis of the Spanish territorial evolution is not the object of this research. This is mainly focused on the medieval period, as it is the most complex and the period from which the political, social and religious construction of the country originated.

The current division of the Spanish territory is structured in 17 Autonomous Communities and 2 Autonomous Cities[13]. Among these, Andalusia stands out for containing within its boundaries the site of Écija, the case study. An approach of scale is carried out to identify again the territorial and political parameters. However, new parameters to be considered are established, such as demographics and the number of monastic settlements. These allow the construction of a context and a better understanding of the territory where Écija is located. Thus, the study from the different territorial scales is crucial to subsequently understand the development of the urban monastic system in the city.

2.4.1 HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL CONTEXTUALISATION

In order to understand monastic development in the Iberian Peninsula, it is necessary to analyse its historical and political context during the Middle Ages. As in Europe as a whole, the medieval period lasted approximately 10 centuries and was characterised by its convulsions and complexity. The fall of the Western Roman Empire[14] in the 5th century fragmented Roman territory into multiple kingdoms such as the Franks, the Ostrogoths and the Visigoths. The latter settled in the former Roman province of Hispania, creating a new kingdom (Figure 34 - 01). In the 7th century, the power of the Umayyad Caliphate with its capital in Damascus extended from India to the Moroccan Atlantic coast, covering the entire African coast (Lanuza, 2003). The search for new territories and conquests led them to confront the Visigothic kingdom in Hispania in 711. The latter was quickly defeated and conquered, and decades later, the whole of Hispania was controlled by the Umayyads[15] (Coffin, et al., 2002). The new name by which the Iberian peninsula began to be known is Al-Andalus.

13 The concept of 'Autonomous Community or Autonomous City' refers to the name of the division of the territory of Spain.

14 If the fall of the Western Roman Empire marks the beginning of the Middle Ages, the fall of the Eastern Roman Empire marks the end of this period in 1453.

15 The expansion of the Caliphate also brought it into conflict with the Franks at the Battle of Poitiers. However, the Muslims were defeated and the Pyrenees became the new border between the two kingdoms.

In the mid-8th century, internal political disputes within the Umayyad Caliphate led to two important developments. Firstly, Christians took advantage of Muslim political instabilities to found the Kingdom of Asturias in the north of the peninsula (Figure 34 - 02). Secondly, the assassination of the Umayyad family of Prince Abd al-Rahman I caused him to flee Damascus and settle in Córdoba. Here he founded the Caliphate of Córdoba, with its capital in Córdoba, totally independent of Damascus (Lara Martínez & Lara Martínez, 2018). During this period, Christianity in the Iberian Peninsula had a scarce development in minority groups as Islam was the official religion of the Muslim culture. On the other hand, the cities experienced a great economic and demographic development. In fact, Cordoba became one of the most populated cities in Europe (Lanuza, 2003).

As mentioned above, the Christian presence was very insignificant and the peninsula was practically Muslim. However, the small Christian kingdom in the north grew more and more until it reached the Duero River to the south as a new frontier (Monsalvo Antón, 2010). The conquest of the city of León led to the creation of the new Kingdom of León, with its capital in this city. Together with the growth of this kingdom, other kingdoms also arose as a result of Charlemagne's conquests to secure the Pyrenean frontier. These are the Kingdom of Navarre and the County of Barcelona (Figure 34 - 03). As is evident, Christian influence grew and in 930 it covered most of the north of the peninsula. This allowed the emergence of territorial structures such as the Way of St. James or the construction of churches and monasteries in the new Christian kingdoms. It is important to note that the role played by the Church was even greater as, in addition to controlling and managing the territory, it had to Christianise the former Islamic areas.

The wars between kingdoms went on and on throughout the centuries, especially those between the Christians Kingdoms against Al-Andalus. The Christians, out of cultural and religious affinity, concentrated their expansion towards Muslim territory. A straight-line conquest of the Christian kingdoms towards the south can be observed (Figure 34 - 04). In 1157 the political map became more complex. The weakening of the Caliphate of Córdoba caused its division and fragmentation into small Taifa kingdoms (Monsalvo Antón, 2010). This situation was taken advantage of by the Christians who expanded their frontier to the limits of the Tagus River. The new African Almohad Caliphate finally conquered and unified the fragments of the old Caliphate of Córdoba. A new capital was established in Seville and the Muslim territory once again consolidated (Lara Martínez & Lara Martínez, 2018). On the Christian side, the Kingdom of León was divided into three kingdoms: León,

Figure 34. (right page) Historical evolution of the Iberian peninsula. From 6th to 16th centuries. Own elaboration based on Monsalvo Antón (2010).

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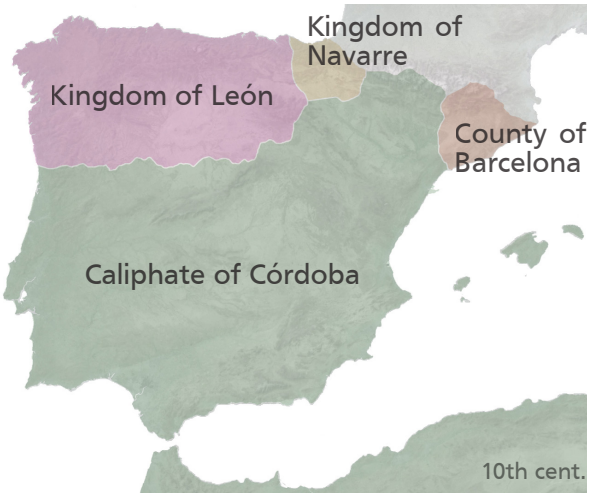

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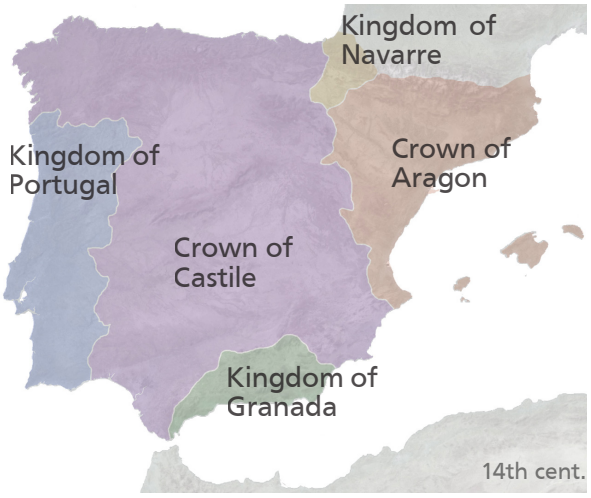

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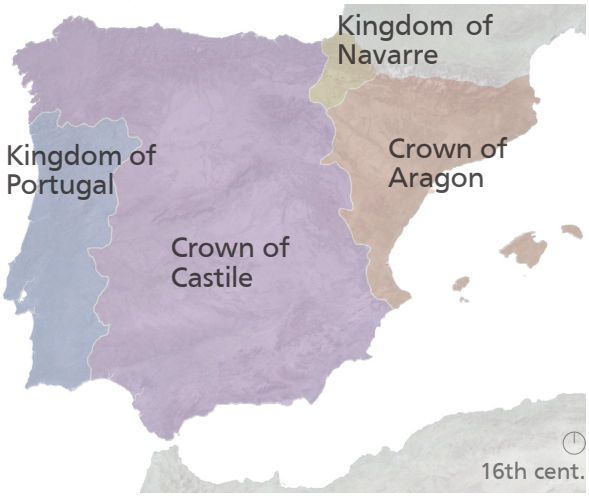

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Castile and Portugal. The latter constitutes the prelude to the Portuguese country, conquering its current capital, Lisbon. In addition, Castile conquered the former Visigothic capital, Toledo, moving the capital to this city (Lara Martínez & Lara Martínez, 2018). On the other hand, the kingdom of Navarre remains in its extension, while the former County of Barcelona becomes the Kingdom of Aragon.

The union of the kingdoms of Castile and León gave rise to the Crown of Castile. The Castilian king formed an alliance with the Kingdom of Navarre and the Crown of Aragon to defeat the Almohad troops at the Battle of Navas de Tolosa in 1212 (Lanuza, 2003). The Christian victory allowed the Castilian expansion to form the frontier of the Kingdom of Granada in 1301 (Figure 34 - 05). At the same time, the Portuguese kingdom and the Crown of Aragon completed their conquests on the Iberian Peninsula, maintaining their borders with Castile[16] (Monsalvo Antón, 2010). During this period, monasticism was found practically throughout the Iberian Peninsula, especially in the south, given the need to Christianise the newly conquered territories. Only the Kingdom of Granada, the last Muslim area on the Iberian Peninsula, was missing. However, it survived for another 200 years thanks to territorial management and diplomatic agreements between Christians and Muslims.

In 1492, the last ruler of the Kingdom of Granada, Boabdil, surrendered the city of Granada to the Catholic Monarchs. This marked the end of the Islamic presence in the Iberian Peninsula for 800 years (Figure 34 - 06). The last conquest of Muslim territory, the incorporation of the kingdom of Navarre and the marriage between Queen Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon laid the foundations for the new Kingdom of Spain. From the 16th century onwards, the Iberian Peninsula was divided between Spain and Portugal[17], a division that has remained practically unchanged to the present day (Lara Martínez & Lara Martínez, 2018). As mentioned above, from the 15th century onwards, the territorial division of the Iberian Peninsula did not undergo any significant transformations. This is why the focus of the analysis is on the medieval period. In the six centuries that followed, the succession of new events took place mostly within the borders of each country without any major changes. In this sense, only the Napoleonic occupation in the 19th century should be highlighted, although this took place not only in Spain but also on a European scale.

16 The border between Portugal and Castile, which later became Spain, is one of the oldest political borders with scarcely any changes (Lara Martínez & Lara Martínez, 2018).

17 Although Spain and Portugal are two independent kingdoms, in some exceptions they have been united. A major example is the unification under Philip II in the 16th century.

2.4.2 CHURCH TERRITORIAL SYSTEM

The early construction of the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon generated the creation of records and statistical documentation on their areas of influence in the territory. One of the most relevant examples is the 16th century demographic census of the Crown of Castile carried out by Tomás González[18] from the books of Rentas y Derechos Reales (González, 1829). In the 18th century, statistical censuses such as the Ensenada census in 1756, the Aranda census in 1768 and the Floridablanca census in 1787 are of particular note. These included population data, descriptions of towns, enumeration and classification of buildings, number of trades, agricultural hectares, etc. The interest of this data is to know the state of the monastic system in Spain prior to the secularisation and confiscation of religious buildings in the 19th century. The confiscations of Madoz and Mendizábal in Spain. The Royal Order of Ecclesiastical Confiscations[19] of 25 July 1835[20] suppressed any monastery or convent where there were fewer than 12 people. Subsequently, in 1855, a new secularisation order was published in La Gaceta de Madrid, which lasted until 1924.

The end of the 18th century is crucial to know the original state of monasticism before its secularisation. In this sense, Floridablanca's data show a total of 3072 monastic buildings, divided into 2046 male and 1026 female (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, n.d.). However, by the time Floridablanca counted the monasteries and convents in 1787, the Jesuit order had been expelled from Spain[21]. The Jesuit buildings have not been taken into account. Therefore, if the numbers are corrected and include the monasteries of the Jesuit order, the total would be 3,260 monasteries, with 2,202 male monasteries (Atienza López, 2008). As can be seen, the male buildings are practically twice as many as the female ones in number.

The ecclesiastical territorial system, together with the religious orders, arose on the Iberian Peninsula in the northern area and declined as new territories were conquered. As in Europe, monastic expansion also took place on the peninsula, but only in Christian areas. The creation of a monastery is not just another religious building. They play a key role in land-use planning, as they organise agricultural areas, cut down forests, set up

18 As indicated at the beginning of the book itself. This 19th century edition includes appendices that complete the rest of the peninsula in the 16th century, i.e. the territories of the Crown of Aragon and the Kingdom of Navarre.

19 Translated from the original official document entitled *Real Orden de Exclaustración Eclesiástica del 25 de julio de 1835*.

20 BOE núm. 211, de 29 de julio de 1835, pages 841 a 842. Electronic resource. Available at http://www.boe.es/datos/pdfs/BOE/1835/211/A00841-00842.pdf. Accessed on 31/05/2023.

21 They were expelled in 1767 by order of King Charles III (Soto Artudeño, 2014).

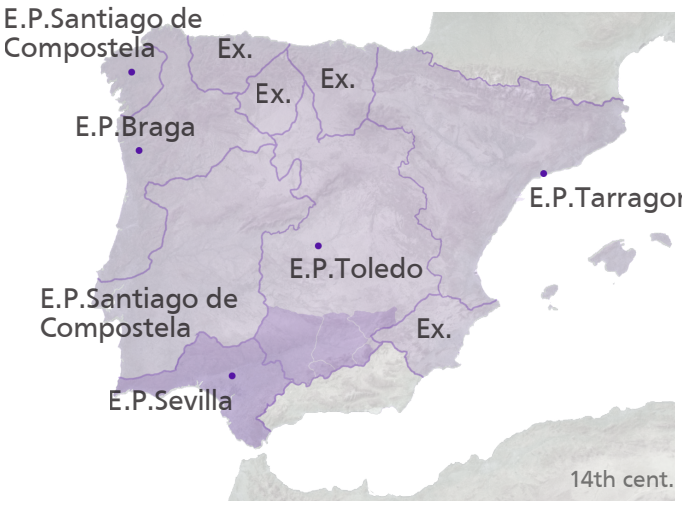
livestock farms, etc. In addition, they consolidate depopulated borders (Sobrino González, 2013). Therefore, a large part of Iberian monasticism sought out border areas and roads of strategic value. Specifically, the border towns between the Muslim and Christian kingdoms were important areas for monastic foundations.

In section 2.5.1. an analysis of the changes in the borders of the political map of the Iberian Peninsula has been made. However, by focusing this research on the monasteries, a new political layer, the ecclesiastical administrative one, has to be superimposed. Regardless of geographical or political boundaries, the Church as an institution creates its own territorial organisation. This division is partly inherited from the Roman administration[22], and the ecclesiastical division is even referred to in the same way, as diocese (Martínez, 1994). Furthermore, these territories are controlled and managed by the bishop, being administered in his own name (Aldea Vaquero; Marín Martínez & Vives Gatell, 1972). In this sense, the grouping of bishoprics constructs an ecclesiastical province, governed by the figure of the archbishop. On the other hand, exempt dioceses can also appear. This means that this territory does not depend directly on the Holy See (Martínez, 1994).

Since the Middle Ages, the Church has had its own organisation of the Christian territory, sometimes with a high lack of coherence with the political and geographical map (Martínez, 1994). Moreover, this division has been modified over time, and is not the same today as it was initially established in the Middle Ages. Specifically, in the case of the Iberian Peninsula, up to five different divisions of ecclesiastical provinces and dioceses have been located. All the ecclesiastical provinces are shown on the map, although only the dioceses of the Andalusian cities selected. In this way, the aim is to highlight the territory and diocese on which they depended, as well as their relative position in relation to their corresponding ecclesiastical province.

The first division into ecclesiastical provinces was established in the 13th century (Aldea Vaquero; Marín Martínez & Vives Gatell, 1972), which bears no relation to the Christian kingdoms (Figure 35 - 01). The most striking example is to be found between Portugal and Castile whose ecclesiastical government responds to very different issues from the political ones. The provinces of Santiago, Braga and Seville overlap between the two kingdoms. Moreover, and obviously, the Muslim territory is excluded from the territorial organisation. In the 14th century, the peninsular territory was restructured, with the segregation

22 During the reign of the Roman Emperor Diocletian in the 3rd century, the territory was divided into dioceses.



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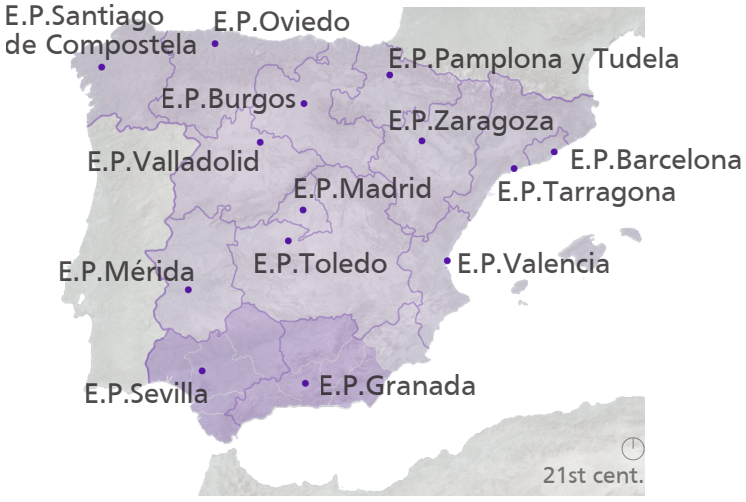

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Figure 35. Historical evolution of the Ecclesiastical provincies in the Iberian peninsula. From 14th to 21st centuries. In dark colour, the dioceses studied. Own elaboration based on Monsalvo Antón (2010).

Ex. | Exempt Province
E.P. | Ecclesiastical Province

of the province of Tarragona and the enlargement of the province of Santiago (Figure 35 - 02). The conquest of Granada in the 15th century allowed the incorporation of the entire peninsular territory into the ecclesiastical provincial division and diocese (Figure 35 - 03). In this period, the political and religious frontier of the kingdom of Portugal coincided with that of Castile, with the provinces of Braga and Lisbon. On the other hand, the territorial division of Spain remained completely unchanged until 1851.

In the mid-19th century, the agreements between Church and State restructured the religious map (Martínez, 1994), again differentiated from the political map of Spain into provinces at that time. In this new division (Figure 35 - 04), the exempt provinces disappeared and new provinces emerged, such as Valladolid and Burgos. At the same time, provinces such as Seville and Granada were enlarged, almost doubling their size. In 1950 the ecclesiastical provincial division was reorganised once again (Figure 35 - 05). Finally, the provinces were roughly adapted to the political map of the time, with most of the borders coinciding between the religious and administrative divisions. In addition, a more homogeneous distribution of the territory was chosen, with the disappearance of large provincial areas as could be found in the previous divisions.

The study and identification of the ecclesiastical provincial division is relevant to understand monasticism. This structure manages churches and religious buildings both from an urban and territorial point of view. This means that part of the decisions of monastic foundations are not only based on the city itself, but also on the ecclesiastical province. In fact, the foundation of a monastery has always had an important significance. The appearance of a religious order in a city signifies a new focus of power and a new institutional force that can interfere with the existing order (Atienza López, 2008). This leads to a constant struggle between bishops and archbishops, as well as a greater concentration of religious orders in some territories more than others.

2.4.3 MONASTICISM IN ANDALUSIAN CONTEXT

One of the Spanish regions where monasticism has had a larger impact has been in Andalusia. This is due to various reasons, among them the Christianisation of the former Islamic region, together with the economic power of the cities as the gateway to America. The mendicant orders found Andalusian cities to be strategic points for establishing foundations and spreading rapidly. One of their characteristics is their more urban character in comparison with the rural monasteries of the north

of the peninsula (López Martínez, 1992). Although isolated monasteries far from the cities also appear in the south, they represent a smaller percentage in relation to those located in the city. The mendicant orders are the protagonists of monastic development in Andalusia. Most of the cities incorporate the monastic typology as part of their urban structure. The mendicant orders appear as an urban phenomenon (García Torralbo, 1998), added to the role of equipment in the city.

Due to their urban character, it is necessary to study the data of their population and monastic size. The latter is measured by quantifying the total number of monasteries and convents. The territory of Andalusia covers an area of 87,598 km2 (Consejería de Obras Públicas y Transportes, 2006), much larger than that of some European countries such as Belgium with 30,688 km2 or the Netherlands with 41,850 km2. In demographic terms, Andalusia has a population of approximately 8.5 million in 2022 (Instituto de Estadística y Cartografía de Andalucía, 2023). In this context, the provincial capitals are the most populated, such as Seville and Malaga with between 600,000 and 700,000 inhabitants, followed by Cordoba, Granada, Almeria or Jerez de la Frontera with a population between 200,000 and 300,000 inhabitants. Therefore, a selection should be made of those cities that are most representative and important in the territory.

Both cities, infrastructures and territory are regulated by the Andalusian territorial development plan (POTA)[23] since 2006. This plan makes a distinction between cities according to their population size, being main city, medium-sized city and small city. In this grouping, the main cities are the eight provincial capitals, plus the area of Algeciras[24]. On the other hand, medium-sized cities are those with a population of more than 10,000 inhabitants, the remaining cities being considered small (Consejería de Obras Públicas y Transportes, 2006). In this sense, Andalusia stands out for its urban-territorial structure based on the network of medium-sized cities, which is the main urban model and one of the most sustainable.

The classification of towns in the territorial plan is based on demographic data and current facilities without introducing the main component in this study, the monastic one. Before establishing a selection of cities, it is necessary to combine demographic and monastic data. As no publications or documentary sources have been found which clearly and concisely collect the monastic data of all the Andalusian cities, the heritage

23 Acronym of Plan de Ordenación del Territorio de Andalucía.

24 The consideration of Algeciras as a major city is due to the creation of a metropolitan area derived from port activity. As a strategic point in the Strait of Gibraltar, the port is one of the most important at European level (Consejería de Obras Públicas y Transportes, 2006).

protection of *Conjunto Histórico* has been used. The heritage protection of the cities is linked to the monastic development itself, as there is an abundant architectural production in these cities. In Andalusia, a total of 120 cities have been protected (Becerra García, 2020), and 77 of them have at least one monastery or convent. It should be borne in mind that these are not all monastic cities, but those that meet the two conditions, *Conjunto Histórico* and monastery. The selection of this sample is intended to delimit the scope of the study in order to generate the context of the case study, since the study of the whole monasteries in Andalusia is not one of the objectives of the research.

In order to establish an Andalusian contextualisation, a brief historical overview is made of the determining layers in the configuration of the territory, and a database[25] is created to study its demography and monastic development. For the historical layers, time-sliced maps are made to identify the most relevant aspects on a territorial level. For the database, a table (Figure 36) is drawn up which can later be represented graphically in cartographic form. The columns of the table are discussed below. The first four columns locate the position of the city in relation to its initial ecclesiastical province and diocese in the 16th century and the current one in 2022. All selected cities are listed alphabetically, together with their decimal coordinates in degrees. Subsequently, census data from the 16th century (González, 1829), 1850 (Madoz, 1847), 1900 and 2022 population (Instituto de Estadística y Cartografía de Andalucía, n.d.) are used. At the same time, a column is added with the date on which some of the cities were founded. Not all of them have a Roman or medieval origin, so that in the 16th century there is no population data, as is evident.

25 The complete database can be found in the annexes.

Figure 36. Structure of the table of monastic cities in Andalusia. Complete table in annexes. Own elaboration.

Ecclesiastical province 16th cent.	Diocese 16th cent.	Ecclesiastical province 2022	Diocese 2022	City	Coor. X	Coor. Y	Pop. 16th cent.	Pop. 1850	Pop. 1900	Pop. 2022	City Foundations	Total mon. & conv.	Male	Female	Augustians

In order to corroborate the existence of monastic buildings and their total number, different sources have been used. First of all, it is important to bear in mind that the information must be prior to the confiscations of the 19th century, as these entailed the disappearance of numerous monasteries and convents. Therefore, Madoz's meticulous register of Andalusian cities (Madoz, 1847) has been key. Furthermore, this information has been contrasted with the documentary base of the Portal de Archivos Españoles (PARES) (Ministerio de Cultura y Deporte, 2023) as well as with the following documentary sources (Soto Artudeño, 2014), (Miura Andrades, 2018), (Aladro Prieto, 2021), (Barrios Rozúa, 2004), (Rodríguez Marín, 2000), (García Torralbo, 1998) and (Pérez Cano, 1997). The table shows the total number of foundations per city at the end of the 18th century, divided into male and female. Furthermore, each of the monastic foundations per city has been distinguished by religious order and date of foundation. Thus, it is possible to know which order and in which year it arrived in each place. In cases where there is more than one foundation of the same order in a city, this has been divided into columns, sorted by year from youngest to oldest.

2.4.3.1 HISTORICAL-TERRITORIAL DEVELOPMENT

The history of the territory of Andalusia[26] spans more than 21 centuries, a complex process to study in detail in this section. For this reason, the most significant historical layers for the territorial and monastic development of the region are highlighted. It is a strategic location in the south of the Iberian Peninsula between the Mediterranean Sea and the Atlantic Ocean, building part of the Strait of Gibraltar. To the north, the Sierra Morena mountain range and its forests establish a natural border. In the centre, the Guadalquivir river acts as the backbone of the whole territory (Figure 37). Finally, other mountainous areas stand out, such as the Subbaetic and Penibaetic Systems, where the highest geographical point of the peninsula, the Mulhacén, is located.

The territory that forms the current Andalusia has been a place of confluence of different civilisations, cultures and transformations throughout history. The first cities have a Phoenician origin, such as Cadiz, or Greek, such as Malaga (Lara Martínez & Lara Martínez, 2018). However, it was not until the arrival of Rome in the 2nd century BC when there was a growth in the construction of cities and territorial planning. The Emperor Augustus divided the Empire into provinces, subdivided into

26 The name Andalusia refers to the territory of the Autonomous Community that emerged in 1981. Previously, this region has had different place names and a surface area that has changed throughout history.

smaller units called *conventus*. The territory of Hispania was organised in the 1st century BC into the provinces of Tarraconensis, Lusitania and Baetica (Instituto de Estadística y Cartografía de Andalucía, 2009). The latter is located in the south of the peninsula, coinciding approximately with the current extension of Andalusia (Figure 38). The capitals of each *conventus* are the cities of Corduba, Astigi, Hispalis and Gades[27] (Cuenca Toribio, 2005). The graphic representation of the size of the cities is made differentiating provincial capitals from the rest of the settlements, since the Roman population data are unknown. An approximate size can be calculated by estimating 225-250 inhabitants/hectare (Gozalbes Cravioto, 2007).

Roman infrastructures were spread throughout the Empire, highlighting its road system. This was not only used to connect cities, but also to increase the speed of travel from one part of the Empire to another, trade and communications. A good connection to Rome from the provinces was important. This led to the creation of important roads such as the *Via Augusta.* This connected the cities of Gades and Rome (Blázquez Martínez, 2006), as well as passing through all the capitals of the Baetica *conventus*. The importance of communications was not only terrestrial but also fluvial. The Betis river[28] was used as a commercial and transport axis from the centre of Baetica to Rome. In the case of Astigi, thanks to the navigability of the Singilis river[29], a tributary of the Betis, it was also connected to the river transport system (García-Dils de la Vega, 2015) for the transport of olive oil. The importance of this system of cities and territorial infrastructures lies in their use by the monastic orders for their development. The ancient capitals of *conventus* became bishop's seats and the site of monastic foundations. On the other hand, the Roman roads inherited in later centuries were the basis for future urban-territorial developments.

After the fall of the Western Roman Empire, the Roman territorial and administrative structure was inherited by both Visigoths and Muslims. The creation of Al-Andalus from the 8th century onwards led to economic and demographic growth in Andalusia (Cuenca Toribio, 2005). Cordoba became the capital of the new caliphate, acquiring a leading role at European level. This period was overshadowed by the battle of Navas de Tolosa in 1212, which marked the beginning of the Christian conquest of Andalusia. This conquest was not immediate, but lasted more than two hundred years. It was a long process conditioned by political, economic and geographical issues and developed in six phases (Figure 39) (Ostos Prieto, 2020). During this period,

27 The current names of the cities in the same order are Córdoba, Écija, Seville and Cádiz.

28 Nowadays, the Guadalquivir River.

29 Nowadays, the Genil River.

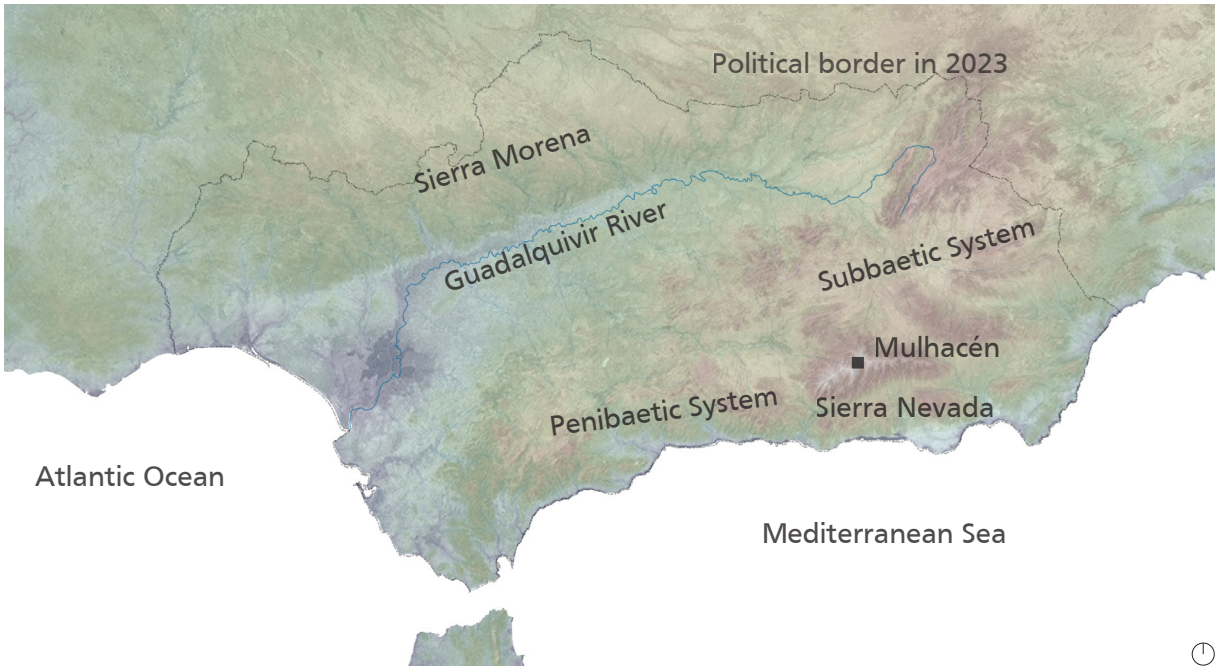
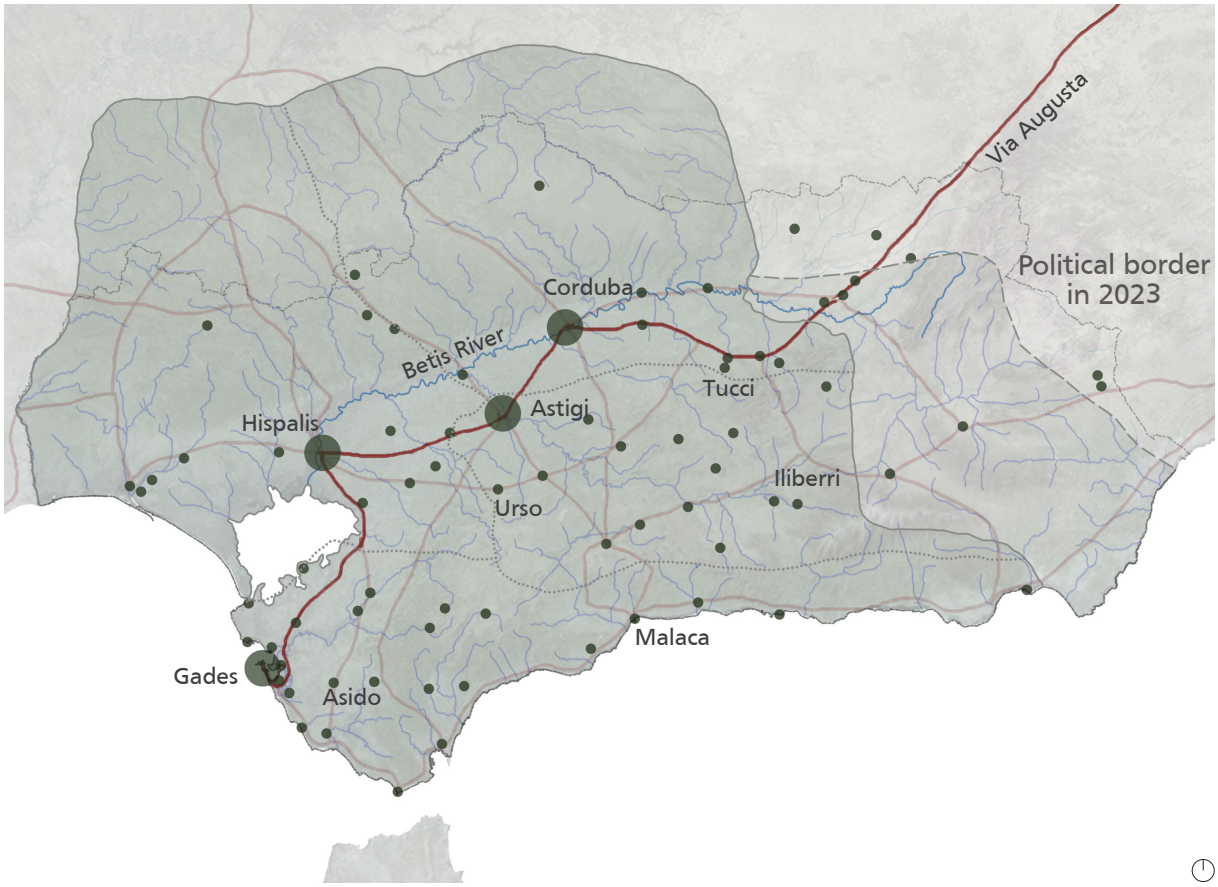


Figure 37. Topographical map of Andalusia. Own elaboration based on Esri topographic map.

Figure 38. Roman province of Baetica with *conventus* capitals and Via Augusta, 1st century. Own elaboration based on Instituto de Estadística y Cartografía de Andalucía (2009).



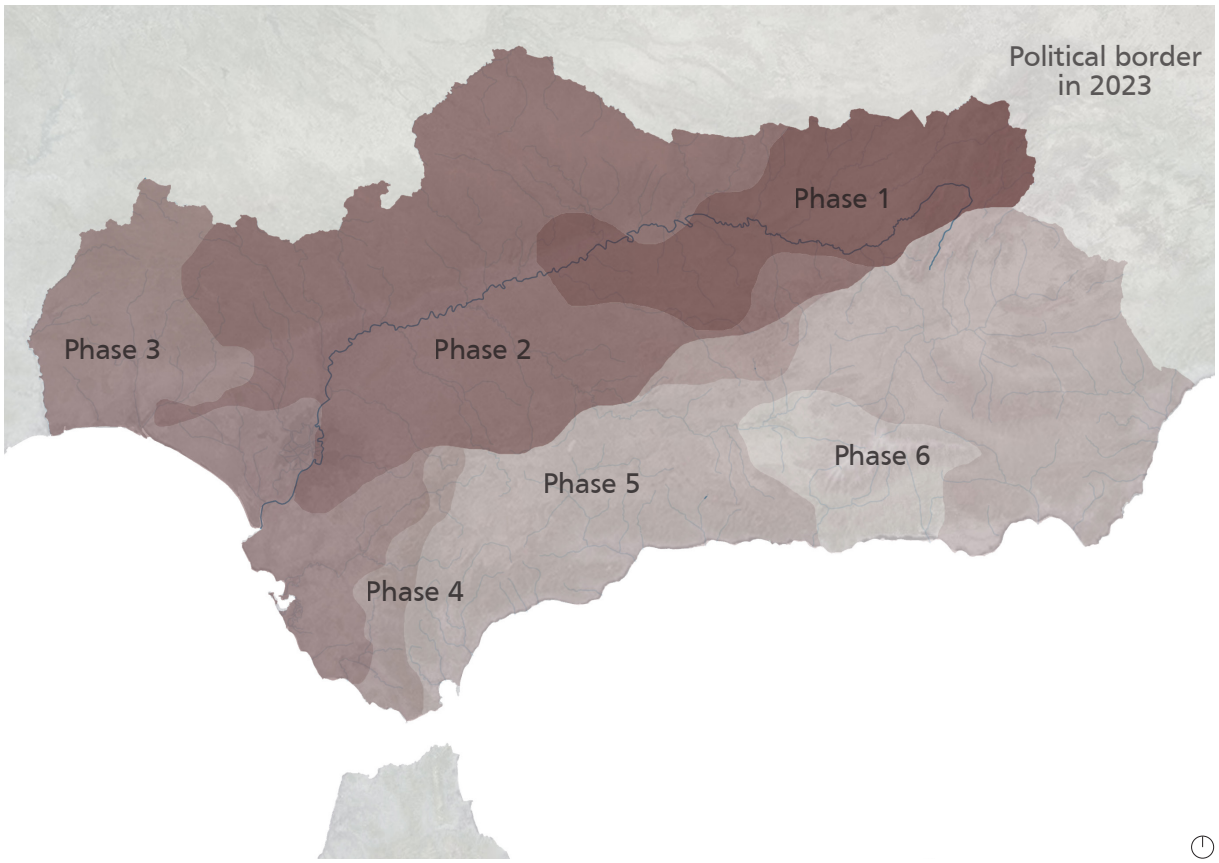


Figure 39. Phases of the Christian conquest of Andalusia, 13th-15th centuries. Own elaboration based on Ostos Prieto (2020).

- Phase 1 | 1212-1236
- Phase 2 | 1236-1255
- Phase 3 | 1255-1284
- Phase 4 | 1284-1350
- Phase 5 | 1350-1489
- Phase 6 | 1489-1492

the mendicant orders arrived in Andalusia for the first time. Being in Islamic control in the previous centuries, they were unable to establish foundations, as was the case in the Christian areas of Europe.

The conquest of Granada in the 15th century marked the end of the Islamic period in Andalusia. This was divided into four administrative areas known as kingdoms, namely the Kingdom of Seville, the Kingdom of Cordoba, the Kingdom of Jaen and the Kingdom of Granada (Instituto de Estadística y Cartografía de Andalucía, 2009). In addition, there was a new economic and demographic growth motivated by trade with America. Seville became the Port of the Indies[30] (Cuenca Toribio, 2005). This meant that they had a monopoly on trade with the Spanish American territories. The absence of religious orders in the territory, added to the need for their Christianisation and the trade with America were attractive to the mendicant orders (Pérez Cano, 1997). The foundation of a monastery in Andalusia was the beginning of their expansion into the American continent (Salas Almela, 2011). Therefore, it is not surprising that Seville is the city with the largest number of monasteries

30 Seville was the port of America until the beginning of the 18th century, when it moved to Cadiz. The reasons for this include the fortification of this city and the larger size of the ships (Cuenca Toribio, 2005).

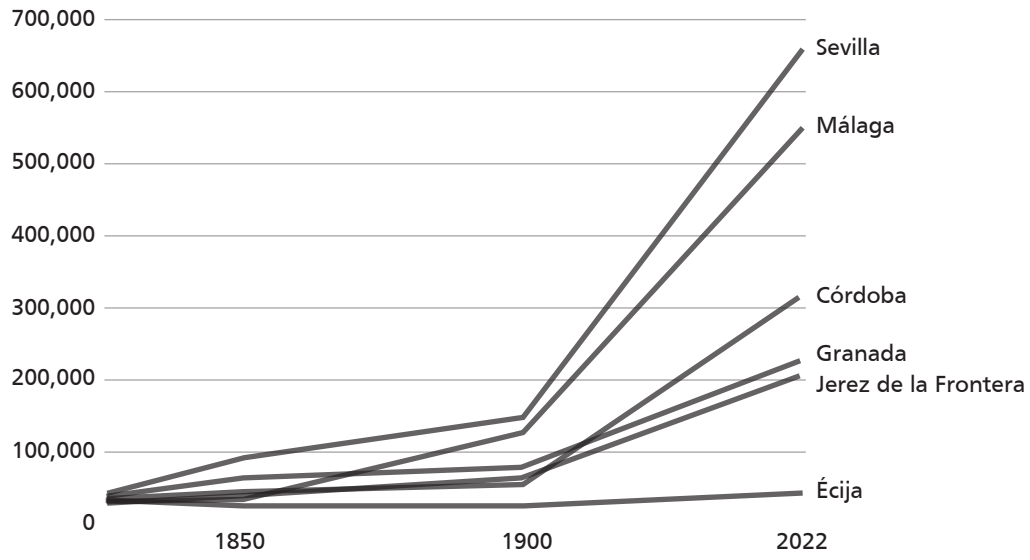


Figure 40. Population graph of relevant Andalusian cities. Own elaboration based on data from the table in the Figure 36.

and convents in the country (Pérez Cano, 1997). The great urban growth and population data were reflected in the 16th century census of the Kingdom of Castile. This document provides the first data on Andalusian cities. The most populated was Seville with 18,000 inhabitants, followed by Granada with 13,757, Jerez de la Frontera with 6,816 and Cordoba in fourth place with 6,257 inhabitants (González, 1829).

As mentioned in point 2.4.1, from the 16th century onwards the Spanish political boundaries did not undergo any appreciable changes. Neither did the territory of Andalusia. Urban growth was gradual until the beginning of the 19th century. With the loss of the American territories, Andalusia's importance as a commercial hub disappeared. Moreover, the new changes, technological advances and industrialisation hardly reached the south of the peninsula. The Andalusian region continued to be mainly agricultural and livestock farming. On the other hand, the large urban centres, such as the capital cities, are experiencing notable urban growth (Cuenca Toribio, 2005). Furthermore, there were improvements in road and communication infrastructures that helped population growth (Lara Martínez & Lara Martínez, 2018). Within the six most populated cities in 1850 (Figure 40), it can be observed how the capitals Seville, Malaga and Cordoba experienced an exponential increase. Although Jerez is not a provincial capital, it did experience a process of industrialisation through the winery and wine, turning it into a winery city in the 19th century (Aladro Prieto, 2021). In contrast, Écija lacks industry, focusing on agricultural activity and showing no signs of demographic growth.

The 21st century marks the division of cities into the three categories indicated above by the Andalusian territorial development plan. Currently, all provincial capitals have a population

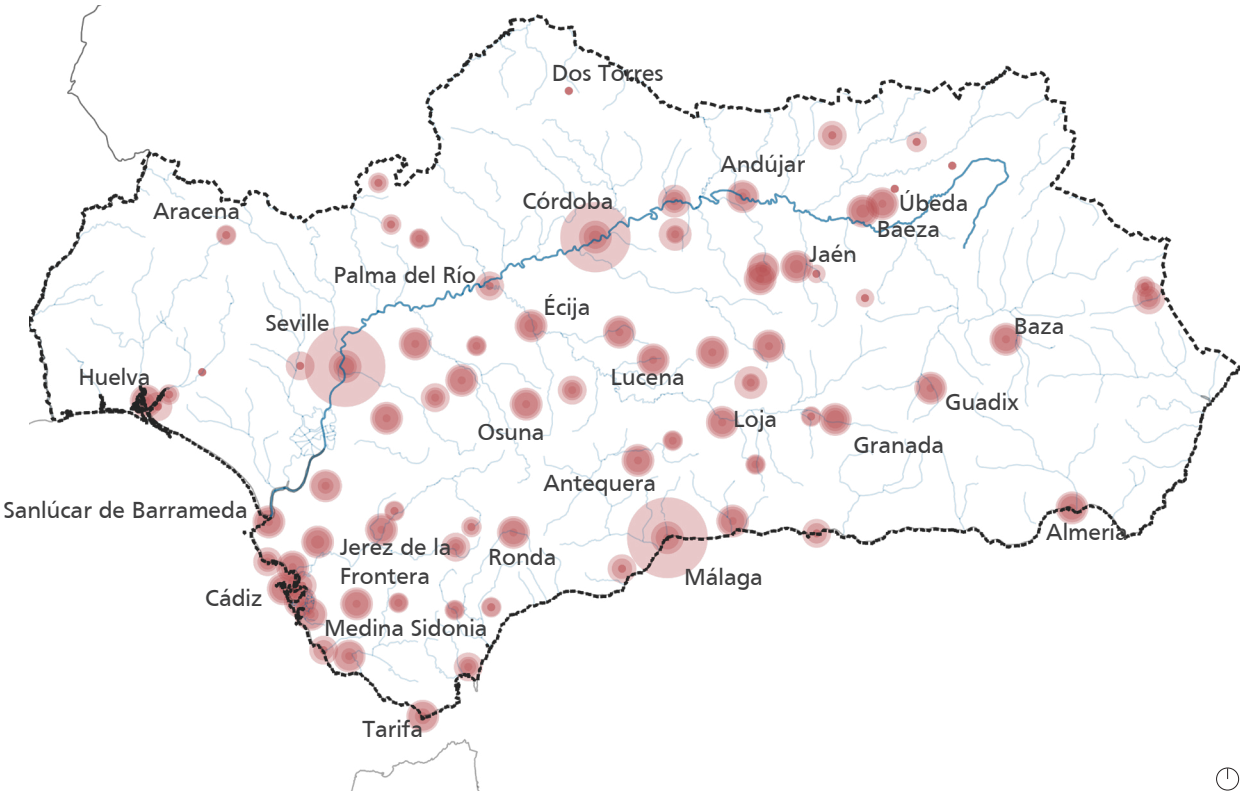


Figure 41. Population growth in Andalusia. Own elaboration based on data from the table in the Figure 36.

of over 100,000 inhabitants. In this range, Seville is the largest with almost 700,000 people. On the other hand, Iznatoraf, with 905 inhabitants, is the smallest. In order to be able to observe the population changes of the selected cities in the territory, a population map has been drawn up (Figure 41). It shows four circles arranged by colour, which, depending on their size, represent the number of inhabitants. The darkest one shows the data from the 16th century census, followed by the 19th and 20th century in lighter colours, ending with the lightest colour referring to the year 2022. The map clearly shows the growth of the cities of Seville, Malaga and Cordoba, as well as the metropolitan area of Cadiz. Moreover, the system of medium-sized cities that builds up the centre of Andalusia can be clearly identified. The difference in colour is hardly noticeable in these cities, as the population has remained very similar between the 20th and 21st centuries. In addition, the map shows the more rural or less developed areas due to topographical issues, which are those with an absence of cities.

2.4.3.2 THE MONASTIC CITY IN ANDALUSIA

The city of the Andalusian territory stands out for its monastic component. This type of building has marked the construction and development of cities in the south of the peninsula. This fact is not only perceptible in the past, but also in the rich monastic heritage that can be seen today. The beginning of

monasticism in Andalusia has been determined by historical-territorial analysis. The monastic establishment began at the same time as the Christian conquest itself, which is fundamental for understanding the process (Ostos Prieto, 2020). As the territory was controlled by Islam before the 13th century, there were no monastic developments. The Christianisation of the new conquered territories, together with the expansion of the mendicant orders in Europe, led to the rapid construction of a multitude of monasteries in Andalusian cities.

Among the first orders to establish foundations were the Dominican and Franciscan orders. Both were in the midst of a process of expansion on the continent, so they took advantage of the incorporation of new Christian territories for their foundations. In fact, the Dominicans, after their foundation in 1216 in Toulouse, travelled to Castilian lands four years later to spread the order (Huerga, 1992). Moreover, their first buildings were strategically located, selecting large cities such as Cordoba, Seville and Jerez de la Frontera. From there, they were distributed to the rest of the towns. During this first stage of conquest and monastic expansion, the role played by the military orders was particularly important. The existence of a border with the Kingdom of Granada and the continuous wars favoured their appearance on this stage. Despite their active participation in wars, they did not have their own armies, but accompanied the armies of the kings. Thanks to this, they participated in the cession of lands and properties in the conquered areas to found their monasteries (López Martínez, 1992). These orders include mainly Spanish orders such as Calatrava, Alcántara and Santiago (Pounds, 2005). However, there are also European military orders such as the Order of St. Mary of Spain. This type of order stands out above all for the foundation of castles or fortified monasteries in the border area. Therefore, these were orders with an eminently military purpose which, when the war was over, their function disappeared.

Monastic foundations in Andalusia did not take place immediately and quickly, quite the contrary. It is a process that spans nine centuries from the 13th century to the present day. Nevertheless, in this analysis it has been considered the area from its beginning in the 13th century until the confiscations in the 19th century (Figure 42). This selection is not random, but the end of the 18th century represents the period of maximum monastic expansion in the cities. Thereafter, socio-political changes marked the transformation of monasteries and convents. The graph shows the number of foundations per century in the selected cities. Different aspects can be highlighted. The first is a production of almost 40 monasteries in the 13th century, the result of the first monastic expansion and Christian conquest. This process subsequently weakened.

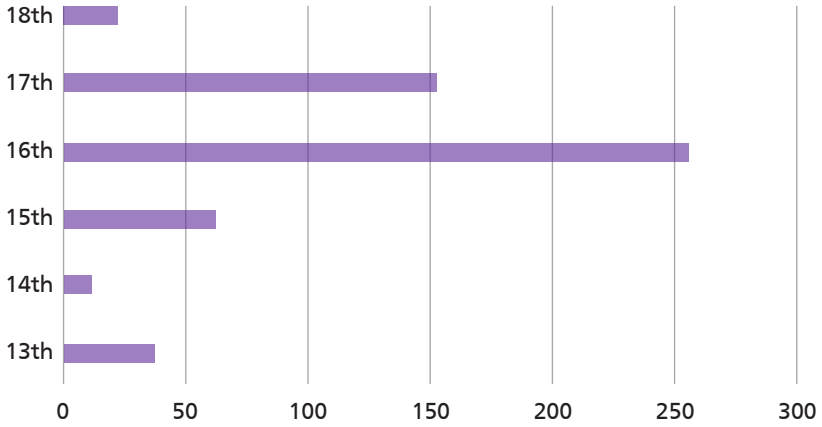


Figure 42. Total number of monastic foundations in Andalusia by century. Own elaboration based on data from the table in the Figure 36.

The continuous wars between Castile and Granada did not favour the creation of new monasteries. As a result, once the war ended in the 15th century, there was a great increase in monastic expansion. The 16th century was undoubtedly the most important, with more than 250 foundations, representing more than 47% of all the monastic buildings in Andalusia. During the 16th and 17th centuries, different events took place, such as the trade with America and the Spanish Golden Age. This led to a period of economic and demographic growth (Cuenca Toribio, 2005), which the religious orders took advantage of to establish new monastic buildings. Finally, the 18th century stands out as being, together with the 14th century, one of the moments of least monastic production. Probably, in this case, it is due to the existence of a large number of monasteries and, therefore, to a possible exhaustion of the monastic city. This fact is reflected in the 18th century, when there were hardly any religious left in most of the convents, being one of the reasons for the secularisation of the monasteries.

The end of the 18th century is taken as the time when cities have a greater monastic construction[31], as a result of the expansion of religious orders. In order to understand the territorial dimension and impact, the total number of foundations made per city has been graphically represented (Figure 43). A total of 552 foundations between monasteries and convents have been counted in the selected cities. This layer overlaps with the political layer of ecclesiastical provinces and dioceses for the same period.

The political layer of the Church is decisive in the study of monastic typology, since it is responsible for the control and management of the territory in the religious sphere. At first glance, the current provincial capitals such as Cordoba, Granada

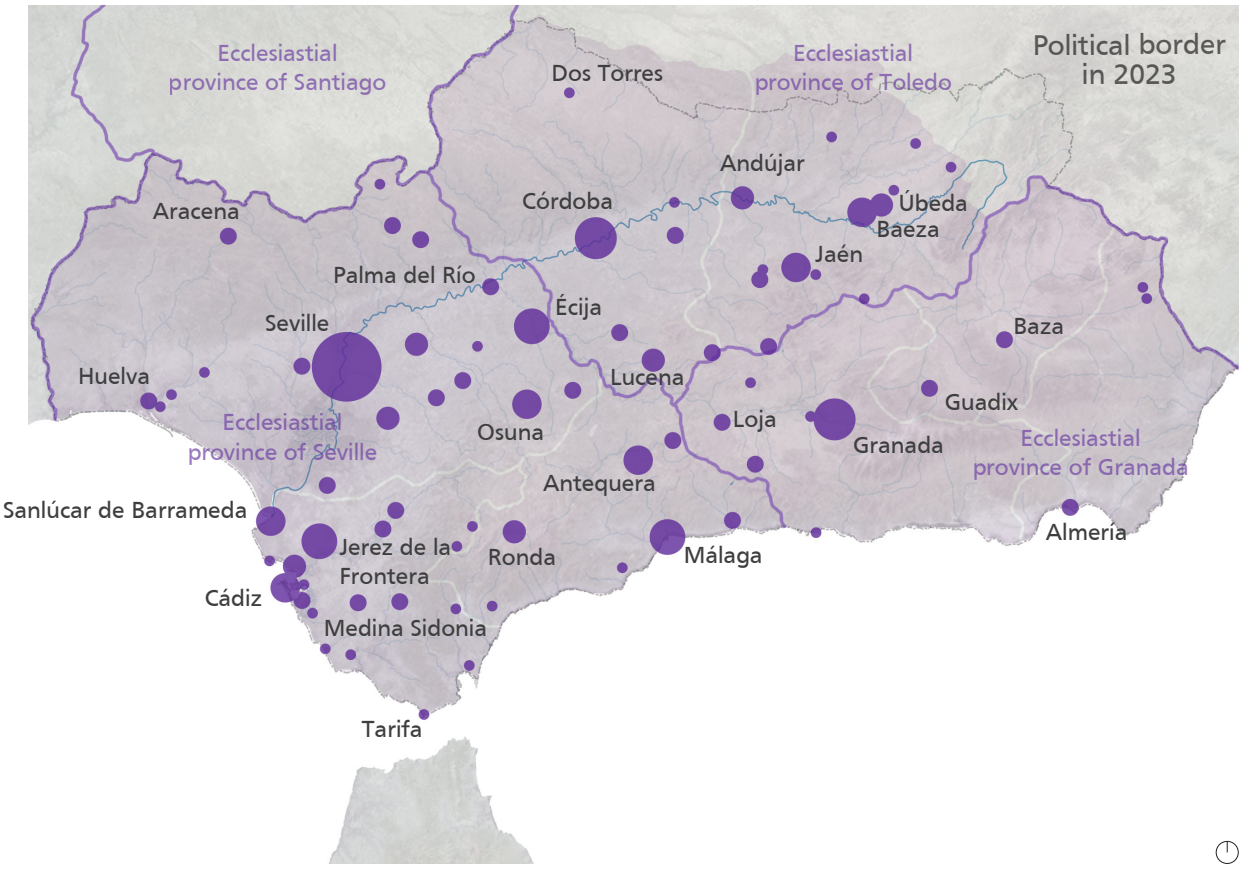
31 As discussed in the table's production process. The monastic data from the end of the 18th century include the Jesuit monasteries secularised in 1767.

and Seville stand out. The monasteries and convents were initially located in the capitals and important towns, alternating later with smaller or rural ones (Pérez Cano, 1997). On a second level, other provincial capitals such as Malaga or Cadiz can be distinguished, together with medium-sized cities such as Écija, Osuna, Baeza, Sanlúcar de Barrameda or Jerez de la Frontera[32]. Regarding the ecclesiastical territorial division, major differences can be detected. Firstly, the province of Seville stands out over the provinces of Granada and Toledo[33] in terms of the number of monasteries, with the dioceses of Seville and Cadiz standing out. In contrast, the dioceses of Almería and Guadix have the lowest monastic production. This may be due to their remoteness from central population centres and lack of communication infrastructures with the rest of the territories (Ostos Prieto, 2020). Finally, it is possible to find a great dispersion of small monastic centres composed of one to three foundations, which practically make up the Andalusian map. These are third-level foundations, as most of them are towns with less than 10,000 inhabitants.

32 Although Jerez de la Frontera is mentioned here as a medium-sized city, it is not currently included in this grouping, as its population exceeds 200,000 inhabitants.

33 The ecclesiastical province of Toledo is much more extensive. However, in this analysis reference is made only to the dioceses of Cordoba and Jaen, those belonging to the Andalusian territory.

Figure 43. Number of monastic buildings at the end of the 18th century in Andalusia. Own elaboration based on data from the table in the Figure 36.



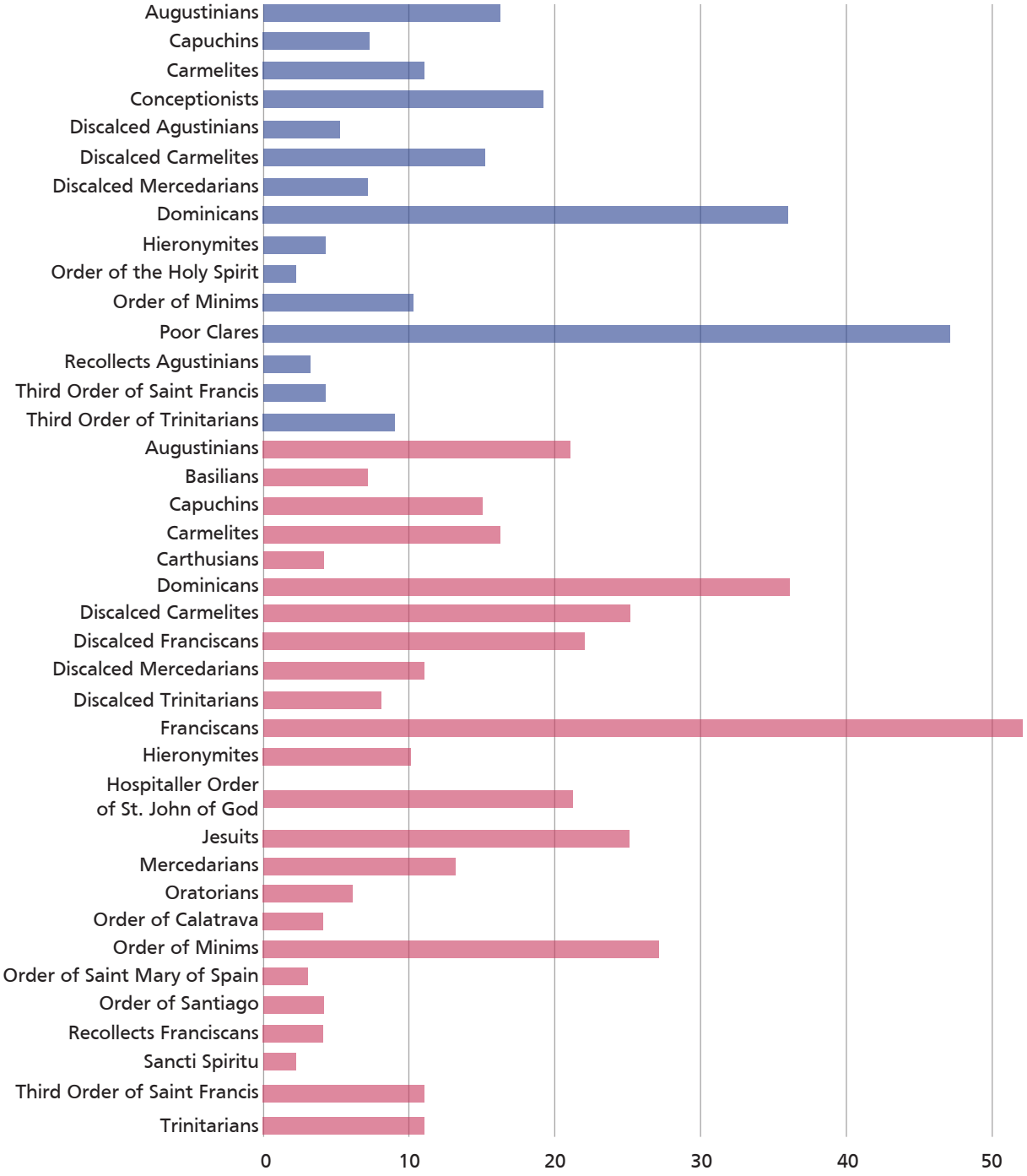


Figure 44. Number of foundations of religious male and female orders in Andalusia. Own elaboration based on data from the table in the Figure 36.

Female order
Male order

The construction of monasteries and convents was mainly carried out by religious orders. Until now, the monastic scene has only been analysed as a whole, without considering which orders we are referring to. In Andalusia, 39 orders have been identified (Figure 44), including both male and female orders. This scheme is a reflection of what happens on a continental European scale, but reduced to Andalusia. At first sight, there is a greater variety of male orders than female orders. In this sense, it should be noted that there are military orders with only a male branch and others, such as the Carthusian monks,

which did not have a female branch. On the other hand, the majority of religious orders are the female part of a male one. For example, the orders of the Augustinians, Carmelites, Poor Clares (Figure 45), Dominicans or Hieronymites can be named as prominent. In addition to the list of the names of the orders, the total number of foundations per order has also been counted.

In both the male and female orders, the Franciscan and Dominican orders are undoubtedly the most important ones. The former has around 50 foundations, while the latter has 35. The graph shows the clear influence that both orders achieved in the territory. On a second level, some male orders of the Franciscan reforms stand out, such as the Discalced, Conceptionist or Minims orders, with more than 20 foundations. Also noteworthy are orders such as the Augustinians, the Carmelites, the Discalced Carmelites, the Jesuits and the Hospitallers of St. John of God. The same process is repeated in the female part, but in smaller numbers, around 10 convents. In contrast, the orders with the fewest foundations are generally the military ones, whose main function was exercised mainly during the period of the Christian conquest. Other orders, such as the Carthusian monks, have an isolated character and are mainly located in rural areas. In this case they have been included because of their proximity to some cities (Figure 46). However, these monasteries do not form part of the urban context and, unlike the rest of the orders, they hardly generate any relationship.

The total number of orders in a city establishes a criterion for measuring the social level and importance of the order in the territory. As they were mendicant orders, the decision to establish them was fundamental in order to obtain resources. For this reason, not all orders have foundations in every city analysed. Moreover, the type of order differs according to the city. For example, although Dominicans and Franciscans are two of the most influential orders, they are not found in all the urban areas. In Andalusia, one of the characteristics of the Franciscans was their extension in large cities and low-density areas (López Martínez, 1992). In this sense, the foundation of four convents per city is one of the characteristics of the monastic city (Le Goff, 1982). These are Dominicans (founded 1220-1221), Franciscans (1209), Carmelites (1254) and Augustinians (1256) (Pounds, 2005).

In order to verify Le Goff's characteristic of the monastic city, a plan has been drawn up showing the foundations of the four orders mentioned (Figure 47). The plan is structured as follows. Each colour represents one of the mendicant orders, Dominicans (pink), Franciscans (blue), Augustinians (turquoise)

Figure 45. Poor Clares' convent. Seville. Author, 2021.

Figure 46. La Cartuja Monastery, Seville. Author, 2021.

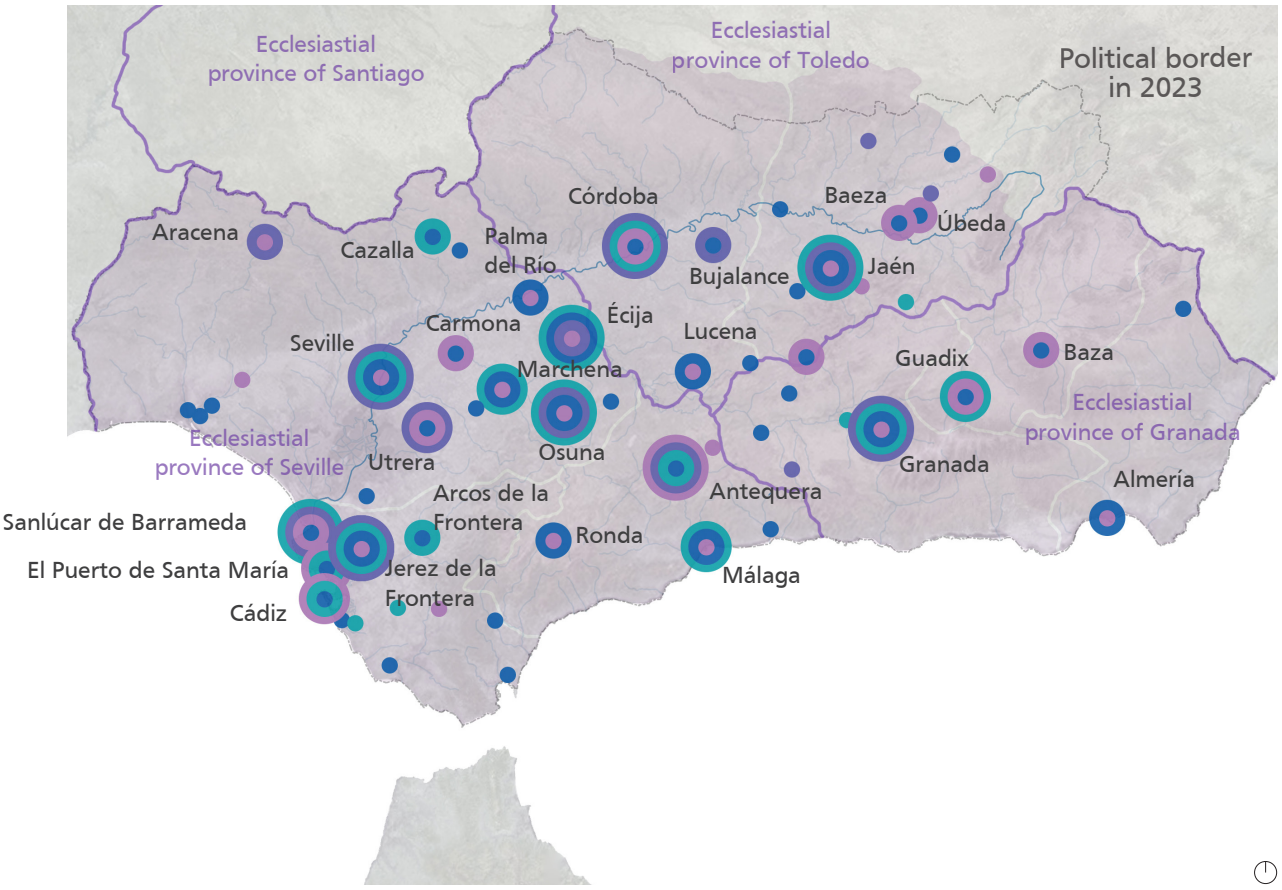


Figure 47. Location of male religious orders by cities in Andalusia. Ordered by year of foundation. Own elaboration based on data from the table in the Figure 36.

and Carmelites (purple). Concentric circles are then made in each city, depending on whether there are any foundations of these orders. The spectrum varies from 1 to 4 foundations per settlement. In cases where there is more than one foundation, the circles are arranged in order of arrival. The smallest belongs to the first order and the outermost to the last to be founded in the city. Finally, only those cities where two or more foundations exist have been identified with names.

A look at the plan shows that these orders are decisive in the construction of monastic Andalusia. Nevertheless, this is not a common characteristic for all the cities. On the contrary, it helps to distinguish those of greater importance than others and of greater total monastic production. Thus, 9 cities have been identified with Dominican, Franciscan, Augustinian and Carmelite foundations, being Sanlúcar de Barrameda, Jerez de la Frontera, Seville, Osuna, Écija, Córdoba, Jaén, Antequera and Málaga. On a second level, five cities can be found with three foundations, followed by 12 towns with at least two of the four orders selected. Taking up the arguments of the mendicant orders for settling in a city, the urban centres with the greatest economic weight and strategic importance are clearly identifiable. This indicator has definitely been relevant in confirming and reaffirming the choice of Écija as a case study.

2.5 GERMAN TERRITORY FRAMEWORK

The German territory is defined by its current political boundaries, as these have been very different throughout its history. Germany is centrally located in Europe, surrounded by countries with the exception of some areas bordered by the North Sea and the Baltic Sea. These geographical and political factors have contributed to a constant reconfiguration of the country to its present state. This territorial complexity establishes the need for an initial approach from a historical, political and territorial point of view. For the chronological scope, the most characteristic or decisive historical layers are taken for this analysis, as a detailed analysis of German territorial evolution is not the object of this research. In this sense, these sections are accompanied by an additional layer, the politico-religious structure. The advent of Christianity brought about a new religious structure all over Europe, which managed and organised the territory in its own way.

The current division of the German territory consists of 16 *Bundesländer* or *Länder*[34]. Among these, North Rhine-Westphalia stands out. An approach of scale is made to identify again territorial and political components. However, new parameters such as demographics or the number of monastic settlements are established. These allow the construction of a context and a better understanding of the territory in which Aachen is situated. Thus, the study of the different territorial scales is essential for the further understanding of the development of the urban monastic system in the city.

2.5.1 HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL CONTEXTUALISATION

In order to understand monastic development in Germany, it is necessary to analyse its historical and political context during the Middle Ages. The medieval period, as throughout Europe, lasted approximately 10 centuries and was characterised by a complex and turbulent period. The fall of the Western Roman Empire[35] in the 5th century fragmented the Roman territory into multiple kingdoms such as the Ostrogoths, the Visigoths and the Franks. The latter settled in the former Roman province of Gaul, creating a new kingdom west of the Rhine (Roymans, 2020). From the 6th century onwards, the Franks gradually consolidated their power in central Europe, building an increasingly powerful and extensive kingdom. At the end of the 8th and beginning of the 9th century, the coronation of Charlemagne marked the beginning of the Carolingian Empire. After the

34 The term Bundesländer or Länder refers to the name of the division of the territory of Germany.

35 If the fall of the Western Roman Empire marks the beginning of the Middle Ages, the fall of the Eastern Roman Empire marks the end of this period in 1453.

demise of the Roman Empire, the Carolingian Empire emerged as a new great empire and was considered the successor to the Roman Empire (Schulze, 2008). Its territory extended from present-day France and Germany, half of the Italian peninsula, occupying parts of present-day Bosnia, Hungary and Poland (Figure 41 - 01) (Lanuza, 2003). During this period, the economic growth of the capital city of Aachen, where its cathedral was built, was particularly noteworthy.

The end of the Carolingian Empire period came with the signing of the Treaty of Verdun between the grandsons of Charlemagne in 843. They agreed on the division of the territory into three parts, Western France, Middle France and Eastern France (Coffin et al., 2002). The latter is the prelude to the construction of a new European empire. During the 10th century, King Othon I of Eastern France was the founder of the Holy Roman Empire in 962 (Schulze, 2008). This new empire is of great significance in Europe not only because of its duration of more than a millennium, but also because of its extension. In addition to present-day Germany, it included ten other contemporary countries: Austria, Belgium, the Czech Republic, Denmark, France, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Poland and Switzerland. Other countries such as Hungary, Spain and Sweden were also linked to the empire (Wilson, 2020). In the imperial context, Aachen became the coronation seat of the emperors. From the founding of the empire, Otto I linked political power with ecclesiastical power. New emperors had to take an oath before Charlemagne's throne and be consecrated by a bishop in Aachen (Lanuza, 2003). Its initial territorial extension occupied practically the entire centre of the European continent, from southern Denmark to Rome (Figure 41 - 02). As can be seen, Otho set out a first territorial division for the management of the empire. However, this structure disintegrates and multiplies in a short period of time. The different noble houses, as well as the growing religious power and the independence of city-states, build up modern Europe.

From the 11th century onwards, the Holy Roman Empire became increasingly complex. It was not a single kingdom like the later France, Spain or England, but the construction of a political unity through the union of dozens of small states and kingdoms. Moreover, the emperor was not a hereditary position, but had to be approved by the electing princes, there was an oligarchy that approved or opposed the figure of the emperor (Wilson, 2020). The political structure of the Empire could be divided into four parts according to the type of government. These are nobility, imperial territories, imperial cities and clergy. The first are territories ruled by a noble family, such as the Habsburgs, the Hohenzollerns or the Wettins (Lanuza, 2003). Imperial territories are those that are directly ruled by

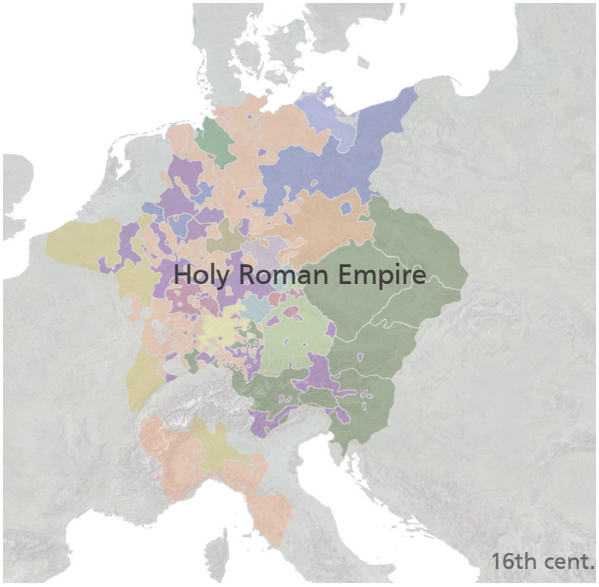
Figure 48. (right page) Historical development of German territory. From 9th to 19th centuries. Own elaboration based on Wilson (2020) and Schulze (2008).

Carolingian Empire
9th cent.

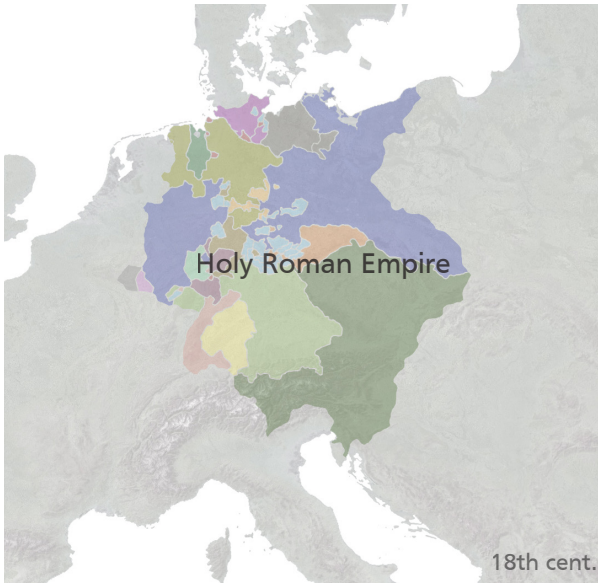
01

Holy Roman Empire
10th cent.

02


Holy Roman Empire
16th cent.

03


Holy Roman Empire
18th cent.

04

German Reich
19th cent.

05

the emperor, i.e. belong to him. Imperial cities are city-states that have achieved independence by imperial decree and are self-governing. They included the largest cities in the empire, such as Ausburg, Nuremberg, Hamburg, Cologne, Lübeck and Strasbourg, with more than 40,000 inhabitants. These were followed by others such as Frankfurt am Main, Bremen, Ulm and Aachen, with a population of 20,000. And others with less than 10,000 inhabitants such as Nordhausen, Heilbronn, Rotherburg or Regensburg (Wilson, 2020).

In the Empire, ecclesiastical territories are those ruled by a religious authority such as a bishop or archbishop. The emperor had to accept the development of the Church as a separate institution of the empire, although they considered themselves to be the Imperial Church, the German term for which is *Reichskirche* (Wilson, 2020). They could be managed either by the cathedral itself, the seat of the bishopric, or by monasteries. These monasteries do not have an urban character, but are those with an isolated position in the territory, although often very close to a city. In fact, it can be observed in Europe that after the construction of a cathedral, it is followed by the foundation of a monastery outside the city limits (Pounds, 2005). An example is the case of Aachen, where, after the construction of its cathedral, the monastery of Burtscheid appears to the south, with its own ecclesiastical territory dependent on the bishopric of Cologne.

A sample of the complexity of the Holy Roman Empire can be seen in the historical layer of 1648 (Figure 48 - 03). This period shows the enormous internal fragmentation of the empire caused by internal disputes and struggles between states. Besides the war conflicts, there was also religious strife between Protestants and Catholics, which in turn led to further wars in central Europe. This religious fighting included the German wars between 1540 and 1555, the French wars between 1562 and 1598, the Dutch war against Spain between 1566 and 1609, and the Thirty Years' War in Germany between 1618 and 1648 (Coffin et al., 2002). Religious division led to further disintegration and internal differences in the imperial territories. Thus, in the mid-17th century one can detect larger territorial units such as the Austrian or Spanish Habsburgs, as well as dynasties such as the Albertine of Saxony or the Hohenzollern of Brandenburg (Wilson, 2020). The spread of the ecclesiastical territory, which was larger than many of the minor houses or kingdoms, is also noteworthy. Here we can highlight the power of the Church itself, which not only built the Papal States, but also began to expand territorially through the bishoprics.

Despite continuous political wars and religious conflicts, the empire remained a territorial unit in Europe until the 19th

century. At the beginning of the century, France emerged as a new military power with Napoleon at the helm and a desire to conquer Europe. In 1806, Emperor Franz II decreed the suppression of the Holy Roman Empire to prevent Napoleon from usurping it (Wilson, 2020). Once Napoleon was defeated at Waterloo, the empire was never to be rebuilt, instead the Germanic Confederation or Deutscher Bund was built between 1815 and 1866 (Figure 41 - 04) (Schulze, 2008). There was an attempt to re-unify the different kingdoms and states, just as the Holy Roman Empire did during the Middle and Modern Ages. In this new union, independent ecclesiastical territory disappeared and was absorbed by some of the existing states. On the other hand, two kingdoms stand out above the rest in both size and importance: Austria and Prussia. From them, two new empires were created, and the Confederation was broken up into the Austrian Empire to the south and the Deutsches Reich to the north, which lasted from 1871 to 1918 (Figure 48 - 05) (Lanuza, 2003). From 1871 onwards, after the unification led by Prussia, Germany can be referred to as a political nation (Wilson, 2020). Differences again became apparent and generated new divisions and political reconfigurations in the territory. The German Empire is the prelude to today's Germany, again constructed in territorial units of Principalities and Duchies, a legacy of earlier times. In fact, this concept of independent territorial division can still be seen in today's German composition of *Bundesländer*.

The 20th century on a global scale is undoubtedly marked by German history. As is well known, the First World War 1918-1924, followed by the Second World War 1939-1945, reshaped the political map of Europe. It was not until the fall of the Berlin Wall on 9 November 1989 that Germany was reunified and became the country it is today in 2023. As mentioned above, due to the various socio-political events in history, it is not possible to understand the history of Germany, but rather the history of the German territory. In contrast to other territories, the centre of Europe is a complex scenario in which a brief historical review is necessary to understand its analysis. The aim of this section is to put the changes and transformations in the German territory into context in order to be able to study monasticism later on.

2.5.2 CHURCH TERRITORIAL SYSTEM

The complexity of the fragmented structure of the Holy Roman Empire prevented the centralised recording or documentation of demographic statistics. Although population data existed from the 16th century onwards, they were kept on an indivi-

dualised basis, depending on the particular state or region. In this sense, it was not until the Napoleonic arrival in the 19th century, and the reign of Prussia thereafter, that generalised demographic statistics were produced. Nevertheless, the previous absence of data contrasts with the amount produced on an annual basis from 1816[36] onwards (Statistischen Landesamt North Rhine-Westphalia, 1966). In addition to population data, descriptions of cities, enumeration and classification of buildings, number of trades, agricultural hectares, etc. are also produced. However, no general records prior to the French have been located. This implies that the number of monasteries on German territory prior to the French secularisation and religious confiscation cannot be known with certainty. This leads to the use of other research and sources that may have been able to obtain monastic data from centuries before the 19th century[37]. On the other hand, we do know data prior to the second of the great confiscations of the same century, the *Kulturkampf*. During the German Empire, Chancellor Otto von Bismark opposed the Catholic Church between 1871 and 1878, resulting in the confiscation of most monasteries and convents (Schulze, 2008).

The ecclesiastical territorial system, together with religious orders, emerged as new territories in Europe became Christianised. Burgundy and Italy had ecclesiastical structures dating back to the Roman period, while this was not the case in present-day regions such as Germany, Britain, Poland or Hungary (Wilson, 2020). As Christianity spread, so did the religious architectural typology of the monastery. The creation of a monastery is not just another religious building. They play a very important role in land planning as they organise agricultural areas, cut down forests, set up livestock farms, etc. (Sobrino González, 2013). As well as dominating and administering the territory, they also served as the residence of princes and kings, or could even form part of a defensive system from a political and Christian point of view (Braunfels, 1980). This management can be seen in the 1648 Holy Roman Empire's spatial planning (Figure 48 - 03). The strength of the community as a political and social space was seen to imply that these rights emanated from the territory (Wilson, 2009). Therefore, it highlights the importance of the Imperial Church building and territories directly administered by the Catholic Church. Indeed, the ecclesiastical infrastructure of the *Reichskirche* was a fundamental pillar of the European political order until the early 19th century (Wilson, 2020). Thus,

36 The statistical data are divided into two volumes. The first with population data between 1816 and 1871, and the second between 1871-1961. Subsequently, the data can be consulted online on the web site of the Landesbetrieb IT.NRW Statistik und IT-Dienstleistungen.

37 The most prominent for this research has been Groten et al. (2009) (2012) (2022) and Hengst (1992) (1994). However, these only study the territory of North Rhine-Westphalia, and data on a general German scale have not been found.

much of the monasticism had its own territory independent of nobiliary rule, constituting large areas of importance. Moreover, the ecclesiastical territories controlled by the bishoprics are more prone to monastic foundation than those controlled by the Germanic states.

In section 2.5.1. a brief analysis of the changing edges of the political map of the German territory has been made. However, by focusing this research on the monasteries, a new political layer, the ecclesiastical administrative one, has to be superimposed. Irrespective of geographical or political boundaries, the Church as an institution creates its own territorial organisation. Even this territorial structure became more complex, as many of the mendicant orders created their own division of controlled territory. Thus, Franciscans did not only think of their town or monastery when they thought of their home, but of the entire Franciscan province (Braunfels, 1980).

The church division is partly inherited from the Roman administration[38], even going so far as to call the ecclesiastical division in the same way, as diocese (Martinez, 1994). This system was used by the Catholic Church and extended to new territories that had not been Romanised. It is an effective method of controlling and managing the Christian faith, normally carried out by a bishop, being administered in his own name (Aldea Vaquero; Marín Martínez & Vives Gatell, 1972). In this sense, the grouping of bishoprics constructs an ecclesiastical province, governed by the figure of the archbishop. On the other hand, exempt dioceses can also appear. This means that this territory does not depend directly on the Holy See (Martínez, 1994).

Since the Middle Ages, the Church has had its own organisation of the Christian territory, sometimes with a high lack of coherence with the political and geographical map (Martínez, 1994). Moreover, this division is modified over time, and is not the same today as it was initially established in the Middle Ages. In the case of the German territory, the context of the Holy Roman Empire is taken as a reference for its analysis. This case is relevant because ecclesiastical power plays a very important role. Although there is a political system of an Imperial Church directly controlled by the bishops as if it were just another noble house, the territory is divided as in the rest of the European continent. Thus, from the 10th century onwards, up to ten different divisions of ecclesiastical provinces and dioceses can be found. In the mapping, all ecclesiastical provinces and only the dioceses in which the selected cities of North Rhine-Westphalia are located are shown. In this way, the territory and diocese on

38 During the reign of the Roman Emperor Diocletian in the 3rd century, the territory was divided into dioceses.

which they depended as well as their relative position in relation to their respective ecclesiastical province are highlighted.

The first ecclesiastical political division of the Holy Roman Empire is characterised by a structure of large territorial units, with the provinces of Mainz and Cologne being the most important (Figure 49 - 01). This is no coincidence, since the church took the former Roman capitals and important cities as the seat of its bishoprics. The ecclesiastical capitals are heirs to the Roman centres of power (Wilson, 2020). Where Roman influence had not reached, new episcopal sees were founded between the 7th and 9th centuries. Over time, these were endowed with the maximum number of foundations of religious orders, where at that time Cologne occupied the first place in importance in the German territory (Braunfels, 1980). The cities of North Rhine-Westphalia were divided into the two ecclesiastical provinces mentioned above. The majority of the dioceses belonged to the province of Cologne, with one exception, the diocese of Paderborn, historically in the province of Mainz. While the territory of the dioceses is practically constant, this is not the case with the division of the ecclesiastical provinces.

The 16th century witnessed major changes in the ecclesiastical map of the Holy Roman Empire (Figure 49 - 02). As the territory expanded, new provinces were added both to the east and to the west, and there were also some modifications of the provincial boundaries. In this period a great difference in size can be observed between the western and eastern provinces. This is due to a greater or lesser Christian consolidation of the territory. Thus, the larger eastern provinces and bishoprics are still building up the Christian territory, while the more traditional western provinces and bishoprics have a more complex and segregated territorial structure. On the other hand, the disappearance of bishoprics in northern Europe and the transformation of these territories into exempt ecclesiastical provinces can be observed. This is directly related to the emergence of Protestantism in 1517 (Krüger, 2007) and its total dissociation from papal and Catholic authority. The Reformation was mainly supported by the middle and upper classes in the cities. Therefore, it is no coincidence that it initially triumphed especially in the independent cities of the Holy Roman Empire (Wilson, 2009). This made it easier for cities that were bishopric sees to cease to be bishoprics, creating exempt territories. They are still considered ecclesiastical provinces, but have lost their see.

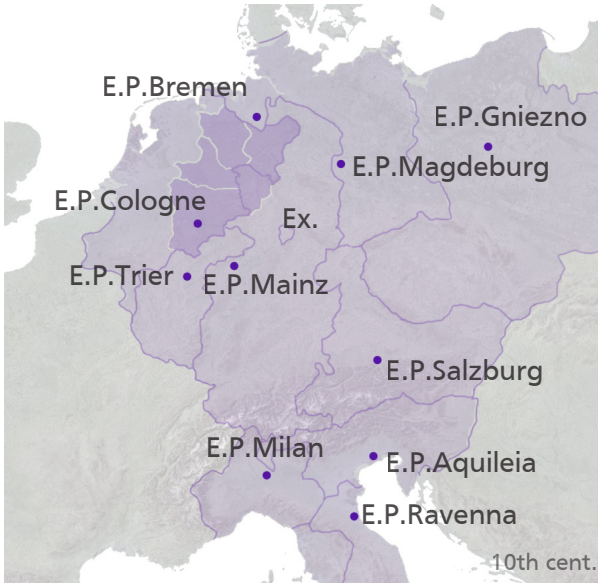
At the beginning of the 19th century, the great division and dispute between Catholics and Protestants can be observed. This is perfectly reflected in the transformation of the ecclesiastical provinces in the centre of Europe (Figure 49 - 03). The ecclesiastical territories of Northern and Eastern Europe have

mainly disappeared. In the common ideology, the Protestant success was far-reaching in 1590 and has lasted up to the present day. Although half of Europe came under Protestant control, the proportion was reduced to one-fifth, with the territories returning to Catholic influence (Wilson, 2009). In relation to the province and bishopric of Cologne they are reduced in their western area once the Netherlands has taken over Protestantism from Catholicism. The Lutheran territories are considered Apostolic Vicariates, while the rest of the provinces maintain their approximate ecclesiastical territorial structure.

Finally, in the 21st century, the ecclesiastical territorial structure changed again compared to the previous centuries (Figure 49 - 04). In this new division, three fundamental aspects stand out.

Figure 49. Historical evolution of the Ecclesiastical provincies in the German territory. From 10th to 21st centuries. In dark colour, the dioceses studied. Own elaboration based on Wilson (2020) and Bistumskarte from dbk.de.

Ex. | Exempt Province
E.P. | Ecclesiastical Province



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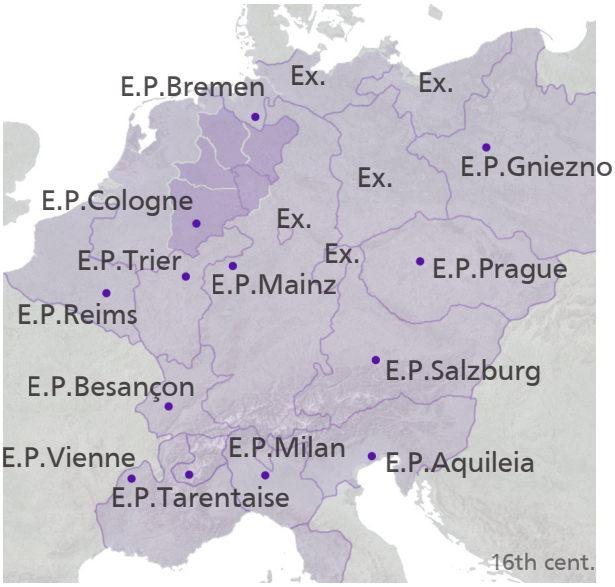

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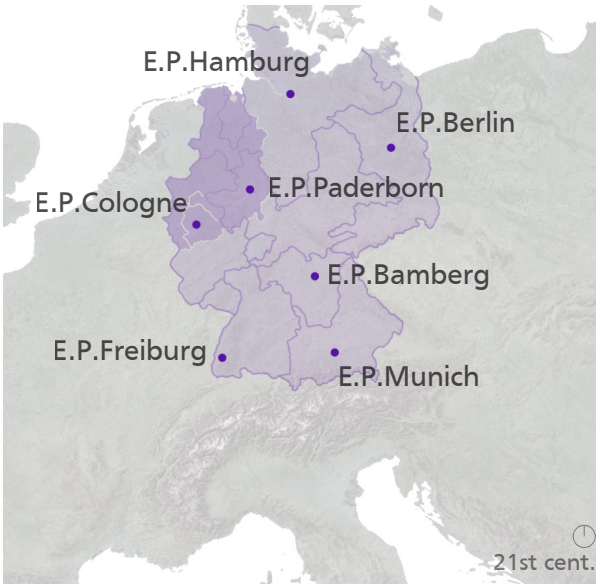


04

First, the ecclesiastical boundaries are adapted to the political borders of the German country. However, the internal division of the ecclesiastical provinces is completely different from that of the Bundesländer, with the Church once again drawing a distinction between the political and the religious. Secondly, the territory was restructured, and historical provinces such as Mainz were enlarged or broken up. The province of Cologne expanded southwards towards the Palatinate region, while the diocese of Paderborn grew in importance and became the provincial capital. Finally, new bishoprics were restructured and established in the former Protestant territories, and the cities of Hamburg and Berlin were restored as provincial capitals for Catholic Christianity. Although much of the country is still Protestant, the ecclesiastical structure shows the Catholic power that still exists in Germany.

The study and identification of the ecclesiastical provincial division is relevant to understand monasticism. This structure manages churches and religious buildings both from an urban and territorial point of view. This means that part of the decisions of monastic foundations are not only based on the city itself, but also on the ecclesiastical province. In fact, the foundation of a monastery has always had an important significance. The appearance of a religious order in a city signifies a new focus of power and a new institutional force that can interfere with the existing political order (Atienza López, 2008). This leads to a constant struggle between bishops and archbishops, as well as a greater concentration of religious orders in some territories more than others.

2.5.3 MONASTICISM IN NORTH RHINE-WESTPHALIA CONTEXT

One of the German regions where monasticism had a great impact was in North Rhine-Westphalia. This is primarily due to its early Christianisation of the territory beyond the Roman border of the Rhine. The establishment of Aachen as the capital of the Carolingian empire raised the monastic influence of the region even higher. In addition, its proximity to the Cluny or Cistercian motherhouses facilitated the arrival of the first monastic orders, followed from the 13th century by the mendicant orders. They are the protagonists of monastic development in North Rhine-Westphalia. The mendicant orders appear as an urban phenomenon (García Torralbo, 1998), in addition to their role in the city.

Because they have an urban character, it is necessary to study the cities in terms of their population and monastic size. The latter is measured by quantifying the total number of monasteries and convents. The territory of North Rhine-Westphalia

covers an area of 34,112 km2 (Landesbetrieb IT.NRW Statistik und IT-Dienstleistungen, 2023), which is about the size of some European countries such as Belgium with 30,688 km2 or Slovenia with 20,273 km2. In demographic terms, North Rhine-Westphalia has a population of approximately 18 million in 2022 (Landesbetrieb IT.NRW Statistik und IT-Dienstleistungen, 2023). Many cities also have a high population, such as Cologne with more than 1 million or those in the Ruhr area with between 300,000 and 600,000 inhabitants, such as Düsseldorf, Dortmund, Essen, Duisburg or Bochum. Therefore, a selection should be made of cities that are more representative and important in the territory. According to their population density and size, three sizes of towns can be distinguished, namely main cities, medium-sized cities and small settlements.

So far, the classification of cities has not taken into account the introduction of the main component in this study, the monastic dimension. Before a selection of cities can be made, it is necessary to combine demographic and monastic information. In order to locate data on monastic foundations throughout North Rhine-Westphalia, the publications of Groten et al. (2009) (2012) (2022) and Hengst (1992) (1994) have been used as main sources. They contain all monastic data before 1815. On the other hand, the *Denkmalbereich* is also considered as a form of heritage protection for cities. It is interesting to know which protected cities contain monastic buildings. However, this data could not be taken into account as there is no register or list of all the cities that have been classified as *Denkmalbereich*. Therefore, the classification was based on the combination of population data and the number of monasteries. Regarding the population data for 2022, these have not been considered for the selection of cities. These respond to urban growth unrelated to monastic processes, mainly from the mid-19th century and during the 20th century. For this purpose, the population of the first register of 1816 has been taken, where a demographic distribution linked to monastic development can be observed. Finally, out of a total of 193 cities with monastic foundations identified, those with more than 2,000 inhabitants in 1816 were selected, reducing the sample to 88 cities, including Aachen. This selection of the sample is intended to narrow the scope of work in order to generate the context of the case study, as a detailed analysis of monasticism in North Rhine-Westphalia is not one of the aims of the research.

In order to establish a contextualisation of North Rhine-Westphalia, a brief historical overview is carried out, through the layers that determine the configuration of the territory, and the creation of a database[39] to study its demography and

39 The complete database can be found in the annexes.

monastic development. For the historical layers, time-sliced maps are made to identify the most relevant aspects linked to Aachen on a territorial level. A table (Figure 50) is created for the database, which can then be represented graphically in a cartographic form. Each column is discussed below. The first one identifies the region of the city's territory, whether it is Nordrhein or Westfalen[40]. Next, four columns locate the position of the city in relation to its ecclesiastical province and diocese, initially in the 16th century and currently in 2022. All selected cities are listed alphabetically, together with their decimal coordinates in degrees. Census data from 1816, 1852, 1939[41] (Statistischen Landesamt North Rhine-Westphalia, 1966) and 2022 (Landesbetrieb IT.NRW Statistik und IT-Dienstleistungen, 2023) are subsequently used.

The above mentioned sources have been used to corroborate the existence of monastic buildings and their total number. First of all, it is important to bear in mind that the information is prior to the Napoleonic confiscations of the 19th century, which led to the disappearance of numerous monasteries and convents. Although some foundations in the 19th and 20th centuries are known, they have not been taken into consideration due to lack of data[42]. The table below shows the total number of foundations per city at the end of the 18th century, divided into male and female. In addition, each of the monastic foundations per city has been distinguished by order and date of foundation. Therefore, it is possible to know which order and in which year it arrived in each place. In those cases where there is more than one foundation of the same order in a city, this has been divided into columns, sorted by year from youngest to oldest.

2.5.3.1 HISTORICAL-TERRITORIAL DEVELOPMENT

The history of the territory of North Rhine-Westphalia[43] spans more than 21 centuries and is a complex process to study in detail in this section. Therefore, the most significant historical layers for the territorial and monastic development of the region are highlighted. It is a strategic location governed by the Ruhr basin in the centre of the territory (Figure 51). Its

40 The territorial division has been discussed in section 1.5 where a territorial map with both divisions is shown.

41 The choice of 1939 is motivated by the fact that it was the year just before the beginning of the war. During the following years, the population changed considerably due to the war.

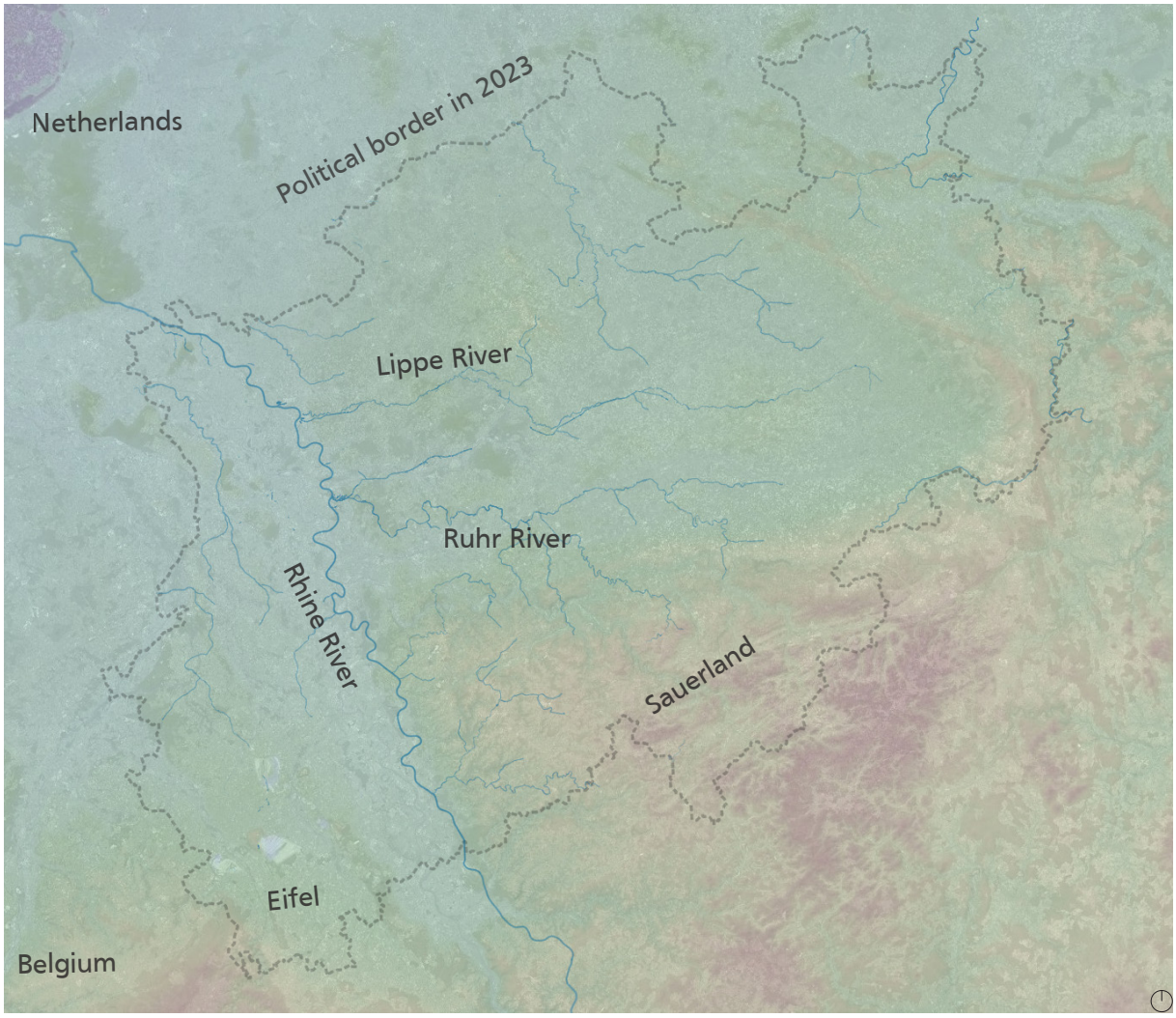
42 In the case study of Aachen, it has been taken into account and it has been possible to locate different sources and databases for its study.

43 The name North Rhine-Westphalia refers to the territory of the *Bundesland* which was created in 1947. Previously, this region has had various place names and an area that has changed over the course of history.

Region	Ecclesiastical province 16th cent.	Diocese 16th cent.	Ecclesiastical province 2022	Diocese 2022	City	Coor. X	Coor. Y	Pop. 1816	Pop. 1852	Pop. 1939	Pop. 2022	Total mon. & conv.	Male	Female	Augustians

Figure 50. Structure of the table of monastic cities in North Rhine-Westphalia. Complete table in annexes. Own elaboration.

Figure 51. Topographical map of North Rhine-Westphalia. Own elaboration based on Esri topographic map.



political position places it between the borders of the Netherlands and Belgium to the west, where Aachen is the city that builds the three border corners. In orographic terms, the most important river, in terms of its size and historical significance, is the Rhine in the western part. The tributary of the Ruhr is notable for mining activity and for supporting most of the cities and population of the entire *Land* (Reicher et al., 2011). Its topography is practically constant with slight topographical differences only accentuated a little further south. The forests of the Eifel and Sauerland make up large natural areas full of woodland where there is hardly any urban development.

The territory of present-day North Rhine-Westphalia has been a place of constant political change and transformation throughout history. It has also been a place occupied by different nations, kingdoms and countries, which finally came under the rule of Germany. The first evidence of the construction of large cities and the development of the territory dates back to the 1st century BC. Emperor Augustus divided the Empire

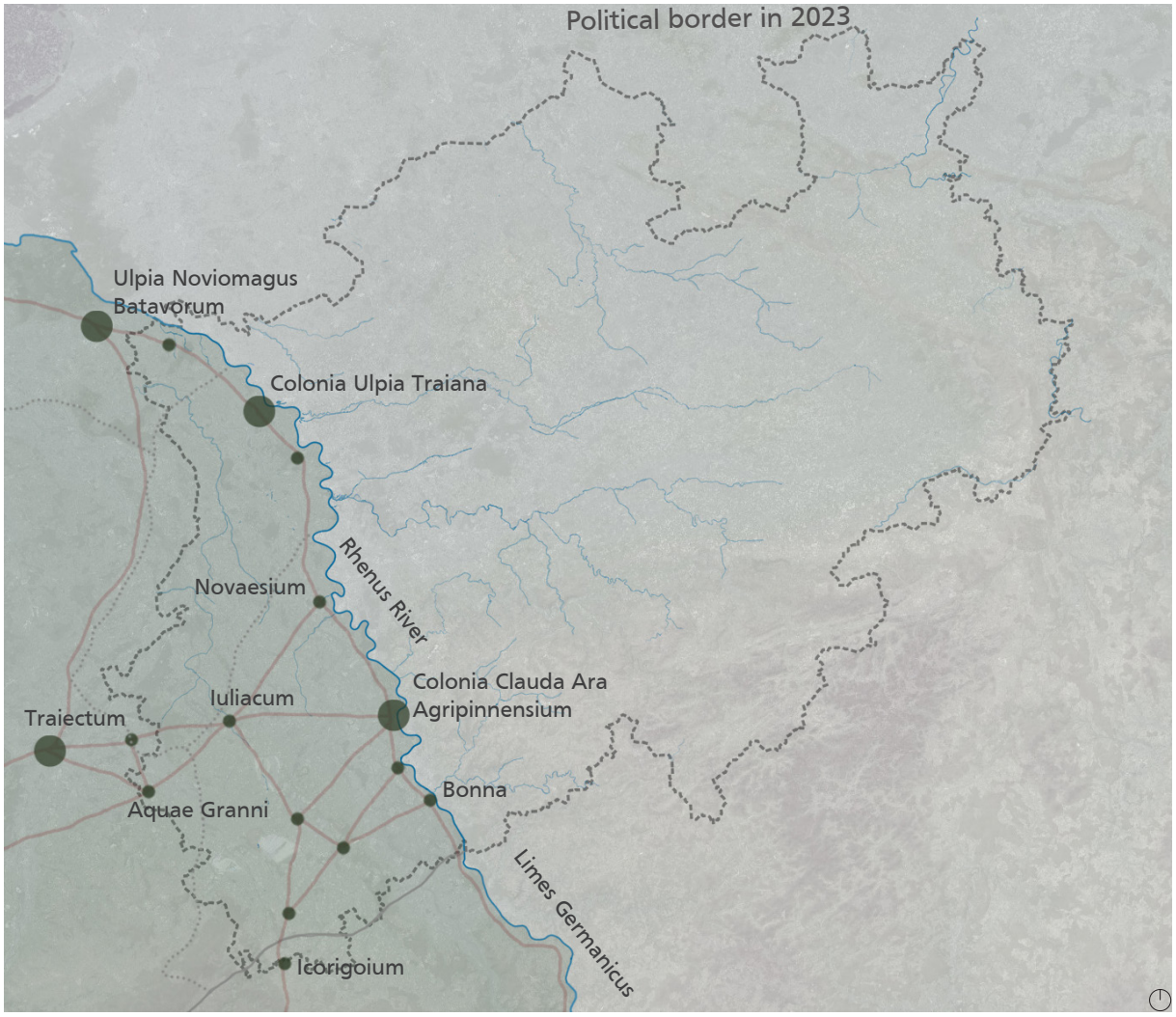


Figure 52. Limes Germanicus of the roman province of Germania Inferior, 1st AC century. Own elaboration based on Roymans et al. (2020).

into provinces, subdivided into smaller units called *conventus*. One of the peculiarities of this territory is the use of the river Rhenus[44] as a border or *Limes Germanicus* (Figure 52). This factor led to the appearance and construction of cities on its perimeter, such as Ulpia Noviomagus Batavorum, Colonia Ulpia Traiana, or Colonia Claudia Ara Agripinnensium[45] (Roymans et al., 2020). At the same time, they are also capitals of the *conventus* of the Roman province of Germania Inferior. The graphical representation of the size of cities is made differentiating provincial capitals from the rest of the settlements, as the Roman population data are unknown. An approximate size can be calculated by estimating 225-250 inhabitants/hectare (Gozalbes Cravioto, 2007). On the other hand, most of the cities in this region have a Roman foundation. While in the Mediterranean there were cities of Greek or Phoenician origin, in the case of Germania, urban production was scarce.

Roman infrastructures extended throughout the Empire, among which we can highlight its road system. This was not only used to connect cities, but also to increase the speed of travel from one part of the Empire to another. In addition to roads, the Rhenus river was used here for river transport. The location of many of the cities along the river provided a natural means of communication. In addition, a new road was built parallel to the river, running from north to south, connecting the cities by land (Roymans et al., 2020). In the case of Aquae Granni, today's Aachen, it was not a provincial capital or *conventus*. However, its strategic position between the capitals of Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium and Traiectum can be observed. Its intermediate position and the location of thermal baths in the area made it an ideal place for leisure and relaxation. These factors would lead to a rapid growth of the city in the centuries to come (Römling, 2014). The importance of this system of cities and territorial infrastructures lies in their use by the monastic orders for their development. The former *conventus* capitals became bishop's sees and the site of monastic foundations. At the same time, the Roman roads inherited in later centuries formed the basis for future urban-territorial developments.

With the fall of the Western Roman Empire, the Roman territorial and administrative structure is inherited by the Franks and extended to the eastern bank of the Rhine. With the establishment of the Frankish Empire and the rule of Charlemagne[46], the cities grow economically and demographically (Coffin, et al., 2002). After the fall of the Carolingian Empire,

44 Today, the Rhine river.

45 The current names of the cities in the same order are Nijmegen, Xanten and Cologne.

46 Charlemagne is so important for monasticism that he is attributed with the foundation of 27 cathedrals and 232 monasteries and abbeys (Wilson, 2020).

the Holy Roman Empire emerged as the successor to the eastern Carolingian part. Its duration in Europe spanned almost a millennium, from the 10th to the 19th century (Wilson, 2020). On German territory, and specifically in North Rhine-Westphalia, two categories of cities are to be distinguished. Firstly, those of ancient tradition on the left bank of the Rhine. Secondly, those with medieval foundations, whose founding motivation was usually based on a bishopric or monastery as a germinal element (Mitre Fernandez, 2010). During this period, monastic and mendicant orders were established, occupying practically the entire territory.

During the 15th and especially the 16th century, the fragmentation of the territory is really complex (Figure 53). In fact, in order to situate the context under study, the river layers and current boundaries of North Rhine-Westphalia have been superimposed. In accordance with the imperial division, the *Reichkirche* have been represented in purple, the Imperial Free Cities in red and the other colours representing the different noble houses and landowners. In this sense, a large ecclesiastical structure stands out, which competes in extension with the nobility. This generated great mistrust and simultaneous conflicts between the emperor and the Church (Wilson, 2020). Despite the territorial division, this period saw economic and demographic growth, mainly driven by trade with the Flanders region. The proximity of the region combined with the river connection to the Rhine favoured commercial development. In fact, a multitude of cloth factories and workshops have been located in Aachen, linked to the commercial node of Flanders (Coffin, et al., 2002). In this context, and linked to the bishopric of Cologne, the town became the place of the largest monastic foundation in the whole of North Rhine-Westphalia.

As discussed in section 2.6.1, the political structure was far from constant. From the construction of the Deutsches Reich onwards, a certain political stability appeared in the last quarter of the 19th century. This period also coincided with the emergence of new technological developments and industrialisation. This was decisive for the development of the region, especially for the construction of the landscape and territory of the Ruhr mining area (Reicher et al., 2017). Industry is helping cities to multiply their population exponentially. Moreover, this new activity reshapes the urban map of North Rhine-Westphalia. Historical bishopric cities such as Paderborn or Münster remained on a second level in terms of population while maintaining a steady growth. In contrast, between 1816 and 1939, cities such as Dortmund, Duisburg or Bochum multiplied their population by a factor of about 12. Within the six most populated cities in 1816 (Figure 54), it can be observed how Cologne, Düsseldorf or

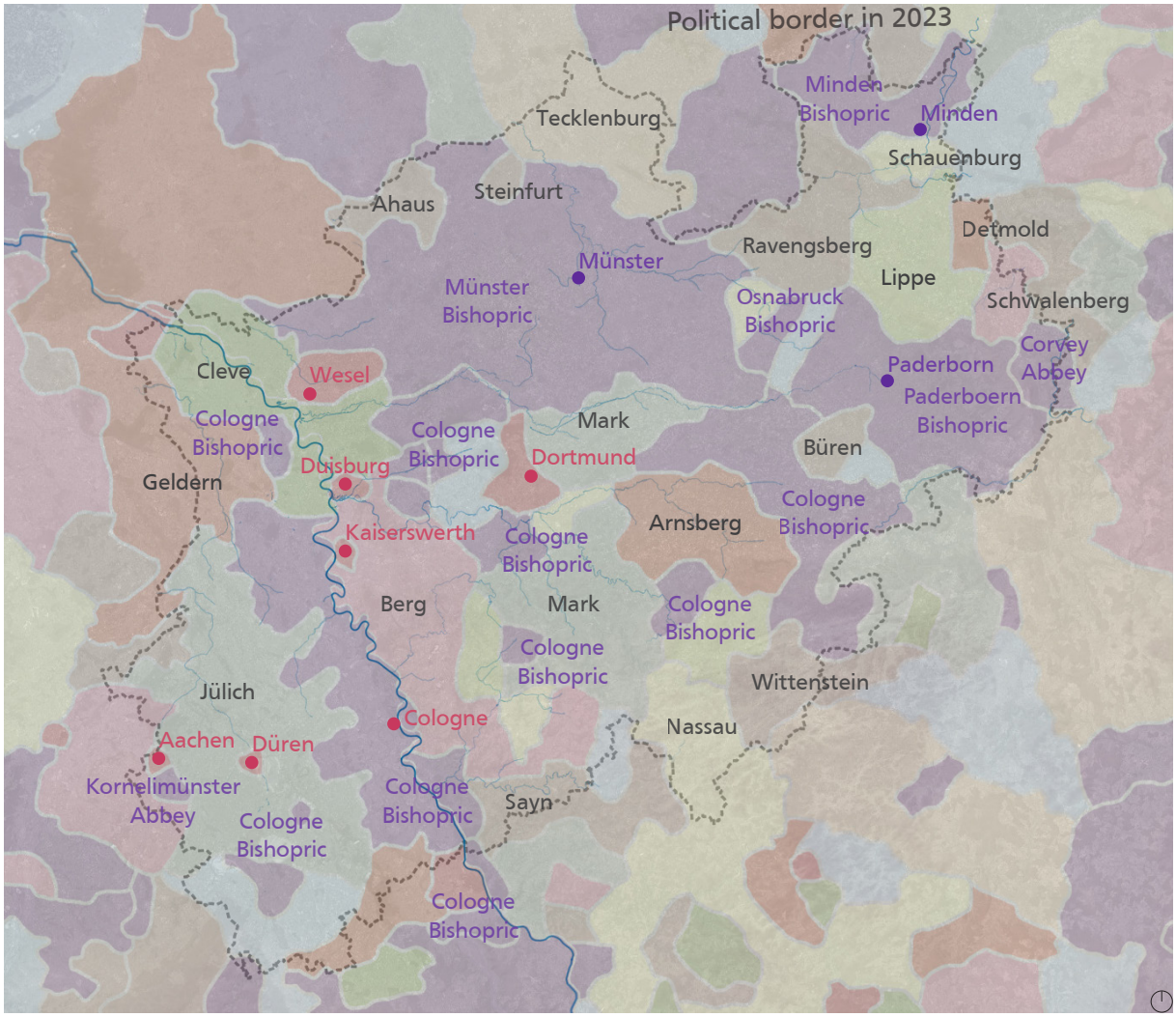


Figure 53. Territory of North Rhine-Westphalia in the 16th century. Own elaboration based on Wilson (2020).

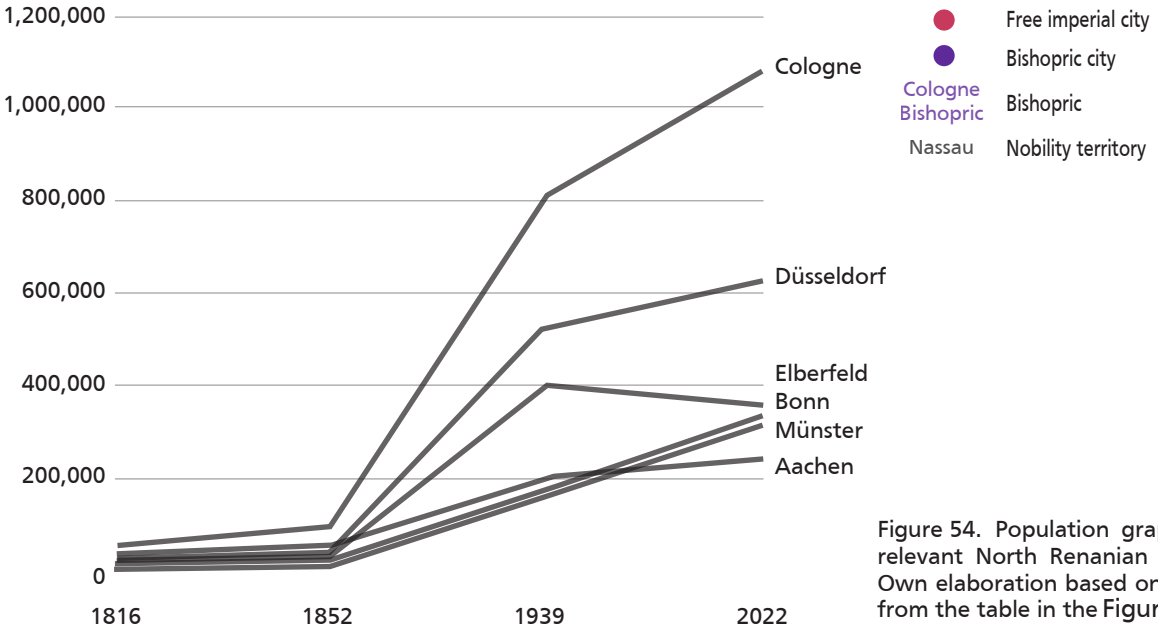
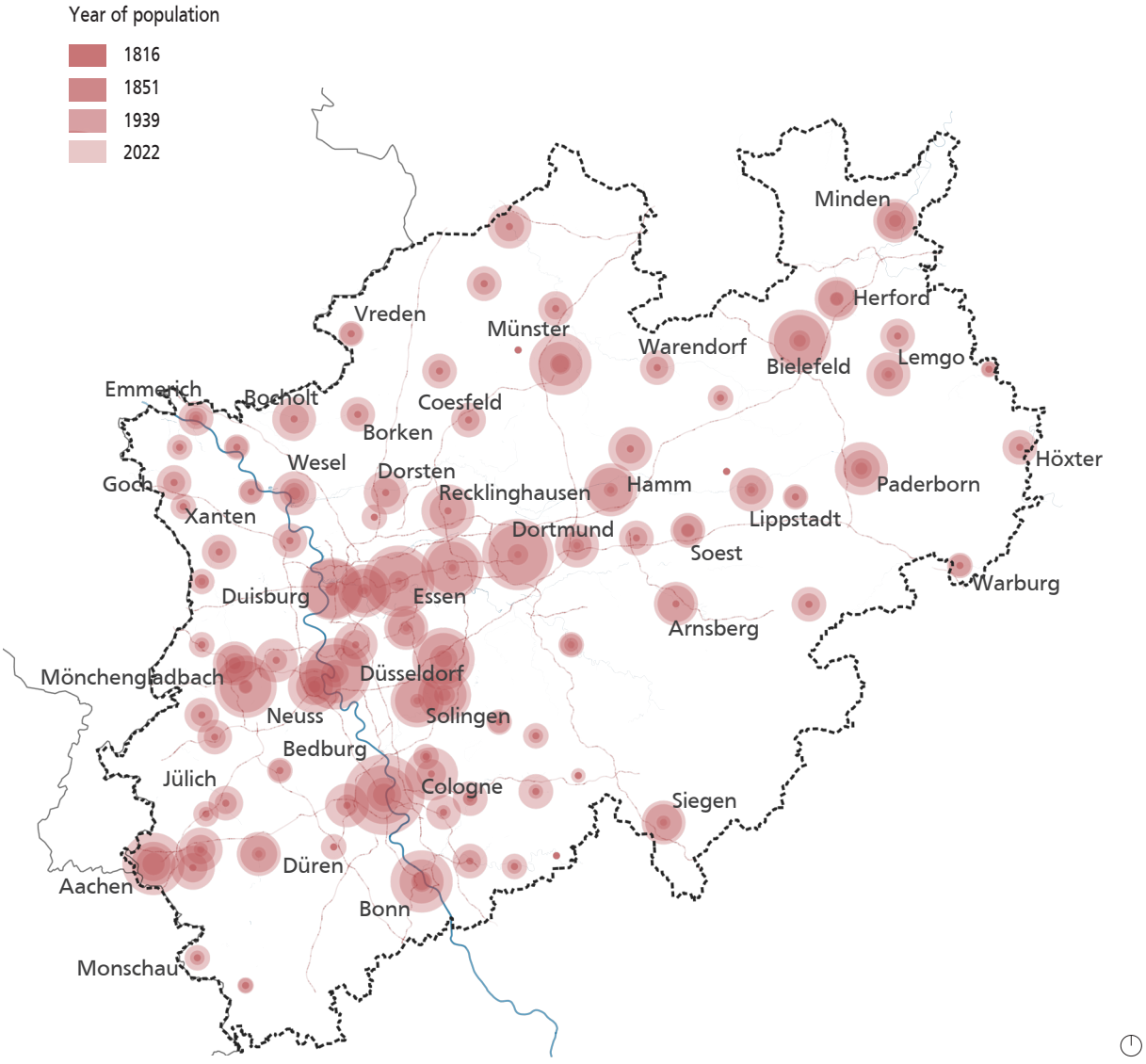


Figure 54. Population graph of relevant North Renanian cities. Own elaboration based on data from the table in the Figure 50.

Figure 55. Population growth in North Rhine-Westphalia. Own elaboration based on data from the table in the Figure 50.

Elberfeld experience an exponential growth from 1852 onwards. Although all cities grow more than seven or eight times their size, Münster, Bonn and Aachen grow more steadily. In fact, the latter has gone from being one of the largest in terms of population to one of the smallest of the selected group in 2022. This is due to the fact that the other cities are either provincial capitals or are directly affected by the Ruhr area.

The 21st century shows very different population figures from the beginning and middle of the 20th century. As mentioned in the previous paragraph, in some cases the population has increased by a factor of 12. Cologne continues to lead as the most populated and fastest growing city, with over one million inhabitants in 2022. This is followed by Düsseldorf, Dortmund, Essen and Duisburg with a population between 500,000 and 600,000 inhabitants. A third group consists of about 15 cities with populations between 100,000 and 300,000 inhabitants, which are considered as medium-sized cities in the German



spectrum. On the opposite side it is possible to identify a municipality with less than 2,000 inhabitants such as Eckenhagen or even Havixbeck, which has lost population to 700 people. Despite its lower population and subsequent loss of population, the settlement reached two monastic foundations. In order to be able to observe the population changes of the selected towns in the territory, a population cartography has been drawn up (Figure 55). Four coloured circles are depicted in this map, which, depending on their size, represent the number of inhabitants. The darkest circle shows the data from the 1816 census, followed by the 1852 and 1939 census in lighter colours, ending with the lightest colour for the year 2022. On the plan, the growth of cities such as Cologne is clearly visible, but more evident are those in the Ruhr area. On the other hand, one can clearly identify the system of medium-sized cities that builds up some areas of the territory such as in the west and northeast. In addition, there are some small dots referring to rural or very low-density populations. Finally, the plan shows the more rural or topographically less developed areas, which are those with an absence of cities.

2.5.3.2 THE MONASTIC CITY IN NORTH RHINE-WESTPHALIA

The city in North Rhine-Westphalia stands out for its monastic component. This building typology has shaped the construction and development of cities throughout Europe. This is not only evident in the past, but also in the rich monastic heritage that can be seen today. The beginning of monasticism has been determined by historical-territorial analysis. The monastic establishment begins with the first Benedictine and Cistercian orders. Examples are the Benedictine foundations in Bonn in 690 or Düsseldorf in 695 (Groten et al., 2009). In fact, the importance of female orders in the context of the Holy Roman Empire must be mentioned, which stand out due to foundations originating from noble families and also from the imperial family. During the 9th and 10th centuries, a multitude of foundations took place in territories such as Westphalia in cities like Essen or Cologne (Krüger, 2007). Later, in the 13th century, the mendicant orders occupied practically all cities in the region.

Among the first religious orders to establish foundations were the Dominican and Franciscan friars. Both were in the midst of a process of expansion on the continent. In fact, the Franciscans, after their first foundation in Assisi in 1209, reached a total number of 1254 new foundations in 1300 (Ostos Prieto et al., 2021). Moreover, their first buildings are strategically located, selecting large cities such as Aachen, Dortmund, Cologne, Münster or Paderborn. From there, they are distributed to other

towns and cities. Other orders, such as the Carmelite monks, which in 1291 already had 15 foundations in the Rhineland (Andrews, 2006) and later expanded into Denmark and Eastern Europe, are also noteworthy.

During the first stage of European Christianisation, in addition to the monastic or mendicant orders, there was another type of religious order, the military ones. Some of these had their origin in the Crusades, such as the Knights of the Temple of Jerusalem, or 'Templars', and the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, the 'Hospitallers' (Pounds, 2005). These also had foundations in central Europe along with other orders such as the Teutonic Order. This military order aimed at the Christianisation of northern and eastern Europe. Indeed, this order is notable for the construction of its own state in the Baltic territory of present-day Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania from the 14th century onwards (Schulze, 2008). Again, the importance of the religious orders, which were even capable of building kingdoms or states, is reflected. In addition to the foundation of a new kingdom, the order continued to found monasteries in other cities like the mendicant orders, especially in German territory and central Europe.

The monastic foundations in North Rhine-Westphalia did not take place immediately and quickly, but quite the opposite. It is a process from the 7th century to the present day, spanning 15 centuries. Nevertheless, in this analysis it has been considered from the beginning of the 7th century up to the French confiscations in the 19th century (Figure 56). This selection is not random, but the end of the 18th century represents the period of maximum monastic expansion in the cities. From then on, socio-political changes marked the transformation of monasteries and convents. The graph shows the number of foundations per century in the selected cities. Several aspects can be highlighted in this respect. The first is an apparent scarce or low production from the 8th to the 12th century. In this period monasticism begins, but through orders seeking seclusion and isolation. Therefore, there is not a high level of production, since the function of the monastery is practically contemplative. From the 13th century onwards, mendicant orders linked to urban life began to appear. This century is reflected in the graph as the second in monastic production, with almost 100 foundations.

In the 14th and 15th centuries, the monastic boom continued to expand in the towns of North Rhine-Westphalia until the beginning of the 16th century. The low production of monasteries and convents in this century is due to two main reasons. Firstly, the emergence of Protestantism and its growing strength in the Holy Roman Empire. Secondly, the religious and political wars

that followed one after the other, up to four simultaneously (Coffin, et al., 2002), did not favour monastic development at all. On the other hand, the 17th century contrasts sharply with the 16th century, being in fact the century of greatest monastic production, with more than 100 foundations. The so-called Counter-Reformation, promoted by the Catholics, had a strong impact on the creation of new orders such as the Jesuits or the reconversion of Protestant territories. In addition to the religious aspect, there was also the political one. For example, the Spanish managed to retake cities such as Aachen, Münster, Recklinghausen, Jülich, Cleves, Mark and Berg in 1598 for the Catholics (Wilson, 2009). Finally, the 18th century stands out as one of the periods with the lowest mendicant monastic production, along with the 16th century. In this case, it is most probably due to the existence of a large number of monasteries and, therefore, to a possible exhaustion of the monastic city.

The end of the 18th century is taken as the time when cities had the greatest monastic construction, as a result of the expansion of religious orders. In order to understand the territorial dimension and impact, the total number of foundations made per city has been graphically represented (Figure 57). A total of 432 foundations between monasteries and convents have been counted in the selected cities. This layer overlaps with the political level of ecclesiastical provinces and dioceses for the same period. Studying the monastic typology, the political layer of the Church is decisive, since it is in charge of the control

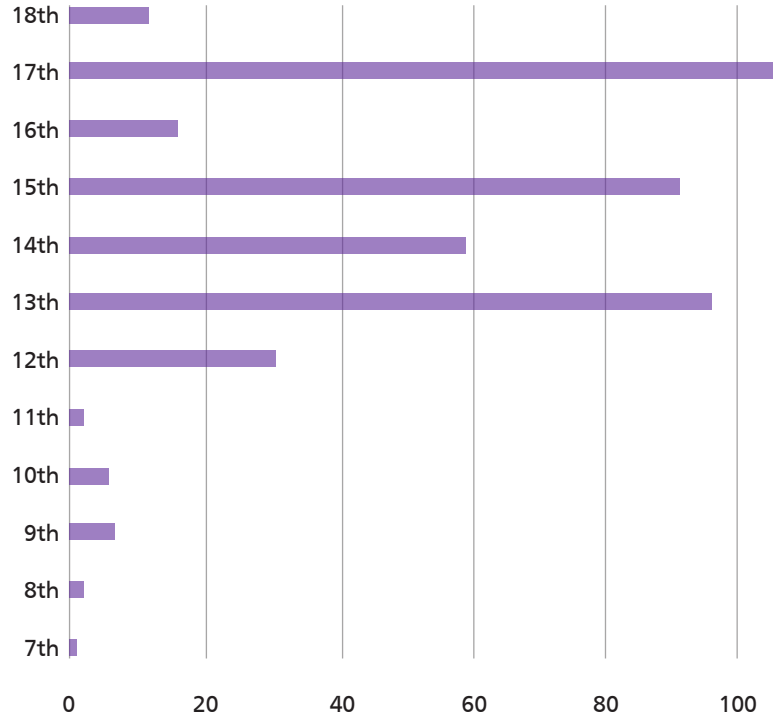


Figure 56. Total number of monastic foundations in North Rhine-Westphalia by century. Own elaboration based on data from the table in the Figure 50.

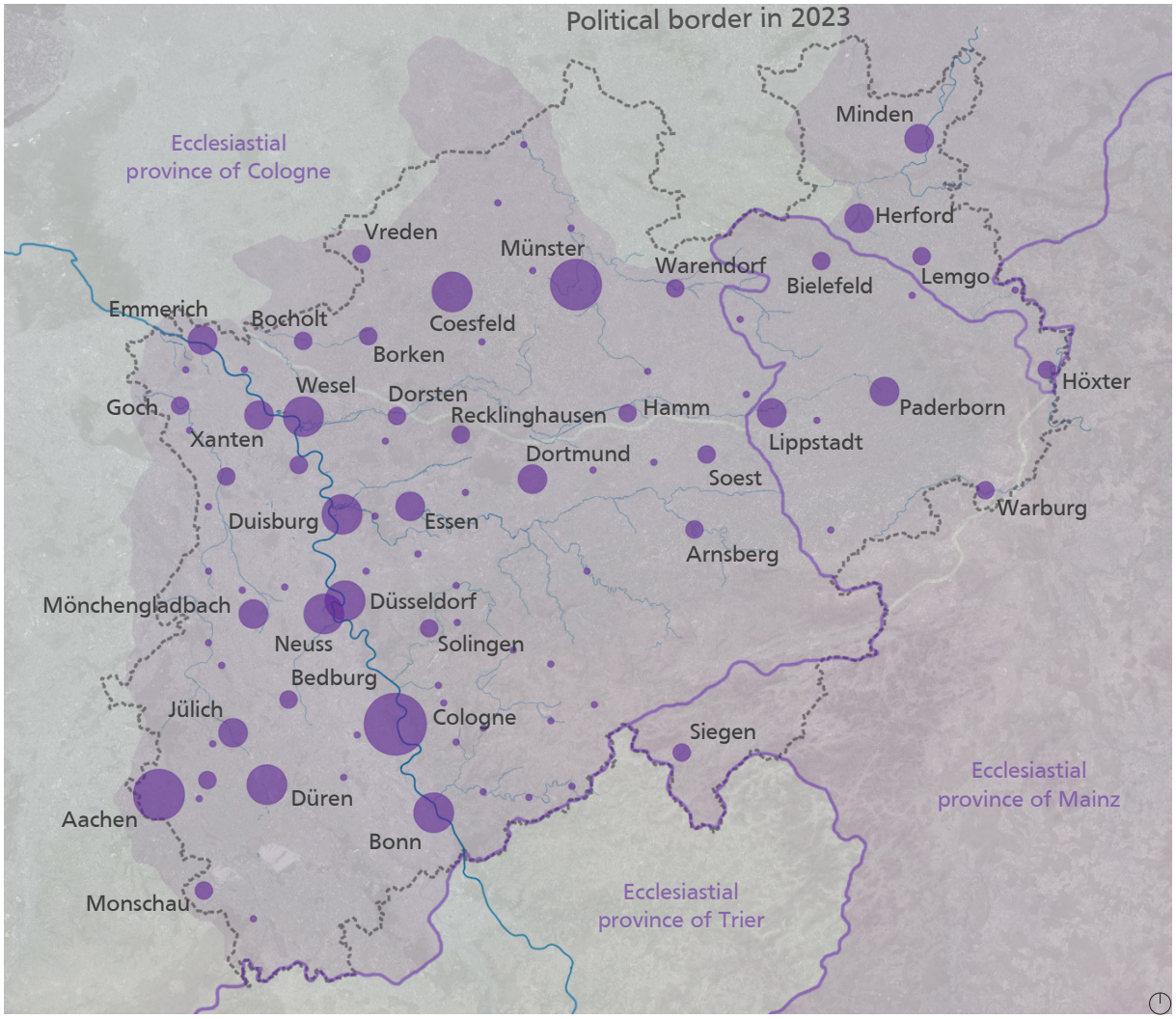


Figure 57. Number of monastic buildings per cities at the end of the 18th century in North Rhine-Westphalia. Own elaboration based on data from the table in the Figure 50.

and management of the territory in the religious sphere. At first glance, major cities such as Cologne, Aachen or Münster stand out. On a second level, other important cities in the region such as Düren, Bonn, Neuss, Düsseldorf or Duisburg can be distinguished. As can be seen, the monastic cities are also located along the axis of the Rhine as a territorial backbone.

Regarding the ecclesiastical territorial division, major differences can be detected. The province and bishopric of Cologne stands out as the one with the largest number of monasteries compared to Mainz, which is administered from the bishopric of Paderborn. The low number in the latter is also due to the presence of the wooded area of Sauerland to the south. Finally, a wide dispersion of small monastic nuclei can be observed throughout the territory. As mentioned above, many of these towns were of little importance, such as Bochum. It was only from the beginning of the mining activity in the Ruhr that the urban plan changed completely.

The construction of monasteries and convents was mainly carried out by religious orders[47]. So far, the monastic scene has only been analysed as a whole, without considering which orders we are referring to. In the case of North Rhine-Westphalia, 56 orders have been identified (Figure 60), including both male and female orders. This scheme is a reflection of what is happening on a continental European scale, but reduced to the territory analysed. At first glance, a fairly similar number of male and female orders can be observed. This is undoubtedly influenced by the strength that female orders acquired in the Holy Roman Empire (Krüger, 2007). Most of the orders are duplicated in male and female ones, such as Augustinians (), Carmelites, Benedictines (Figure 58), Franciscans, Dominicans or Tertiaries. On the other hand, the male orders include those without a female branch, such as the Carthusians, the Jesuits (Figure 59) or the military orders such as the Teutonic Order or the Knights of St. John. In addition, among the female orders, orders without a male branch have also been found, such as the Celestines, Christenserines or Ursulines.

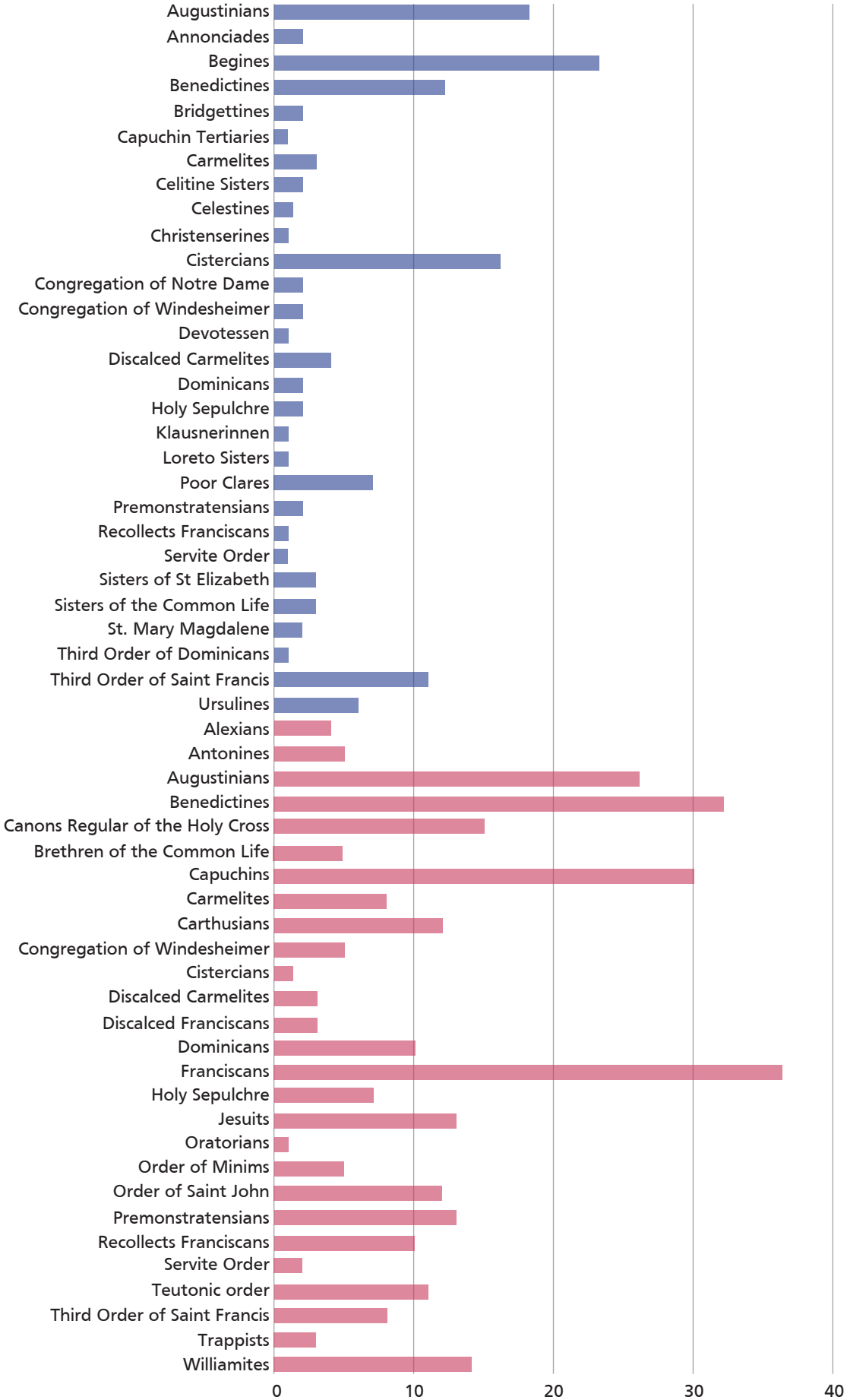
Figure 58. Benedictine church, Cologne. Author, 2021.

Figure 59. Jesuit church, Bonn. Author, 2021.

The number of foundations of monasteries and convents is very different. Broadly speaking, there is a greater number of male than female foundations. Although there is an approximate number of orders between men and women, the foundations of monasteries are much higher. On the other hand, between male and female orders, there is no simultaneous production. In this sense, Franciscans and male Benedictines have more than 30 foundations, but not their female counterparts. The opposite is also true, where female Cistercians have more than 15 foundations compared to a couple of male ones, being also one of the orders with the smallest number of buildings. However, in other orders, such as the Augustinians, a high number of foundations can be observed in both male and female orders, with more than 15 and 25 buildings respectively. It should be remembered that the graph includes both urban monasteries of mendicant orders and rural monasteries, as in the case of the Carthusians or Cistercians. In this case they have been included because of their proximity to some cities. However, these monasteries do not form part of the urban environment and hardly generate social relations, unlike the rest of the orders.

The total number of religious orders in a city establishes a criterion for measuring the social level and importance of this one in the territory. As they had a mendicant nature, the decision to establish them was fundamental in order to obtain resources. For this reason, not all orders have foundations in each of the cities analysed. Moreover, the type differs according to the city.

47 It could happen that a monastery or convent was financed by the nobility, even if it was eventually donated to a religious order.

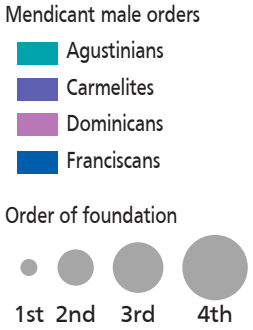

Augustinians
Annonciades
Begines
Benedictines
Bridgettines
Capuchin Tertiaries
Carmelites
Celitine Sisters
Celestines
Christenserines
Cistercians
Congregation of Notre Dame
Congregation of Windesheimer
Devotessen
Discalced Carmelites
Dominicans
Holy Sepulchre
Klausnerinnen
Loreto Sisters
Poor Clares
Premonstratensians
Recollects Franciscans
Servite Order
Sisters of St Elizabeth
Sisters of the Common Life
St. Mary Magdalene
Third Order of Dominicans
Third Order of Saint Francis
Ursulines
Alexians
Antonines
Augustinians
Benedictines
Canons Regular of the Holy Cross
Brethren of the Common Life
Capuchins
Carmelites
Carthusians
Congregation of Windesheimer
Cistercians
Discalced Carmelites
Discalced Franciscans
Dominicans
Franciscans
Holy Sepulchre
Jesuits
Oratorians
Order of Minims
Order of Saint John
Premonstratensians
Recollects Franciscans
Servite Order
Teutonic order
Third Order of Saint Francis
Trappists
Williamites
0
10
20
30
40

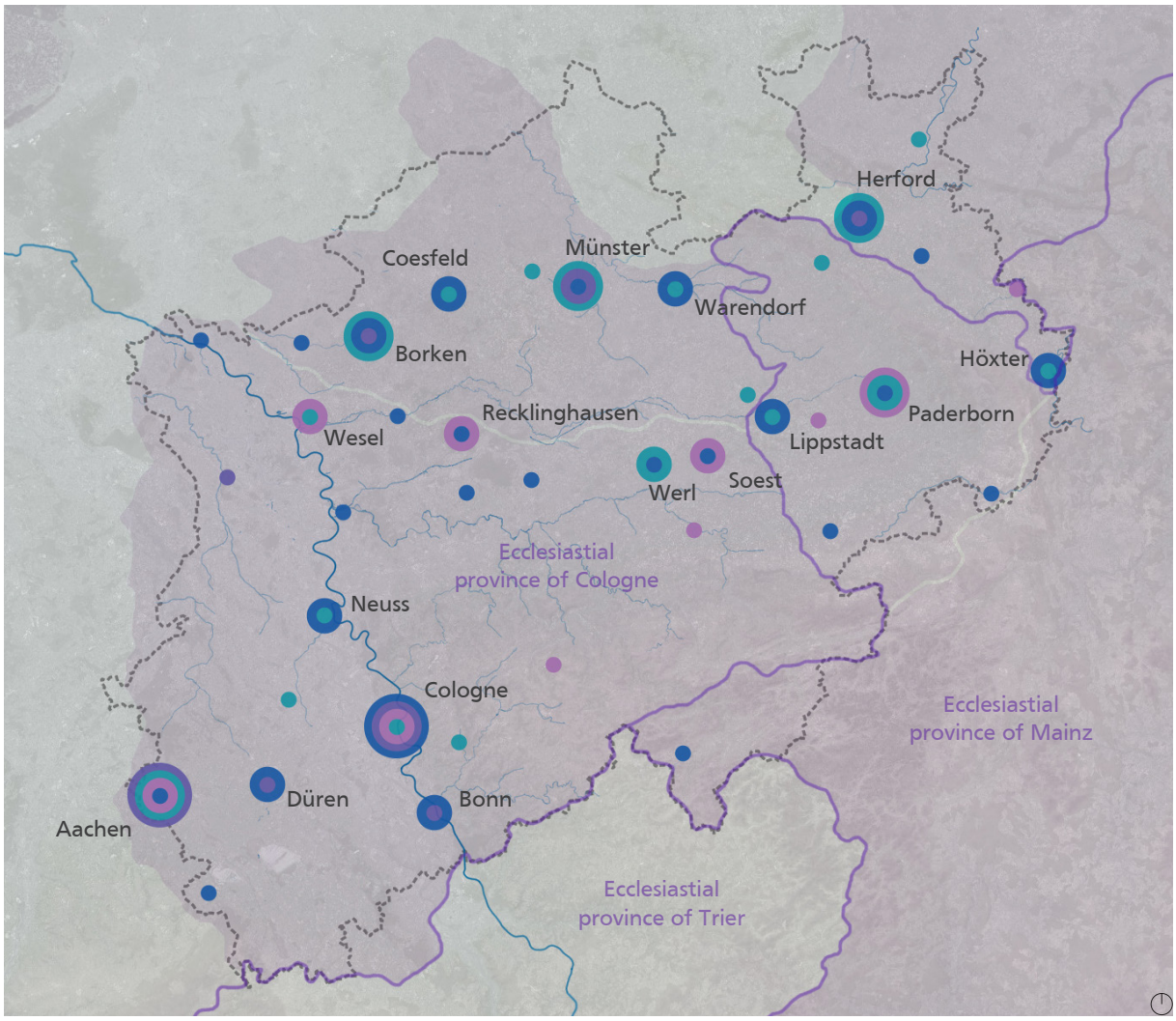
For example, although Dominicans and Franciscans are two of the most influential orders, they are not found in every city. In this sense, the foundation of four monasteries per city is one of the characteristics of the monastic city (Le Goff, 1982). These are Dominican (founded 1220-1221), Franciscan (1209), Carmelite (1254) and Augustinian (1256) (Pounds, 2005).

In order to verify Le Goff's characteristic of the monastic city, a plan has been drawn up showing the foundations of the four orders mentioned (Figure 61). The plan is structured as follows. Each colour represents one of the mendicant orders, Dominicans (pink), Franciscans (blue), Augustinians (turquoise) and Carmelites (purple). Concentric circles are then made in each town, depending on whether there are any foundations of these orders. The spectrum varies from 1 to 4 foundations per town. In cases where there is more than one foundation of the same order, the circles are arranged in order of arrival. The smallest belongs to the first order and the outermost to

Figure 60. (Left page) Number of foundations of religious male and female orders in North Rhine-Westphalia. Own elaboration based on data from the table in the Figure 50.

Figure 61. Location of male religious orders by cities in North Rhine-Westphalia. Ordered by year of foundation. Own elaboration based on data from the table in the Figure 50.





the last to be founded in the city. Finally, only those cities in which there are two or more foundations have been identified with names.

The plan shows a wide dispersion of these religious orders in the territory, especially the Franciscans, shown in blue. Only Aachen and Cologne are the two cities with the four mentioned by Le Goff. With three of these orders, four cities are located, Paderborn, Herford, Münster and Borken. Next, 11 cities have at least two of the Dominican, Franciscan, Augustinian or Carmelite buildings. On the third level, 22 cities have at least one of the four monastic foundations. In this case, it is not a common characteristic for all the cities. However, it does represent the most important and influential towns at the time. The urban centres with the greatest economic weight and strategic importance are clearly identifiable. This indicator has definitely been relevant to confirm and reaffirm the choice of Aachen as a case study.

3

THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE MONASTIC CITY OF ÉCIJA

3.1 SUPPORT AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

The construction of a city's urban morphology is characterised by the succession of multiple layers throughout history. The city is the outcome of a continuous evolution brought about by the urban transformations of each historical period, as well as of the society that inhabits it. In fact, the mark left by different societies and cultures on the urban environment increases its enrichment and complexity. This contributes in a decisive way to its current configuration. The urban environment must be understood from a chronological review and perspective that allows the evolution of the whole to be discerned. The new growth, in addition to the transformations on the urban morphology, will be decisive in the development of the city.

The case study of the city of Écija is a remarkable and clear example of the transition of different historical layers along its timeline. These have left a clear mark on its current configuration. In order to be able to identify and analyse in detail the possible different historical layers that make up the city, it is necessary to turn to other sources and studies on stages prior to the one studied in this research. The historical planimetry constitutes the most explicit and appropriate support for the urban analysis of Écija. The first known planimetric document dates from the 19th century. Therefore, previous studies assume hypotheses based on other research.

The importance of the location of Écija must be understood initially from the Andalusian territorial scale. It occupies a key central position not only in the southern Iberian peninsular territory, but also as an intermediate point on the route between Seville and Cordoba. Its location in the valley of the Guadalquivir river should also be highlighted. It was built next to one of the Guadalquivir's major tributaries, the Genil river. The urban site is located at one of the highest points in the Genil valley (Figure 62). Here there is a small rise on its west bank marked to the south by one of its tributaries, the Argamasilla stream. In fact, the meander generated by the river generates a large, practically flat area, as opposed to the east bank where the valley slope is steeper. On the other hand, with regard to the climate, the high temperatures during the summer months prevent dense vegetation from thriving in the valley itself. Only along the banks of the river is it possible to find a greater number of trees. Written sources, previous research and even old views do not characterise the town as a predominantly vegetation-rich environment, but rather the opposite. This factor would later lead to the intensive cultivation of olive trees, cereals and cotton in the region.

The first known human settlement was located in this topographical context, which was mainly accentuated by the differences in elevation and the watercourses. Archaeological excavations

have confirmed the existence of a first settlement of Turdetan origin between the 9th and 1st centuries BC (Hernández Díaz et al., 1951). The first settlers occupied the highest position, named El Picadero sheltered by the riverbeds. This created a strategic position close to a water source. The Turdetan settlement was not a decisive phase for urban development, because the establishment of the Roman city was imposed on the previous structure. In the 1st century BC, Hispania conquered by Rome was divided into three provinces: Tarraconensis, Lusitania and Baetica[1]. The last one was subdivided into four *conventus*: Hispalis, Corduba, Gades and Astigi (Oscáriz Gil, 2012). The new Astigi, the name given by the Romans to the present-day Écija, plays an important role as the new capital (Figure 63). It was officially founded in the last quarter of the 1st century BC as Colonia Augusta Firma Astigi by Emperor Augustus (García-Dils de la Vega, 2015). The new centrality favoured not only the growth of the city itself, but also the connections with Corduba and Hispalis through the Via Augusta. This connection connected Rome with Gades by land, in addition to a port settlement in the Singilis[2], which connected Astigi with Rome. Important land and river connections arose as a result of the importance of the olive oil trade. This activity, together with

Figure 62. (left) Toponymy of the location of Écija. Own elaboration.

Figure 63. (right) Roman city of Écija, 2nd BC - 5th AC centuries. Own elaboration based on the García-Dils de la Vega hypotheses (García-Dils de la Vega, 2015).

1 Although there were several provincial divisions during the Roman period, the provincial division of Augustus in the 1st BC century is referred here.

2 Singilis is the Roman name of the aforementioned Genil river that flows next to Écija (Cortés y López, 1835)

its status as a capital, allowed the city to develop fast. The city was laid out along the traditional Roman orthogonal layout divided by the *Cardus Maximus* (north-south) and the *Decumanus Maximus* (east-west). The *Decumanus* itself is also part of the aforementioned Via Augusta as it passes through Astigi (García-Dils de la Vega, 2015). The different roads that make up the city are located parallel to the *Cardus* and *Decumanus*, forming grids of approximately 100x100 metres (García-Dils de la Vega, 2015). In addition to its urban characteristics, the city has an important system of facilities. It is made up of the forum, the theatre[3] and temples, within the walls, together with the circus and amphitheatre, outside the walls. This is an indication of the importance and economic prosperity of Astigi during Roman rule.

Between the 4th and 5th centuries, the decline of the Roman Empire combined with an internal crisis led to an internal division into West and East. The western part faced the arrival of a multitude of Germanic peoples, which led to the disappearance of the Western Roman Empire, but not that of its eastern counterpart. The Visigoths settled mainly in ancient Hispania from the 5th to the 8th century. Both in this period and in the later periods of Roman rule, the emergence of Christianity and its presence in Astigi was more than evident. The city was named an episcopal see, hosting a large number of bishops, among whom Saint Fulgentius can be highlighted (Martínez Melón, 2008). The Visigothic period was a time of very slight alterations in its urban configuration. It can be considered a continuation of the Roman city. However, since the introduction of Christianity as the official religion of the Roman Empire and the banning of pagan cult, it led to the destruction or conversion of old temples for new religious structures of a Christian nature (Jiménez Sánchez & Sales Carbonell, 2004). The end of the Visigothic period on the peninsula is marked by the year 711 and the battle of the Guadalete River. Islamic troops led by Tariq Ibn Ziyad and Musa Ibn Nusair occupied the former Hispanic territory (Lara & Lara, 2018), which acquired a new name, Al-Andalus.

During the Muslim Middle Ages, the *Cora* of Istiyya[4] added the production of cotton to that of olive oil, becoming a major export centre for both products. During this period, the ancient Roman city underwent a complete transformation of its urban layout (Figure 65). In the case of Écija, the old *Cardus* and *Decumanus* are diluted in the new layout, and the orthogonal city disappears completely. The new morphology is irregular and

Figure 64. (top to down) Mosque remains in Santa Cruz; Tower of Santa María; Tower of San Juan. Author, 2023.

3 Although there are sources indicating the existence of a theatre in the city, to the present day, neither its exact location nor empirical evidence of its existence has been located (García-Dils de la Vega, 2015).

4 Name of Écija during its Muslim period.

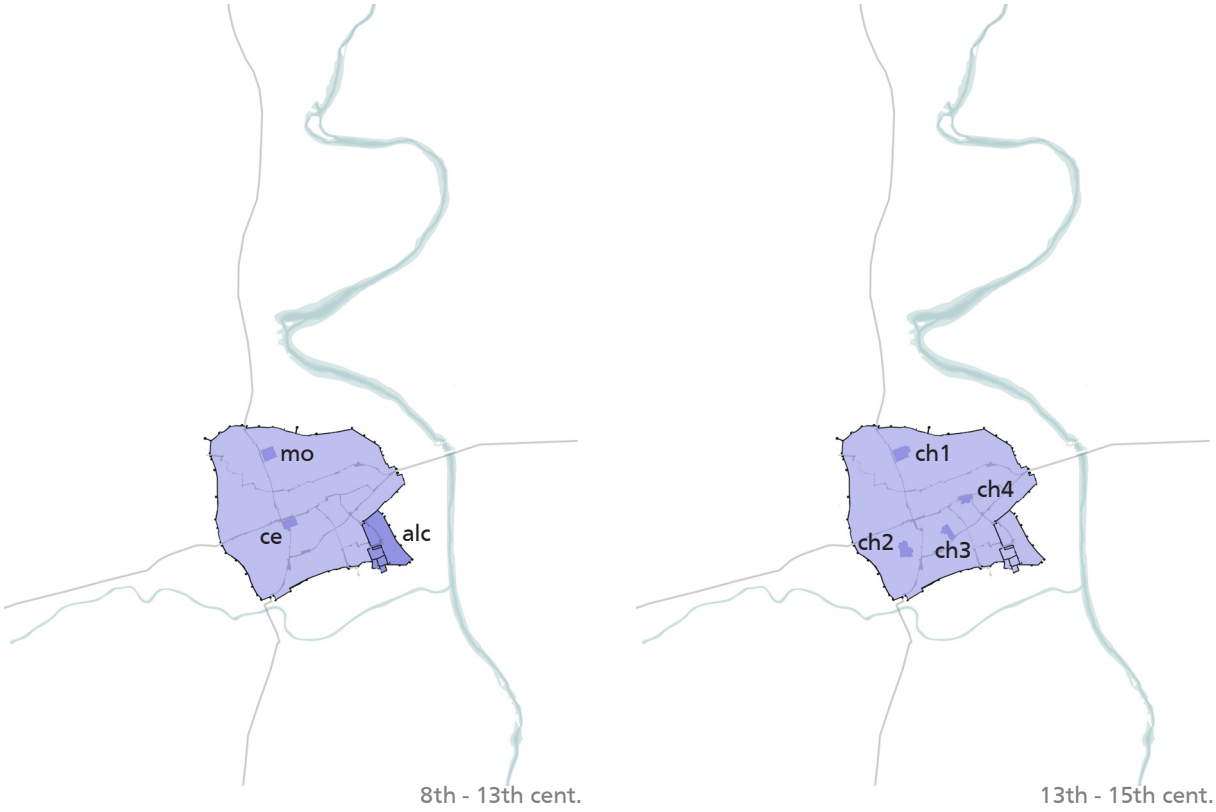


Figure 65. (left) Islamic city of Écija, 8th - 13th centuries. Own elaboration based on the Remolina Seivane hypotheses (Remolina Seivane, 2014).

[mo] mosque

[ce] cementery

[alc] *alcázar*

Figure 66. (right) Christian city of Écija, 13th - 15th centuries. Own elaboration based on the Remolina Seivane hypotheses (Remolina Seivane, 2014).

[ch1] Church of Santa Cruz

[ch2] Church of Santa María

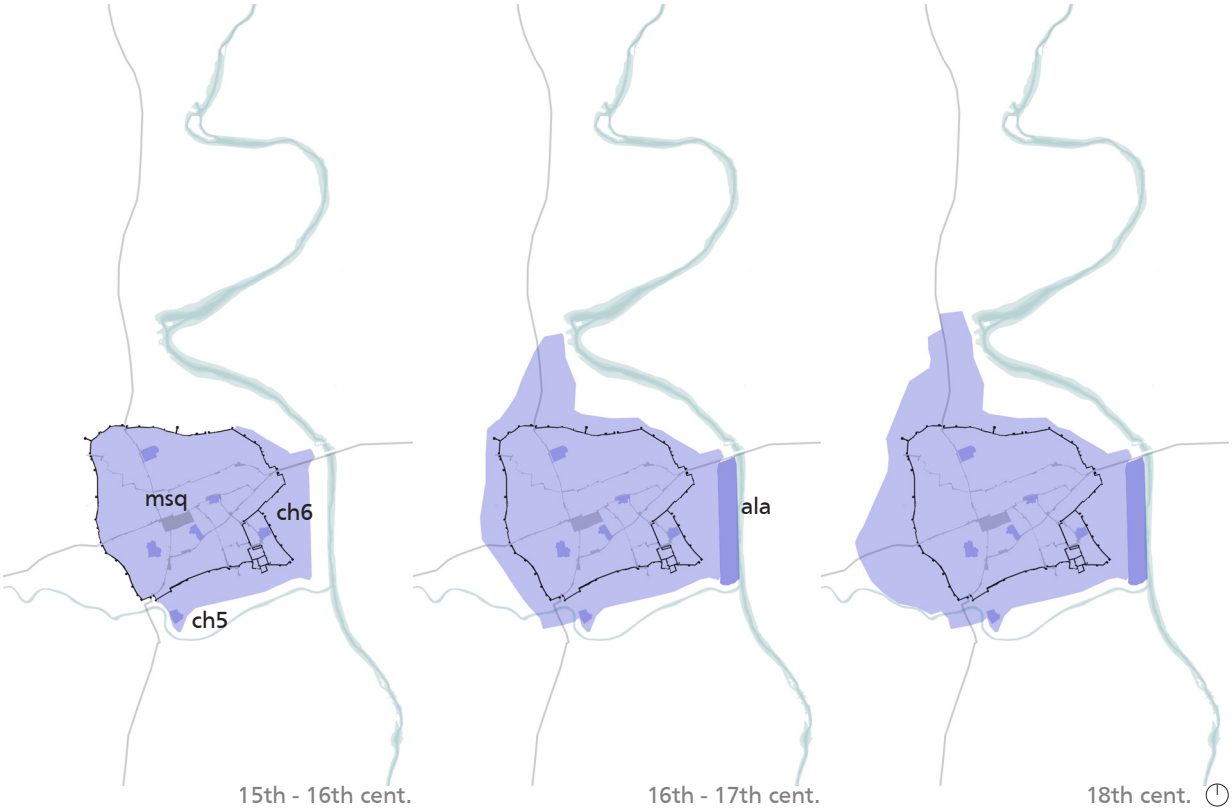
[ch3] Church of Santa Bárbara

[ch4] Church of San Juan

organic, characteristic of the arabic city (García-Dils de la Vega, 2015). On the highest point of Écija, the site of the original Turdetan settlement, the new *Alcázar* [alc] was built as part of the new *medina*. Furthermore, the mosque [mo] and the cementery [ce] were built as urban facilites. The influence of Islam was not in terms of growth, but in the alteration of the urban structure. The reticular morphology was transformed into a completely different, organic and irregular one.

After five centuries of Muslim presence in Écija, the Christian conquest marked the beginning of a new medieval period in the 13th century. Christian troops led by the Castilian monarch Ferdinand III occupied the city in 1240 (Chamocho Cantudo, 2017). In this context, the urban approach of the Christians was mainly focused on the replacement of the old mosques with Christian temples. It was part of the strategy of Christianisation of the new conquered territories. The importance of the Church can be seen in the first division into *collaciones*[5]. Above the four main churches, Santa Cruz [ch1], Santa María [ch2], Santa Bárbara [ch3] and San Juan [ch4] (Figure 64) two fictitious cross-shaped axes are drawn to mark the new administrative districts (Remolina Sevaine, 2014). Their relevance at the urban level is transcendental due to the important role played by the Church in the new urban transformations of this

5 Spanish term for the political-ecclesiastical division of the city into areas according to their parish churches (Montero Vallejo, 1996).



period. The Christians maintained the existing urban fabric and built new religious facilities (Figure 66). Construction began not only of churches, but also of monasteries and convents as a new Christian architectural typology.

Until the 15th century, the city did not undergo significant changes. As it was located on the border between the Christian and Muslim kingdoms, constant fighting prevented urban growth. In 1492, the Catholic Monarchs conquered the city of Granada, thus concluding the Muslim presence on the peninsula. At the end of the medieval period marked by the wars between the peninsular kingdoms, the city began new urban developments. With the city within the city walls filled in, the first suburbs were built outside the city walls (Figure 67). These began to the south and east, occupying a position between the city and the riverbeds. With regard to the parish buildings, the construction of the two remaining ones, Santiago [ch5] and San Gil [ch6] was completed. In all, there are six parish churches. At the crossroads of the axes marked by the aforementioned settlements, the city's main square was built [msq]. This square, whose popular name is "El Salón", forms the new urban centre and is also the place for the establishment of commerce and the local market.

In the 16th century, the urban development of Écija increased. The growth of the first suburbs slowed down, giving rise to two new ones to the north and west of the city (Figure 68).

Figure 67. (left) Christian city of Écija, 15th - 16th centuries. Own elaboration based on the Remolina Seivane hypotheses (Remolina Seivane, 2014).

[msq] Main square "El Salón"

[ch5] Church of Santiago

[ch6] Church of San Gil

Figure 68. (middle) City of Écija, 16th - 17th centuries. Own elaboration based on based on historical views of the city.

[ala] *Alameda*

Figure 69. (right) City of Écija, 18th century. Own elaboration based on historical views of the city.

Figure 70. (top to down) Cloister of Santiago; Main square 'El Salón'; Alameda. Author, 2023.

These were guided by the main roads, especially the northern suburb. However, the suburb by the river is completed with the incorporation of a new urban recreational facility, the *alameda*[6] [ala]. It is important to point out this urban space in the city, as it is one of the first cities to incorporate this type of facility[7]. Other facilities, such as the royal butcher's shops, are derived from the market activity carried out in El Salón. On the other hand, in relation to urban infrastructures, the construction of the Arca del agua[8] for the supply of the population appears for the first time (Santofimia Albiñana, 2011).

This shows not only the urban importance of Écija, but also its political, economic and social significance (Figure 70). The urban growth of the city was further boosted by the rise of the religious orders, which established their last foundations in the city during the 17th century. At this time, the city enjoyed not only national but also international renown. This led Flemish and Italian artists and travellers of the time to stop in the city to leave the first known graphic works. It is worth mentioning the description by Vélez de Guevara (1641) "The Plaza Mayor of Écija is the most distinguished in Andalusia with a fountain in the centre and four nymphs" (p.61)[9].

If the Baroque occupies an important place in the Spanish panorama of the 18th century, it is even more so for Écija. The Baroque is the period of greatest exponent in Écija (Figure 69). To this phenomenon must be added the disaster of 1755, the Lisbon Earthquake. Écija was one of the cities affected. There was serious structural damage, mainly to religious buildings and their towers. Many of these structures were not originally prepared to withstand such seismic activity. However, the sum of these events meant that most of the towers and churches were rebuilt. The destruction caused by the earthquake was used to build new towers and bell-glabes in a baroque architectural style, as was the case with palace buildings, municipal buildings, etc. (Hernández Díaz et al., 1951). Such was the importance that Baroque acquired in the city that a local style developed in the city, known as Ecijan Baroque. This style is defined by the use of tiles, plaster and brick (Reina Valle, 1996). In this century, the growth of the northern and western suburbs of the city increased. As they were not delimited by physical barriers such as the stream and the river, they developed further. During the Baroque period, there were no new urban expansions or transformations. The aim was to beautify and rebuild the city.

6 Built in 1578, known as Paseo de San Pablo (Aguilar Diosdado & García León, 1988).

7 One of the first Spanish avenues, together with the one in Ecija, are those of Madrid (1570) and Seville (1574) (Quilodrán Rubio et al., 2020).

8 Building used as water tank.

9 Original quotation: "La Plaza Mayor de Écija, es la más insigne de Andalucía con una fuente en el centro y cuatro ninfas" (Vélez de Guevara 1641, p. 61).

3.2 MONASTIC FOUNDATIONS

The Christian conquest indicates the beginning of the construction of monastic Écija. The monastic foundational process in the city did not take place in a single phase. It is not a limited development, but occurs along the timeline from the 14th to the 17th century. Nevertheless, this process is even more complex. Some foundations can be up to three centuries apart, which means that situations and contexts are totally unrelated to each other. However, despite the difficulties and differences, the establishment of a monastery or a convent in a city is a unique and continuous development. Moreover, it is favoured or harmed in relation to the socio-political factors of the time. The decision to found a monastic order can be situated on two scales from an urban-territorial perspective.

Firstly, the choice of the urban setting in the territorial context is a determining factor, as each city is different from the other. Following the urban relevance and importance, according to López Martínez (1992), "the first foundations would take place in the large cities, [...] Seville, Jerez, Écija and Alcalá de Guadaira, were the towns in which the first monasteries were founded in the 13th century" (p. 36)[10]. Then, the second consideration is directly related to the place where they were established in the urban fabric. Once again, factors such as economics, power relations or relations with the people determine the monastic location in the city. Undoubtedly, it is essential for an order to find the most optimal location and integration in the urban fabric. Otherwise, it could mean the disappearance of the order and the convent building in the city.

In Écija there are few documentary sources that highlight the monastic structure beyond the buildings themselves and their architecture. For this reason, it is difficult to identify an exact date for each of the foundations in the city. However, the contrast between different sources makes it possible to determine the years of establishment. Thus, a complete list of all the monastic buildings can be compiled. On the other hand, contradictions have also been detected between some of the sources, such as the appearance of some monastic buildings in the city that have not been found in other documents. Due to the scarcity of information, a more in-depth study was carried out, both in terms of its veracity and in terms of the comparison between different sources. In order to collect all the data found in the sources consulted, a table has been drawn up. It contains information on all the foundations in Écija and shows the inherent characteristics of the monastic structure in the city. The sources used for the study of monasteries and convents in Écija are diverse. Thanks to them, it has been possible to

10 Original quote: "las primeras fundaciones tendrían lugar en las grandes ciudades, [...] Sevilla, Jerez, Écija y Alcalá de Guadaira, fueron los poblaciones en las que se fundaron los primeros conventos en el siglo XIII" (López Martínez 1992, p. 36).

locate and count the position of the buildings of this religious typology. The differences detected between the sources have made the research process more complex. However, the contrast of textual and graphic data has made it possible to establish with greater clarity the key points of the monastic foundations in Écija. In this sense, the studies by Caldero Bermudo (1984), Hernández Díaz et al. (1955), López Jiménez (2016), Martín de Roa (2005), López (1795), Madoz (1847) or García León & Martín Ojeda (2018) are relevant. To these references must be added the various historical views and iconographies of the city, in addition to the historical cartography of the 18th and 19th centuries.

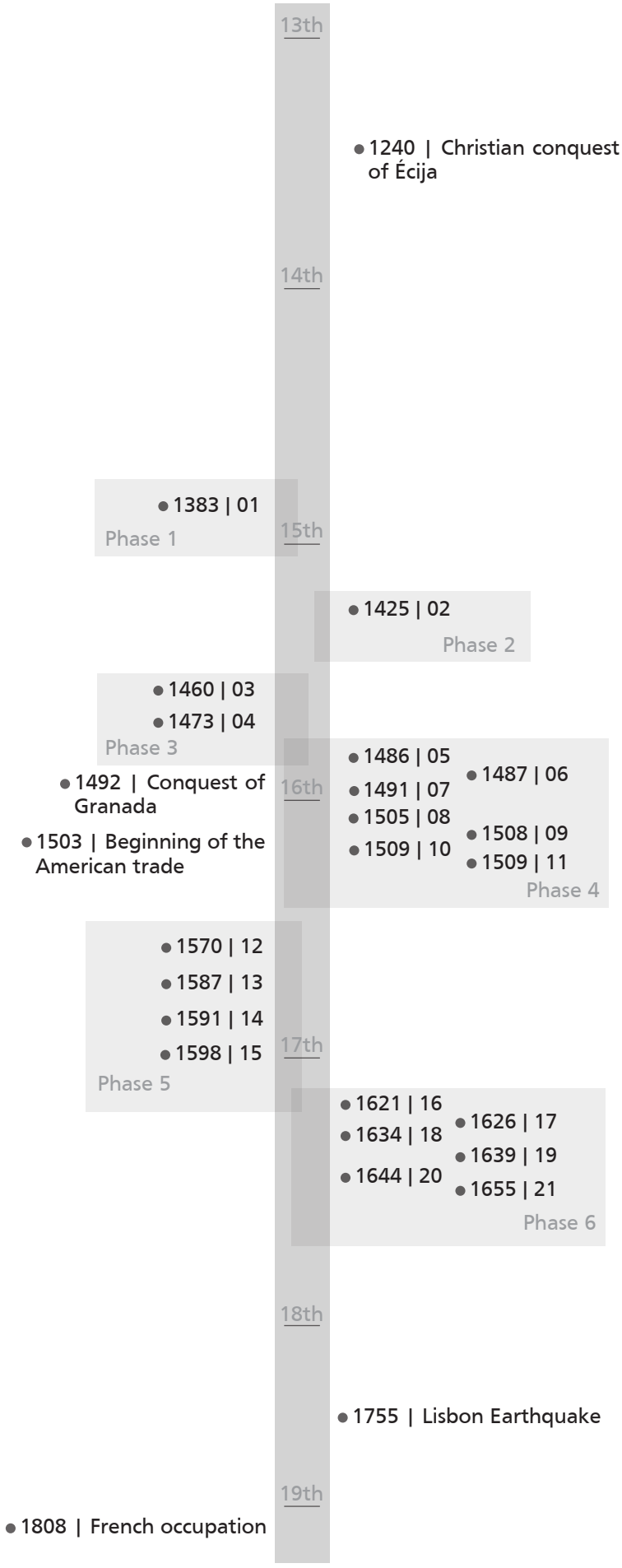
3.2.1 ORDERS AND ESTABLISHMENT

Understanding the monastic system in Écija requires a study of its implantation in the urban fabric. This is important not only from a historical point of view that distributes the arrival of the orders chronologically, but also from other perspectives. The study of socio-political events is linked to urban development and monastic settlement. For this reason, it is important to take an urban perspective in which the monastic location and its relationship with the structure of the city are analysed. This morphological analysis is detached from the usual chronological distribution in centuries. In this sense, we offer a vision of four centuries distributed in six different stages (Figure 71). These stages take into account factors such as urban development, the political, economic or social background of the period. Therefore, it is an analysis adapted to a more accurate reality than the chronological study limited to centuries.

Before the arrival of the Muslims in Écija in the 8th century, it was considered a politically important city, as it was the episcopal see[11]. In fact, the first record of a female monastic religious building on the Iberian Peninsula dates from this period, in the city of Écija. Numerous sources describe a convent outside the walls formed by a community of nuns, the so-called Monasterio del Valle. This was the first female order on the peninsula (Noguera Rosado, 1982). One of the references to this first enclave is the one made by Madoz (1847) where "Sister St. Florentina was the founder of the nuns who existed in the Monasterio del Valle and who were later beheaded by the Saracens..." (p. 435)[12]. It narrates the terrible events between the religious sisters and the arrival of the Muslim troops in the

11 The period referred to as the episcopal see belongs to the Christianisation of the Roman city, as well as to its later Visigothic period.

12 Original quote: "la hermana Sta. Florentina, fundadora de las mojas que existieron en el conv. Del valle y fueron despues degolladas por los sarracenos..." (Madoz 1847, p. 435)



01 | San Pablo y Santo Domingo
02 | Nuestra Señora del Carmen
03 | Santa Florentina
04 | San Francisco
05 | San Jerónimo del Valle
06 | Santa Inés del Valle
07 | San Agustín
08 | Nuestra Señora de la Victoria
09 | Espíritu Santo
10 | Nuestra Señora de la Merced
11 | Nuestra Señora de los Remedios
12 | Visitación a Santa Isabel (Las Recogidas)
13 | Santísima Trinidad y Purísima Concepción de Nuestra Señora (Las Marroquíes)
14 | Limpia Concepción de Nuestra Señora (Los Descalzos)
15 | San Fulgencio
16 | Divina Pastora (Capuchinos)
17 | Santa Ana
18 | San José (Las Teresas)
19 | La Purísima Concepción (Las Gemelas)
20 | Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación (Monjas Blancas)
21 | Hospital de San Pedro, San Pablo y San Juan de Dios

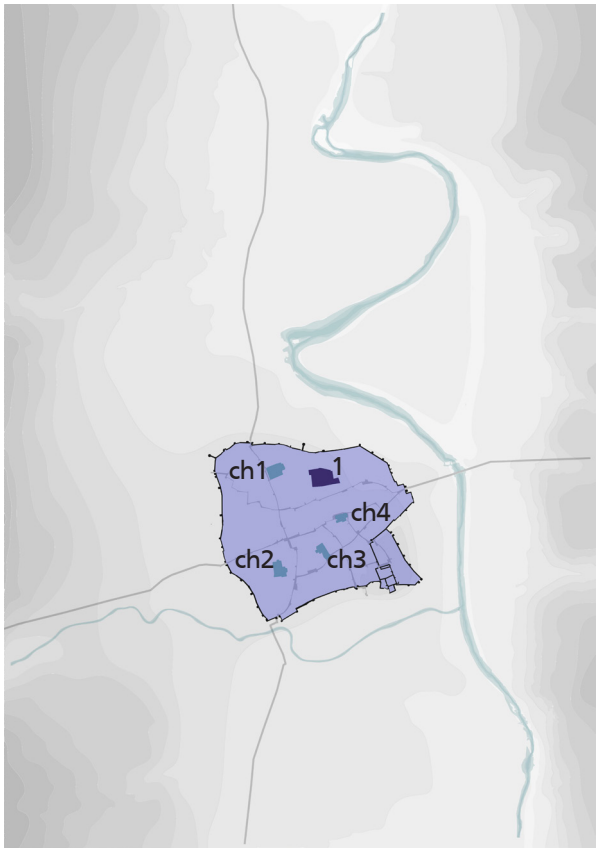
Figure 71. Timeline with data on the foundation of monasteries and convents, as well as relevant historical data. Based on the table in Figure 78. Own elaboration.

city[13]. As for the location of the convent building, it has not been possible to locate it exactly due to the scarcity of sources and archaeological research. However, some authors suggest that the future Hieronymite order in Écija was founded on the ancient ruins of the disappeared convent (García León & Martín Ojeda, 2018).

The Christian conquest in the 13th century and the domination of Christianity over Islam led to monastic foundations in the city of Écija. On the one hand, the consolidation of noble power took place through typologies such as the palace or the stately house. On the other hand, the ecclesiastic used the church and the convent as a means of consolidating his power and dominion in the new settlements. In fact, it was considered normal practice for the religious to accompany the army. The aim was not only to satisfy religious needs but also to participate in the new distribution of land or the founding of monasteries in new conquered cities (García Torralbo, 1998). The distribution of land favoured the religious establishment to a large extent. Thus, in 1383, the first monastic building was founded in the city, the monastery of San Pablo y Santo Domingo [1] (Aguilar Díaz, 2006). The Dominican building belongs to the establishment of the first phase (Figure 72). However, the monastery is the fifth religious building, as there were already four parishes: Santa Cruz [ch1], Santa María [ch2], Santa Bárbara [ch3] and San Juan [ch4]. The Dominicans located the monastery within the city walls, close to one of the main roads connecting the city. The strategy of implantation is mainly conditioned by the constant conflicts of war between the kingdoms of Castile and Granada. Écija was a strategic border enclave. In this context, the monastic site is protected against possible attacks. Moreover, it was a strategic point on the border from which to Christianise the new territories.

During the 15th century, the war with the Muslim kingdom intensified, with the Christian side winning numerous victories and extending the frontier almost as far as the city of Granada. This was a determining factor in the new urban development of Écija. The disappearance of its frontier status with the Nasrid kingdom allowed for expansion outside the city walls. The city underwent new transformations after centuries without notable changes. The urban area grew, reflected in its two suburbs. On the other hand, a new parish church was built, that of Santiago [ch5], the first outside the city walls due to the decrease in the pressure of war on Écija. The new church of San Gil [ch6] was also built on the site of the old *alcázar*. With regard to the construction of the public space, the main

13 There is a popular legend about this event entitled *Las Mártires del Valle* (The Martyrs of the Valley), which narrates the events that took place. This legend, along with other Ecijan legends, is collected by Noguera Rosado, J.J. (1982) Fantasía Ecijana. Gráficas Sol.



square was built on part of the old Muslim cemetery, which became known as the Plaza Real. Important buildings were positioned on this square to form the new central nucleus of urban life, although the historical road axes continued to prevail. Finally, a new gate appeared in the wall, known as Puerta Nueva [gate A], creating a new access next to the monastery of Santo Domingo.

Figure 72. (left) Phase 1 of monastic development, 14th century. Own elaboration.

[ch1] Church of Santa Cruz

[ch2] Church of Santa María

[ch3] Church of Santa Bárbara

[ch4] Church of San Juan

[1] San Pablo y Santo Domingo

Figure 73. (right) Phase 2 of monastic development, 15th century. Own elaboration.

[ch5] Church of Santiago

[ch6] Church of San Gil

[A] Gate Puerta Nueva

[2] Nuestra Señora del Carmen

Further urban development and the advance of the Christian conquest led to new monastery foundations in the 15th century. In the second stage, in 1425, the Carmelite order established itself in a position far from the walled boundary (Figure 73). The new monastery of Nuestra Señora del Carmen [2] is strategically located next to the ancient *Via Augusta*, which still connects the cities of Seville and Cordoba. In fact, its position on the western side is to avoid both the floods of the river and a more rugged topography. In the third foundational stage, two buildings appear within the walls (Figure 74). The first belongs to the Dominican Nuns[14], founded in 1460 [3]. As was usual for women's orders, they established an inner-wall settlement, sheltered from the possibility of external dangers and with the security offered by the wall. The convent of Santa Florentina adopted a strategic position next to the wall, taking

14 The Dominican nuns constitute the first female order in the city without considering the nuns of the Visigothic period in Écija.

advantage of it as part of the convent itself. This situation is reinforced by the existence of the Puerta Sevilla [gate B] and the northern entrance through the Puerta Palma[15] [gate C]. The appearance of the Plaza Real[16] as the new centre of the city was taken advantage of by the Franciscans to establish their monastery next to it in 1473 [4]. Unlike "the French Franciscans who preferred small towns. On the contrary, the Andalusian Franciscans spread throughout all the towns, especially the large ones, ignoring the most depressed and low-density areas" (López Martínez 1992, p. 42)[17]. The position of the plot of the monastery of San Francisco allows it to interact with the main urban axes and to have direct access from the square. It is the only monastic building in the Plaza Real.

The fourth stage is the most numerous in terms of foundations in the city (Figure 75). This stage took place between the end of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th century, coinciding with the conquest of the city of Granada. The disappearance of Muslim influence on the peninsula allowed monastic foundations to spring up all over Andalusia. These new foundations were not founded by chance. It can be detected that a greater number of monasteries and convents were founded in those towns that were the seat of stately or ecclesiastical courts (López Martínez, 1992). It is characteristic that among the seven new monasteries and convents, only one is within the walls. Although orders such as the Hieronymites tend to look for spaces far from urban life, this is not frequent in the Poor Clares or Augustinians. The end of the war allowed for the possibility of a safe establishment outside the walls, together with other factors of an urban nature. There was probably a lack of available land inside the walls at that time, which led the orders to locate outside the walls.

The monastery furthest from the city is that of San Jerónimo del Valle, founded in 1486 [5]. The location of the building sought the proximity of the road to Palma del Río, as well as the fertile lands of the river for agricultural work (Freire Gálvez, 2008). The monastery gardens required a continuous supply of water for irrigation. This undoubtedly favoured the choice of this position by the Hieronymite monks. The foundation of Santa Inés del Valle in 1487 [6] was the first convent to be located outside the city walls. The strategy of the Poor Clares is totally the opposite of that of the Dominicans, with their

15 Name of the gate related to the road to the city of Palma del Río.

16 The Plaza Real, now known as Plaza de España (Spanish square), is popularly known as the 'Salón'. (López Jiménez, 2016)

17 Original quote: "los franciscanos franceses que prefirieron las pequeñas poblaciones. Por el contrario, los franciscanos andaluces se extendieron por todas las poblaciones, especialmente las grandes, ignorando las áreas más deprimidas y de más baja densidad." (López Martínez 1992, p. 42)

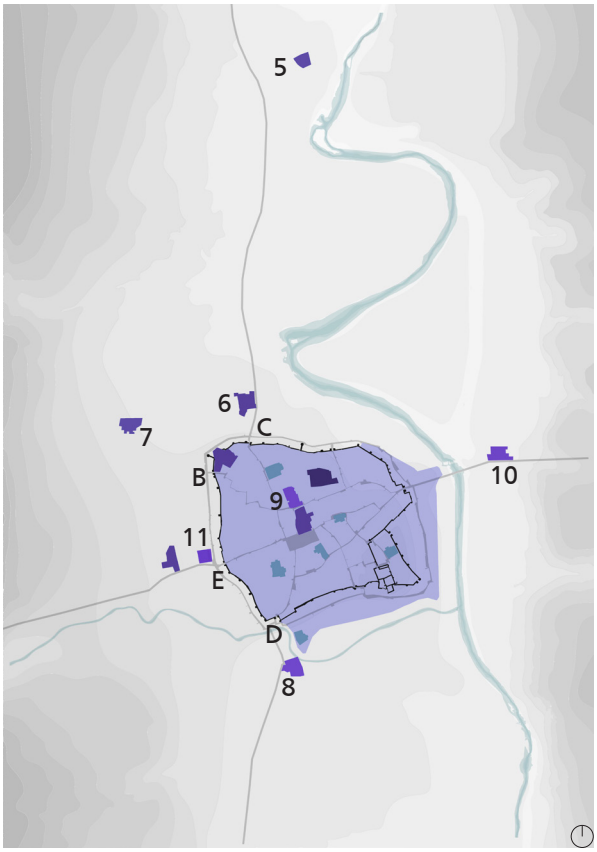


Figure 74. (left) Phase 3 of monastic development, 15th century. Own elaboration.

[3] Santa Florentina

[4] San Francisco

[B] Gate Puerta Sevilla

[C] Gate Puerta Palma

Figure 75. (right) Phase 4 of monastic development, 15th -16th centuries. Own elaboration.

[5] San Jerónimo del Valle

[6] Santa Inés del Valle

[7] San Agustín

[8] Nuestra Señora de la Victoria

[9] Espíritu Santo

[10] Nuestra Señora de la Merced

[E] Gate Puerta Cerrada

[D] Gate Puerta Osuna

position within the city walls. Like the monastery of San Jerónimo del Valle, the convent of Santa Inés del Valle was located on the road to Palma del Río but closer to the Puerta Palma [gate C], establishing a more immediate urban relationship. On the other hand, in 1491 the monastery of San Agustín [7] is located far from any main road and even from the river. However, the study of the historical urban plan has made it possible to detect the existence of rural roads on which the monastery was supported. Furthermore, if a straight line is drawn towards the city, it coincides with the Puerta Sevilla [gate B], which consolidates the existence of these roads in the 15th century.

In 1505 the monastery of Nuestra señora de la Victoria [8] was founded, belonging to the Order of Minims. Following the pattern of the last foundations, it was located next to the southern road axis, next to the Puerta Osuna [gate D]. The second building belonging to the Dominican order is the convent of the Espíritu Santo, in 1508 [9]. Its location with respect to the city is, like its namesake of Santa Florentina, within the city walls, but next to the Franciscan monastery, with a façade on the axis of Comedias street. The monastery of Nuestra Señora de la Merced [10], founded in 1509, is located next to the entrance road to the city over the bridge. With the establishment of the Mercedarians, it occupied the posi-

tions of the four main entrances to Écija. There is a peculiarity about this building that should be pointed out. In 1543 the Mercedarian monastery suffered a flood (Caldero Bermudo, 1984), which forced the monks to abandon the building and make a new foundation in 1547[18] [10.1]. This new position is located to the south between the road next to the wall and the Argamasilla stream. The new enclave also seeks a position close to a wall gate. In this case, it is a secondary access instead of a primary one as in the previous location. Following the order of the Mercedarian foundation of 1509, the same year also saw the establishment of the convent of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios [11], of the order of the Carmelites. In Spain it was the first Carmelite house of the order, followed years later by five in Andalusia, three in Castile and one in Valencia (Andrews, 2006). Its position is strategic, as it forms a corner between the road next to the wall and the access to Puerta Cerrada [gate E].

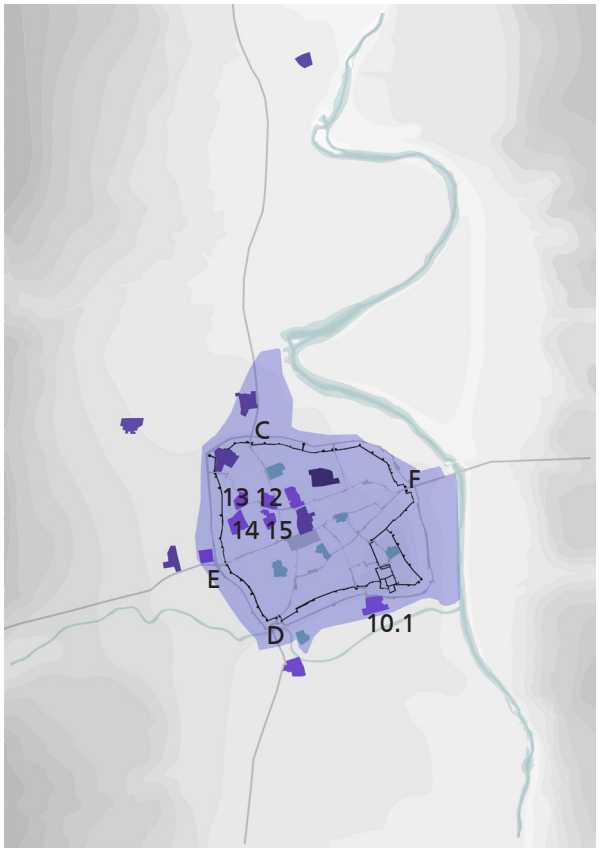
The last third of the 16th century brought major urban growth to Écija. Convents such as Santa Inés del Valle or Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, once isolated foundations, now became part of the urban fabric. In addition, the urban axes began to gain importance according to the nobility and clergy. While Caballeros street[19] configures an axis characterised by the palatine typology (López Piña, 2014), Comedia and Recogidas streets structure the conventual heart of Écija. The fifth foundational phase in Écija develops mainly at the end of the 16th century (Figure 76). In its contextualisation, this may be due both to the consolidation of the monastic establishment in the Andalusian cities, as well as to the new connections with the American territories. The opening of the routes to America, establishing Seville as the main port, favoured the appearance of orders throughout Andalusia. The economic boom in the region attracted attention from all over Europe. Religious orders found in Andalusian cities an ideal opportunity for new foundations.

During this period, all the foundations were made within the walls, forming the monastic axis of the aforementioned Recogidas street. The convent of the Visitación a Santa Isabel[20] was founded in 1570 [12]. The position of the Minim nuns is not causal within the urban fabric. The convent is located between the north-south axis of the city and the east-west between the Puerta del Puente [gate F] and Puerta Sevilla [gate B]. The convent of the Santísima Trinidad y Purísima Concepción de

18 Although this foundation takes place between phases four and five, it was chosen to be represented at the beginning of the fifth phase. During the previous period the actual position of the monastery of La Merced was next to the bridge.

19 The old name of the street was 'Caballeros'.

20 Known by the popular name of 'Las Recogidas' (The [women's] collection).



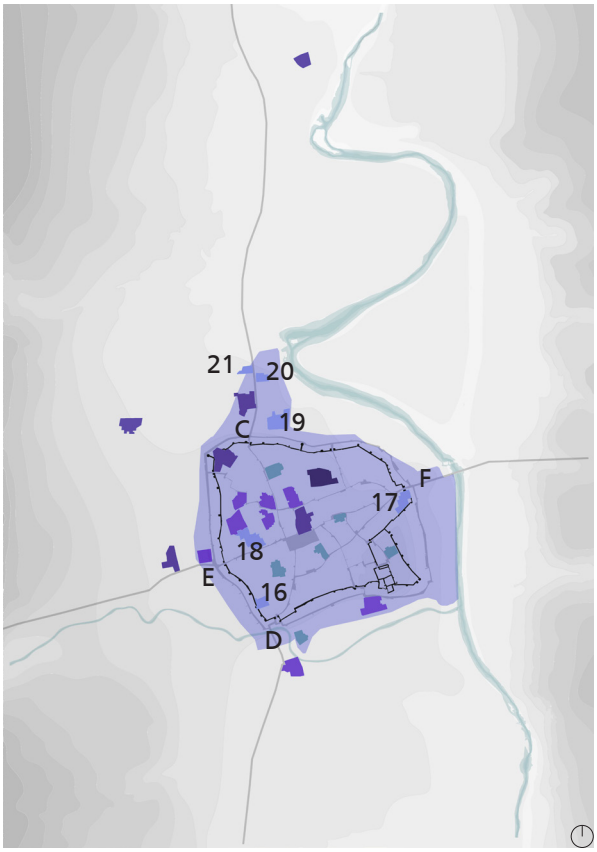


Figure 76. (left) Phase 5 of monastic development, 16th century. Own elaboration.

[10.1] Nuestra Señora de la Merced

[12] Las Recogidas

[13] Las Marroquíes

[14] Los Descalzos

[15] San Fulgencio

[F] Gate Puerta del Puente

Figure 77. (right) Phase 6 of monastic development, 17th century. Own elaboration.

[16] Capuchinos

[17] Santa Ana

[18] Las Teresas

[19] Las Gemelas

[20] Monjas Blancas

[21] Hospital de San Pedro, San Pablo y San Juan de Dios

Nuestra Señora[21] was founded by the Franciscan Conceptionists in 1587 [13]. This took place very close to the previous foundation, forming part of the last mentioned axis, as did the foundation of the Discalced Carmelites in 1591. The monastery of the Limpia Concepción de Nuestra Señora[22] [14] is located close to the wall but without bordering it. The last convent building of this phase is that of San Fulgencio, founded in 1598 [15]. The Jesuits established themselves opposite the convent of Visitación a Santa Isabel on the opposite side of the axis of Padre García Tejero street[23]. As the Jesuit monastery had an educational character, they needed a central position in the city. It is also located close to one of the main access roads to the centre, the north-south road that connects the Plaza Real with the Puerta Palma [gate C].

The last stage of conventual implantation is concentrated in the first half of the 17th century (Figure 77). During this period, monastic foundation slows down and becomes more selective. The new foundations tended to look for cities with a greater monastic presence instead of those where the conventual

21 Known by the popular name of 'Las Marroquíes' (The Moroccans).

22 Known by the popular name of 'Los Descalzos' (The Discalced).

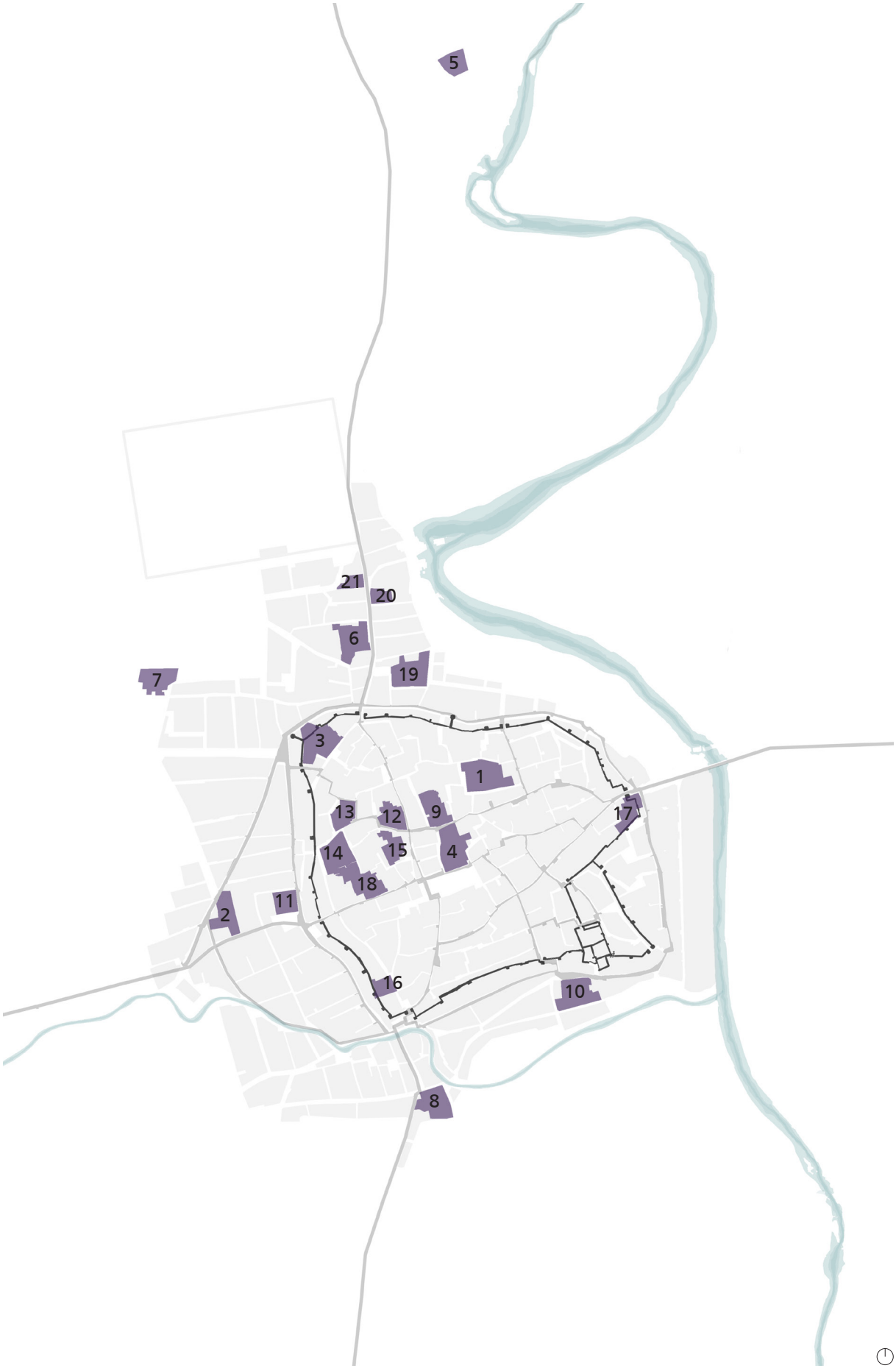
23 The old name of the street was 'Recogidas', due to the relationship between the Recogidas convent.

Num.	Name of monasteries and convents*	First foundation	First order	Gender	Confiscation
1	San Pablo y Santo Domingo	1383	Dominican friars	Male	1835
2	Nuestra Señora del Carmen	1425	Carmelites	Male	1835
3	Santa Florentina	1460	Dominican nuns	Female	-
4	San Francisco	1473	Franciscans	Male	1835
5	San Jerónimo del Valle	1486	Hieronymites	Male	1835
6	Santa Inés del Valle	1487	Poor Clares	Female	-
7	San Agustín	1491	Augustinians	Male	1835
8	Nuestra Señora de la Victoria	1505	Minim friars	Male	1809
9	Espíritu Santo	1508	Dominican nuns	Female	1835
10	Nuestra Señora de la Merced	1509	Mercedarians	Male	1836
11	Nuestra Señora de los Remedios	1509	Carmelite nuns	Female	1836
12	Visitación a Santa Isabel (Las Recogidas)	1570	Minim nuns	Female	1933
13	Santísima Trinidad y Purísima Concepción de Nuestra Señora (Las Marroquíes)	1587	Conceptionists	Female	2014
14	Limpia Concepción de Nuestra Señora (Los Descalzos)	1591	Discalced Carmelite friars	Male	1836
15	San Fulgencio	1598	Jesuits	Male	1767
16	Divina Pastora (Capuchinos)	1621	Capuchins	Male	1835
17	Santa Ana	1626	Brothers of the Third Order of Saint-Francis	Male	1836
18	San José (Las Teresas)	1634	Discalced Carmelite nuns	Female	2015
19	La Purísima Concepción (Las Gemelas)	1639	Discalced Mercedarian friars	Male	1836
20	Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación (Monjas Blancas)	1644	Discalced Mercedarian nuns	Female	1835
21	Hospital de San Pedro, San Pablo y San Juan de Dios	1655	Hospitaller Order of St. John of God	Male	1851

*The names in brackets are the common names of some buildings. Official and common names are used equally in the text.

Figure 78. Table of monastic buildings in Écija. Own elaboration according to Caldero Bermudo (1984), Hernández Díaz et al. (1955), López Jiménez (2016), Martín de Roa (1629), López (1795), Madoz (1847) and García León & Martín Ojeda (2018).

Figure 79. (right page) Monasteries and convents in Écija, 18th century. Own elaboration.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density was lower (López Martínez, 1992). Something similar happens in Écija, where the appearance of new monastic buildings takes place next to other previously existing ones. Only the case of the monastery of Santa Ana has been detected, in which its location was far from any other monastery. From 1621 to 1655, the remaining six orders followed one another almost uninterruptedly.

In the first year, in 1621, the monastery of the Divina Pastora[24] was founded by the Capuchin friars [16]. It was positioned next to the wall on the road that runs inside the walls between Puerta Cerrada [gate E] and Puerta Osuna [gate D], seeking proximity to the entrances to the city. Later, in 1626, the aforementioned monastery of Santa Ana [17] was founded on an old chapel next to the Puerta del Puente [gate F] (García León & Martín Ojeda, 2018). The Third Order of Saint Francis took advantage of the break in the wall, as well as some of its walls, both as an enclosure and to build part of the church. After the relocation of the convent of La Merced, the road to the Puerta del Puente [gate F] once again had a monastic building.

In 1634, the convent of San José[25] [18] was founded on the axis of Conde street, which directly links the Plaza Real with the Puerta Cerrada [gate E]. While the monasteries in Écija are usually newly built, the monastery of the female order of Discalced Carmelites is located on the site of an old 14th century Mudejar palace (Hernández Díaz et al., 1951). The last three foundations took place outside the city walls, to the north of the city along the road to Palma del Río. The Order of the Discalced Mercedarians established the monastery of La Purísima Concepción[26] [19] in 1639. This was followed by the convent of Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación[27], founded in 1644 [20]. The Order of Discalced Mercedarian nuns was located to the north of Santa Inés del Valle, following the direction of the new urban growth. Finally, on this same road and next to the previous convent, the Hospitaller Order of St. John of God founded the Hospital de San Pedro, San Pablo y San Juan de Dios in 1655 [21]. Due to the order's dedication to the care of the sick, the building was used as a monastery and hospital. In this last stage, the monastic establishment in Écija came to an end, with a total of 21 convents (Figure 78). In fact, the monastic system remained practically unchanged and intact until the 19th century (Figure 79).

24 Known by the popular name of 'Capuchinos' (Capuchins).

25 Also known as 'Las Teresas'.

26 The monastery church is the only one in the city with two symmetrical towers on both sides of the façade. For this reason, it is popularly known as 'Las gemelas' (The twins).

27 Known by the popular name of 'Monjas Blancas' (White nuns).

3.2.1.1 MALE

The first order to make a monastic foundation in Écija was a male order. This is linked to the initial European development of the male orders as opposed to the female orders, which appeared later. Although the first orders were male, the female branch quickly caught up with them in the foundational process. Of all the orders in the city, there is no duplication between them. In other words, there are no two male monasteries of the same order. Usually, in a medium-sized city, it is difficult to find different foundations of the same order until there is a large number of monastic buildings. In other Andalusian cities such as Baeza, there were three monasteries of the male Franciscan order in different parts of the city (García Torralbo, 1998). This shows not only the importance and relationship of the order with the city but also its monastic growth. Thirteen monaste-

Figure 80. Monasteries and convents by Gender in Écija, 18th century. Own elaboration.

ries belonging to male orders have been located (Figure 80), which represents 62% of the total. As these represent a high percentage, their position in relation to the city is very varied. Buildings have been found inside the walls, outside the walls and next to roads, with a wide range of casuistry. Therefore, it is not possible to define specific characteristics in the case of Écija beyond the common context of the religious orders.

Within the male religious branch, references have been found to two hypothetical monastic buildings that have not been included in the study. These are Nuestra Señora de los Ángeles, founded in 1613 by Franciscans, and in 1621 the monastery of San Diego by the Discalced Fathers of the Regular Observance of St. Francis (Caldero Bermudo, 1984). These data have been located mainly in two different sources, the 1984 Guía de Conventos de Écija and the 1955 *Catálogo Arqueológico y artístico de la Provincia de Sevilla.* However, the existence of these monasteries is questionable when contrasted with period sources and the texts of Father Martín de Roa in 1629, Madoz and Tomás López in the 19th century. If we add to this the iconographic sources and historical cartography, no evidence of the two monasteries has been located in any of them. On the other hand, García León and Martín Ojeda (2018) refer to the existence of the chapel of San Diego and the chapel of Nuestra Señora de los Ángeles as part of the monastery of San Francisco. If one looks at the orders of the supposed monasteries, both are Franciscan. Thus, it can be considered that perhaps the chapels were mistakenly considered as separate monastic buildings, rather than both being part of the Franciscan monastery.

3.2.1.2 FEMALE

The female order generally derives directly from the male order, the latter being its counterpart in women. This means that practically every religious order has, in theory, both a male and a female section. Although this practice is common in Andalusian and Spanish cities, in other European cities and regions there are female orders without a male part. An example of this are the orders of Ursulines or the Sisters of St. Elizabeth[28], which have no male branch, they are completely feminine. In Écija, there are a total of six orders that have both male and female foundations. This indicates the importance not only of the existence of a building of the order in the city but also of its influence having both male and female parts.

28 Both orders have been located in the Aachen case study, point 4.2.

The first female order to appear in the city belongs to the female branch of the Dominican community. It was the same order as the first male order of San Pablo y Santo Domingo. The Dominicans were followed by the Poor Clares, coinciding with the two main orders to be established in Andalusia, the Dominicans and the Franciscans (Ostos Prieto et al., 2021). In comparison with the male implantation in Écija, two convents belonging to the same order, the Dominican order, have been located among the female convents. These are the convents of Santa Florentina and Espíritu Santo. The number of female convents is eight, representing 38% of the total. Although there are foundations inside and outside the walls, due to the socio-political context of the time, most of them are located inside the walls. There are 5 convents inside the walls compared to 3 outside. This shows a greater need for their integration into urban life. In turn, they are concentrated in the northwest sector around the axis of Recogidas street or in situations next to the main gates and roads to the city.

3.2.2 SITUATION OF THE MONASTIC BUILDINGS IN THE CITY

To have an overall view of the monastic system becomes complex when we are dealing with an extensive process between the 14th and 17th centuries. Up to now, no plans[29] have been located that allow a description of the urban morphology or its parcels, where the monasteries and convents are truthfully located. The pre-19th-century plans assume hypotheses about the growth of Écija based on written sources or previous studies by other authors. However, the monastic buildings of Écija remain practically unaltered until the mid-19th century. This allows us to coincide in time with some of the earliest urban plans. Thus, in Spinola's map of 1826, prior to the ecclesiastical confiscations, the monastic development can be seen. For this reason, this plan is taken as the basis for the representation of the urban plots and the monastic buildings.

The importance of the monasteries and convents in Écija is not only due to their number, but also to their social, political and religious relevance. In fact, the density of the religious population was almost 10 religious per 1,000 inhabitants, the highest in the whole country (López Martínez, 1992). If we add to this data the population of Écija during the 19th century of

29 The oldest known plan of Écija is that of Spínola, from 1826. Although other Andalusian cities have planimetry during the 18th century, such as Olavide's plan of Seville in 1771, urban planimetric production is not common until the 19th century.

23,722 inhabitants[30], there would be a total of approximately 237 religious. Quite a large number for a medium-sized population. Regarding the monastic system in Écija, a total of 21 religious buildings have been counted. After a long process of monastic implantation over four centuries, the city reached its conventual peak between the 17th and 19th centuries. This number contrasts with that of other current provincial capitals such as Cádiz, with 15 monastic buildings, or Jaén, with 16.

The monastic buildings in Écija can be categorised according to different criteria (Figure 81). One of them, which has already been done, refers to the division according to the type of male or female order. However, different parameters can be found according to their urban location. At this point, a more detailed analysis between the city and its monastic system is carried out. The first classification refers to their position in relation to the walled enclosure. The tendency is always to insert the religious houses inside the cities (Pérez Cano & Mosquera Adell, 1991). 11 have been located inside the walls and 10 outside, which equals 50% in terms of numbers. In both cases they came to occupy complete blocks or large plots of land, making up a large surface area of the urban complex. If the conventual surface area were grouped together, it would be the 10% of the city. The monastic presence in the city was quite high for the period. This was probably one of the reasons for the absence of new foundations in the 18th century.

A second grouping can be made around the choice of location by the religious orders. The most sought-after are those along the main axes and roads, close to the main gates of the city. The four main roads, formerly Roman *Cardus* and *Decumanus*, continue to mark the four main gates of Puerta Palma, Puerta Cerrada, Puerta Osuna and Puerta del Puente. These situations indicate not only a better or worse location depending on the gates, but also mark the urban developments to the north and west. It is interesting to note how the monastic buildings are located in those areas that are precisely the first to grow in urban terms. In fact, more than 70% of the monasteries and convents are linked either to the Puerta Palma, Puerta Cerrada, or both. On the other hand, the formation of a conventual axis in the streets of Comedias, Padre García Tejero, Garcilaso and Secretario Armesto stands out within the walls. With these axes, the monastic buildings are concentrated in the northwest quadrant of the city. In all probability, the absence of religious buildings in the south of the city is due to the predominant

30 Among Andalusian cities, Écija ranked seventh in population, ahead Seville (100,498 inhabitants), Granada (61,610 inhabitants), Cordoba (41,976 inhabitants), Jerez de la Frontera (33,104 inhabitants) and Malaga (27,520 inhabitants). Data obtained from the Institute of Statistics and Cartography of Andalusia (31/05/2023) Retrieved from: https://www.juntadeandalucia.es/institutodeestadisticaycartografia/ehpa/ehpaTablas.htm

nobiliary structure on the opposite axis of Caballeros street (López Piña, 2014). The differences between nobility and clergy may have motivated the position of monasteries and convents on the other side of Écija.

A third grouping includes buildings further away from the urban centre. These buildings could be considered as isolated, as they are not inserted in an urban context and have no direct relationship with the life of the city. According to these characteristics, two can be detected with distances greater than 400 metres from the city and a third with more than 1,200 metres. One of the first two buildings mentioned is that of Nuestra Señora de la Merced, located on the other side of the river

Figure 81. Position of monasteries and convents in the 18th century. Own elaboration.

next to the road to Cordoba. However, its durability in this urban position is very short. Only 34 years due to the flooding of the building[31]. On the other hand, that of San Agustín is located to the northwest of the city, with no connection to watercourses or to any of the four main roads. Although it has no connection with the main roads, it is located next to an existing rural road[32]. Finally, the monastery of San Jerónimo del Valle, the furthest away, is located between the northern road to Palma del río and the river Genil. This location is favoured by the access to the road and the availability of water from the river for self-sufficiency and the irrigation of gardens and orchards. In fact, in both buildings there is evidence of a large garden area as part of the convent, most probably dedicated to vegetable gardens. The availability of land combined with urban isolation favoured the existence of large areas of orchards in these monasteries.

Once three groups have been established according to the urban position, a fourth group must be considered for the relationship between the monastic structure and the urban political division. This division is subdivided into the *collaciones*[33] and the *cuarteles*[34]. The first one divides the city into six large ecclesiastical areas (Figure 82), each consisting of a parish. As the *collaciones* overlap with the monastic system, it is interesting to note their relationships. There are two without any monastic buildings in their area. Another with one monastery and another with two. Most of them are concentrated in a single *collación*. In terms of percentages, the ratio of monastic occupation in each area is as follows: Santa Cruz (60%) [Co1], Santa María (25%) [Co2], San Gil (10%) [Co3], Santiago (5%) [Co4], San Juan (0%) [Co5] and Santa Bárbara (0%) [Co6]. Due to their position, almost all the monasteries and convents are absorbed by the first *collación*. Its location on the axis with the Puerta Palma and the urban growth in this direction favour this high percentage. On the other hand, the relationship between parish and monastery can be clearly seen in the distribution of *collaciones*. The parishes managed part of the administration of the urban space. This means that political relations and the availability of urban land are determining factors for monastic foundations in the areas of San Juan and Santa Bárbara.

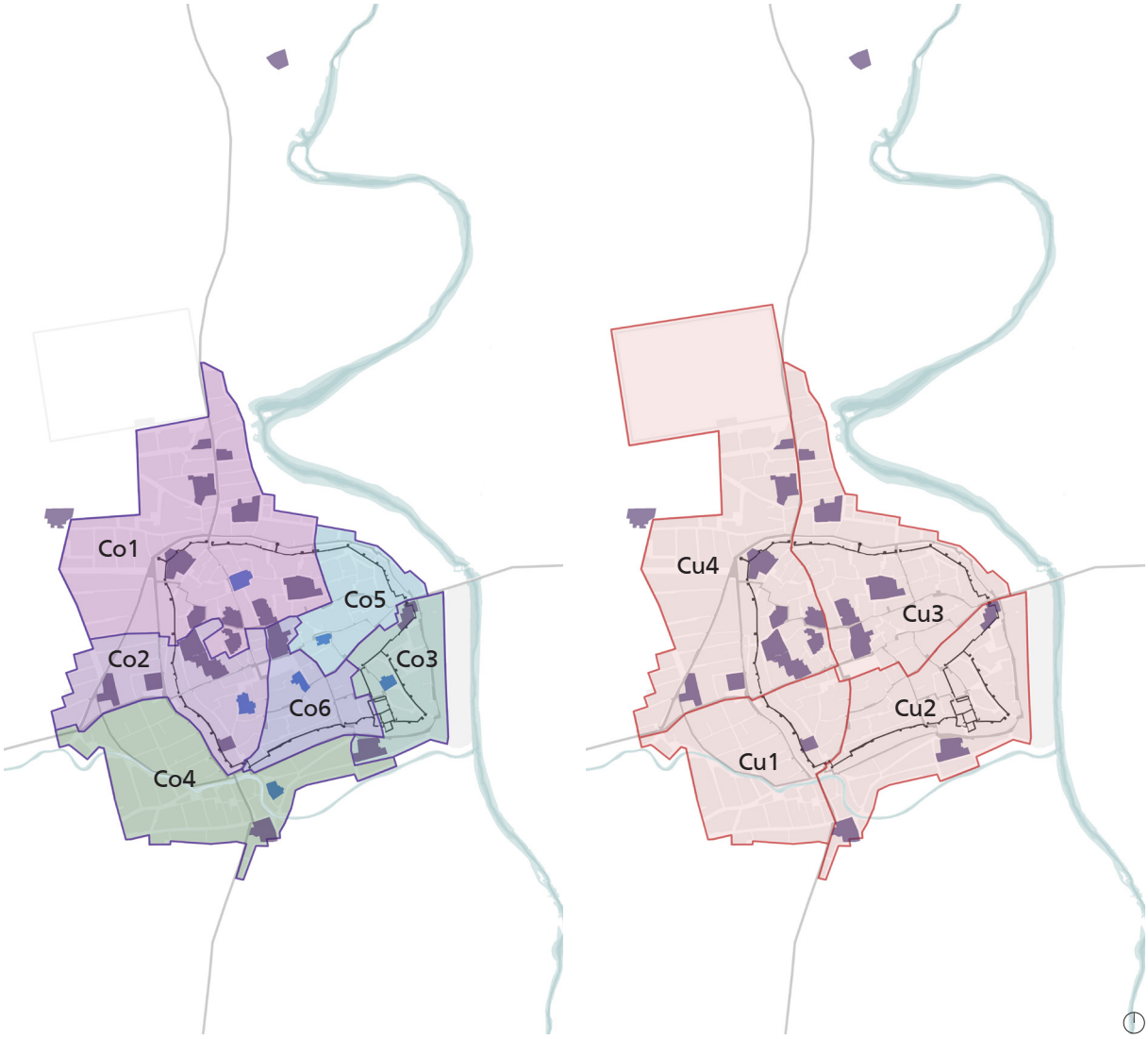
The civil administrative division into *cuarteles* (Figure 83) takes four urban axes to divide the city into four parts proportional

31 The initial location of Nuestra Señora de la Merced is considered to be in the third group of monastic buildings. Later, when its urban position changed, the third group was reduced to two buildings.

32 In the 19th century this road would be developed and incorporated as an urban road.

33 Although initially there were four, finally there are a total of six, one per parish. These are described by Garay y Conde (1851).

34 In Spinola's map of 1826, the *cuarteles* are depicted for the first time.



to each other. These are heirs to the ancient Roman *Cardus* and *Decumanus*. In this new structure the number of monasteries and convents remains unbalanced. The quarters to the north of the city have a higher percentage of monastic buildings: cuartel I (4%) [Cu1], cuartel II (18%) [Cu2], cuartel III (22%) [Cu3] and cuartel IV (56%) [Cu4]. In this sense, the new boundaries reaffirm the conventual position in the northern urban sector. The relationship between the organisation of the *cuarteles* and the position of the monasteries is not so direct. When the civil division appears after the monastic foundation, it is based on morphological aspects rather than on politico-religious issues. Despite the creation of a civil division, the parish division remains at a second level, i.e. it exists only for religious matters. An example of this are the baptismal certificates. These continue to correspond to the parish according to the division of the *collación*. However, urban political management does disappear on the part of the church, remaining under the civil government.

Figure 82. (left) *Collaciones* (Co) in the 19th century, according to Garay y Conde (1851) description. Own elaboration.

Co1 | Santa Cruz
Co2 | Santa María
Co3 | San Gil
Co4 | Santiago
Co5 | San Juan
Co6 | Santa Bárbara

Figure 83. (right) *Cuarteles* (Cu) in the 19th century, according to Spinola's plan. Own elaboration.

3.2.3 IMPACT ON OTHER URBAN FOUNDATIONS

The foundation of an order in one city meant the beginning of others in new cities. This was the case of Toulouse for the Dominicans, Assisi for the Franciscans or Barcelona for the Mercedarians. In the examples mentioned above, the expansion of the orders to other cities was very fast. After a first foundation, a couple of decades later, another hundred cities had a monastery of the same order. The monastic foundation process cannot be defined as a straight line, but as a tree-like network. From a common starting point there is an expansion towards other towns, which build up a new starting point to expand again in a hierarchical order of importance. From the largest and most important towns to the smallest.

The founding strategy of all orders was not only to find a city of importance. This was also to be a new point from which to continue to expand to other cities. Écija's strategic position led many orders to establish foundations in this settlement. Due to its importance, it is not surprising that it was one of the first places where the Dominicans settled in Andalusia, along with Seville, Cordoba and Jerez de la Frontera (Ostos Prieto et al., 2021). The city was used as a point from which the orders continued their expansion (Figure 84). Up to nine new foundations have been located with a starting point in Écija. Among them, four are in cities of lesser importance, while five are in cities larger or equal than Écija. In percentage terms, this represents 40% and 60% respectively. This reinforces not only the strategic position of Écija but also the repercussion it had on a political, religious and territorial level.

The influence of the Ecijan Dominicans in other cities and monasteries is more than noteworthy. According to the minutes of the provincial chapters from 1489 to 1506, there are relations between the Ecijan Order of Preachers and those of the cities of Seville, Jerez, Ronda, Palma del Río, Córdoba, Doña Mencía and Granada (Hernández, 1986). On the other hand, the relationship with the town of Palma del Río is outstanding. The Sisters of Santa Florentina, founded in Écija in 1460, made a new foundation in Palma del Río in 1489, the convent of Santa Clara (Miura Andrades, 1992). In fact, it is not only the Dominican order that stands out for other foundations from Écija. The Ecijan Franciscans, founded in 1473, expanded in 1531 to nearby Osuna to establish the monastery of Madre de Dios, nowadays converted into a market (Ramírez Olid, 1999).

The new foundations follow the above-mentioned tree network scheme. From cities of higher importance they spread to cities of a lower level. However, the process is not always from

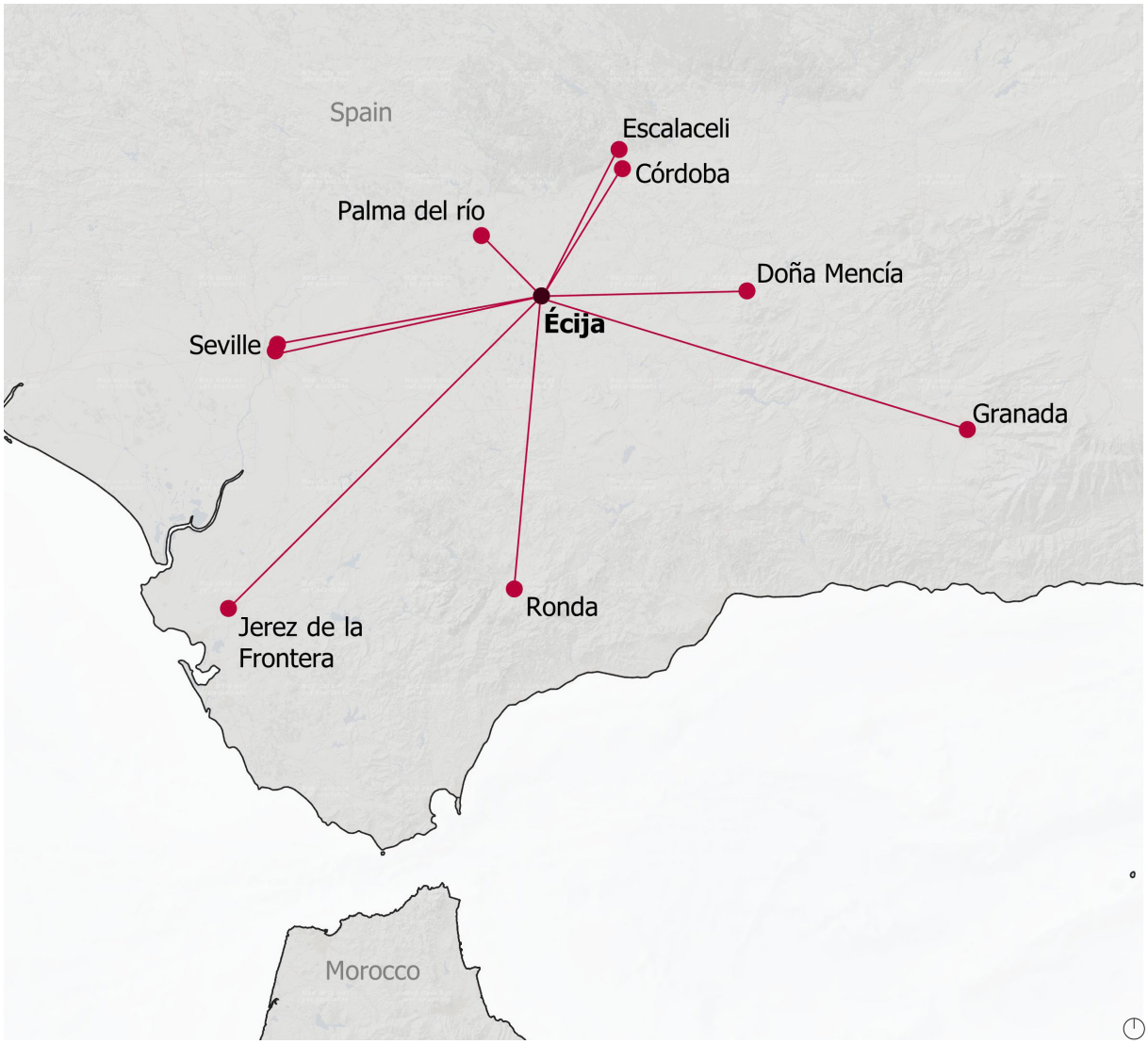


Figure 84. Foundations from Écija to other cities. Base plan 2023. Own elaboration based on data from Hernández (1986), Miura Andrades (1992), Ramírez Olid (1999) and Fernández Rojas (2006).

higher to lower level cities. In Écija, sometimes the process is the reverse. From the city, a foundation was made in the capital of Seville, reversing the logic of territorial implantation. The growing number of monastic buildings in Seville, together with Écija's capacity for foundations, led to this new foundation. The Order of Minims, founded in Ecija in 1505, built the monastery of La Victoria in Seville in 1517 (Fernández Rojas, 2006). The difference of only 12 years between the two foundations is striking. This reflects the high foundational desire in this period.

These factors not only contributed to the importance of Écija and its monastic system, but also to the whole of Andalusia. In this sense, the medium-sized city of Écija was chosen to house more than 20 monastic establishments. Considered a strategic point in the territory, they moved to other medium-sized cities, contributing to the monastic expansion from the European to the regional scale.

3.3 CITY AND MONASTERY

The monastic building is not just another building in the urban context. It is a complex architectural typology made up of different elements. Firstly, the building is characterised by the church. This stands out not only on the building itself but also in the city, due to its towers and bell-glabes. In addition to this characteristic element of monasteries and convents, there is also the cloistered space. These spaces are linked to the orchards, which constitute authentic urban voids within the walls, turning them into large interior gardens. In addition to the architectural elements of the monastic building, its functionality and uses are outstanding. It is not only a religious facility, but also constitutes the basis of the system of health, educational or social facilities. The importance and relationship between the city and the monastery is also reflected in the street map. Numerous street and square names derive from the monastic spaces in their immediate vicinity, which have survived to the present day. Finally, as the convents and monasteries are essentially religious complexes, it is unavoidable to refer to the urban relationship through the rite and the procession. In the context of religious festivities, the monastery constitutes a starting point for urban pilgrimage routes. The key features of the monastic system in relation to the city are established.

3.3.1 THE CHURCH, A KEY PART OF THE MONASTIC BUILDING

Among the parts that belong to the monastery, the church is undoubtedly the most important. It usually stands out from other parts of the monastery, such as the cloister or the refectory. The church is the space of greatest height and size. In addition, depending on the monastery or convent, a belfry, tower or bell-glabes may be added. These factors favour the survival of the churches as part of the monastery as opposed to the rest of the spaces, whose disappearance is usually imminent after secularisation. In most cases, the monastic building disappears completely, except for the church, whose characteristics and dimensions make it a functional and adaptable space.

In Écija, the first plan where the monastic plots are depicted is that of Spínola in 1826. In this plan, as in those of its contemporaries, the plot is always depicted without the position of the church or monastic buildings. It was not until the Courtars plan of 1863 that the positions of the monastic churches appear. This indicates that the temples represented by Courtars are those that have been saved from secularisation, having lost churches such as that of San Fulgencio or Espíritu Santo. Out of the total of 21 monasteries and convents, 15 temples still remain, and their precise position is known. For the rest, data has been obtained from the planimetry of the building or hypotheses established from texts and documents. Regarding the church

of San Jerónimo del Valle, Garay y Conde (1851) gives details of its dimensions, being "from the main altar to the main door, which is at the front of the choir sixty-five yards long" (p. 432-433)[35]. Although data are known, it is difficult to establish a location as there are no references as to its situation or position within the plot. As it is an isolated building, it is more complex to find parameters to help establish a hypothesis. The churches and monastic buildings of San Agustín and San Fulgencio have been represented on the basis of the existing planimetry. For San Agustín, the floor plan of 1768, located in the archives of the Archbishop's Palace of Seville, has been used (Figure 85). For the church of San Fulgencio, the floor plan of the monastic building is also known. This is based on the plan drawn by Juan de Santibáñez in 1627[36], the only signed plan of the building project (Figure 86). For the temple of Las Gemelas, the aerial view of 1956 has been used, where some of the parts have been identified from it (Figure 87). Although the temple does not exist today, the towers and the entrance doorway have been preserved, making it easy to locate.

The hypothesis of the church position of the Hospital de San Pedro, San Pablo y San Juan de Dios corresponds to the location on the Courtars plan mentioned above (Figure 88). In this one, although the sign indicates '*asilo*', it is the church building. The same is true of the church of Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación, still in the present day, which is labelled '*escuelas públicas*' on the plan. On the other hand, the same plan shows the position of the church of Los Remedios on the former convent site (Figure 89). The hypothesis of the church of the Espíritu Santo is based on data from García León & Martín Ojeda (2018), where "the convent would build a new building that would be 20m long and the width of the choir, as planned; with the remaining space a 2m wide street would be built" (p. 239)[37], in addition to information contrasted with other conventual temples in Écija. It is known with any doubt that the entrance to the convent must have been at the side. Furthermore, the female temples in Écija have a preference for a corner position of the temple, so the position of the temple seems logical according to the hypothesis proposed. Finally, for the analysis of the temples, the 15 existing ones have been taken, together with the hypotheses established, except for the monastery of San Jerónimo del Valle, as it was not possible to establish a correct position for the church. For the graphic

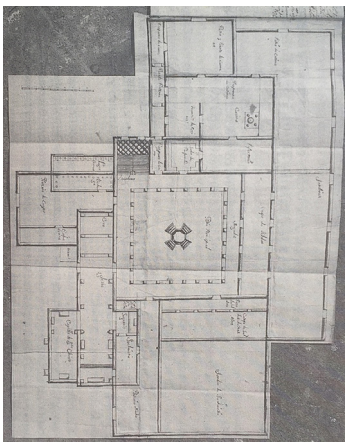


Figure 85. Plan of San Agustín. In Archive of the Archbishop's Palace of Seville, 1768.

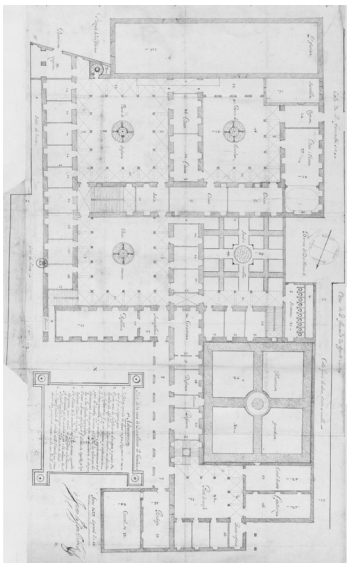


Figure 86. Plan of San Fulgencio. In National Library of Paris, Collection of the Cabinet of Prints. Hd-4c, 146. Juan de Santibáñez, 1627.

Figure 87. Location of Las Gemelas. Aerial view, 1956.

35 Original quote: "desde el altar mayor a la puerta principal, que está en el testero del coro sesenta y cinco varas de longitud" (Garay y Conde 1851, p. 432-433).

36 The plan is located in the National Library of Paris, Collection of the Cabinet of Prints. Hd-4c, 146. Juan de Santibáñez, 1627. There are a total of four projects, two belong to the architect Juan de Santibáñez, one to Pedro Sánchez and another is anonymous.

37 Original quote: "el convento construiría una obra nueva que tendría 20m de largo y el ancho del coro, como tenía previsto; con el espacio sobrante se haría una calle de 2m de anchura" (García León & Martín Ojeda 2018, p. 239).

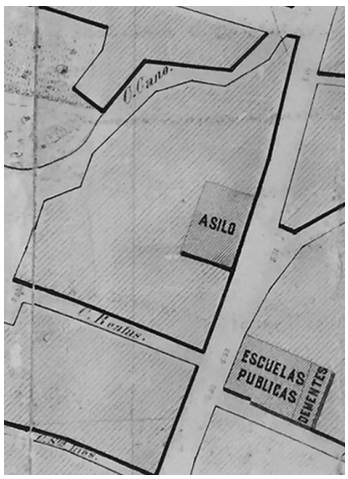


Figure 88. 'Asilo', situation of the old Hospital de San Pedro, San Pablo y San Juan de Dios. In Courtar's plan, 1863-67. Municipal Archive of Écija.

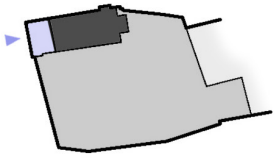
Figure 89. Location of the church of Los Remedios. In Courtar's plan, 1863-67. Municipal Archive of Écija.

Figure 90. (right page) Plan of monasteries and convents at the end of the 18th century in Écija according to known data. San Jerónimo del Valle is not included. Own elaboration.

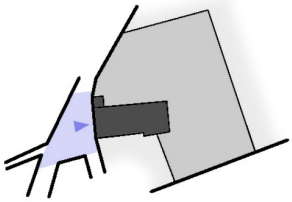
representation, the position of the church and the monastic dependencies have been drawn whenever the sources and references have allowed it. In cases where the distribution of cloisters, refectory, rooms, etc. is unknown, the entire plot has been shaded in the same colour.

Although the temple is a common element in all the convents and monasteries, they generally differ from each other. One of their main distinguishing features is their grouping according to whether they are male or female. This does not only mean the type of religious order, but also the size and number of naves, the existence of an entrance atrium or the access and layout of the church in relation to the street. It has been analysed 12 male and 8 female buildings (Figure 90). The male temples are characterised by an atrium or space as preliminary access to the entrance. Although this space is different in each building, they all have an antechamber to the temple. This is either physically built as part of the monastery itself or is formed by the urban space in front of the church doorway. The latter creates a *barrera* or small square that acts as an atrium. According to this classification, there are 4 built atriums and 8 those formed from a *barrera*. Another characteristic of the male church is the position of the main entrance at the foot of the church, with entrance from the atrium mentioned above. In fact, this access is maintained regardless of its position. On the other hand, the corner position guarantees a greater urban prominence, acquiring a greater angle of perspective and urban vision. This happens in seven of the churches, such as San Pablo y Santo Domingo, San Francisco, San Agustín, Nuestra Señora de la Victoria, Limpia Concepción de Nuestra Señora, San Fulgencio and Santa Ana. Finally, the dimensions of the churches change from 1 to 3 naves. Only San Pablo y Santo Domingo, together with San Francisco, are churches with three naves. The rest adopt a simpler typology of one or two naves. In the case of two naves, there is always a main nave and a side nave, without completing the symmetry that would generate the third nave.

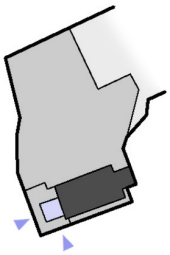
The characteristics of women's temples are different from those of men's churches. First of all, they are spaces characterised by a greater length. Due to the enclosure of the female orders, it is necessary to divide the religious space between the altar, the access to the general public and that reserved for the enclosure. These elements create a longitudinal dimension to the building. Its position in relation to the urban road also differs from that of the male order, and is normally parallel. In addition, sometimes the church can also adopt a corner position, as is the case in the female churches of Santa Florentina, Espíritu Santo, Los Remedios, Las Marroquíes and Las Monjas Blancas. The access is always from the side without an entrance atrium. In fact, the



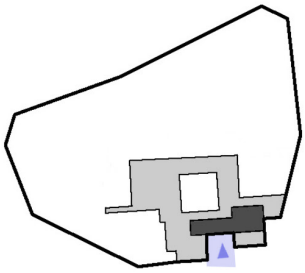
-1383-
San Pablo y Santo Domingo



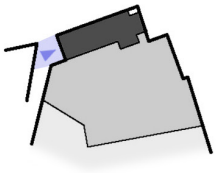
-1425-
Nuestra Señora del Carmen



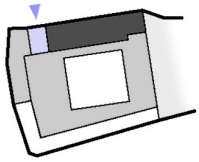
-1473-
San Francisco



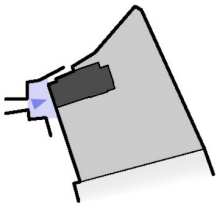
-1491-
San Agustín



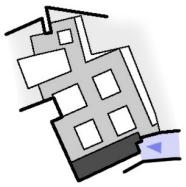
-1505-
Nuestra Señora de la Victoria



-1509-
Nuestra Señora de la Merced



-1591-
Limpia Concepción de
Nuestra Señora



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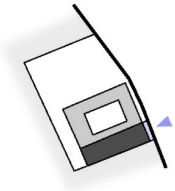
San Fulgencio



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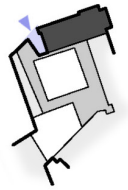

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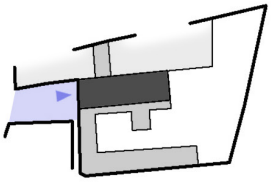
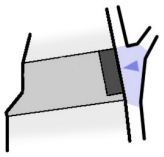
Santa Ana



-1639-
La Purísima Concepción



-1655-
Hospital de San Pedro, San
Pablo y San Juan de Dios

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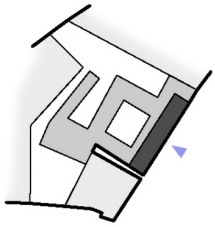
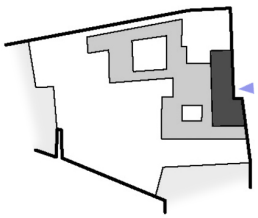


-1460-
Santa Florentina



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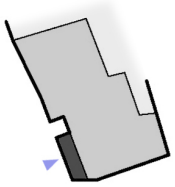
Santa Inés del Valle



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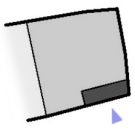

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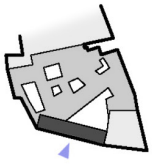
Nuestra Señora de los Remedios



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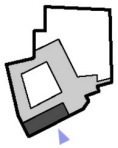
Visitación a Santa Isabel



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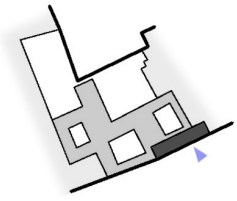
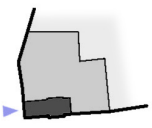
Santísima Trinidad y Purísima
Concepción de Nuestra Señora



-1626-
San José



-1644-
Nuestra Señora de
la Encarnación

atrium disappears in the female typology. Instead of using the lower part of the church as an entrance, it is always through the side of the church. The position of the cloistered space in the lower part of the church forces this change in the convents. On the other hand, the dimensions of the female churches are always of one nave, with no evidence of the existence of two or more naves, as is the case with the male churches.

As can be seen, the complexity of the monastic temple is diverse and is mainly marked by the gender of the order, male or female. On the other hand, it is a key element, as it is generally the one that remains after the monastery has disappeared. Thanks to the temple, there are still many remaining convents and monasteries in cities, in which they are key elements of the urban landscape.

3.3.2 THE CLOISTER, ARTICULATOR OF THE MONASTIC SPACES

The second characteristic element of the monastic building is the cloister. Monasteries use the cloister as a typological solution to the distribution of rooms around an open space (Molina Liñán, 2021). There is always one cloister in the monastic typology, although there may be more than one, depending on the size of the building. In addition to the cloisters, there are other open spaces used as orchards. These are normally located on the perimeter of the building, serving for the self-sufficiency of the religious order itself. Regardless of the urban position of the building, the monastery or convent usually has at least one cloister, or a space for orchards.

In Écija, the open spaces, belonging to cloisters and orchards of the monastic buildings have been analysed (Figure 91). The characteristics obtained from the data on the surface area of the cloisters are complex to study. As the floor plans taken from different sources are considered, the data are approximations. In this sense, only those for which we have data on their occupation on the monastic plot have been used. On the other hand, in many others only the position of the church is known. These are shown in the figure but are not analysed as they do not have representative data. A total of 11 convents and monasteries have been located. Among the total, 64% have one cloister, 9% have two cloisters, 18% have three cloisters, and 9% four cloisters. In addition to the San Fulgencio and Las Recogidas buildings, there are small courtyards, one of 60m2 in the first and three in the second, of approximately 20, 30 and 45 m2. These work more like interior courtyards in the same way as a house. Due to their size, they are not considered to be cloistered. In fact, the free space in these plots has been reduced to a minimum, and the orchard area in Las Recogi-

Monasteries and convents	Cloister 1 (m2)	Cl. 2 (m2)	Cl. 3 (m2)	Cl. 4 (m2)	Garden 1 (m2)	Gar. 2 (m2)	Building (m2)
Santa Florentina	370				2600		2700
San Jerónimo del Valle	-				40000		-
Santa Inés del Valle	360	100			770	5200	2800
San Agustín	470				13400		2900
Nuestra Señora de la Merced	420				900		3700
Visitación a Santa Isabel (Las Recogidas)	200	70	95				2300
Santísima Trinidad y Purísima Concepción de Nuestra Señora (Las Marroquíes)	360				1500		1100
San Fulgencio	220	165	165	165	430	380	2600
Divina Pastora (Capuchinos)	280				1740		1400
Santa Ana	260				570		1600
San José (Las Teresas)	170	250	100		880	1000	2000
La Purísima Concepción (Las Gemelas)	460				3300		2200

Figure 91. Table with areas of cloisters and orchards of known monastic buildings at the end of the 18th century. Own elaboration.

das is even non-existent. The dimensions of the cloisters can be divided into 3 groups. In the first group, there are those between 100-300 m2, with 5 buildings. The second has cloisters with dimensions between 350-500 m2. This group even extends to some areas used for gardens, both in San Fulgencio and Santa Ana. Finally, the third group is made up of the small cloisters of Las Recogidas, between 50-100m2, which is joined to the aforementioned courtyards of the same convent and the monastery of San Fulgencio.

When looking at the size of the orchards and cloisters that have survived (Figure 95), it is evident that many of them have been used for the construction of new buildings. In addition to their size, the privileged and strategic position in the urban centre favours the conversion of free space into built space. Due to the importance of these spaces, some of those that have disappeared have been located through historical planimetry or urban iconography. An example of this is the garden of the disappeared monastery of San Agustín, represented for the first time in Spinola's plan of 1826 (Figure 92). Another

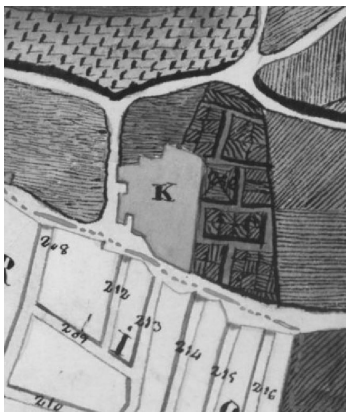


Figure 92. Situation of San Agustín in Spinola's plan, 1826. Library of the Royal Academy of History.

Figure 93. Location of San Jerónimo del Valle in a view by Narciso Domínguez, 1750. In López, T. (1795).

Figure 94. Hypothesis of the plot location of San Jerónimo del Valle. Aerial view of 1977. National Geographic Institute.

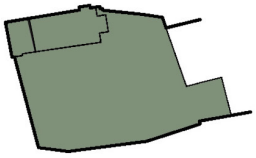
Figure 95. (right page) Plan of cloisters and orchards in monasteries and convents at the end of the 18th century in Écija according to known data. San Jerónimo del Valle is not included. Own elaboration.

case is the market garden of the disappeared monastery of El Valle in Narciso Domínguez's 1750 view of Écija (Figure 93) (López de Vargas Machuca, 1764) and in the 1977 aerial view (Figure 94). In addition, in historical plans such as those of Juan de Santibáñez of 1627 of the Jesuit college, the old cloisters can be found. Despite the examples mentioned above, other spaces that have disappeared are still unknown due to a lack of studies and reference documentation. However, the dimensions of the preserved cloisters and orchards, together with those of the documented ones, allow us to generate an idea of other monasteries and convents in Écija. Free spaces linked to monastic life, but at the same time alien to the urban environment and inserted in a labyrinthine urban fabric where private free space predominates over public space.

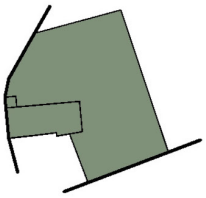
The data on the surface area of orchards and gardens indicate large open spaces located within city blocks. In many cases, these constitute authentic urban green spaces. Regarding to monastic orchards in Écija, only one of the buildings lack them, that of Las Recogidas. This is mainly due to the high density in the urban centre, which reduces the free space. However, the monastic part, although it does not have gardens, does have cloisters and courtyards. In the same way as with the cloisters, there is generally only one space for cultivation. Again, in convents and monasteries different areas of gardens and orchards have been found. A classification of these spaces is difficult due to the variety of surfaces that exist. However, two small groups can be made, one between 400-500 m2 and the other between 750-1.500 m2. The rest have much larger dimensions than those mentioned, such as Santa Florentina with 2.600 m2, Las Gemelas with 3.300m2 or Santa Inés del Valle with 5.200m2. On the other hand, as is logical, those monasteries furthest from the city, such as San Agustín, have one of the largest surface areas, 1.3 hectares. Finally, estimates for San Jerónimo del Valle, according to its possible location and the surface area it could occupy, are around 4 hectares. This area would include the monastic building, although in comparison with the orchard area it would not take up much of the total area of the plot. This is undoubtedly the plot with the largest free surface area, but it is also the most distant from and removed from urban life in Écija.

3.3.3 MONASTERIES AND CONVENTS, URBAN FACILITIES

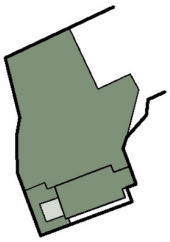
Urban facilities are characterised by the role they play as urban pieces at the service of the city. Nowadays, there is a wide variety of facilities of a sanitary, cultural, educational, religious, etc. nature. During the Roman period, public facilities such as schools, theatres and thermal baths acquired considerable



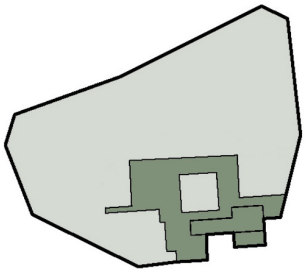
-1383-
San Pablo y Santo Domingo



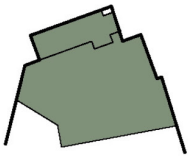
-1425-
Nuestra Señora del Carmen



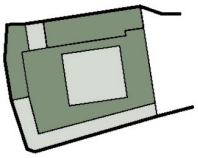
-1473-
San Francisco



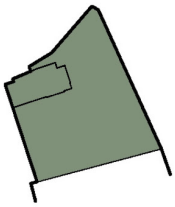
-1491-
San Agustín



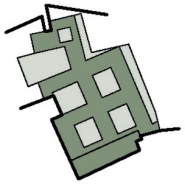
-1505-
Nuestra Señora de la Victoria



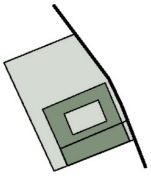
-1509-
Nuestra Señora de la Merced



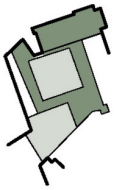
-1591-
Limpia Concepción de Nuestra Señora



-1598-
San Fulgencio



-1621-
Divina Pastora



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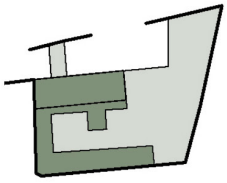
Santa Ana



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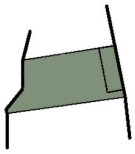
La Purísima Concepción



-1655-
Hospital de San Pedro, San Pablo y San Juan de Dios

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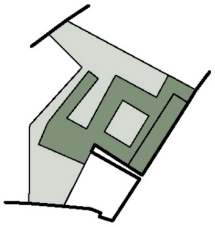
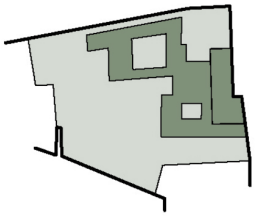
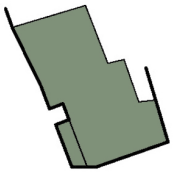


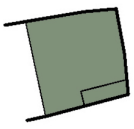
-1460-
Santa Florentina



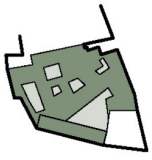
-1487-
Santa Inés del Valle



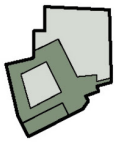
-1508-
Espíritu Santo



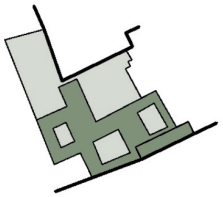
-1509-
Nuestra Señora de los Remedios



-1570-
Visitación a Santa Isabel



-1587-
Santísima Trinidad y Purísima Concepción de Nuestra Señora



-1626-
San José

-1644-
Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación

importance, although their use declined in the medieval period. During the Middle Ages, the functions of the ancient facilities were taken over by the ecclesiastical institution, specifically by the monasteries and convents. In general, the parishes did not develop uses other than religious ones. The churches were maintained as centres of urban-ecclesiastical management and administration, leaving the religious orders to use them as urban facilities. In Écija, the religious use of monasteries and convents is in some cases added to their use as urban facilities. At the end of the 18th century, at least three types of facilities complementary to the religious, educational, sanitary and service facilities have been detected (Figure 96). Of the 21 buildings, only one example of each differentiated use has been found. The percentages of uses are 85% religious, 5% educational, 5% sanitary and 5% for social services[38]. The existence of monastic facilities, such as educational or health facilities, does not prevent the appearance of others with the same use. However, only one building has been detected in the city for each type of different use, except for religious use, which predominates in all monastic buildings.

The monastery or college of San Fulgencio[39], founded in 1598, was used for educational purposes. The importance of the Jesuits is centred on their dedication to education in a context where public schooling was non-existent. The need for teachers and schools in Écija motivated the order to open the school (Martín de Roa, 2005). Among its teachings, Padre Martín de Roa (2005) points out that "grammar was read in three classes, there was a course of arts, another of philosophy and moral theology lessons were given" (p. 289)[40]. In fact, its teaching activity began in 1590, with grammar schools (Martín Pradas & Carrasco Gómez, 1999) eight years before the foundation of the aforementioned college of San Fulgencio. Next to the Jesuit school is the convent of Las Recogidas. The popular name derives from its use as a social centre where women who lacked faith or were involved in prostitution were taken in for social care (García León & Martín Ojeda, 2018). However, this social care should not be taken from a current position, but from a Christian perspective. Not only was it essential to treat disadvantaged women, but it was also an opportunity to attract new members to the order. The third building as an urban facility was the Hospital of San Pedro, San Pablo y San Juan de Dios. This monastery was founded in 1655 by the order of St. John of God and its main purpose was to care for and

38 Although the use category 'social services' is not usually used as such, it has been added here to categorise the use of this convent in the city as best as possible.

39 The school is named in honour of Saint Fulgentius, bishop of Écija (De Santibáñez, 1655).

40 Original quote: "se leía gramática en tres clases, existía un curso de artes, otro de filosofía y se daban lecciones de teología moral" (Martín de Roa 2005, p. 289).

heal the sick. As it was founded on an existing building, it was transformed to house, in addition to the rooms for the friars and the church, rooms for the nursing, kitchens and graveyard (García León & Martín Ojeda, 2018). It should be mentioned that the monastic building is not the only sanitary building in the city. There are up to five hospitals in Écija, many of which were run not by orders but by religious brotherhoods.

Besides to the aforementioned uses, a fourth use could be considered in the grouping of urban facilities, the lodging. As was the case on the Way of St. James, many monasteries were used as places to spend the night. In Écija, it is well known that Queen Isabella the Catholic stayed in the royal monastery of Santa Inés del Valle (García León & Martín Ojeda, 2018).

Figure 96. Monasteries and convents as urban facilities, at the end of the 18th century. Uses founded: religious, sanitary, educational and social services. Own elaboration.

Regardless of the queen's use, no examples have been detected of monastic buildings being used as places of accommodation in the city. In addition to these uses, there are many others complementary to the religious one. In this section only those located in the city of Écija have been referenced. In fact, cultural use could also be considered. Many of the monasteries and convents were important libraries, as the clergy were in charge of keeping the knowledge and teaching of reading and writing. On the other hand, another element that makes monasteries cultural facilities is music. Musical compositions such as singing or the use of instruments such as the organ made these buildings centres for the teaching and dissemination of musical culture.

3.3.4 TOPONYMY

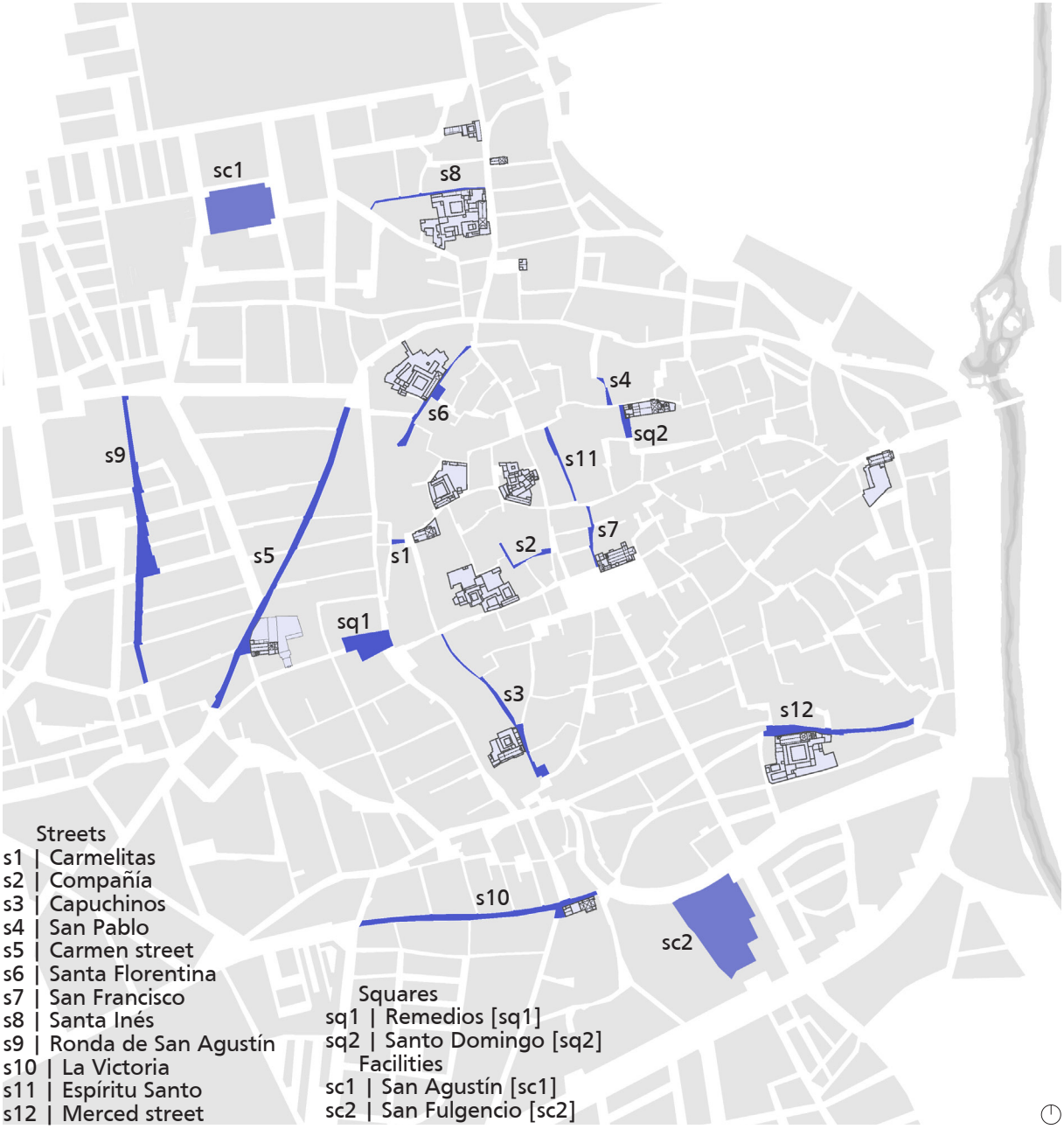
The linking of a name to a place can be found from the urban to the territorial scale. This relationship has a multitude of variables. One of them is the reference to names of relevant people, but they are also related to historical landmarks, professions, characteristics of the site or even descriptions of it. Finding names such as weavers' street or fishmongers' street establishes a direct relationship with the trade or activity that existed in that street. On the other hand, names such as comedy street are linked to the theatre. A direct relationship between the name and the public space further emphasises its importance in the city. In fact, from the earliest city maps, the street name forms part of the legend alongside the important buildings. One example is the Spínola plan of Écija. All the streets are broken down and referenced on the map. Another interesting feature of urban place names is their duration over time. Although they can easily change, on many occasions the name takes precedence over time and change itself. A notable example in Écija is the present-day Miguel de Cervantes Street, formerly Calle Nueva, and Emilio de Castelar Street, previously Calle Caballeros. In both cases the old name still survives due to the population's use of these toponyms. Such is the importance acquired that both names appear on the street signs.

One of the direct consequences of the monastic system in Écija is the generation of a trace of the urban toponym that has lasted until the 21st century. The relationship between convents and monasteries and the city means that many of the urban spaces in their immediate vicinity are named after the religious building or the religious order (Figure 97). There are 12 streets, 2 squares and 2 educational facilities with convent names, a school and an institute (Figure 98). In the streets and squares, only 3 mention religious orders while the rest are linked to the monastic building. These are the streets of Carmelitas [s1]

(order of Discalced Carmelite friars), Compañía [s2] (order of the Company of Jesus) and Capuchinos [s3] (order of Capuchins). The other streets are named after the building, such as San Pablo [s4], Carmen [s5], Santa Florentina [s6], San Francisco [s7], Santa Inés [s8], Ronda de San Agustín [s9], La Victoria [s10], Espíritu Santo [s11] and Merced [s12]. In addition to the aforementioned streets, the old Marroquíes, now Secretario Armesto, and Recogidas, now Padre García Tejero, should also be mentioned. The convent building was accessed from both streets respectively, and still has a façade on these streets today. However, the toponymy has been lost in the current names. The two squares mentioned are Remedios [sq1] and Santo Domingo [sq2]. Finally, the educational facilities are the

Figure 97. Street name of Espíritu Santo. Author, 2022.

Figure 98. Monastic toponymy in the 21st century. Own elaboration.



primary school of San Agustín [sc1] and the secondary school of San Fulgencio [sc2]. While the former is located in front of the former monastic site, the latter takes its name from the former Jesuit school, San Fulgencio.

Despite the importance of the monastic system in the urban toponym, not all streets have a name derived from monastic buildings. The monasteries and convents located to the north around the Mayor street do not have a direct relationship with the street. Probably, as they belong to the last foundational phase and their position on the urban periphery contributed to a lesser relationship between the city and the monastic building in toponymic terms. In fact, the existence of these buildings reinforces the hypothesis of a lesser link with society and the city.

On the other hand, former monastic spaces that have disappeared completely have maintained the urban toponym. Moreover, this has proved to be of great help in identifying the former locations of the monastic plots. Among the 15 urban spaces mentioned, 4 refer to extinct monasteries and convents. These are Espíritu Santo street [s11], Compañía street [s2], Remedios square [sq1] and Ronda de San Agustín [s9]. To these must be added the aforementioned schools, whose names also belong to monasteries that have disappeared, those of San Agustín and San Fulgencio. As was mentioned at the beginning, many of these cases not only correspond to the names of existing buildings. Rather, the toponymy of disappeared buildings has been maintained over time. This is undoubtedly an important part not only of the link between the city and the monastery, but also of the monastic heritage in the city.

3.3.5 THE RITE AND THE PROCESSION

Monasteries and convents are first and foremost a religious typology. They house sacred images of saints and virgins in their interior as part of their movable heritage. In this way, they also have a direct relationship with the city. In general, a male figure, the patron saint, and a female figure, the patroness, are usually associated with them as protectors of the city. The choice of these figures is based on the historical, legendary or miraculous events of the saints in relation to the city. In the case of Écija, the male patron saint of the city is San Pablo[41] and the female patron saint is the Virgen del Valle[42]. Beyond

41 According to a legend, the importance of Saint Paul derives from his appearance in Écija in the 15th century, together with a miracle (Noguera Rosado, 1982)

42 From the 16th century, there is evidence of the consideration of the Virgen del Valle as the female patron saint of the city, taking as her day the day of her birth, September 8th (García León & Martín Ojeda, 1995)

the designation of one saint or another, the importance of this point is the location of the images. The first, San Pablo, is located in the monastery of San Pablo y Santo Domingo (Aguilar Díaz, 2006), and the second, the Virgen del Valle, initially in the monastery of San Jerónimo del Valle. The location of the image of the saint not only attracts pilgrims, but the image also goes out into the city in procession through its streets. Since the 16th century there is news of the transfer of the image of the Virgen del Valle in procession to the centre of Écija for the protection of the city and its inhabitants (García León & Martín Ojeda, 2018). Undoubtedly, this is one of the first and oldest from a monastic building. The procession of the Virgen del Valle still exists and is celebrated every 8th September. However, it does not take place from the old monastery, but from its location in Santa Cruz. In addition to the female patron saint, there is the procession of the male patron saint San Pablo on 25th January. This is one of the shortest in route, being from the monastery itself to the church of Santa Bárbara.

Regarding the rites and processions in Écija, only those that have a monastic building as their starting point at present have been selected. With the exception of the aforementioned rites of San Pablo and the Virgen del Valle, the rest are included in the Holy Week festivities. Between the 14 existing brotherhoods and processions in Ecija, five start and process from convents and monasteries. These are Santa Ana, Nuestra Señora de la Merced, Nuestra Señora de la Victoria (Figure 99), Los Descalzos and Nuestra Señora del Carmen (Figure 101). As can be seen in the plan, the routes are based on the main urban axes such as Emilio Castelar street, Mas y Prats street, or the old wall ring road. Among these streets, the Mas y Prats street next to the Plaza de España stands out as the 'official route'. This term is used to designate those urban spaces where the processions are obliged to pass through, which in turn are the most representative of the city. In fact, the Plaza de España was already described by Vélez de Guevara (1641), in El Diablo Cojuelo, as "the most distinguished of Andalusia" (p. 61)[43]. As well as these urban spaces, there is the axis towards the old Puerta Palma, to the north. Besides the monastic buildings in the area around this street, it is also found the parish church of Santa Cruz. Other relevant spaces detected are the Constitución square and Cánovas del Castillo street, with a large number of religious rites. As can be seen through the processions and rites, the influence of monasteries and convents extends beyond the built space. It reinforces the link between the city, the monastery and the social layout (Figure 100).

Figure 99. Brotherhood of Nuestra Señora de la Victoria. Salamanca Tordesillas, 1955.

Figure 100. Brotherhood of 'El Silencio' in front of Santa Florentina. Author, 2022.

Figure 101. (page 180) Rites and procesions related with monastic buildings. Own elaboration.

Procesion from San Jerónimo del Valle (it doesn't exist today)

Procesions in 21st century

43 Original quote: "la más insigne del Andalucía" (Vélez de Guevara 1641, p. 61).

Monasteries and convents

01 | San Pablo y Santo Domingo
02 | Nuestra Señora del Carmen
05 | San Jerónimo del Valle
08 | Nuestra Señora de la Victoria
10 | Nuestra Señora de la Merced
14 | Limpia Concepción de Nuestra Señora (Los Descalzos)
17 | Santa Ana

3.4 URBAN TRANSFORMATIONS OF THE MONASTIC PIECES

The century with the greatest influence on the political-social and urbanistic scale, both for Écija and for the main cities of the country, is the 19th century. The advances of the French Enlightenment, the great confiscation processes, the demographic growth, the new urbanistic ideals, the appearance of new facilities and the exponential development of urban cartography completely changed the image of the nineteenth-century city. Until then, the development of a city was a slow process over the centuries. The 19th century was a turning point for urban evolution, growth or decline. Unlike the provincial capitals in Andalusia, Écija experienced a slowdown in population and growth. However, the demographic census of 1850 places the city as the seventh[44] largest in Andalusia with 23,722 inhabitants[45].

3.4.1 URBAN RENEWAL IN THE 19TH CENTURY AND SECULARISATION

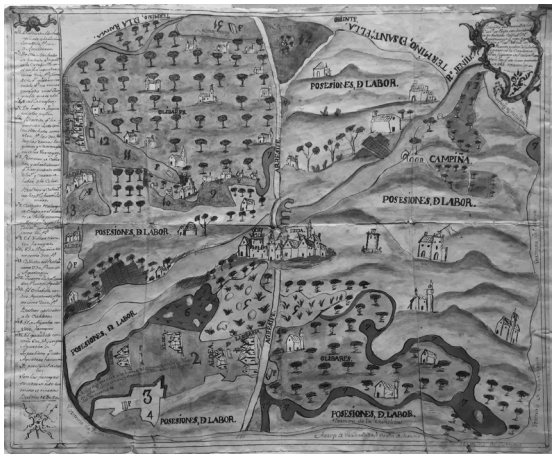
In 1808, the occupation by Napoleon Bonaparte marked the beginning of the 19th century in Spain. During the French government of Joseph I, advances in French engineering and topography produced urban plans such as the Plano topográfico de la villa de Madrid y sus alrededores, in 1808, the Plano de la ciudad y puerto de Málaga, 1810-1811, or the Plano de los Franceses de la ciudad de Córdoba, of 1811 (Torres Márquez & Naranjo Ramírez, 2012). In addition to the new planimetric production of Spanish cities, the French suppressed Spanish measurements such as the *vara castellana* and the *vara de Burgos*[46] in order to configure a common metric unit (Martín López, 2002). The International System of Units was born. On the other hand, the French began the secularisation of ecclesiastical goods. First of all, many of the religious communities were displaced or abolished from the monastic buildings, which were mainly used by the French army. The confiscation did not lead to the total disappearance of the buildings, but the religious use of these buildings did disappear. Finally, with the expulsion of the French in 1812, many communities recovered their monastic buildings. However, others did not manage to return to the original building, so a new use was sought or the building was demolished.

In Écija, there is no known plan drawn up by the French, as was the case in the cities of Córdoba and Málaga. Nevertheless,

44 The order of the cities that precede it are: Seville, Malaga, Granada, Cadiz, Cordoba and Jerez.

45 Historical population data for Andalusia from the Instituto de Estadística y Cartografía de Andalucía. In: https://www.juntadeandalucia.es/institutodeestadisticaycartografia/ehpa/ehpaTablas.htm (Accessed: 31/05/2023).

46 The decimal equivalence of the *vara de Burgos* or *vara castellana* is 0.835905 m according to the Royal Order of 9 December 1852.



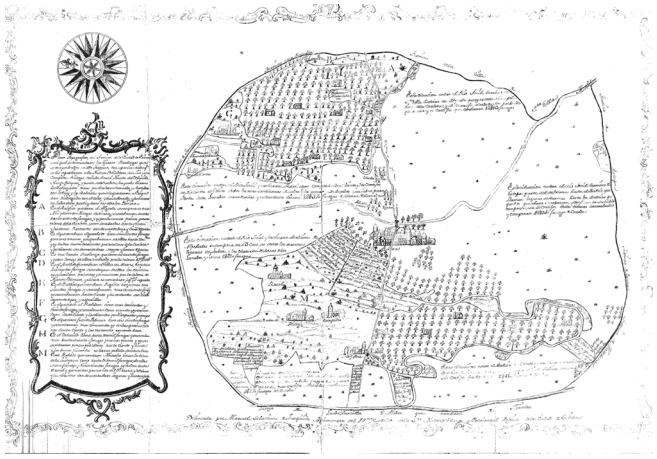


Figure 102. (left) Plan of the territory of Écija. Anonymous, 18th century. Located in the Parish Archive of Santa María and Santa Bárbara in Écija.

Figure 103. (right) Plan of the territory of Écija. Luzguiños, 1786. Located in (López, 1795).

there are two known plans made in the 18th century. These do not represent the urban area as a whole, but their scale refers to the municipal district. The first is anonymous, without an exact date and is kept in the Parish Archive of Santa María and Santa Bárbara de Écija (Figure 102). The second represents the Plan of land ownership, drawn up by Manuel Sebastián de Luzguiños in 1786 and kept in the Archive of Seville Cathedral[47] (Figure 103). Both are very similar to each other, although the graphics differ. The importance of these plans refers to the division of the territory, the difference in types of crops, the location of rivers and streams and the situation of the main population centres.

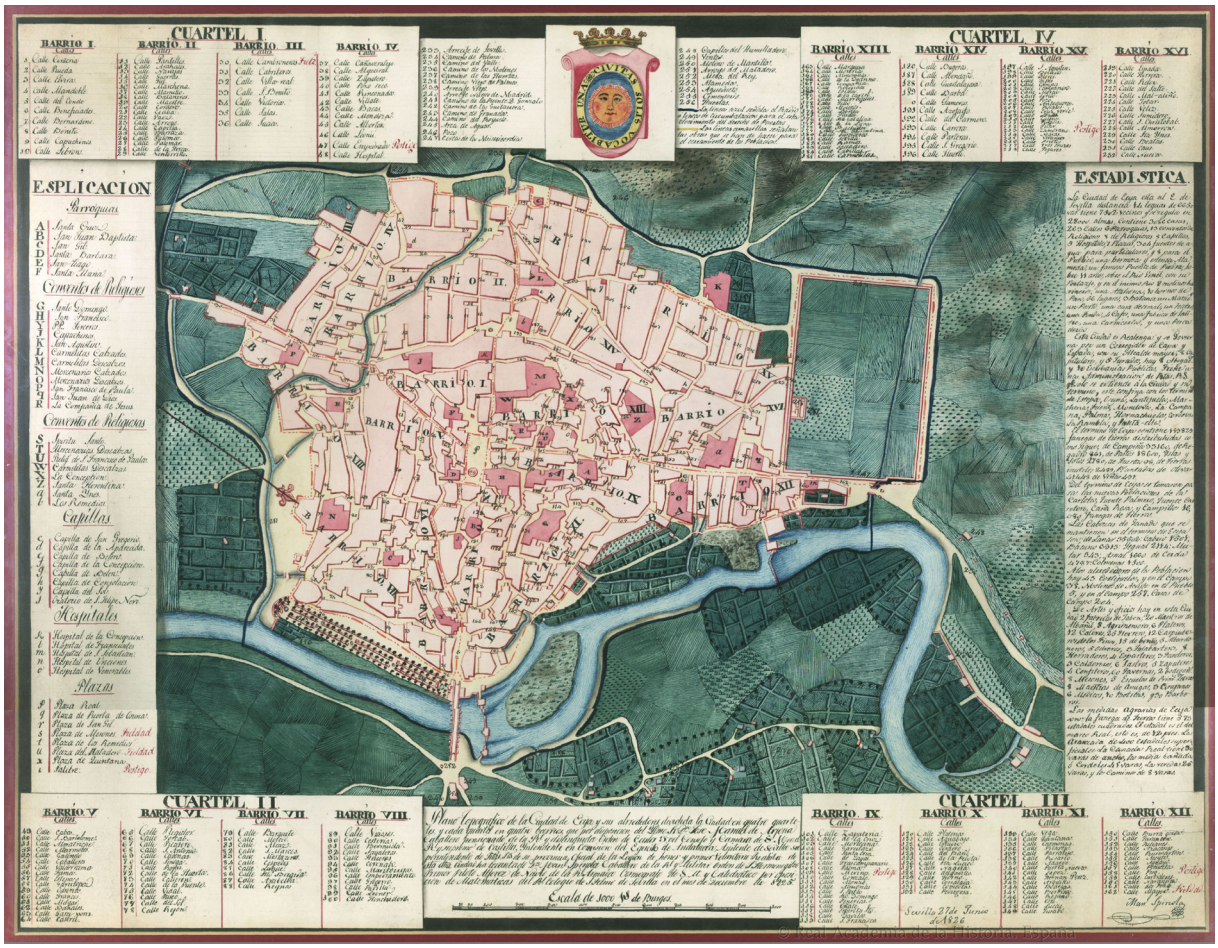
The first known urban plan of the city of Écija was drawn by Manuel Spínola de Quintana in 1826 (Ostos Prieto et al., 2022). The plan is a meticulously detailed document depicting the city and its immediate periphery (Figure 105). Until the 18th century, the urban evolution of Écija has been carried out according to various hypotheses and references. Spinola's plan represents the completion of the urban processes of the modern age. It also marks the beginning of the transformation processes brought about by the confiscations and the contemporary period (Calatrava Escobar, 2011). The plan allows us to identify the Écija of the early 19th century. In relation to the historical morphological evolution of the city, no new growth can be observed. One of the most outstanding aspects of Spinola's document is the representation of 20 of the 21 monasteries and convents[48], as the monastery of San Jerónimo del Valle is outside the drawn limits (Ostos Prieto et al., 2022). Mainly religious buildings are noted, along with public spaces and the position of four tax houses for fiscal control (Ostos Prieto et al., 2022). In addition to the alameda, as part of the nearby periphery, there is a large rectangular piece called Cerca de

47 Located in the Plans and Drawings section. Planero. Cajón n. 8, Doc. n. 142.

48 12 monasteries and 8 convents.

Figure 104. Plan of Écija, anonymous, 1826-1829. Located in the Parish Archive of Santa María and Santa Bárbara in Écija.

Figure 105. Plan of Écija. Manuel Spínola, 1826. Located in Real Academia de la Historia. Plans and Drawings section. Planero. Cajón n. 8, Doc. n. 142.



la Misericordia[49] [mi], within which the city cemetery[50] [cem] is located. This was the first facility of its kind in the province located outside religious spaces (López Jiménez, 2016), a symptom of the city's modernisation and hygiene policies in the 19th century (Quirós Linares, 2009). Finally, it should be noted that despite the numerous works and demolitions for the destruction of gates, walls, towers, arches, etc. (López Jiménez, 2016), many of the walls and towers have been preserved to the present day. However, these defensive elements are not represented in the plan[51].

The second plan is that of the parish archive, by an anonymous author, dated 1826 to 1829 (Figure 104). Despite its state of deterioration, it shows many similarities with that of Spínola. The urban expansion is practically identical, as both have practically the same date. However, this plan shows drawings of future urban interventions such as the new order of blocks, the opening up of roads and new urban facilities. The projects for the bullring [br], the slaughterhouse [ki] and the local market [mkt] stand out. The first two are located on the urban periphery on new plots of land. However, the market was located in the city centre on the former site of the Jesuit monastery of San Fulgencio. The project was carried out in 1829, but it was not completed until 1843 (García León, 1999). The great confiscation processes on a national scale carried out by Madoz and Mendizábal in the middle of the 19th century had not yet taken place, but the Jesuit building had been secularised since 1767[52]. Therefore, the location of the old monastery was used to build the new market.

The first plans of Écija depict its municipal district, although it was not drawn again until 1852. This document is characterised by the definition of a detailed legend and its use of colour. It is kept in the municipal archive and is signed by Benito de Mora (Figure 106). The plan represents and locates the main infrastructures of the territory, as well as the watercourses formed by the Genil river and its tributaries. In addition, contour lines are depicted which suggest an approximate topography of the city, although these lack altimetric elevations. An importance has also been detected in the definition of the parcelling and structuring of the territory as well as in the types of cultivation. This last aspect can be seen both in the use of colour and in the graphics of the crops. Concerning the city, it is represented

49 This enclosure was intended for the construction of a place of refuge for the poor. Although the site was marked out, the project was never completed (Martín Pradas & Carrasco Gómez, 2000).

50 The first municipal cemetery was founded in 1811 (Valera y Escobar, 1893).

51 None of the urban plans of Écija show parts of the old city walls.

52 In this year the Jesuit order was expulsed from Spain by Charles III, and all its buildings were secularised.

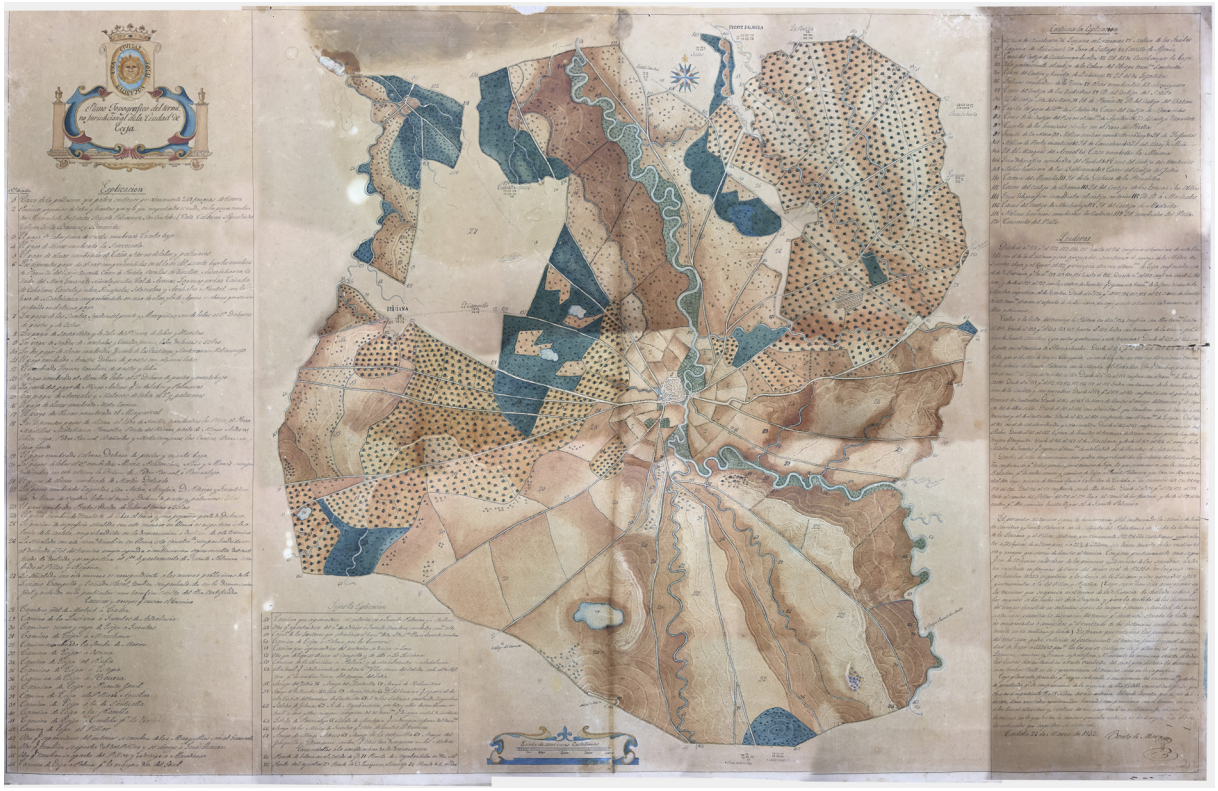


Figure 106. Plan of the territory of Écija. Benito de Mora, 1852. Located in Municipal Archive, Écija.

Figure 107. Plan of Écija. Courtars, 1863-1867. Located in Municipal Archive, Écija.

Figure 108. Detail of the location of San Jerónimo del Valle, number 120. Plan of the territory of Écija. Benito de Mora, 1852. Located in Municipal Archive, Écija.

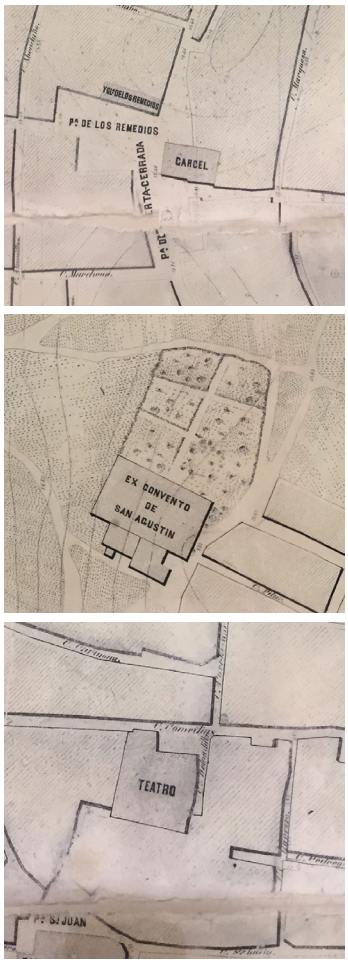


Figure 109. Details of Courtars's plan, 1863-1867. From top to bottom: prison, old monastery of San Agustín and Theater. Located in Municipal Archive, Écija.

in a schematic way, offering few details. However, elements already mentioned, such as the Cerca de la Misericordia and the bullring, can be distinguished. Unlike Spinola's urban plan, the position of the twenty-first monastic building, the monastery of San Jerónimo del Valle (Figure 108), is shown for the first time in this one, with the number 120 in the plan's legend.

The following two urban plans are the result of the Royal Order of 25 July 1846. During the reign of Isabella II, the aforementioned order was promulgated with the aim of drawing up maps of Spanish cities on a scale of 1:1250. The first plan dates from 1866, is in the parish archives and is by an anonymous author. Although it was made almost three decades after the 1826-1829 plan, it shows no changes to Écija, and is even more inaccurate (Ostos Prieto et al., 2022). The second plan is for the town hall, by Courtars and dated between 1863 and 1867 (Figure 107). First of all, it is important to note that this is the first document to depict the contour lines and topographic elevations of the city. On the other hand, urban growth continues to the north and west. The new urban facilities already projected in the previous plan of 1829 are located here, as well as other new ones such as the prison [ja] or the theatre [th] (Figure 112). The effects of the confiscations are visible in the city not only in the disappearance of some monastic buildings but also in the labelling of others as '*exconvento de San Agustín*' old monastery of San Agustín (Figure 109). This shows that the building is already abandoned and disused. Finally, new future urban interventions appear on the plan, such as the projected opening of the Avenida Miguel de Cervantes.

The last two 19th century plans belong to the end of the last decade, specifically to 1895 and 1896. The first is the population plan of the city made by the engineers of the National Geographic Institute (Figure 110). It is divided into ten sheets and is part of the series of population maps produced at national level (Capdevila Subirana, 2017). The urban plot is quite precise, made with references by means of geometric triangulations and altimetric coordinates. Only the perimeter of the plot is drawn, with no interior representations of buildings, which are only located in the legend. All the streets and details of the public space are also named. Among the new urban facilities, the transfer and extension of the cemetery to a position away from the city in view of the latest growth [ncem] should be highlighted. Specifically, this growth was towards the direction of the railway station [trs]. From 1879-1885, the railway line ran from Seville to Valchillón (Córdoba) (Wais, 1987), but was later suppressed. The second plan of this grouping dates from 1896 and is signed by Francisco Torres (Figure 111). He defines himself in the title page of the plan as a "copy of the general plan reduced to half its scale". In addition, the surroundings

Figure 110. Plan of Écija. Engineer's plan, 1895. Located in Instituto de Estadística y Cartografía de Andalucía.

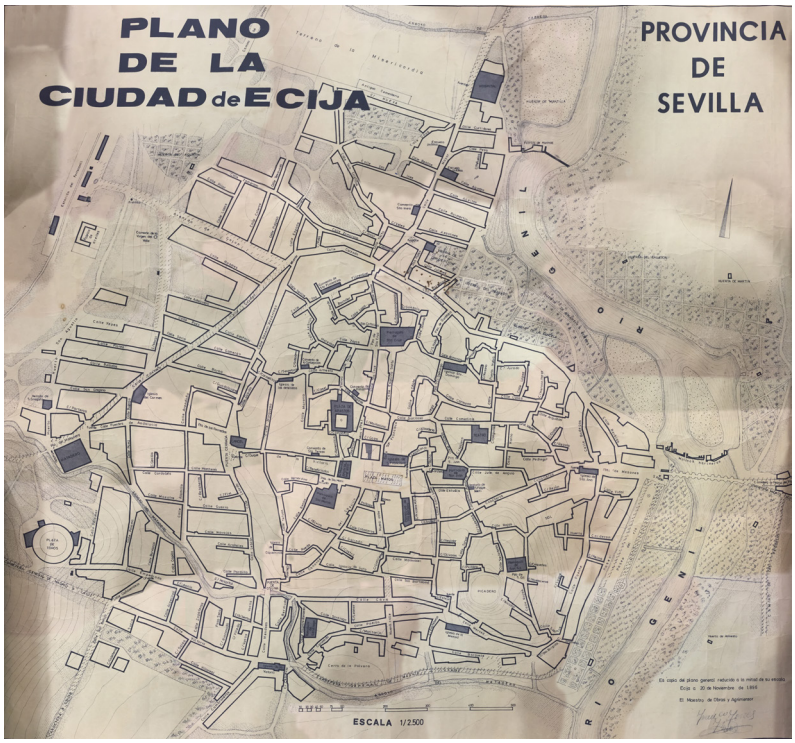


Figure 111. Plan of Écija. Francisco Torres, 1896. Located in Municipal Archive, Écija.

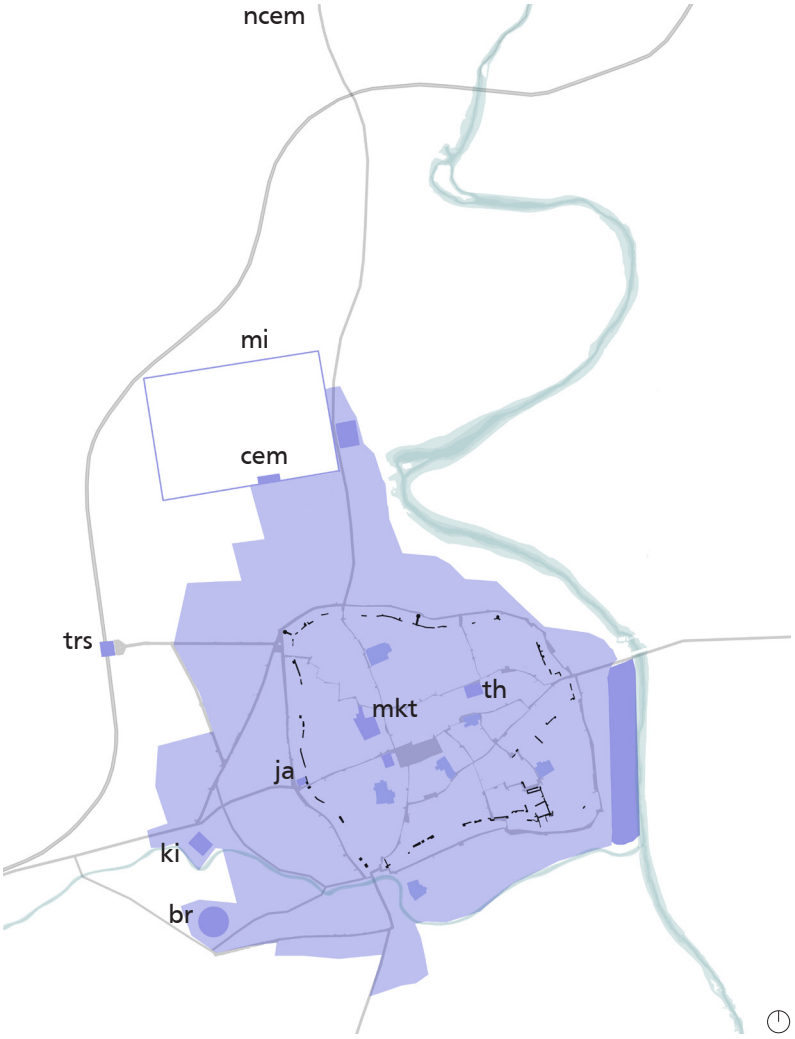


Figure 112. Écija, late 19th century. Own elaboration based on historical plans of the city.

[mi] Wall "Cerca de la Misericordia"
[cem] Cementery
[ncem] New cementery
[trs] Train station
[ki] Slaughterhouse
[br] Bullring
[ja] Prison
[mkt] Market
[th] Theatre

are smaller than those of 1895. However, all the plots of the relevant buildings in the town are darker in colour, as well as a large part of the detailed subdivision of the urban periphery. Finally, both plans show the progress of the project for the future Avenida Miguel de Cervantes, officially inaugurated in 1912 (Méndez Varo, 2012).

Definitively, the 19th century has an extensive planimetric collection that marks the beginning of the development of contemporary Écija. The inherited city underwent many changes in this century. Undoubtedly, urban growth, new facilities and infrastructures are clear symptoms of the urban modernisation of Écija. Examples include the bullring, the cemetery, the market, the railway line and the opening of the Avenida Miguel de Cervantes. On the other hand, it is important to highlight the progress in the techniques of planimetric representation at both territorial and urban scale. Improvements in tools, new techniques and studies are directly reflected in the planimetry of Écija. In the 19th century there are a total of seven plans, which record the urban changes and lay the foundations for the city of the 20th century.

3.4.2 PERSISTENCE AND FRAGMENTS OF THE MONASTERY

Figure 113. Convent of Santa Florentina. Romero García, 2006.

The urban transformations that took place in the 19th and 20th centuries had a direct repercussion on the urban plot as well as on the buildings. As mentioned in point 3.4.1, this period saw the opening up of streets, changes in street orders, widening, new urban planning projects, as well as the appearance of new urban facilities and the remodelling of old buildings into more modern ones. The monastic buildings, due to their large number and the size of their plots, were the most affected by the processes of urban transformation. For the study of secularisation in Écija, the persistence and fragments of monastic buildings have been divided into four groups (Figure 115), each in a different table. Due to the difficulties of measuring the original plot in historical cartography, the areas taken are in many cases approximations based on assumptions made at other points. The first group are those buildings that remain completely unaltered. The second one is made up of buildings in which the church and fragments of the monastic outbuildings are present. The third consists of those monasteries and convents where only the church has been preserved, with all other parts disappearing. The last group is made up of those buildings that do not have the church but some monastic fragments have been detected.

The first group comprises complete buildings and is made up of 7 buildings ordered by year of foundation (Figure 116). Although we are referring to complete buildings, over time they have undergone transformations both in terms of enlargement and reduction of surface area. Furthermore, in some cases there may be a decrease or increase in the free space surface of the monastic buildings. Therefore, the approximate area that has been preserved over time is taken. The first figure in the table shows an approximate surface area of between 3.000 and 5.000 m2, with Santa Inés del Valle standing out with more than 9.000 m2. Undoubtedly, even today they represent large urban areas, most of which still retain their religious use as a convent.

In the permanence of the use, the uninterrupted existence of two convents, Santa Florentina (Figure 113) and Santa Inés del Valle, stands out. These are the two oldest female foundations in Écija, which for more than six centuries still perpetuate the conventual use. The number would have risen to four if the convents of Las Marroquíes and San José had not ceased their activity in 2014 and 2015. In the case of Las Marroquíes, it has resumed its conventual activity thanks to the order of the Pilgrims of the Eucharist Sisters in 2018. However, the convent of San José remains unused at present, as does that of Las Recogidas

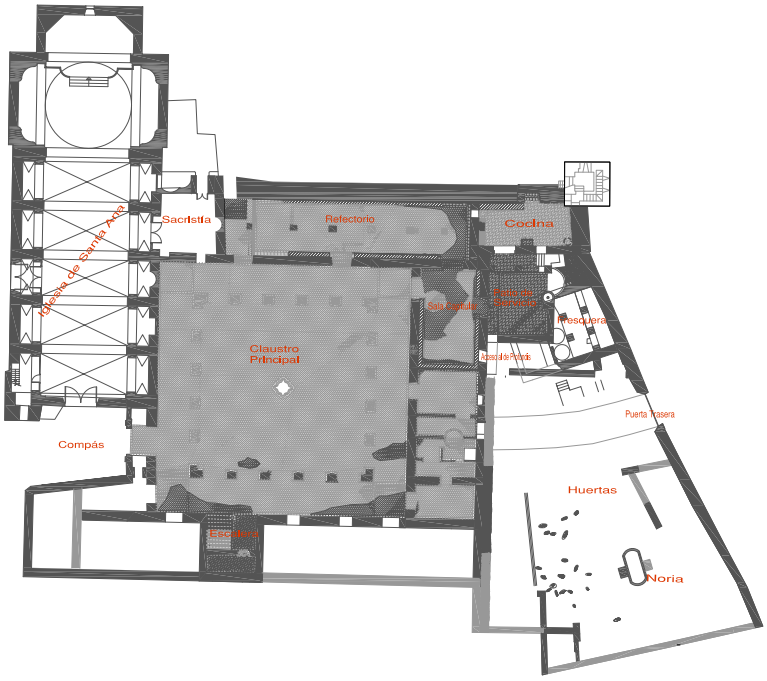


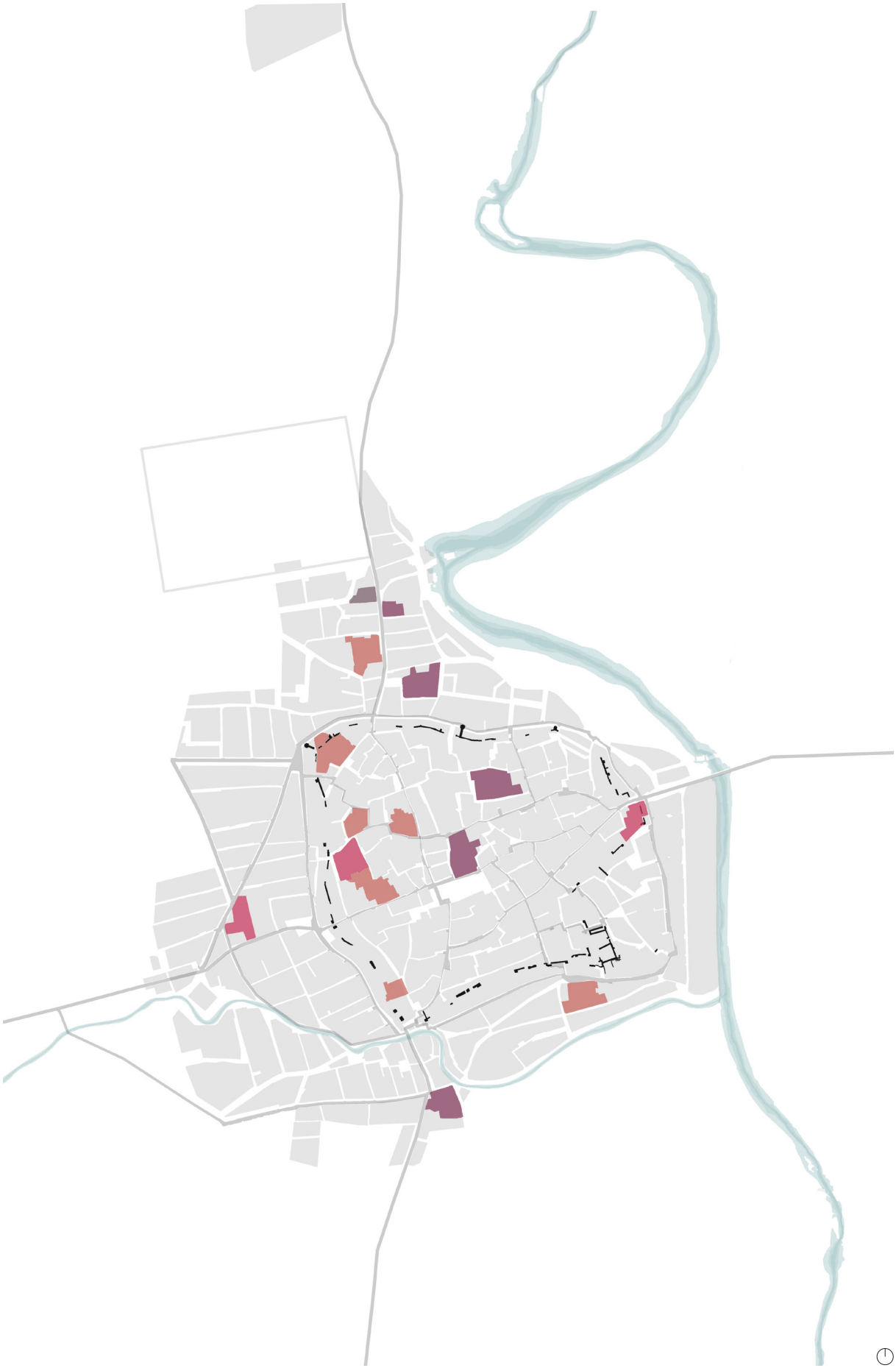
Figure 114. Archaeological study in Santa Ana made by López Serena, M. R. & Vera Reina, M., 2007.

since its secularisation. On the other hand, the monastery of Nuestra Señora de la Merced lost its monastic function in 1836. After the confiscation, the building was used as a charitable establishment in 1850, and a year later as a military barracks (Caldero Bermudo, 1984). Despite the changes of use, the original structure managed to be maintained, being occupied in 1895 by the Salesian Sisters for its transformation into a school. This educational use has been maintained to the present day, with the church again being a place of worship. The convent of Divina Pastora was secularised along with most of the monastic buildings in Écija in 1835. However, in 1924 it was occupied by the new Sevillian order of Sisters of the Cross until the present day, being one of the five monastic buildings in use in the city.

The second group comprises buildings in which both the church and some monastic fragments persist (Figure 117), again sorted by year of foundation. The selection is divided into 3 buildings. In this second table, the plot surface data have been divided into two columns. The one on the left takes the approximate area of the original monastic plot and the second is the current area of the remains of the former monastery or convent. It is interesting to note how large areas of some 5.000-6.000 m2 have now been reduced to 500-1,000 m2. Excluding the church, these data indicate that the monastic fragments are very scarce. On the other hand, the monastery of Santa Ana represents an exception in this group (Figure 114). When the surface area data are compared, they do not change. This is due to the fact that the monastic plot is preserved, although many of the fragments are in a ruinous state. After the secularisation of 1836, the church was detached from the monastic buildings,

Figure 115. (right page) Groups of monastic transformations in Écija Own elaboration.

Group 1. Complete buildings.
Group 2. Church and fragments
Group 3. Church
Group 4. Without church



which were bought by a private owner. The continuous abandonment and deterioration of the dwelling in recent decades has led the building to a state of ruin and disuse. Meanwhile, the church maintained its religious use as a parish church, and is still used as such today.

The disappearance of most of the buildings took place in the 20th century. Most of them were converted from religious to residential use. In the cases where religious use is indicated, it refers only to the church. In contrast, the monastery of Nuestra Señora del Carmen was transformed in 1897 by the Salesian community into a school, but was abandoned in the mid-20th century (Hernández Díaz et al., 1951). Subsequently, in 1971, its educational use was recovered and the building was enlarged to accommodate more classes and a larger number of students. In relation to the monastery of Los Descalzos, different uses have been found in the monastic plot. In 1843, the city council took possession of the monastic structures to house public schools. Due to the dilapidated state of the building, in 1852 the schools were moved to the convent of Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación, and Los Descalzos was demolished in 1857. The site was occupied with the construction of an old people's

Figure 116. (top) Group 1 table. Complete buildings. Data obtained from García León & Martín Ojeda (2018), Caldero Bermudo (1984) and Garay y Conde (1851). Own elaboration.

Figure 117. (down) Group 2 table. Church and fragments. Data obtained from García León & Martín Ojeda (2018), Caldero Bermudo (1984) and Garay y Conde (1851). Own elaboration.

	Aprox. plot surface (m2)	Year of foundation	Year of confiscation	Current order	Current plot use
Santa florentina	5.670	1460	-	Dominican Nuns	Religious
Santa Inés del valle	9.230	1487	-	Poor clares	Religious
Nuestra señora de la merced (second building)	5.020	1545	1836	1895. Salesian Sisters.	Educational
Visitación a santa Isabel (Las recogidas)	2.720	1570	1933 (secularisation)	1938-2013. Congregation of the Sisters of St. Philip Neri	Without use
Santísima trinidad purísima y concepción de nuestra señora (Las marroquíes)	2.960	1587	2014 (secularisation)	2018. Pilgrims of the Eucharist Sisters	Religious
Divina pastora (Capuchinos)	3.420	1621	1835	1924. Sisters of the Cross	Religious
San José (Las teresas)	4.400	1634	2015 (secularisation)	-	Without use

	Aprox. original plot surface (m2)	Aprox. current plot surface (m2)	Year of foundation	Year of confiscation	Year of disappearance	Current plot use
Nuestra Señora del Carmen	4.710	1.090	1425	1835	1971	Religious and educational
Limpia Concepción de Nuestra Señora (Los descalzos)	6.100	550	1591	1836	1857	Religious and residential
Santa Ana	2.430	2.430	1626	1836	1836	Religious and without use

home in 1881, run by the Little Sisters of the Poor (García León, 2011). Finally, the building was again demolished (Figure 118) for the construction of the current dwellings in 1984 according to the land registry. Despite the continuous changes and transformations, the church remains as a parish church.

Figure 118. Church of Los Descalzos. Anonymous, 1984.

The third group is made up of those buildings of which only the church remains as a monastic fragment (Figure 121). Except in the cases of Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación and Las Gemelas, the rest of the churches maintain their religious use. The comparison of initial and final surface areas shows that in these cases only a fifth of the original plot has been maintained. In fact, in all the buildings in the table, the current use of the former monastic site is residential. In many cases, the demolition of the monastery or convent is not immediate, but the building is often reused for other functions. In any case, the church is usually maintained as a place of worship as a parish church. A clear example is that of San Pablo and Santo Domingo between 1835 and 1865. In 1841 the city council used the building as infantry barracks until 1845. In this year the use was changed to offices. Years later, the use was changed again to house the Casino de Artesanos de Écija, until 1865 (Aguilar Díaz, 2006). Despite the diversity of uses, the old monastic building was finally demolished in 1865 for the construction of residential buildings (Figure 119).

Figure 119. Church of San Pablo y Santo Domingo. Anonymous, 20th century.

Likewise, the same thing happened in San Francisco since its exclaustration. In 1837, part of the building was used as inns and houses, becoming the barracks of the Civil Guard in 1845. Three years later, the building was auctioned and acquired by the Sociedad Filarmónica y el Casino. In the 20th century, part of the old monastic buildings were bought to house the 'Cabrera' cinema (Figure 120). Among the transformations carried out was the use of the old refectory as an entrance hall to the cinema (Martín Pradas & Carrasco Gómez, 2017). From 1924 the building was in use until its demolition in 2002, and the plot was used as a public car park. In 2021, work began on the construction of housing on the former monastic plot. The case of Nuestra Señora de la Victoria is similar to that of other monasteries and convents in Écija. After its secularisation in 1835, the building was demolished in 1582, except for the church. The church managed to be preserved until it was demolished in 1965 due to its state of deterioration, with only the tower and main doorway remaining (Méndez Varo, 1993). Years later, the chancel and transept were rebuilt, maintaining the space of the old central nave as the entrance atrium.

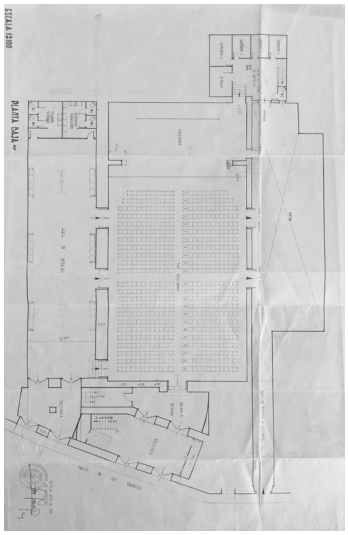


Figure 120. Cabrera cinema plan, 1972. In Municipal Archive, Écija. Leg. 766, doc. 4.

The convent of Monjas Blancas was used from 1852 until the mid-20th century as a public school (García León, 2011). In the middle of this century the use changed, and a barracks for the Civil Guard was installed (Hernández Díaz et al., 1951). Sub-

sequently, the building was abandoned and used as a town hall storehouse. The building that closes this group is that of La Purísima Concepción. Unlike the others, no other uses are known. The monastic buildings were demolished for the construction of housing (Hernández Díaz et al., 1951). The church retained its religious use and was later used as a municipal building. In 1951, due to the ruinous state of the church, it was demolished. Today, only the façade, the first corridor and the two towers remain of the old church.

Finally, the fourth group is formed only by the Hospital de San Pedro, San Pablo and San Juan de Dios (Figure 122). The difference between the original and current plot surface areas is very similar. This is due to the fact that the plot, as it is not very large, has been able to be maintained and occupied by new buildings. After the confiscation in 1837, various uses have been identified according to the historical plan. In 1863 the site was used as an asylum. As it was municipal property, in 1896 it was used as a school, together with those housed in the aforementioned convent of Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación. Subsequently, the building fell into a state of neglect until 2009, when it was finally converted for the construction of social housing. Finally, some of the original construction elements such as parts of the walls, foundations and corridors can still be seen. The successive alterations and transformations have made it difficult to read the original state of the building.

Figure 121. (top) Group 3 table. Only church. Data obtained from García León & Martín Ojeda (2018), Caldero Bermudo (1984) and Garay y Conde (1851). Own elaboration.

Figure 122. (down) Group 4 table. Without church. Data obtained from García León & Martín Ojeda (2018), Caldero Bermudo (1984) and Garay y Conde (1851). Own elaboration.

	Aprox. original plot surface (m2)	Aprox. current plot surface (m2)	Year of foundation	Year of confiscation	Year of disappearance	Current plot use
San Pablo y Santo Domingo	6.330	1.460	1383	1835	1865	Religious and residential
San Francisco	5.020	1.430	1473	1835	2002	Religious and residential
Nuestra Señora de la Victoria	3.880	940	1505	1835	1852	Religious and residential
Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación (Monjas blancas)	1.960	250	1644	1835	1835	Residential and city storage
La Purísima Concepción (Las gemelas)	5.960	860	1639	1836	1836 1951 (church)	Residential

	Aprox. original plot surface (m2)	Aprox. current plot surface (m2)	Year of foundation	Year of confiscation	Year of disappearance	Current plot use
Hospital de San Pedro, San Pablo y San Juan de Dios	960	740	1655	1837	1905	Residential

3.4.3 THE RENEWAL OF URBAN SPACES

In the 19th century, urban growth went hand in hand with processes of renovation and change of the historic-urban fabric. The absence and need for large public spaces such as squares or avenues led to the expropriation of buildings which ended up becoming urban spaces. In the case of Écija, the example of the opening of the Avenida Miguel de Cervantes (Figure 125) (Méndez Varo, 2012), the demolition of walls and gates or the modification of street orders in order to widen the space of the street inside the walls (López Jiménez, 2016) is notorious (Figure 123). However, urban transformations do not have the same dimension in all cities, and there are differences between cities. Generally, the larger the size and importance of the city, the greater the urban actions. In this sense, smaller cities experience fewer urban changes.

Figure 123. Miguel de Cervantes street. Anonymous, 1912.

The processes of urban renewal are linked to the trajectory of the monastic spaces in the city. The simultaneity of secularisation and modernisation of the city in the 19th century meant that city and monastery converged. The confiscation and demolition of monastic buildings generated large new urban voids. The central position of most of these buildings favoured their transformation. Within practically consolidated urban centres, plots of land suddenly appear as development opportunities. Moreover, these are ideal for both the construction of new buildings and the emergence of new urban spaces. In the case of Écija, the construction of new buildings prevailed over the creation of new urban spaces for two main reasons. Firstly, there is a large central urban space in the city centre, popularly known as 'El Salón'. It contains the town hall, the main buildings of the nobility and is a place for the citizens to meet and gather.

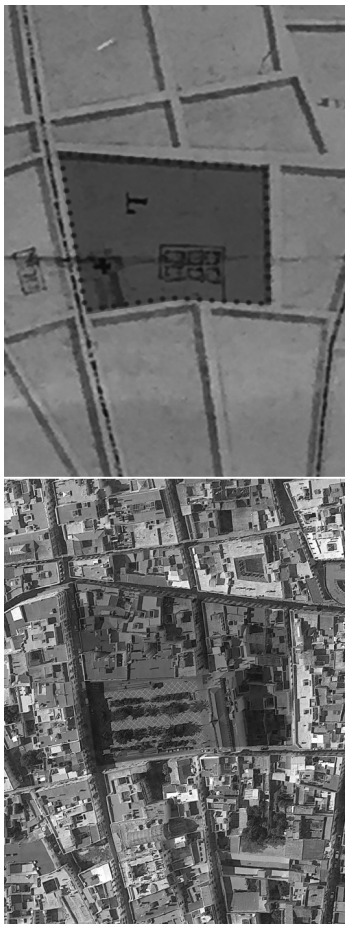


Figure 124. Transformation of San Antonio monastic plot in El Puerto de Santa María. From top to bottom. City plan (1730) and Aerial view (2023). City plan from Delegación Territorial de Turismo.

The pre-existence of this space means that it is not necessary to build another with similar characteristics. On the other hand, the creation of squares from former monastic plots does happen in other medium-sized Andalusian cities such as El Puerto de Santa María. The monastery of San Antonio de Padua was demolished in 1868 for the construction of the current Plaza Isaac Peral (Ostos Prieto et al., 2020) (Figure 124). The town hall and administrative buildings of the city are located in this square. The second reason is the rapid occupation of the monastic plots by other buildings. Both the size and the location in the city centre represent sites of high economic profitability and investment, which are quickly exploited for the construction of new housing. However, some examples show that residential buildings are not always built, as was the case with the former monastery of San Fulgencio, on which the new city market was built.

Figure 125. (page 196) Project of Miguel de Cervantes street. Francisco Torres, 1881. Located in Municipal Archive, Écija.

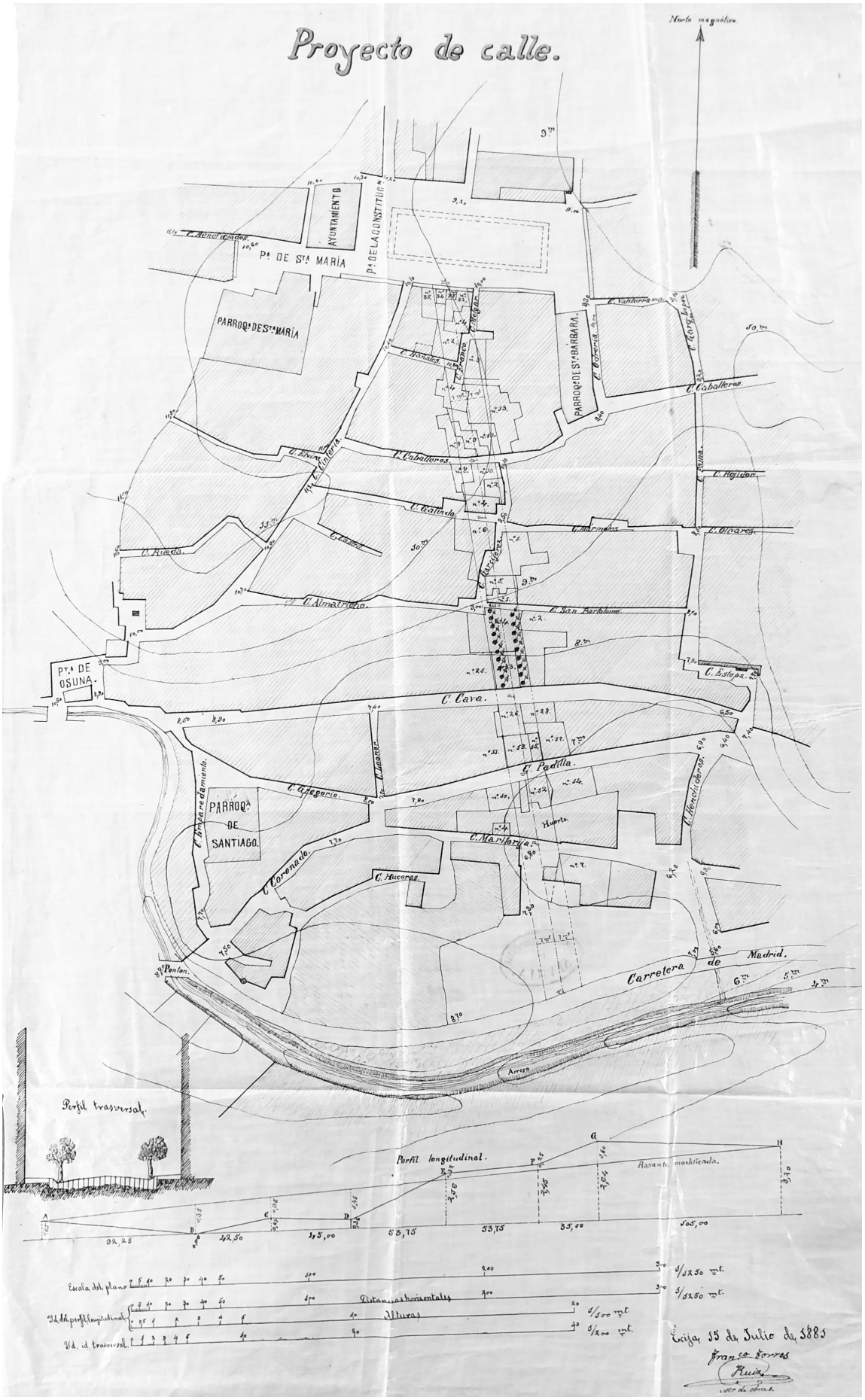

Proyecto de calle.
Norte magnético.
AYUNTAMIENTO
Pª DE Sta MARÍA
Pª DE LA CONSTITUCIÓN
PARROQª DE Sta MARÍA
PARROQª DE Sta BÁRBARA
C. Caballeros
C. Rojidor
C. Olivares
C. Almatricho
C. San Bartolomé
C. Estopa
C. Cava
C. Padilla
C. Gregorio
C. Mariforja
C. Coronado
C. Huceros
PARROQª DE SANTIAGO
Pta DE OSUNA
Carretera de Madrid
Arroyo
Perfil trasversal
Perfil longitudinal
Rasante modificada
Escala del plano
Distancias horizontales
Alturas
Ecija 15 de Julio de 1885
Franco Torres Ruiz

Figure 126. Monastic plot transformation of San Francisco. Left (Écija plan 1945), right (current plan 2023). Own elaboration.

In Écija, no significant transformations from monastic to urban spaces have been found. However, there are brief examples of this transition. One of them is the development of commercial activity in the city until before the 19th century, which took place in an ephemeral market in the Plaza de 'El Salón'. In the middle of the 19th century, the relocation of the market and the construction of a promenade and its beautification were considered as a response to the new urban standards of modernisation on the main square (Suárez Garmendia, 1986). The demolition of the convent of the Espíritu Santo allowed this new site to be used as a new market square (García León, 1999). The use of the convent plot as a market place lasted until the construction of the market building.

The plot was once again empty, being used on this time for the construction of dwellings. Furthermore, in the space occupied by the former monastery of San Francisco is the only fragment of urban space generated from a monastic plot, the street known as Pasaje de la Milagrosa (Figure 126). The birth of this small street is the consequence of two factors. On the one hand, the large size of the monastic plot. On the other hand, the construction of houses that require a new street to guarantee access to them. This new street has access from the streets of San Francisco and Aguabajo, dividing the entire block into two parts. The project for this small street did not appear until 1972 accompanied by the construction of 42 dwellings and commercial premises (Martín Pradas & Carrasco Gómez, 2017).

3.4.4 DISAPPEARANCE AND LOSS OF THE MONASTIC BUILDING

One of the most relevant aspects of the urban transformations is the total disappearance of monasteries and convents. The confiscations, together with the abandonment, deterioration and collapse of a large part of the monastic structures, led to their disappearance. Large buildings and plots of land dissolved into the urban structure without leaving an apparent trace or remains in the city. The identification and location of former monasteries and convents can be easily identified by their fragments, but it is more complex for those that have completely disappeared. For their identification, the study of the historical planimetry together with urban views is decisive. In this sense, the documents prior to secularisation are key, which in the case of Écija have made it possible to locate almost all the monasteries and convents. The position of the monastic buildings that disappeared in the 19th century is very diverse. A total of six complete buildings have been counted, with no fragments remaining today (Figure 127). Among the six, three have a position within the city, while three others are on the perimeter or more distant, such as San Jerónimo del Valle. However, Nuestra Señora de la Merced, unlike the others, disappeared in the 16th century. For the position of the old plots, historical cartography such as that of Spinola, different urban views, as well as images and textual references indicating the positions of the different buildings have been used.

In order to be able to carry out an analysis and comparison of the buildings, the approximate surface area of the monastic plot has been calculated, as well as other relevant data (Figure 128). The absence of original planimetry in many cases has led to the establishment of hypotheses and approximations. Firstly, the surface area data have been compared. These indicate that the plots are of large dimensions, exceeding 3.000 m2 of urban area. In the cases of a position outside the urban centre, San Agustín stands out with more than 1.5 hectares or the plot of San Jerónimo del Valle with 4 hectares. In both cases, gardens and orchards are included in addition to the built-up area. The dates have been organised in three columns, foundation, secularisation and disappearance. The last two dates are particularly interesting, as confiscation does not usually coincide with disappearance in some cases. In general, the monastic buildings are usually demolished and the church is maintained. Finally, the last column shows the uses currently existing on the former monastic plot, with residential use being predominant.

Figure 127. (right page) Disappeared monasteries and convents in Écija. Own elaboration.

The disappearance of each of the monastic buildings is due to a number of separate factors. However, it can be observed that practically all of them share a common date of 1835 as

	Aprox. original plot surface (m2)	Aprox. current plot surface (m2)	Year of foundation	Year of confiscation	Year of disappearance
San Jerónimo del Valle	40.000	1486	1835	1879	-
San Agustín	16.770	1491	1835	1835 (monastery) 1865 (church)	Educational
Espíritu Santo	4.300	1508	1835	1839 (convent) 1844 (church)	Residential
Nuestra Señora de la Merced (First building)	5.000	1509	-	1543	Industrial
Nuestra Señora de los Remedios	2.700	1509	1836	1836 (convent) 1851 (church)	Residential
San Fulgencio	4.260	1598	1767	1842	Service sector

Figure 128. Table of disappeared monasteries and convents in Écija. Data obtained from García León & Martín Ojeda (2018), Caldero Bermudo (1984) and Garay y Conde (1851). Own elaboration.

the starting point of secularisation. Following the chronological order of foundation, the first building is the monastery of San Jerónimo del Valle (Figure 129). It is one of the most outstanding cases if one relates its complete disappearance to the approximate surface area of four hectares it once covered. It is also the building furthest away from the city and, therefore, alien to any urban change or transformation. After its confiscation in 1835, the building reached a considerable state of ruin. In 1849, due to the ruinous state, it was decided to save it, taking into consideration its historical value for Écija. Later, in 1865, a request was made to use the church and sacristy spaces for the new cemetery, which was moved from the Cerca de la Misericordia to the vicinity of the monastery (López Jiménez, 2016). However, the lack of maintenance of the building increased its deterioration and it disappeared completely in 1879.

Figure 129. Monastery of Nuestra Señora del Valle in 1543. Anonymous, 18th century. Located in the Church of La Merced, Écija.

From 1851, it exists a description wrote by Garay y Conde about the state of the building, both of the church and of some of the monastic remains:

"[...]the road continues to the extinct monastery built not far from the western bank of the Genil [...] this beautiful temple consists of a nave, the largest of its kind in Écija [...] and the rest of the monastery is in ruins for the most part: a small Gothic doorway provided access to the cloister [...]." (Garay y Conde 1851, p. 431-433)[53]

The monastery of San Agustín was also located on the outskirts of the city, but not as far away as San Jerónimo del Valle. In fact, the growth of the 19th century made it part of the urban periphery. In the 20th century, the monastic plot was

53 Original quote: "[...] sigue el camino hasta el extinguido monasterio edificado no lejos de la margen occidental del Genil [...] consta este hermoso templo de una nave la mayor de Écija en su clase [...] y lo restante del convento ruinoso en su mayor parte: una pequeña portada gótica facilitaba la entrada al claustro [...]" (Garay y Conde 1851, p. 431-433).

fully integrated into the urban fabric (Figure 130). After its secularisation in 1835, the church continued to be used as the chapel of the Cristo de la Sangre brotherhood. Finally, the progressive deterioration towards a state of ruin led to the demolition of the church in 1865 (García León, 1992). On the site of the old monastery, there is currently the Blas Infante public school, and on the opposite plot there is another public school called Colegio de San Agustín, inheriting the name of the old monastery. Following the order of the table, the convent of the Espíritu Santo was confiscated in 1835. The nuns who decided to continue moved to the convent of Santa Florentina of the same Dominican order. As mentioned in point 3.4.3. above, the convent was demolished in 1839 in order to use the plot as a municipal market. On the other hand, the church remained until 1844 (Méndez Varo, 1990). Finally, the church was also demolished, and residential buildings were subsequently constructed, although fragments of the convent did not exist on the plot.

The reference to the monastery of Nuestra Señora de la Merced as having disappeared relates to the first building founded by the Mercedarians in Écija (Figure 131). This was located on the other side of the river next to the road to Córdoba. Its location was the cause of its disappearance in 1543 due to a great flood of the Genil river (García León & Martín Ojeda, 2018). After this event, the order built a new building, the one that exists today. There are no visible remains of the old monastic building except for written sources and some images. The second to last building to appear in the table is the convent of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios. The process of its disappearance is similar to that of Espíritu Santo. After the confiscation, the convent buildings were demolished except for the church, which remained open for worship as a chapel until 1851 (Garay & Conde, 1851). Subsequently, the church was demolished and the former convent plot was occupied by residential buildings.

Finally, the monastery of San Fulgencio ended its work as a school after the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767. A year later, the order of the aforementioned monastery of San Agustín requested a transfer to the Jesuit monastery, with the commitment to keep the school open. However, their request was rejected by the Crown (García León, 1992). This was ceded to the Town Hall in a state of ruin in 1815, and its use was destined for military barracks (García León, 1999). Four years later, in 1819, the educational use of the old monastery was resumed as a school. In spite of this, in 1824 the building ceased its activity as a school and became a warehouse for municipal goods, until it was finally demolished in its entirety in 1842 (García León, 1999). From this time onwards, the local market was built on

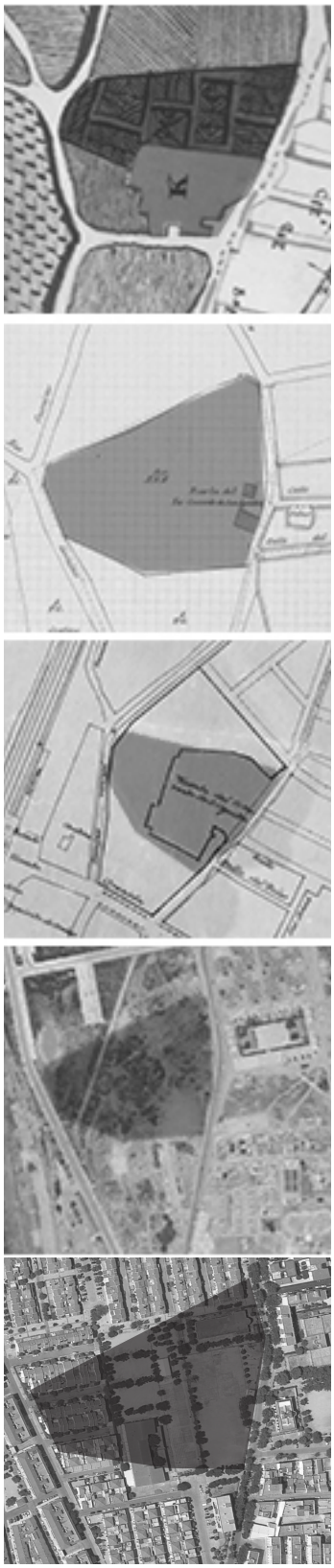


Figure 130. Development of the San Agustín monastic plot. From top to bottom. Spinola's plan (1826), Engineer's plan (1895), City plan (1945), aerial view (1977) and aerial view (2023).

the former monastic plot, housing all the commercial activity in Écija (Figure 132). Its use as a market has lasted until the present day (Figure 133).

The confiscations of the 19th century, together with the lack of conservation of the monastic buildings, led to the loss of many of these buildings. Despite the total disappearance of the monastic structures, many of these buildings are still recognisable in the morphology of the urban plot. While the buildings are quickly replaced by one another, the street orders and plots remain as an urban footprint. In this sense, it is still possible to distinguish a large part of the original boundaries of the monastic plots, heirs of the disappeared monastic heritage. At the same time, the inheritance in the current toponymy establishes a clear relationship between building and city. Thanks to these factors, a large part of these buildings have somehow managed to survive the urban transformations and time.

Figure 131. Monastery of La Merced in 1543. Anonymous, 18th century. Located in the Church of La Merced, Écija.

Figure 132. (left) Urban plot transformation of San Fulgencio. Detail from Écija plan, anonymous, 1826-1829. Located in the Parish Archive of Santa María and Santa Bárbara in Écija.

Figure 133. (right) Local market in Écija. Author, 2022.

3.5 URBAN LANDSCAPE

The historical iconography is a graphic support of high relevance for the city. They are the oldest graphic sources, offering a detailed view of the city. These representations are characterised by a complete view of the urban area from outside the city walls. A close-up image is created without going into drawings of the interior of the urban fabric, such as streets or buildings. The topography of Écija places it in a valley with hills at the east and west ends from which a higher perspective is obtained in both cases. This allows the city to be drawn from these points. However, all the graphic documents located have been drawn from the right bank of the Genil river. The main difference can be seen in the position of the bridge, either to the right of the image or to the left. It is not surprising that the views were taken from the same point as it is the one that offers the greatest wealth of elements with the river and the bridge in the foreground, the town in the background and the western hills in the background.

3.5.1 THE MONASTIC CITY IN ICONOGRAPHY

One of the main references in urban iconography is the atlas *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* produced in the 16th century. The first view of Écija appears in this collection, followed by nine others over the course of four centuries, with a total of ten currently in existence. In addition to the extensive production over time, there is a wide variety of authors according to their place of origin. In terms of current countries, artists from the Netherlands, Italy, the Czech Republic, France, Belgium and Spain came to Écija. In fact, only the author Narciso Domínguez was Spanish, the other nine were from other countries and regions. This diversity confirms and verifies the importance and role that Écija played in the international sphere. Undoubtedly, the arrival of artists from different places, as well as a large number of views, is a great reference for the city.

The earliest known view of the city is by Joris Hoefnagel in 1567 (Figure 135). The Flemish artist is known as the author of the urban representations in the aforementioned atlas *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, published in the 16th century by George Braun. The work was the most complete of its date to contain urban representations of the most important cities of the time. One of the characteristics of the atlas is the arrangement by sheets of the views that appear in it. The importance of a city is measured by the size it occupies in the book. Whether it is a full page, half a page, or three or four cities at a time. This shows an indicator of importance and comparison. Placing several cities on the same page indicates that they are of similar importance

Figure 134. Views of Barcelona and Écija. Hoefnagel, 1567. In Braun, G. (1577) *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*.

in terms of urban, political and economic development. The representation of Écija is at the bottom of the same page as the city of Barcelona (Figure 134). The importance of Écija in the 16th century is not surprising, not only because it appears in the atlas itself, but also because it is compared on the same level with the Catalan city.

In the same year as Hoefnagel's view, Antoon van der Wijngaerde produced a new perspective (Figure 136) in 1567 [54]. The Flemish artist travelled around Spain commissioned by Philip II to draw a collection of views of the most important cities (Galera I Monegal, 1998). Wijngaerde again takes the same position as the view in Braun's atlas, showing the river, the bridge and the city, highlighting the walled enclosure and some of the church towers. Following the chronological order of the urban representations, the next one is that made by Albizzi, Florentine jurist and genealogist, in 1612 (Figure 137). The particularity of this graphic representation of the city is given by its context, published at the bottom of a genealogical tree of the kings of Asturias in *Principum Christianorum Stemmata*. The author left a record of the city being recognisable both by its physiognomy and by the inscription of its name on the left. In the mid-17th century, the Czech Daniel Meisner collected a new graphic of Écija found in *Thesaurus Philo-Politicus* in 1623 (Figure 138). This work contains a series of engravings of urban landscapes, as does Braun's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*. Meisner's views are characterised by the inclusion of elements in the foreground, marking the distance from the city in the background. These elements can be either people, as in the drawing of the city of Aachen, or objects such as a table with a small vase and a scorpion in Bruges, Flanders (Figure 138). In the case of Écija, the artist adds a candle that casts light on the rest of the image, creating shadows on the buildings and the ground. On the other hand, it is a metaphor for the candle as an object that illuminates the city.

Figures on the right page

Figure 135. View of Écija. Hoefnagel, 1567. In Braun, G. (1577) *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*.

Figure 136. View of Écija. Wijngaerde, 1567. In Plantin Museum, Antwerp.

Figure 137. View of Écija. Albizzi, 1612. In Albizzi, A. (1612) *Principum Christianorum Stemnata*.

Figure 138. View of Aachen, Bruges and Écija. Meisner, 1623. In Meisner, D. (1623) *Thesaurus Philo-Politicus.*

In 1660, the French artist Israel Silvestre produced a view of Écija[55] (Figure 139) as part of his journey around the Iberian Peninsula. One of the main characteristics of this one is its uniqueness in changing the point of view of the perspective, placing the bridge on the left instead of on the right. Thus, the author offers a 'different' view from the right bank of the river. Another important feature of the scene is its location on a page next to the Italian city of Turin, following the same approach as Braun did with Écija and Barcelona. Again, the city is placed in a position of equality and importance with another

54 View located in the Plantin Museum, Antwerp.

55 View located in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Cartes et plans, GE BB 565 (12,11).

Figure 135

Figure 136

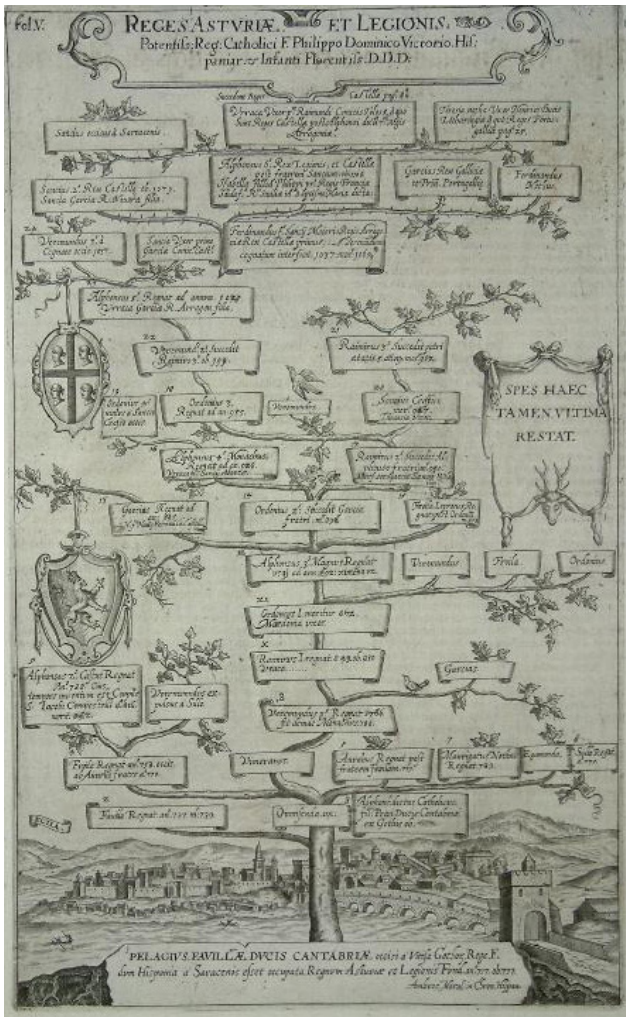


Figure 137

Figure 138

large and prestigious city. Furthermore, the comparison with an Italian city places Écija in an international panorama. In this view, the profile of the monastic buildings begins to take on importance, enhanced by towers and bell-glabes, while in the previous images the city walls and parish churches were prominent. Silvestre's view was followed years later by Pier Maria Baldi's view (Figure 140). The Florentine architect and painter produced an extensive series of drawings and engravings of the European cities and towns he visited as the companion of Cosimo III de Medici between 1668 and 1669 (Magalotti, 2018). The view of Écija was made by Baldi in 1668[56]. Following the model of Hoefnagel, Wijngaerde, Albizzi and Meisner, the perspective chosen is on the side of the river, with the bridge on the right of the image. Like Silvestre, the monastic profile next to the parish church again stands out as the predominant urban landscape over the houses. On the other hand, the urban growth increasingly hides the city wall, making it more and more imperceptible, in contrast to the first views.

The Venetian cartographer and member of the Franciscan order Vicenzo Maria Coronelli was a noted draughtsman and geographer. In fact, he was the founder of the first geographical society, the *Accademia cosmografica degli argonauti* (Rombai & Tavoni, 2001). Among his works, stands out the one entitled *Teatro della guerra, Gran Bretagna, Spagna, Portogallo*, where we can find a new view of Écija in 1706 (Figure 141). If we compare Coronelli's and Hoefnagel's views, both are practically identical. In fact, the urban profile is the same, with no changes in the urban growth of the 18th century. Moreover, the earlier views by Silvestre and Pier María Baldi show a greater number of towers and bell-glabes than the Coronelli view. However, the major difference is qualified by the modification of the objects and people in the foreground, with two large rocks in their place. At this point, the town is compared to the Malaga town of Archidona. This diminishes Écija's position of importance in the 18th century, as it is smaller than the earlier cities of Barcelona and Turin.

In 1707, the Dutch Pieter van der Aa published numerous depictions of cities, including a new view of Écija (Figure 142). The difference between this and that of Coronelli is only one year, and they are very similar to each other. The urban profile is again the same, and the position of the rocks introduced by Coronelli is repeated by Van der Aa. Another difference is the addition of a large number of people in the foreground, making the urban view more realistic. In the mid 18th century the first view of Écija appears with a numbered legend of the most characteristic buildings and urban elements (Figure 143).

Figures on the right page

Figure 139. View of Écija. Silvestre, 1660. In Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Cartes et plans, GE BB 565 (12,11).

Figure 140. View of Écija. Baldi, 1668. In Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana of Florence.

Figure 141. View of Écija. Coronelli, 1706. In Coronelli, V. M. (1706) *Teatro della guerra, Gran Bretagna, Spagna, Portogallo*.

Figure 142. View of Écija. Van der Aa, 1707. In Álvarez de Colmenar, J. (1707) *Les Delices de L'Espagne et du Portugal*.

56 View located in Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana in Florence.

Figure 139

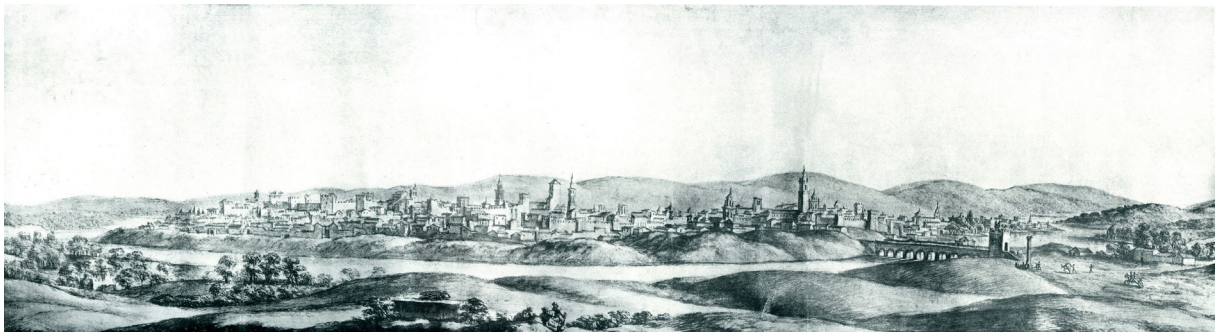


Figure 140

Figure 141

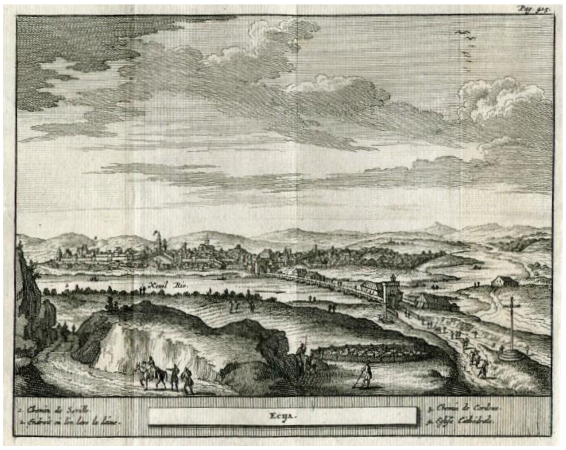


Figure 142

Figures on the right page

Figure 143. View of Écija. Domínguez, 1750. In López de Vargas Machucha, T. (1764) *Diccionario Geográfico de Andalucía. Tomo de Sevilla.*

Figure 144. View of Écija. Chapuy, 1844. In Chapuy, N. (1844) *Vues des principales Villes de ce Royaume. Dessinées d'aprés nature par Chapuy.*

Figure 145. Top to down. Conde street, Los Descalzos gate and Virgen de la Piedad street. Anonymous, 20th century. In (Méndez Varo, 1995).

It was made by Narciso Domínguez in 1750 (López de Vargas Machuca, 1764), as part of Tomás López's *Diccionario Geográfico de Andalucía*. The image of Écija is notable for its use of an aerial perspective for its representation, in which the numerous belfries of the religious buildings are clearly distinguishable. In addition to the urban representation, special attention is paid to the surrounding periphery, with agricultural crops, chapels and rural buildings, as well as a waterwheel at number 36. On the other hand, this is the first iconography in which the city wall is practically not depicted, except for a few isolated and occasional towers. The legend is divided into a total of 36 elements in four columns, to which is added the city coat of arms in the lower centre.

The last known engraving belongs to the French architect and draughtsman Nicolas Chapuy, in 1844 (Figure 144). The urban representation is part of the collection of drawings in Vues des principales Villes de ce Royaume. Dessinées d'aprés nature par Chapuy. The view of Écija marks a totally different style and perspective from the previous ones. Instead of drawing the whole city, it adopts a closer view and scale from the gate of the bridge. The foreground is characterised by the trees, people walking towards the bridge gate and the large column called *rollo*[57] on the left. In the background, the city can be seen, with the church towers standing out above the trees of the alameda and the roofs of the houses. Finally, Chapuy's drawing marks the transition to the use of photography, mainly in the 20th and 21st centuries. The great difference of photography in Écija with respect to the urban views observed is its use in the interior of the city streets, its buildings and details of daily life (Figure 145).

3.5.2 TOWERS AND BELL-GLABES

The monastic typology is distinguished within the urban landscape mainly by its towers and bell-glabes. In the historical urban iconography, these architectural elements stand out from the urban landscape, marking the location of the monastic site. They have their own features that make up the urban landscape of a city. Today, church towers can still be seen from many urban settlements. The towers appear as tall, slender elements in contrast to the smaller bell-glabes. In fact, the construction and decoration of many of the monastic bell-glabes compete with the towers. Of all the historical iconography of Écija, it has been selected those where the monastic system is best represented and highlighted. As they are urban views,

57 It was used to mark that the city had its own jurisdiction and served as a pillory (García León and Martín Ojeda, 2004).

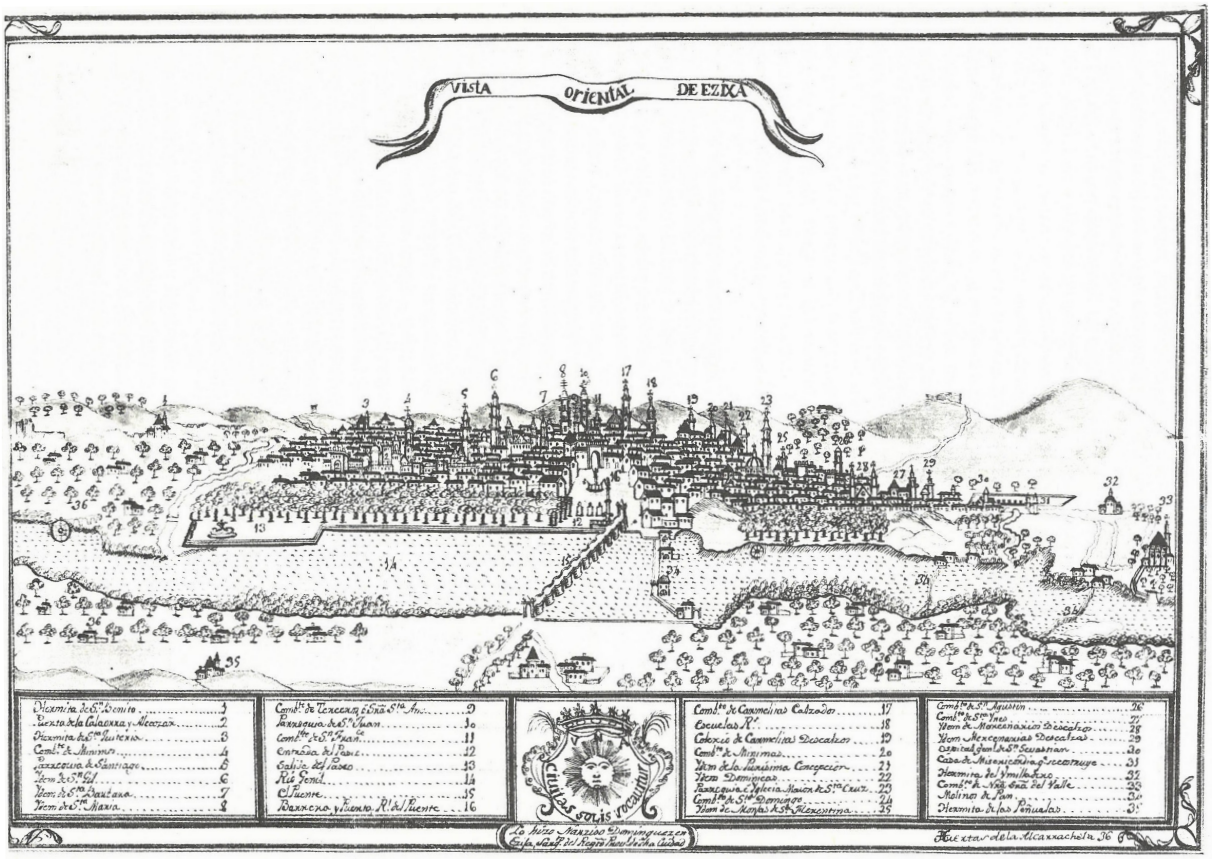


Figure 143

Figure 144

Figures on the right page

Figure 146. Location of monasteries and convents in Silvestre's view, 1660. Own elaboration.

Figure 147. Location of monasteries and convents in Baldi's view, 1668. Own elaboration.

Figure 148. Location of monasteries and convents in Domínguez's view, 1750. Own elaboration.

Figure 149. Location of monasteries and convents in aerial view, 2018. Image from Club Paramotor Écija Vuela. Own elaboration.

Figure 150. Detail of Nuestra Señora del Carmen (right) and convent with church spire in Silvestre's view, 1660. Own elaboration.

Monasteries and convents in Écija

01 | San Pablo y Santo Domingo
02 | Nuestra Señora del Carmen
03 | Santa Florentina
04 | San Francisco
05 | San Jerónimo del Valle
06 | Santa Inés del Valle
07 | San Agustín
08 | Nuestra Señora de la Victoria
09 | Espíritu Santo
10 | Nuestra Señora de la Merced
11 | Nuestra Señora de los Remedios
12 | Las Recogidas
13 | Las Marroquíes
14 | Los Descalzos
15 | San Fulgencio
16 | Capuchinos
17 | Santa Ana
18 | San José
19 | Las Gemelas
20 | Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación
21 | Hospital de San Pedro, San Pablo y San Juan de Dios

many of them focus on the urban representation as a whole. Therefore, we have taken those which show the position of monasteries and convents. These are by Silvestre (1660), Baldi (1668), Domínguez (1750) and a current aerial view (2018). In each of the views, the possible monastic buildings found have been identified in red. Not all of them could be located in all the views, but a large majority of them could. On the other hand, the parish towers have not been indicated. Although these are part of the urban landscape of church towers, they are not part of the monastic system.

The Silvestre view is the first in which the monastic system can be seen building part of the urban landscape of Écija (Figure 146). Eight monastic buildings have been located by knowing the position of their location. Among these, it is worth noting the graphics used in the building that could be Las Recogidas. It has neither tower nor bell-glabe, but a church spire (Figure 150), as is the case with monastic typologies in Central Europe. On the other hand, the towers of San Pablo and Santo Domingo and Nuestra Señora del Carmen stand out. In fact, the tower of the latter was built between 1636 and 1638 (Figure 150), a tower that is still preserved today (García León & Martín Ojeda, 2018). The change of perspective between Silvestre and Baldi allows for the appearance of different monastic buildings in the latter (Figure 147). The graphics used make it difficult to read some of the buildings. However, Nuestra Señora de la Merced is clearly visible, as is Santa Inés del Valle or Santa Ana at the entrance to the bridge.

Later, the mid-18th century view by Domínguez is one of the most complete (Figure 148). This is not only because it has practically all the monastic buildings, but also because it numbers them, depicts them in the legend and includes the monastery of Nuestra Señora del Valle. The graphics used repeat representations of churches, with Los Descalzos depicted in the same way as Las Recogidas. However, the urban position and architectural characteristics of some of the buildings stand out. In this sense, the tower of Nuestra Señora del Carmen once again stands out above the others. In addition, Las Gemelas is represented with a double tower, being faithful to its reality. Finally, following the representations of historical iconography, a current 21st century identification of the monastic system has been made (Figure 149). For this purpose, an aerial image has been used from the same perspective as the previous views, marking the remaining monastic elements. Up to 10 buildings can be found in the image. These still form part of the urban landscape of Écija with their towers and bell-glabes.

Just like in parishes, monastic churches also use the tower as a belfry. However, the bell-glabe is often used in monastic

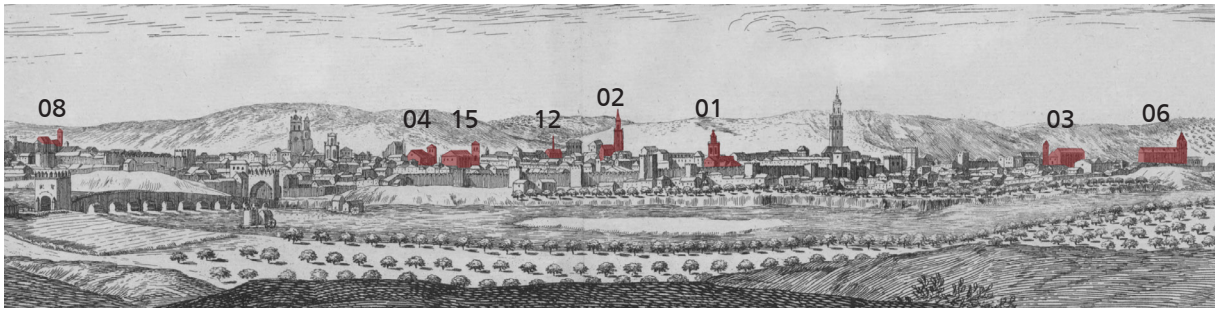


Figure 146

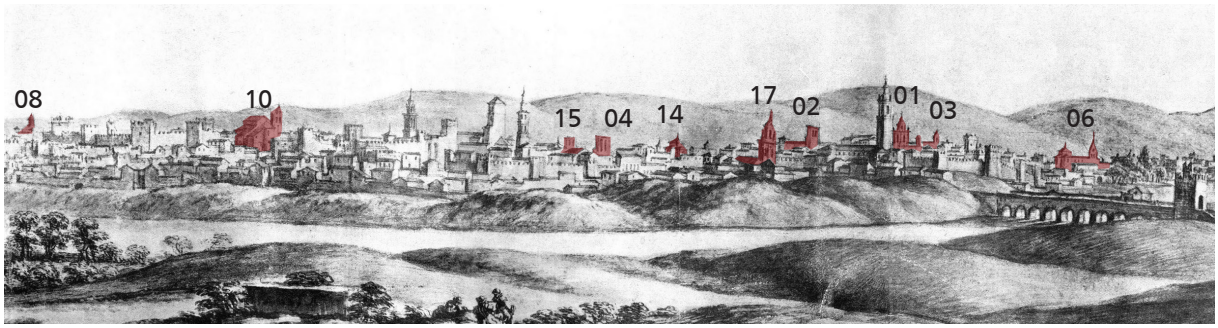


Figure 147

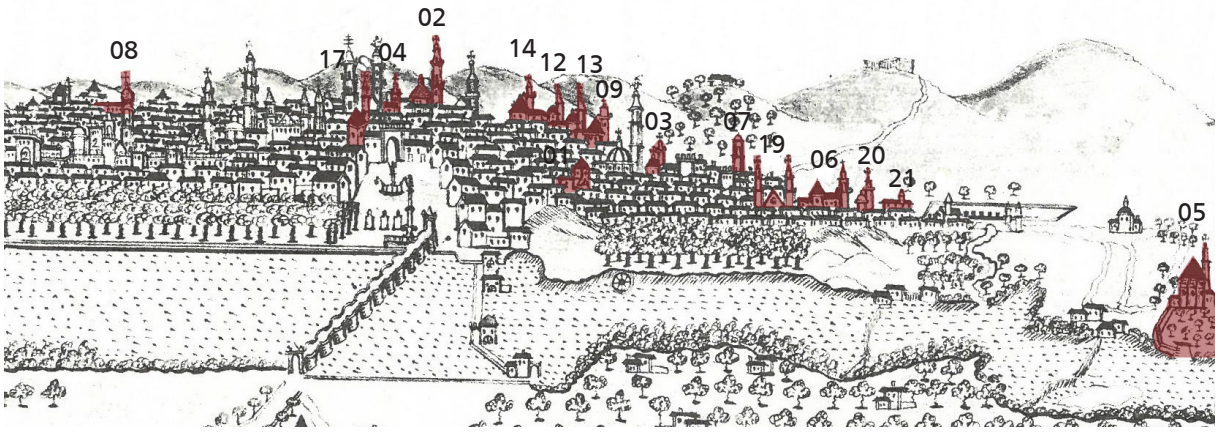


Figure 148

Figure 149

architecture, as it is less ostentatious than its counterpart, the tower. For example, among the rules of the Franciscan order, the use of the bell-glabe as opposed to the tower was imposed in order to move away from the sumptuousness and presumption that the belfry meant for the order (Villetti, 2003). Among the monastic temples existing today in Écija, those with towers and bell-glabes have been identified (Figure 152) (Figure 153). There are 14 churches in total, only 5 have towers compared to the rest, and they are all of male orders. In general, the architecture and decoration of the towers are baroque, as most of them had to be rebuilt after the Lisbon earthquake of 1755 (González Gómez, 2011). To this it must be added two singularities among the case studies. First, the tower of the monastery of San Pablo y Santo Domingo has been unfinished since it was begun in the second half of the 18th century. Only the first section of the belfry was built, leaving the upper sections and finials unfinished (Aguilar Díaz, 2006). The second, the duplicity of towers of the monastery of Las Gemelas. This has turned out to be so characteristic and unique in the city that it has influenced the name of the building, being popularly known as 'Las Gemelas' (the twins). The other monasteries with towers are Nuestra Señora del Carmen, Nuestra Señora de la Victoria and Santa Ana. Regarding the architectural characteristics of the towers, all of them have three bodies, with differences in the lower base. The most austere is that of Santa Ana, probably because it was built on top of the city wall. On the other hand, the most highly decorated is that of La Victoria, where balconies are even added under the belfry, as in the case of the parish towers.

The remaining nine monastic churches have bell-glabes. The number would have increased to ten. However, the bell-glabe of Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación was lost. During the 20th century, due to the risk of possible collapse, it was dismantled by municipal initiative (Méndez Varo, 1999). In fact, the church of the former convent, the site of the bell-glabe, still exists, as well as a photograph taken during its demolition (Figure 151). The churches with bell-glabes belong to four male convents and five to female convents. They can also be classified according to the type of church. One group consists of those with a single straight wall, the other of those with a corner. A total of six belong to the first group: San Francisco, Nuestra Señora de la Merced, Los Descalzos, Capuchinos, Santa Inés del Valle and San José. One of the characteristics of this type of bell-glabe is that they are always located at the foot of the church. Furthermore, they are placed in an interior or intermediate position with respect to the street. Only in the monastery of Los Descalzos is the bell-glabe situated on the corner of the plot, which is apparently an exception. Despite its position, this bell-glabe does not build a corner, repeating

Figure 151. Demolition of the bell-glabe of Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación. Anonymous, 20th century. In (Méndez Varo, 1993).

the model of the previous ones. Its current position is conditioned by the different urban transformations and changes in the street orders. Finally, the construction of a bell-glabe does not always have the same construction characteristics. They can have one, two or even three arches, as is the case in the church of La Merced. The simplest of all is that of Capuchinos, with a single body and arch, with a single bell.

Within the second group, the bell-glabe has only been found in the corner of the convents. These are Santa Florentina, Las Marroquíes and Las Recogidas. In all three cases, the churches take advantage of their position on the corner plot for the construction of the bell-glabe. While in the cases of the first group there may be some differences, in this second group the three cases are different from each other. In Santa Florentina, the corner is transformed into a chamfer, introducing a new, third bell arch. Thus, there are two bells on the sides, while the third one is located in the chamfered part. In Las Recogidas, the bell-glabe is made up of two sections. The lower one has two arches, with a bell in each of them, one on each side of the corner. The upper one produces a chamfer with a single arch where the bell is placed. Finally, the bell-glabe of Las Marroquíes is similar to that of Las Recogidas but with a single body. It is composed of only two bells, one on each side of the corner. However, this is the bell-glabe with the greatest level of detail and quantity of decorative elements, moving away from the traditional austerity of the bell-glabe and bringing it almost closer to the aesthetics of a tower (Martín Ojeda & García León, 1999). The last two cases are particularly relevant. In both cases, a construction technique is used which seeks to achieve the visual effect of a bell tower through a bell-glabe. This typology can be characterised as an intermediate step between tower and bell-glabe, highlighting resources such as the corner position, duplicity of bodies and greater decoration.

Figure 152. (page 214) Towers and bell-glabes position in 2023 monastic buildings in Écija. Own elaboration.

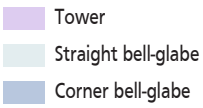
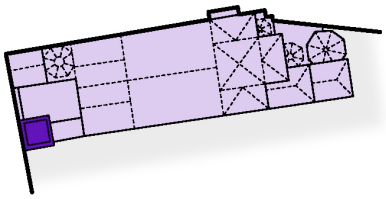
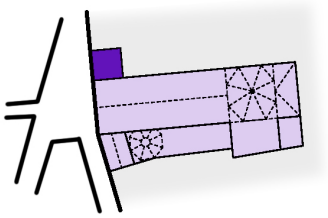


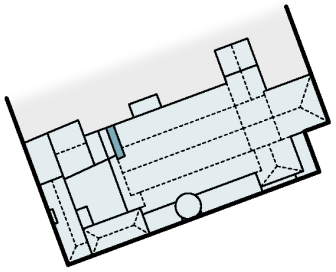
Figure 153. (page 215) Towers and bell-glabes in 2023 monastic buildings in Écija. Own elaboration. Author, 2023.



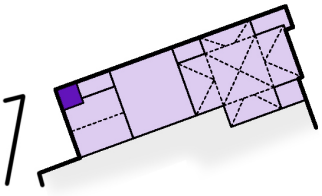
-1383-
San Pablo y Santo Domingo



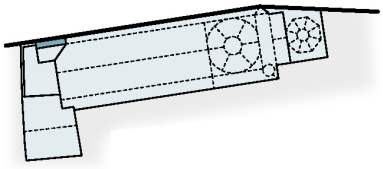
-1425-
Nuestra Señora del Carmen



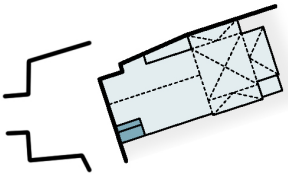
-1473-
San Francisco



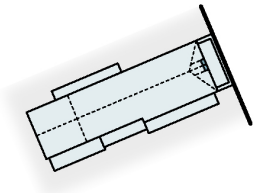
-1505-
Nuestra Señora de la Victoria



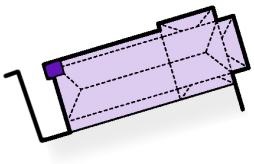
-1509-
Nuestra Señora de la Merced



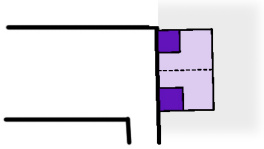
-1591-
Limpia Concepción de Nuestra Señora (Los Descalzos)



-1621-
Divina Pastora
(Capuchinos

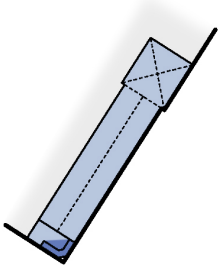


-1626-
Santa Ana

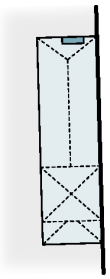


-1639-
La Purísima Concepción
(Las Gemelas)

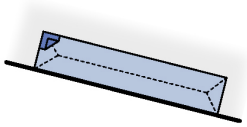
M
F



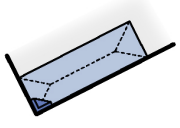
-1460-
Santa Florentina



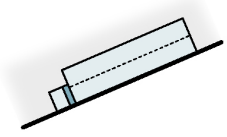
-1487-
Santa Inés del Valle



-1570-
Visitación a Santa Isabel
(Las Recogidas)



-1587-
Santísima Trinidad y Purísima Concepción de Nuestra Señora
(Las Marroquíes)



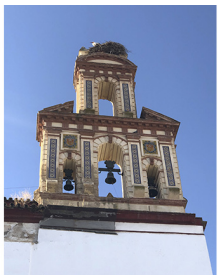
-1626-
San José
(Las Teresas)

-1383-
San Pablo y Santo Domingo

-1425-
Nuestra Señora del Carmen

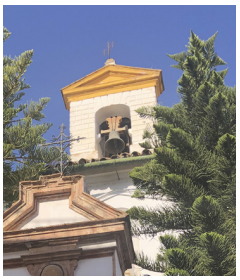
-1473-
San Francisco

-1505-
Nuestra Señora de la Victoria



-1509-
Nuestra Señora de la Merced

-1591-
Limpia Concepción de Nuestra Señora (Los Descalzos)



-1621-
Divina Pastora
(Capuchinos

-1626-
Santa Ana

-1639-
La Purísima Concepción
(Las Gemelas)

M
F

-1460-
Santa Florentina

-1487-
Santa Inés del Valle

-1570-
Visitación a Santa Isabel
(Las Recogidas)

-1587-
Santísima Trinidad y Purísima Concepción de Nuestra Señora (Las Marroquíes)

-1626-
San José
(Las Teresas)

3.6 THE MONASTIC HERITAGE

The 21st century represents a new stage in the urban development of Écija. After more than a century of population stagnation, the city began to grow again, not only in terms of inhabitants but also in surface area. In addition, urban planning appears as a tool for urban management in order to control and quantify new growth, together with the development of the monastic system. A large part of the monasticism has managed to survive the events of the urban transformations and confiscations of the 19th and 20th centuries. From that time onwards, heritage awareness for the protection and conservation of the monastic buildings is growing. Declarations of protection began to be made for buildings such as the convent of San José in 1931, and Écija itself as a Historic Site in 1966. These events favoured the appearance of special protection plans focused on the conservation and protection of the historical heritage. This lays the foundations for the conservation and protection of the monastic heritage in the 21st century.

3.6.1 THE CITY IN THE 20TH AND 21ST CENTURIES

At the beginning of the 20th century, the urban development of Écija joined that of other important cities. The appearance of new facilities and infrastructures such as the railway showed signs of growth, reflected in the increase in population. At the beginning of 1900, the number of inhabitants was 23,128, reaching a total of 50,491[58] in the 1960s, higher than in 2022 with 39,838 inhabitants. The 1960s was the peak of the city's population, although its urban expansion has been increasing ever since, modernising the city with new facilities and urban development. One of the best known events in Spain, which also affected the growth of Écija's housing stock, was the boom of the first decade of the 2000s. In 2006, more than 600,000 dwellings were built compared to 2013 with less than 100,000 (Álvarez Alba, 2017). This contributed decisively to a rapid expansion of the urban periphery. However, the 2008 crisis caused a large part of the new housing to remain unfinished, with incomplete urban growth and posing a new problem of urban rehabilitation (Rosa Jiménez et al., 2017).

For the analysis of the 20th century, the plans located in the Municipal Archive of Écija have been used. There are two documents at a scale of 1:2500, one from 1935 (Figure 154) and the other from 1945-1950 (Figure 155). Taking the latter plan from 1896 and comparing it with that of 1935, there are hardly any differences. Only minor urban developments such as the opening of Miguel de Cervantes street have been detected. In fact,

58 Historical population data for Andalusia from the Instituto de Estadística y Cartografía de Andalucía. Retrieved from https://www.juntadeandalucia.es/institutodeestadisticaycartografia/ehpa/ehpaTablas.htm Accesed on 31/05/2023.

Figure 154. Plan of Écija, 1935. Located in Municipal Archive, Écija.

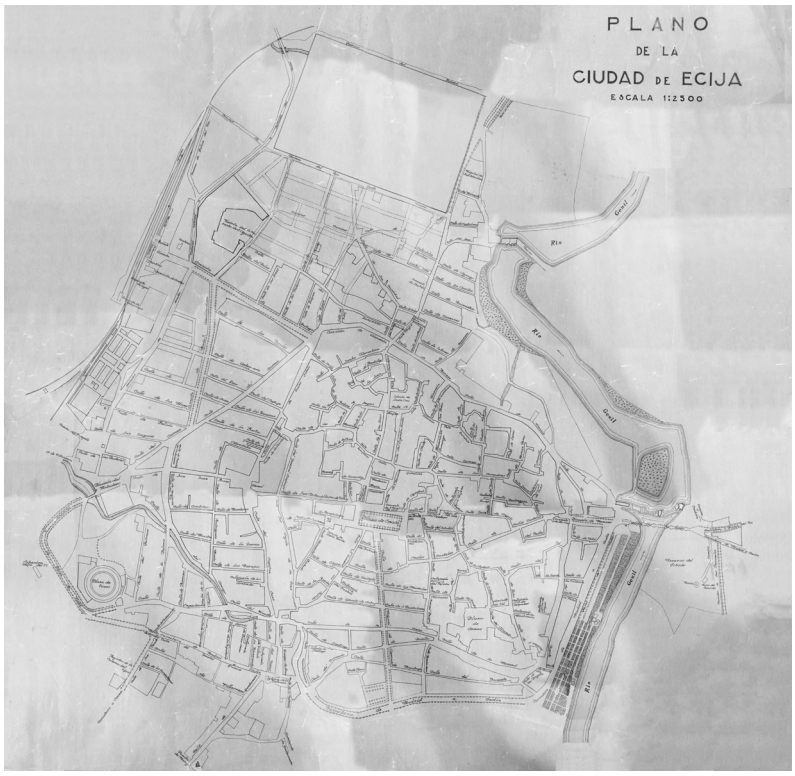


Figure 155. Plan of Écija, 1945-50. Located in Municipal Archive, Écija.

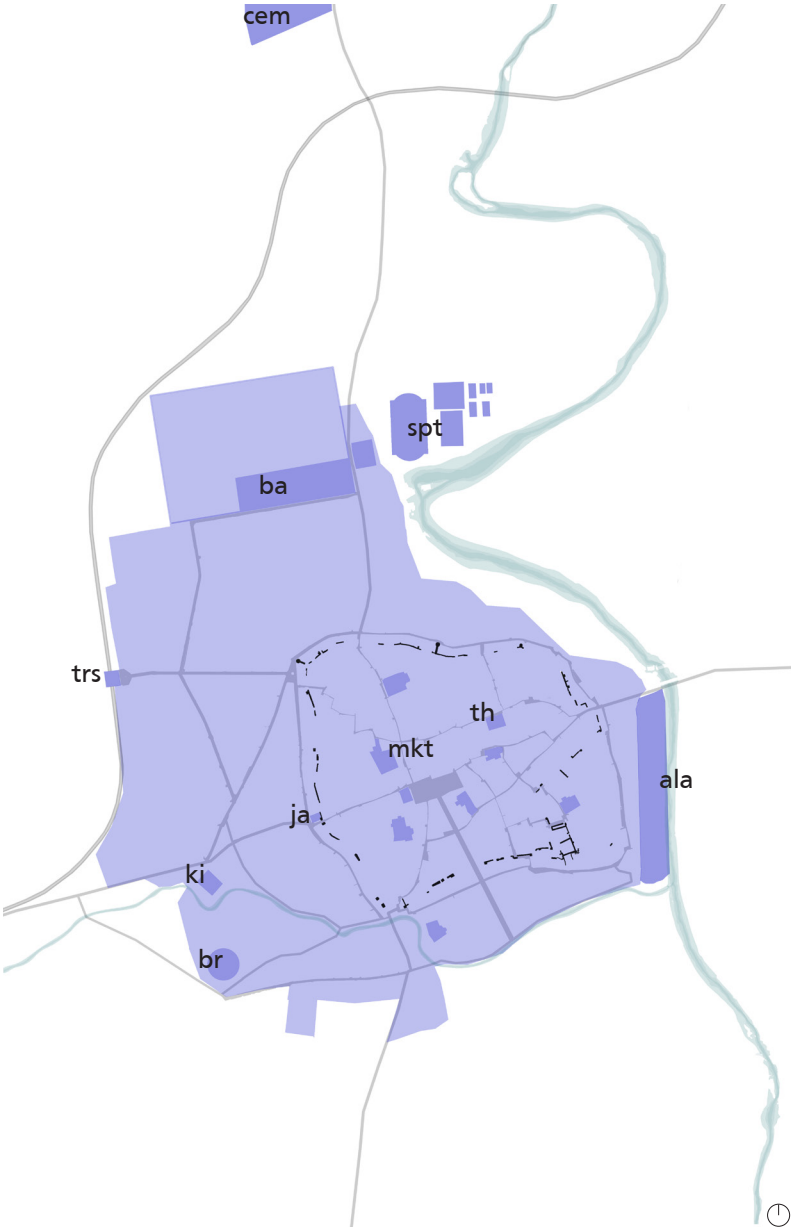


Figure 156. City of Écija, 1950. Own elaboration based on historical plans of the city.

[ala] Alameda
[cem] Cementery
[ba] Barracks
[trs] Train station
[ki] Slaughterhouse
[br] Bullring
[ja] Prison
[mkt] Market
[th] Theatre
[spt] Sport centre

a lesser degree of detail can be seen in the 1935 plan, as the topographical elevations and the orchards on the outskirts of the town are not shown. In contrast, the 1945-1950 document shows new urban growth marked by the delimitation of new plots. These are mainly in two areas, to the north and to the west (Figure 156). Planning to the north takes place between the urban area and that of the Cerca de la Misericordia with an orthogonal layout. In addition, the first sports facilities began to appear and are still in use. The developments to the west continue the parallel plot model that had been used in this area. In addition, the construction of buildings linked to the railway increqsed. But this railway, after operating between 1848 and 1851, disappeared definitively in 1970 (López Jiménez, 2003). Subsequently, new growth was planned which ended up occupying the free space between the city and the river, as well as new developments in a southerly direction.

The municipal plan of 1945-1950 is superimposed on the well-known American flights. These are the first aerial images of Écija and the territory of Andalusia. They were made by the Americans as part of a cooperation between the Spanish and US air forces. The aim was to analyse the territory and find strategic positions where to locate two new American bases, finally located in Rota and Morón de la Frontera (Fajardo de la Fuente, 2016). These are divided into the series A flight, carried out between 1945-1946 and the series B flight between 1956-1957. These aerial images constitute the prelude to a series of national flights carried out between 1973 and 1986 at a scale of 1:18.000 and 1:30,000 by the National Geographic Institute. This group was followed by those carried out between 1998 and 2003 at a scale of 1:40,000, followed by those carried out as part of the National Orthophotography Plan (PNOA) from 2004 to the present day at different scales.

A comparison of the different aerial images shows urban growth from the last half of the 20th century onwards. For this purpose, aerial photographs have been selected every 25 years or so from the first image, in 1956, in order to be able to establish the urban modifications in four phases: 1956, 1973, 1998 and 2022 (Figure 157). The evolutionary sequence of the four images shows the clogging of the urban growth to the north and west, which started at the beginning of the 20th century. In addition, new industrial areas emerge in these sectors, which had previously been practically non-existent. On the other hand, the position of the Cerca de la Misericordia hinders urban expansion and relations in this direction. The transfer of the land to military ownership has prevented this large area from being divided up and used for the construction of housing or other non-military uses. This new border, together with the natural boundary of the river to the east, favours urban growth to the west and south. In fact, in the latter direction, new facilities appear such as the San Pablo Municipal Football Stadium in 1962 (Masià, 2012), the Las Torres shopping centre in 1995, the bus station in 2005 and the new shopping centre in 2009.

In relation to territorial infrastructures, although the railway disappears, its route is maintained in the territory, being subsequently used as an urban road and greenway. On the other hand, the creation of the A-4 highway in 1991 stands out in the south, as an infrastructure project derived from Expo92 in Seville (Mosquera Adell & Pérez Cano, 2012), connecting Madrid and Seville by road. This connection took advantage of part of the old route of the Roman *Via Augusta* which connected Seville with Córdoba and passed through Écija. The connection with the new motorway has played an essential role in improving urban development and relations with Seville and Córdoba.

1956

1973

1998

2022

The presence of the River Genil and the Argamasilla stream have been the cause of flooding from Roman times to the present day. After the 1997 flood, a proposal was made to create a defence wall and modify the course of the river to prevent future flooding. This flood was the most aggressive for the city, leaving the whole municipality practically flooded, with the riverbed reaching a height of 7 metres (Díaz Pérez, 1997). For this reason, the Confederación Hidrográfica del Guadalquivir, carried out the cutting of the river in its most rugged meander, and the works were approved in 2006 (Ministerio de Medio Ambiente, 2006). This solved part of the flooding problems in relation to the river but not the stream. The southern half has continued to flood due to the high flow of the stream in times of heavy rainfall. Therefore, in 2010 the Junta de Andalucía started work on the diversion of the stream to protect the city from future flooding.

Figure 157. (left page). Aerial views of Écija in 1956, 1973, 1998 and 2022. American flights and PNOA flights.

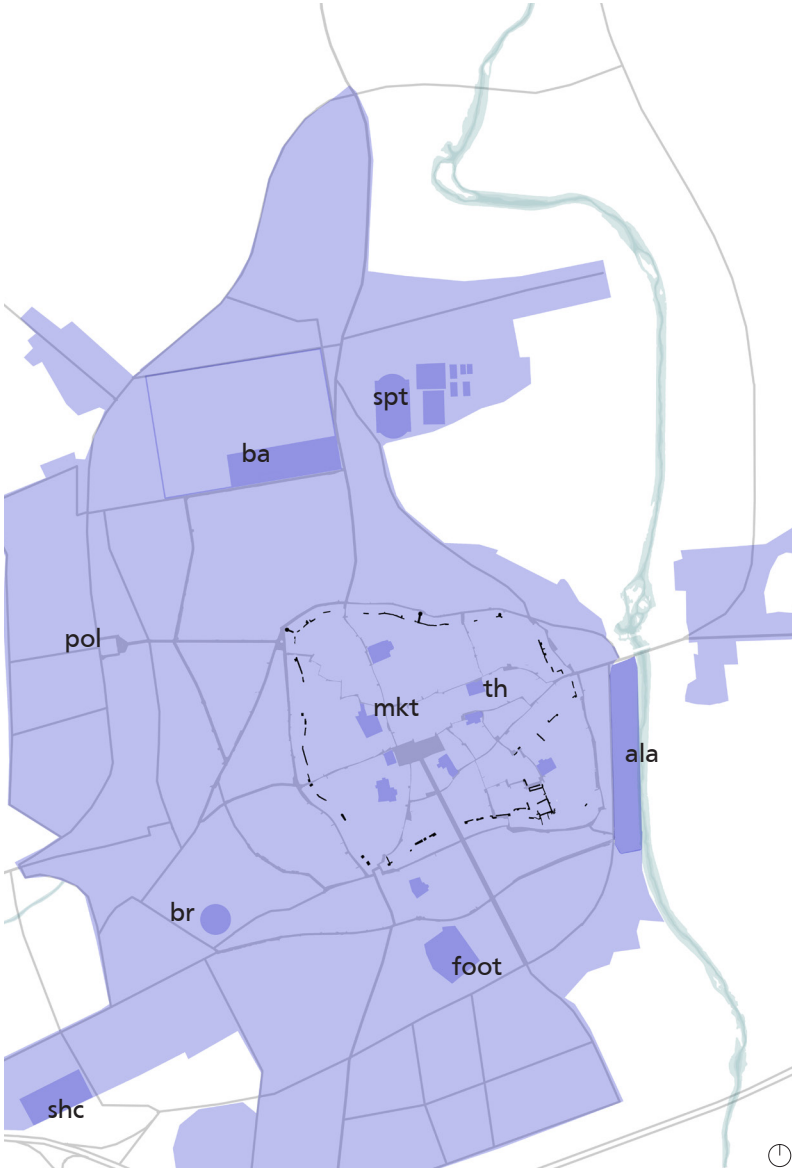


Figure 158. City of Écija, 2023. Own elaboration based on historical plans of the city.

[ala] Alameda
[foot] Football Stadium
[ba] Barracks
[pol] Police Station
[shc] Shopping centre
[br] Bullring
[mkt] Market
[th] Theatre
[spt] Sport centre

Finally, in the 21st century (Figure 158) urban planning is computerised and digitalised, as a result of the latest technological advances in society. The once physical plans have been transformed into digital files, such as .dwg or .shape formats. In the last decade from 2010 to 2020, practically all of Andalusia has been digitised and geolocated by the Instituto de Estadística y Cartografía de Andalucía[59] (Hermosilla Carrasquilla & Caturla Montero, 2010). It is possible to consult and obtain information on practically all the cities and the territory. This is made more complex by the emergence of multiple web platforms, either from the same regional, national or independent governmental organism. Planimetry has been updated in such a way that a printed physical documentation of an urban plan is no longer required, but is obtained from a database that can be updated almost instantly.

3.6.2 CONTINUITY OF THE MONASTIC INSTITUTION

The urban transformations of the 19th and 20th centuries and the confiscations have not prevented the continuity of the monastic institution in the 21st century. Since its origin in the Middle Ages, this institution has remained alive for more than ten centuries. According to Pérez Cano (1997) it is by no means an extinct phenomenon, but is even considered by the Church itself as a way of life with a permanent value. In fact, this institution has been constantly changing and adapting with the times. Although the number of monastic buildings has declined significantly, the expansion of the monastic institution has been almost worldwide. Proof of this is the community founded by Sister Ángela de la Cruz in 1875 in Seville (Hurtado González, 2006), which has more than 50 foundations in countries such as Italy, Spain and Argentina. In this sense, the continuity of the use of monastic architecture and typologies in the city in the 21st century is evident.

In the case of Écija, the role played by the monastic orders is still remarkable (Figure 159). Among the total of 21 buildings of the monastic system at its peak, in the year 2023 there are 5 with a monastic use. In percentage terms, this represents 23% of the total that continue in religious use, being the convents and monasteries of San Pablo y Santo Domingo, Santa Florentina, Santa Inés del Valle, Las Marroquíes and Capuchinos. Important aspects of each of the buildings currently in monastic use have been highlighted in the table. The year of foundation and confiscation indicates whether there has been any interruption in

59 Link of the spatial data generated by the Instituto de Estadística y Cartografía de Andalucía: https://www.juntadeandalucia.es/institutodeestadisticaycartografia/lineav2/web/

the use or transformation of the building. Moreover, the initial and current order is indicated, which may be the same due to its continuity or a different one. Finally, the current monastic use is indicated. Two of the five existing buildings stand out, the convents of Santa Florentina and Santa Inés del Valle, as they are the only ones that have not been confiscated and have retained both conventual use and order since their foundation. The rest of the buildings maintain their religious use, although this is due to re-foundations of different orders to the initial ones, mainly in the 20th and 21st centuries. The first building to be occupied by another order was that of Divina Pastora in 1924. In this case, a female order established a foundation on an old male monastery, a common process in many cities due to the high number of male monasteries as opposed to female convents (Pérez Cano & Mosquera Adell, 2009). In the case of San Pablo y Santo Domingo, the order that in 2004 occupies the former monastery will only do so in the church and some small annexed outbuildings, since the monastic outbuildings were destroyed in the 19th century. Finally, the Pilgrims of the Eucharist Sisters recently occupied, in 2018, the convent of Las Marroquíes. The previous order of Franciscan Conceptionists maintained its use from 1587 to 2014, when they abandoned the convent.

Among the characteristics that make up the urban monastic system, the location and differentiation of orders into male and female in 2023 have been pointed out. If we take the data from the end of the 18th century, there were 21 buildings divided into 13 monasteries and 8 convents. In general, the male orders in the cities of Andalusia have always been superior to the female orders (Ostos Prieto, Aladro Prieto & Pérez Cano, 2021). This contrast was altered after the confiscations and the decrease in the number of male orders. The female orders

Figure 159. Buildings with monastic use in 2023. Data obtained from García León & Martín Ojeda (2018), Caldero Bermudo (1984) and Garay y Conde (1851). Own elaboration.

	Year of foundation	Original order	Year of confiscation	Current order
San Pablo y Santo Domingo	1383	Dominican friars	1835*	2004. Operators of the kingdom of Christ
Santa Florentina	1460	Dominican nuns	-	Dominican nuns
Santa Inés del Valle	1487	Poor Clares	-	Poor Clares
Santísima Trinidad Purísima y Concepción de Nuestra Señora (Las Marroquíes)	1587	Conceptionists	2014	2018. Pilgrims of the Eucharist Sisters
Divina Pastora (Capuchinos)	1621	Capuchins	1835	1924. Sisters of the Cross

*Today, only the church remains. In 1865, the monastic bulding was demolished.

took over the monastic baton, and nowadays they surpass the male orders. The data for Écija show one male and four female communities, out of a total of five monastic buildings (Figure 160). The monastery of San Pablo y Santo Domingo consists only of the church, while the convents are large conventual structures. Their urban position in this case is not relevant. Except for two orders that continue in their place of foundation, the rest occupy old monastic buildings without building new ones in the city.

The continuity of an order in the 21st century is rarely linked to an exclusively religious use. Monasteries and convents take advantage of their flexible nature and make other uses compatible, as has been the case since the 14th and 15th centuries. In this sense, complementary uses to the religious one appear, such as educational, social or tertiary uses dedicated to the service sector. In many cases, these are activities of a lucrative

Figure 160. Monasteries and convents by Gender in Écija, 2023. Own elaboration.

nature that help to maintain the religious community. In this sense, baking is a traditional occupation in many convents. In Écija, the *Bizcochos Marroquíes* (Moroccan sponge cakes) currently made in the convent of Santa Florentina stand out. Originally they belonged to the convent of Las Marroquíes, started by the Marquise of Valdetorres in 1747. However, the abandonment of the Conceptionists in 2014 transferred this gastronomic heritage to the Dominicans (Martín Ojeda & García León, 2022). This transfer of recipes has a significance beyond that of an economic activity, which is to maintain a legacy and heritage linked to the city of Écija. The importance of the convent's gastronomy even extends beyond the convent itself through the holding of fairs and markets. Among the traditional convent sweets are *alfajores, pestiños, yemas, roscos, tortas, bizcochos and magdalenas*. In the case of Seville, the annual market in the *Alcázar* of convent confectionery is well known, where 19 of the 34 cloistered convents in the province attended in 2021 (Trashorras Martínez, 2021). On the other hand, the conventual gastronomic fair in Malaga is also well known, with 35 monasteries and convents attending (Las dulces tentaciones..., 2015). The conventual culinary art constitutes a real tourist attraction through these events. This not only boosts the monastic institution but also generates a new activity that boosts the economic development of the territory and the city.

3.6.3 MONASTERIES AND CONVENTS WITHOUT MONASTIC PRESENCE

The main use of the monastic typology is religious, although complementary uses to the religious one have been detected and continue today. Monastic buildings are spaces that allow both the initial religious use as well as other different uses. From the 19th century onwards, secularisation and confiscations, together with the large number of these buildings in the city, meant that they were used for other purposes. In fact, a large part of the survival of the monastic heritage is due to its flexibility for new uses and not due to the continuity of the religious orders. Looking at the territorial framework of Andalusia, several examples of monasteries and convents with non-religious uses can be found in medium-sized cities. In the case of the town of Conil de la Frontera, the town hall occupies the former monastery of La Victoria (Figure 161). As in the previous city, in Antequera the town hall is once again located in the old monastery of Los Remedios (Figure 162). Other examples with cultural uses are Santa María in Sabiote, now a cultural centre, and the Capuchin monastery in Ubrique, which is currently used as a museum. In addition, the nearby towns of Osuna and Palma del Río, the former monasteries of the Franciscans are currently used as a hotel and market

Figure 161. Monastery of La Victoria, Conil de la Frontera. Author, 2022.

Figure 162. Monastery of Los Remedios, Antequera. Author, 2022.

Figure 163. (right page) Uses in monastic buildings in 2023. Own elaboration.

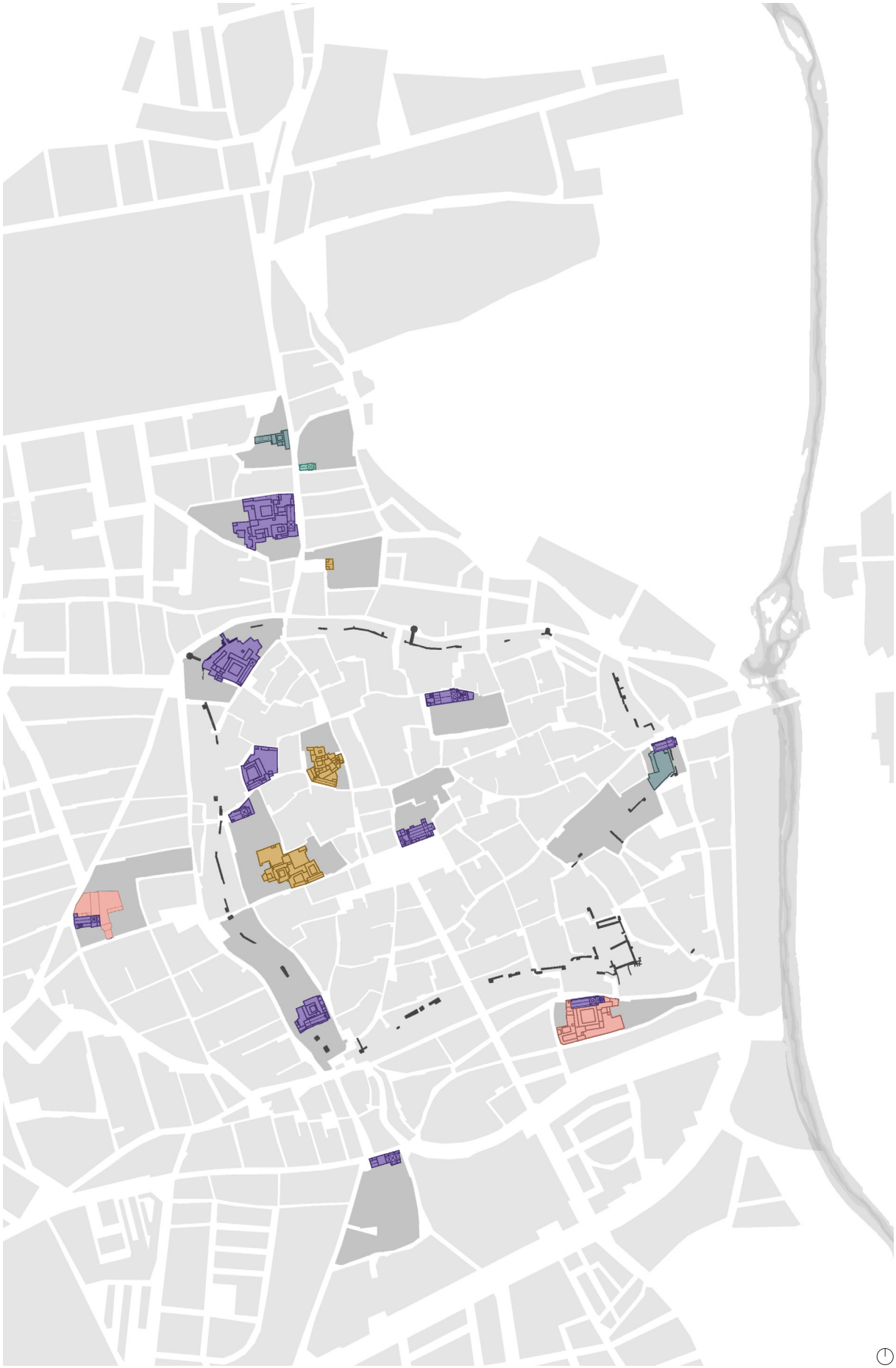
Religious
Educational
Housing
Without use
Municipal storage

respectively. This is a small sample of the great diversity of uses found in the examples mentioned, such as administrative, cultural, commercial, educational or lodging. In other words, it is a versatile building typology that admits a wide variety of uses beyond the strictly religious one.

In Écija, there are a total of 8 monastic buildings without the presence of religious orders at present (Figure 163). Since secularisation, the uses of these buildings and their plots have varied over time, and are analysed in section 3.4.2 on monastic transformations. Therefore, in this chapter it has been only analysed the monastic permanences in their current state and their use in order to understand the functioning of these buildings in the 21st century (Figure 164). Most of these are cases where only the church is preserved among the inherited fragments. In this sense, most of the former monastic churches have a continuation of religious use as parishes. If these 6 churches are added to the 5 with monastic use, 11 monastic churches still retain their religious use today. On the other hand, the cases of Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación and the Hospital de San Pedro, San Pablo y San Juan de Dios stand out, with very different uses to the religious one. In the first case, the use of the church is for the storage of municipal goods, while the ecclesiastical space of the second was lost in the last transformation of the building for residential use. On the other hand, it is worth mentioning the case of Nuestra Señora de la Merced, which in addition to the religious use of the church itself, the monastic building is completely preserved thanks to its educational use. In fact, this is linked to that of the church itself, as since 1895 the Salesian Sisters have occupied the building for teaching purposes. The same is true of Nuestra Señora del Carmen, whose monastic plot is also used for educational purposes by the Salesians, although only the church and the façade remain of the original building.

Unlike other Andalusian monastic cities, in Écija there are no uses so far removed from the original, nor is there a wide variety in those with different uses. Expressed in percentages, 28% of the monastic churches still have a religious use as a parish church, while only 14% have other uses. One of the most outstanding cases is that of Nuestra Señora de la Merced as a school, linked to the monastic and educational uses carried out by the Jesuits in the monastery of San Fulgencio in Écija. At the other extreme, complete monastic buildings have been located in a state of abandonment or lack of use, such as the convents of Visitación a Santa Isabel and San José. In both cases their conventual activity ceased recently, in 2013[60] and 2015

60 After the initial secularisation of the Minim order in 1933, the Philippine Sisters took up residence in the convent until the building was abandoned in 2013.



	Year of foundation	Year of disappearance*	Remains	Current use of the remains
Nuestra Señora del Carmen	1425	1971	Church and monastic gate	Religious
San Francisco	1473	2002	Church	Religious
Nuestra Señora de la Victoria	1505	1852	Church	Religious
Nuestra Señora de la Merced	1545	-	Monastery	Religious and Educational
Visitación a Santa Isabel (Las Recogidas)	1570	-	Convent	Without use
Limpia Concepción de Nuestra Señora (Los Descalzos)	1591	1857	Church	Religious
Santa Ana	1626	1836	Church and convent remains	Religious
San José (Las Teresas)	1634	-	Convent	Without use
La Purísima Concepción (Las Gemelas)	1639	1836 1951 (church)	Towers and church gate	Without use
Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación (Monjas Blancas)	1644	1835	Church	Municipal storage
Hospital de San Pedro, San Pablo y San Juan de Dios	1655	1905	Monastic remains	Housing

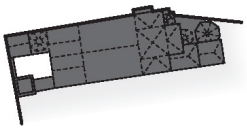
*Year of the building's disappearance. All that remains are in the right-hand column.

Figure 164. Monastic buildings with non-monastic uses in 2023. Data obtained from García León & Martín Ojeda (2018), Caldero Bermudo (1984) and Garay y Conde (1851). Own elaboration.

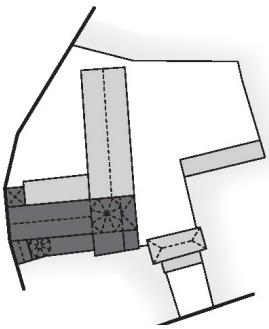
respectively. The characteristics of these buildings, together with their strategic position in the city, offer great potential for new uses compatible with the monastic typology. In fact, the initial character as an urban facility seems to be the way forward in many cases, being fundamental and flexible pieces to house any use related to the service of the city.

All the buildings of the present-day monastic system, their uses and their remains are shown on the above plan. As in point 3.3.1 a diagram of the 18th century monastic floor plans was made, an updated one for the 21st century is made (Figure 165). In this sense, the current monastic situation is drawn highlighting the plot, the position of the street and the churches in a darker colour. The main difference that can be observed is the amount of monastic remains in convents versus monasteries. In the male part, the church practically remains, and in some cases partially, such as Nuestra Señora de la Victoria and Las Gemelas. Both churches have undergone partial demolition, as mentioned above. In the first one, the central nave was destroyed, becoming today an entrance courtyard, and in the second

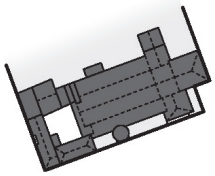
Figure 165. (right page) Plan of monasteries and convents in 2023 in Écija. The church is highlighted in dark. Own elaboration.



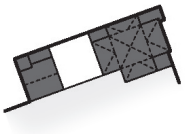
-1383-
San Pablo y Santo Domingo



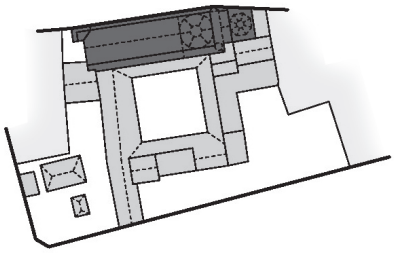
-1425-
Nuestra Señora del Carmen



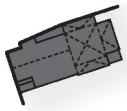
-1473-
San Francisco



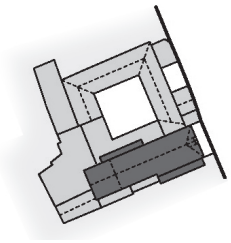
-1505-
Nuestra Señora de la Victoria



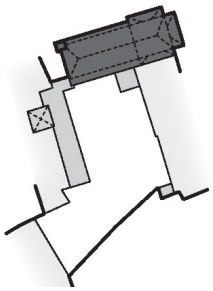
-1509-
Nuestra Señora de la Merced



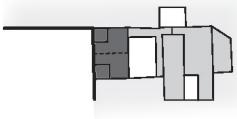
-1591-
Limpia Concepción de
Nuestra Señora



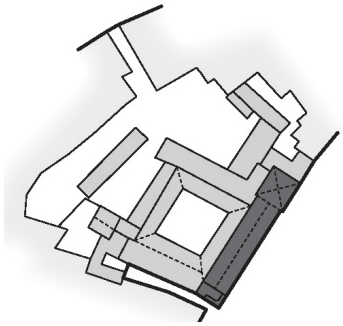
-1621-
Divina Pastora



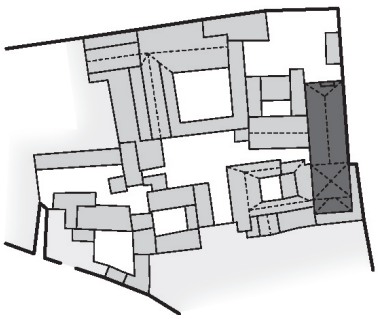
-1626-
Santa Ana



-1639-
La Purísima Concepción

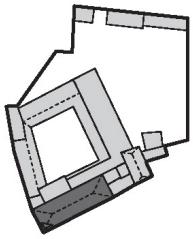


-1460-
Santa Florentina

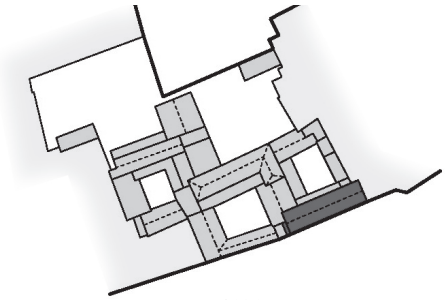


-1487-
Santa Inés del Valle

-1570-
Visitación a Santa Isabel



-1587-
Santísima Trinidad y Purísima
Concepción de Nuestra Señora



-1626-
San José

-1644-
Nuestra Señora de
la Encarnación

one, only the towers and doorways are preserved. Although the ground plan of the church plot, which is still preserved, has been drawn, the remains are only those highlighted in darker shading. On the other hand, it can be seen that the convent typology is almost intact in those buildings that have not disappeared. Only the church remains of the former convent of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios.

Regarding the monastic buildings, there are no notable modifications of plot extensions, on the contrary, as the plots tend to break up and become smaller. The enormous extension of the monastic building means that the sale and segregation of plots is a normal transformation in the block. However, new constructions have been detected on some plots, especially those of the monasteries of Nuestra Señora del Carmen and Nuestra Señora de la Merced. The educational use as schools in both cases has generated the appearance of new constructions in order to meet the needs of urban facilities. In this sense, in the former, the changes have been greater, where only the monastic church remains untransformed. Finally, the layout of the monastic system in Écija in the 21st century shows a clear monastic imprint. Both the number of buildings and their dimensions have a great impact on the urban level, which undoubtedly builds the city's heritage.

3.6.4 PROTECTION AND CONSERVATION IN URBAN PLANNING

Despite the many events that have led to the decline of the monastic typology, there are still many such buildings in the city thanks to their preservation. The preservation of monastic heritage today is only possible through protection. Heritage awareness, together with social awareness and heritage laws, are decisive in the process of conservation and protection. In order to preserve the monastic footprint in the city, it is necessary to be able to work with the appropriate bodies and tools. For this reason, heritage legislation and urban planning are key in the process of protecting monastic heritage.

The national law, *Ley del Patrimonio Histórico Español 16/1985*, and the regional law, *Ley del Patrimonio Histórico Andaluz 14/2007*, are taken into consideration. Between these two documents, the Andalusian law complements the 1985 national law without introducing major changes (Becerra García, 2020). As the Andalusian law is later, from 2007, it includes new aspects and heritage considerations that are not contemplated in the Spanish law. Together with the aforementioned legislative documents, there is also the 2014 *Plan Especial de Protección,*

Reforma Interior y Catálogo del Conjunto Histórico Artístico de Écija (PEPRICCHA)[61], as an urban planning document but also of a legislative nature, whose main objective is the management and planning of the heritage in the area of the historic centre.

The heritage protection of the urban area of Écija is carried out through the heritage figure known as *Conjunto Histórico*[62]. This is a category of *Bien de Interés Cultural*[63] specifically for the heritage protection of cities. In fact, of the 785 municipalities, Écija is one of the 120 protected cities in Andalusia (Becerra García, 2020). In this case, the delimitation established in 1966 remains the same in the Special Protection Plan of 2014. The area takes as its limit the urban growth at the beginning of the 19th century, including the old riverbed and its right bank. In this sense, each and every one of the current monastic remains is included in this area (Figure 166), i.e. they are all protected and form part of the *Conjunto Histórico*. This allows common criteria to be established for urban action in relation to the preservation of the urban fabric, uses, conservation of architectural typologies and even traditional activities (Becerra García, 2000). The aim is to maintain and conserve the urban image of Écija in relation to its heritage values, both in terms of its architecture and its urban spaces.

Within the categories of *Bien de Interés Cultural* (BIC), in addition to the aforementioned *Conjunto Histórico*, there is the category of *Monumento*[64], which refers to buildings. In this sense, a building declared a BIC *Monumento* is protected with the maximum heritage protection according to national law. For those buildings that are not BIC, there are different categories of protection that depend on each territory and city. While the figure of BIC has an equal scope for the whole Spanish territory, each city establishes its own levels of protection lower than BIC. These do not appear in the urban planning of each city, and there may be similarities or differences between the categories used. This fact makes heritage protection more complex as there is no single common criterion. As an example, one city can establish four differentiated protections from A to D, while another can be divided into eight, from A to H. At the same time, this does not imply that the A protections in the two cities have the same degree of protection, and may mean greater protection in one city than in another. On the other hand, this reality allows for individualisation and adaptation to the specific needs of each city in terms of heritage

61 Translated as: Special Plan for the Protection, Interior Reform and Catalogue of the Historic and Artistic Site of Écija.

62 Translated as: Historic Site.

63 Translated as: Asset of Cultural Interest.

64 Translated as: Monument.

values. In the case of Écija, heritage protection reaches seven different levels, unlike other cities such as the Sevillian capital, which has five.

The degrees of protection mentioned establish different categories according to the nature of the buildings. Taking the description that appears in the *Catálogo de Bienes Protegidos*[65] of the PEPRICCHA of Écija on pages 17-24, we define the protections from A to C, which are those located in the monastic system. Monumental Protection, with letter A, are those buildings declared or proposed for protection as BIC, as well as those included in the *Catálogo General del Patrimonio Histórico Andaluz*[66]. Integral Protection, with letter B, only allows conservation, consolidation or maintenance works. On the other hand, in buildings with Global Protection, letter C, in addition to the works mentioned in category B, interior reform works are also permitted, but not exterior works. Therefore, interior modifications of the buildings are permitted, and their structure may be slightly modified. The other categories up to letter H increasingly allow a greater number of modifications and works such as the conservation of the façade or architectural volumes only.

In relation to monastic heritage, its protection in urban planning is very diverse. Depending on the typological, architectural or historical characteristics, different protection is attributed to each building or fragment of the monastic system. Taking the plan (Figure 166) and the table (Figure 167), it is possible to observe the levels of the monastic buildings with the letters A to C, as well as the BIC status. It is interesting to note that the highest protections, BIC and A, are either linked to the religious use or to the complete conservation of the building even though it has no use. Of the 15 existing monastic buildings, three are protected as *Bien de Interés Cultural*, 20% of the total. These are the monastery of Los Descalzos and the convents of Las Marroquíes and Las Teresas. The latter stands out for being the first building in the city to be declared BIC in 1931, while the other two buildings did not achieve this protection until 2008, both in the same year. On the other hand, the urban position of the three buildings is quite close to each other, making up the monastic area of maximum protection.

Figure 166. (right page) Monastic building protection and Conjunto Histórico. Own elaboration.

BIC
A Protection
B Protection
C Protection
Conjunto Histórico (Historic Site)

Regarding A and B protections, these can be located in most of the monastic permanences. In both cases, the groups are made up of five buildings each. Expressed in percentages, 33% have A protection, while another 33% have B protection out of 100% of the buildings. In this grouping, the case of the

65 Translated as: Catalogue of Protected Assets.

66 Translated as: General Catalogue of Andalusian Historical Heritage.

monastery of Santa Ana, which is divided into two plots, stands out. On the one hand, the church, with religious use, and on the other, the monastic fragments which are currently unused, although according to the planning it is land for residential use. Between the two plots, protection is differentiated as A for the church, while for the remains of the old monastery a C is established. Probably, due to its dissociation with the new parish and its state of deterioration, a lesser protection has been chosen. In this sense, there are other buildings in a poor state of conservation or with a higher degree of transformation, such as Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación and the Hospital of

Figure 167. Heritage protection of monastic buildings in 2023. Data obtained from García León & Martín Ojeda (2018), Caldero Bermudo (1984), Garay y Conde (1851) and data from *Plan Especial de Protección, Reforma Interior y Catálogo del Conjunto Histórico Artístico de Écija* (2014). Own elaboration.

	Year of foundation	Year of disappearance*	Remains	Current use	Protection level
San Pablo y Santo Domingo	1383	1865	Church	Religious	B
Nuestra Señora del Carmen	1425	1971	Church and monastic gate	Religious	B
Santa Florentina	1460	-	Convent	Religious	A
San Francisco	1473	2002	Church	Religious	B
Santa Inés del Valle	1487	-	Convent	Religious	A
Nuestra Señora de la Victoria	1505	1852	Church	Religious	A
Nuestra Señora de la Merced	1545	-	Monastery	Religious and Educational	B
Visitación a Santa Isabel (Las Recogidas)	1570	-	Convent	-	A
Santísima Trinidad y Purísima Concepción de Nuestra Señora (Las Marroquíes)	1587	-	Convent	Religious	BIC
Limpia Concepción de Nuestra Señora (Los Descalzos)	1591	1857	Church	Religious	BIC
Divina Pastora (Capuchinos)	1621	-	Monastery	Religious	C
Santa Ana	1626	1836	Church / Monastic remains	Religious / Housing	A-Church / C-Remains
San José (Las Teresas)	1634	-	Convet	-	BIC
La Purísima Concepción (Las Gemelas)	1639	1836 1951 (church)	Towers and church gate	-	B
Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación (Monjas Blancas)	1644	1835	Church	Municipal storage	C
Hospital de San Pedro, San Pablo y San Juan de Dios	1655	1905	Monastic remains	Housing	C

*Year of the building's disappearance. All that remains are in the right-hand column.

San Pedro, San Pablo y San Juan de Dios, whose protection is level C. This constitutes 14% of the total, being the one with the lowest percentage. In addition to the aforementioned buildings, there is also the convent of Divina Pastora, where probably, due to the work on the old building, it has been protected with a C level.

After observing the data in the table, it has been detected that the information relating to the year of foundation or disappearance together with the permanence of the monastic buildings in Écija is not decisive for designating the protection of monastic buildings in Écija. As an example, more relevant is the BIC protection of San José, founded in 1634, compared to the B protection of San Pablo y Santo Domingo, founded in 1383, the first and oldest building of the monastic system. The degree of protection is linked to the permanence of the buildings, with a higher degree for those buildings with more monastic remains. In addition, there are other values and criteria, such as architectural or artistic, which have not been considered in this study and which in most cases are predominant in the choice of heritage protection. It should be pointed out that the differentiation of uses has been a determining factor in the selection of urban planning criteria for protection. As an example, in the three cases where there is a grade C, the use differs from the religious use. Nevertheless, this is a fairly high level of protection, as it is the third of the seven types of protection established in the Special Plan for the *Conjunto Histórico*.

4.1 SUPPORT AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

The sequence of layers over the course of history marks the urban morphology of a city. It is the result of multiple transformations and socio-political events over the centuries. In fact, the city is rarely homogeneous. It is an eclecticism of the different cultures and peoples that have inhabited it. Therefore, an evolutionary review of the different historical facts and factors is necessary for the understanding of the city.

The case study of Aachen is an outstanding example of the shaping of historical urban morphology. In the city, it is possible to observe the changing urban fabric and to identify the urban transformations that have led to the city as we know it today. The identification and detailed analysis of the different layers has been studied in other earlier sources. Although there are images of the city from the 16th century, the first urban plan was not drawn up until the 18th century. For this reason, other previous studies are decisive in order to take as a basis the hypotheses made prior to the 16th century.

The importance of Aachen has to be understood from two territorial points of view. Firstly, on the German scale, it is located in the Land of North-Rhine Westphalia. It is the most westerly city in Germany, being the historical border with the Netherlands and Belgium. On the other hand, it is situated in a central position of the Euregio Maas-Rhein area[1], created in 1976 (Europäischer Verbund für Territoriale Zusammenarbeit, 2023). Another characteristic is its topography, with a location in a valley in the north of the Eifel nature region. In fact, on a closer scale (Figure 168), the urban settlement lies between the Lousberg and Salvatorberg mountains to the north, while to the south lies the Burtscheid elevation. At this intersection, different tributaries of streams that form the Wurm and flow into the Maas converge. However, Aachen's position is not by chance, as the city is built on a thermal spring that emerges in this area with temperatures of more than 50°C. The temperatures correspond to an oceanic climate. Its geographical position has an oceanic climate, with abundant rainfall. This favours the growth of an abundant mass of trees that forms large wooded areas in the immediate vicinity of the city site.

The Eburones Celts first settled in this regional and topographical context around the 5th century BC (Römling, 2014). Although there are evidences of the existence of people in this area, sources and research to date do not indicate the appearance of a first settlement. Only tombs have been found together with other remains in isolation without forming a grouping or

1 This region comes as a response to the convergence of different European countries, as well as to the understanding of the territory from a different perspective to that of the political borders. The cities that make up the Euregio are: Aachen, Maastricht, Eupen, Hasselt and Liège.

the possibility of the existence of an enclave (Curdes, 1999). These have mainly been found on the Lousberg, as this is the highest topographical position. In any case, there is no doubt that the human presence in the area may have been motivated by the existence of the hot springs. The hot springs are a symbolic and characteristic natural feature, which even today is considered a luxury good.

The arrival of Rome in this region led to the creation of the province of Germania Inferior. It forms part of the Limes Germanicus to the east, using the Rhine River as its border. The province consists of six *conventus*[2]: Tungri, Agrippinensis, Traianensis, Batavi, Cananefates and Frisia-vones (Roymans et al., 2020). The city of Aachen does not occupy an important position as a *conventus*. However, there is a record of its Roman foundation from the arrival of Julius Caesar's troops during the Gallic War in the 1st century BC. In the year 10 AD, a leisure town was founded on the thermal springs and was called Aquae Granni (Wietzorek, 2013) (Figure 169). The toponymic designation translated from Latin literally means "water from the ground". The urban configuration of the new city follows the standards of the new Roman foundations. A quadrangular city with an orthogonal grid, composed of the *Cardus Maximus* (north-south) and the *Decumanus Maximus* (east-west) (Roymans et al., 2020). Its geographical position placed it outside the main road connecting Agripinensis (Cologne) with Trajectum ad Mosam (Maastricht). However, the *Cardus* is directly linked to the main road in the Maastricht direction, while the *Decumanus* to the east is connected to it in the Cologne direction. Being a minor settlement, the existence of urban facilities can be practically non-existent, with the exception of the thermal baths. As well as large administrative or religious buildings. On the other hand, some hypotheses suggest that the city may have had up to three aqueducts [aqu] (Curdes, 1999), not only for drinking water, but probably also for the use of baths.

Between the 4th and 5th centuries, the fall of the Roman Empire, coupled with an internal crisis, led to an internal division into West and East. The western part faced the arrival of a multitude of Germanic peoples, which led to the disappearance of the Western Roman Empire, but not that of its eastern counterpart. The Franks settled mainly in the Roman provinces of Gaul and Germania. In the 8th century, the Franks built a new central European power. The rise of the Frankish Empire takes place during the rule of the well-known emperor Charlemagne[3]. The emperor made the city the new capital and imperial resi-

2 This division refers to the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD.

3 The importance of Charlemagne and the Carolingian dynasty was such that the Frankish Empire is known as the Carolingian Empire.

dence, which was already known by the titles 'Nova Roma' or 'Roma Secunda' (Wilson, 2020). This was a decisive event for the city, as the construction of the cathedral and the royal palace began between 795 and 803 [rp] (Curdes, 1999). The city largely adopted the layout of the Roman road system, which was gradually modified and altered in accordance with the structure of the medieval Christian city (Figure 171). The narrow, irregular plots of land gradually replaced the large

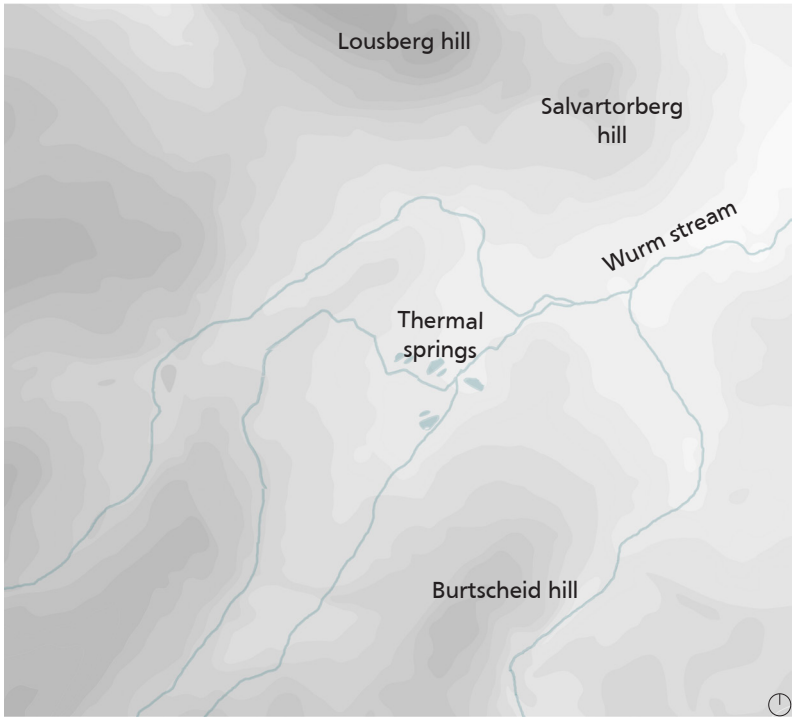


Figure 168. Toponymy of the location of Aachen. Own elaboration.

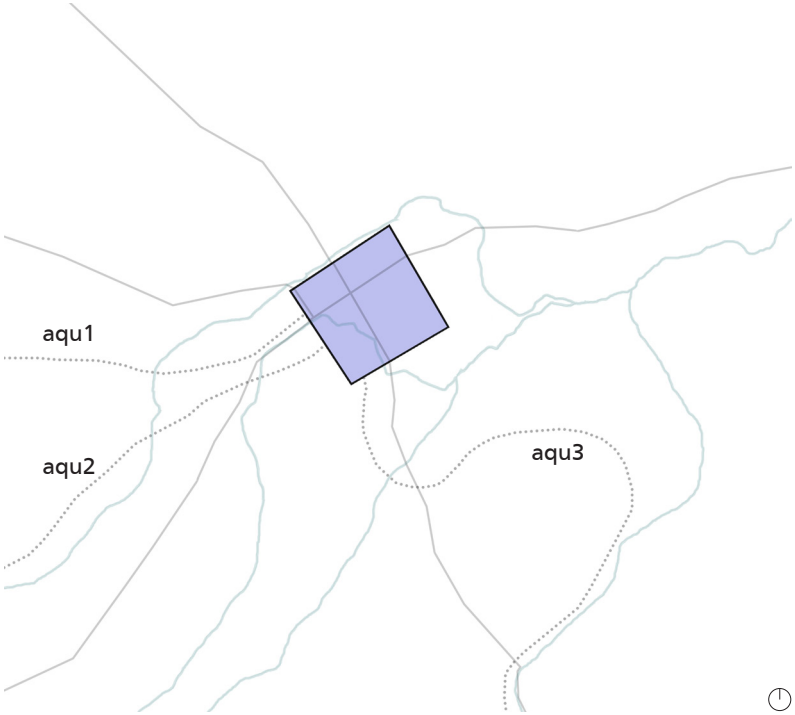


Figure 169. Roman city of Aachen, 1th BC - 5th AC centuries. Own elaboration based on the Hausmanss hypotheses (Curdes, 1999).

[aqu] Aqueduct

Figure 170. Marktplatz. Author, 2023.

orthogonal Roman blocks (Planitz, 1973). On the other hand, the Marktplatz[4] appeared as the new urban centre [msq] (Figure 170), next to the Carolingian palace [cp] and as the intersection of the road axes. In fact, this square has become consolidated as the traditional place for commercial and market activity.

The Treaty of Verdun in 843 resulted in the division of the Carolingian Empire into three: Western France, Middle France and Eastern France. In this last one, Otto I was crowned emperor in 962. This marked the birth of the Holy Roman Empire (Wilson, 2020). The importance of this new empire lies in Otto I's choice of Aachen as the place for the coronation of emperors. In fact, more than 30 emperors were crowned in the cathedral founded by Charlemagne until 1531 (Römling, 2014). The city changed from being a central point in the Carolingian Empire to a border town of the new Holy Roman Empire. This border status would be maintained for centuries. Its new strategic, commercial and trading status between kingdoms favoured the growth of the city. The city was extended around its entire perimeter, the old walls were demolished and the first great wall of Aachen was built. It was built between 1171 and 1175 by the Emperor Friedrich Barbarossa and reached a perimeter of about 2.5 km (Curdes, 1999) (Figure 175). Alongside the urban expansions, the settlement of Burtscheid appears for the first time in the south of Aachen. Usually the buildings outside the city walls are dedicated to industrial purposes or church foundations (Wilson, 2009). In this case, a monastic construction takes place.

4 Translated from German it would be 'market square'.

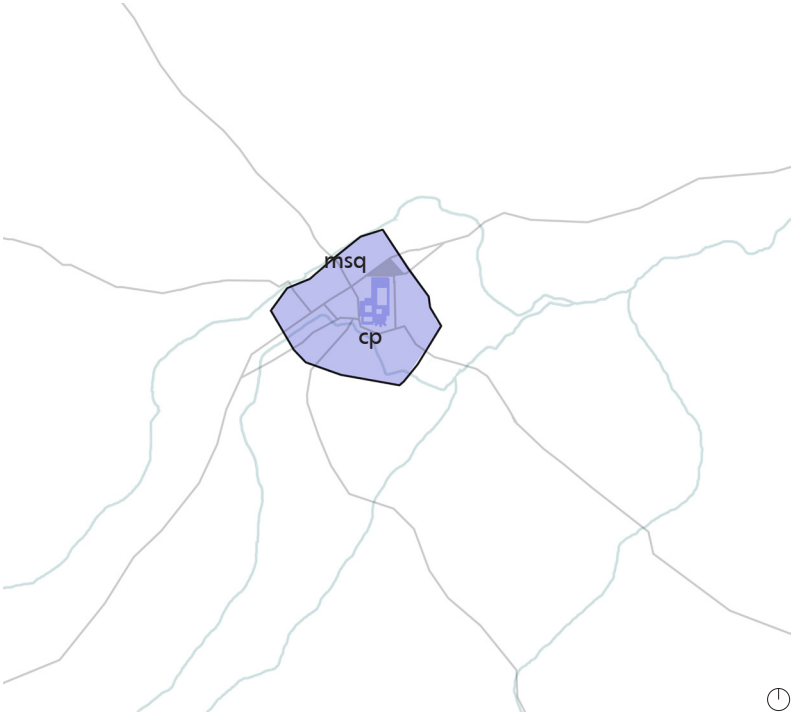


Figure 171. Caroligian city of Aachen, 6th - 10th centuries. Own elaboration based on the Holländer hypotheses (Curdes, 1999).

[msq] Main square Marktplatz

[cp] Carolingian palace

The cathedral is the first religious building in Aachen (Figure 172). Between the 10th and 13th centuries, new parishes were built. These are: St. Adalbert (1005) [ch1], St. Jakob (1165) [ch2], St. Foillan (1180) [ch3] and St. Peter (1215) [ch4] (Wietzorek, 2013) (Figure 173). Their construction coincides with the urban expansion of the 11th and 12th centuries. The location of the parishes is in the new suburbs, along the main roads, with the exception of St. Foillan, next to the cathedral. Urban growth combined with successive attacks, such as that of William of Holland in 1248 (Römling, 2014), led to the construction of a second wall. This wall was completed in 1326 with a new length of 5.5 km (Curdes, 1999), absorbing all the urban suburbs (Figure 176). Instead of walling in the strictly built-up part of the city, the city decided to leave large urban gaps in which the city could expand without leaving the walls[5].

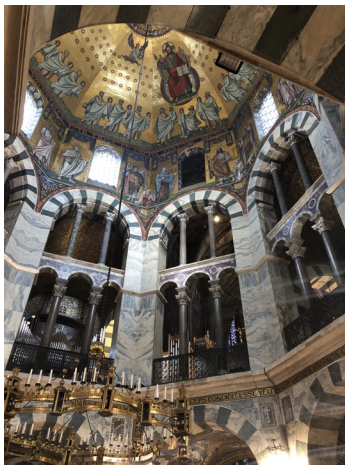


Figure 172. Interior of the Dom of Aachen. Author, 2022.

Next to the Marktplatz, a new square was created in the former Carolingian palace courtyard, the Katschshoff[6] [khf] (Figure 174). The palace building is subdivided, with one part being devoted strictly to the cathedral. The building between the Marktplatz and the Katschoff is taken over by the civil government and converted into a town hall in 1330 (Wietzorek, 2013). In this same period, in 1336, Aachen is designated as a free imperial city or *Reichsstadt*, becoming the Kingodm of Aachen or *Aachener Reich* (Römling, 2014). This title granted the city a great deal of independence in terms of management and government, being dependent only on the emperor.

Figure 173. Tower of St. Jakob. Author, 2022.

Aachen's importance increased again in the 15th century with the manufacture of fabrics. The border and trade with Flanders led to a quick economic boom, which resulted in new urban growth. These were always built inside the second wall, with the exception of Burstcheid (Figure 177). The existence of the monastery outside the walls allowed a small settlement to begin in this position. During the 16th and 17th centuries, various events took place which influenced the urban development. The Protestant Reformation and the economic wealth of Aachen in Catholic hands led to Protestant revolts in 1581 for control of the city (Wilson, 2009). A request for help was sent from the Holy Roman Empire to the Spanish troops in the Spanish Netherlands. Being a border city with the Spanish Netherlands, General Spinola took the city from 1612 to 1632 (Kirchner, 2015). This returned the city to Catholic hands and a policy of recatholisation was implemented, resulting in the introduction of numerous religious orders. On the other hand, the Great Fire of Aachen occurred in 1656, in which most of the city was

Figure 174. Katschshoff. Author, 2022.

5 The availability of land within the walls was so large that after the demolition of the walls in the 19th century, there was still a lot of unbuilt space.

6 Translated from German 'place of the pillory'.

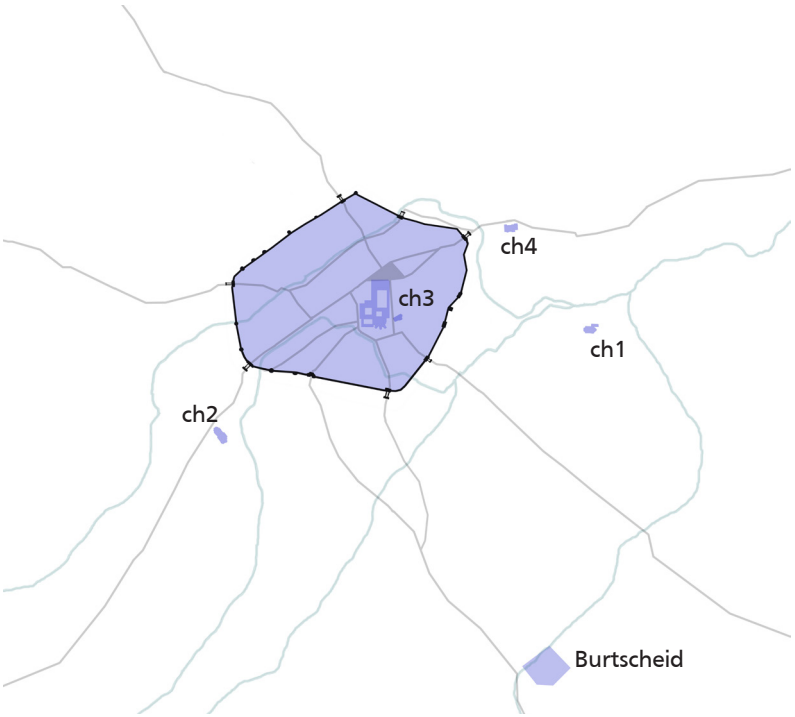


Figure 175. City of Aachen, 10th - 13th centuries. Own elaboration based on the Holländer hypotheses (Curdes, 1999).

[ch1] St. Adalbert

[ch2] St. Jakob

[ch3] St. Foillan

[ch4] St. Peter

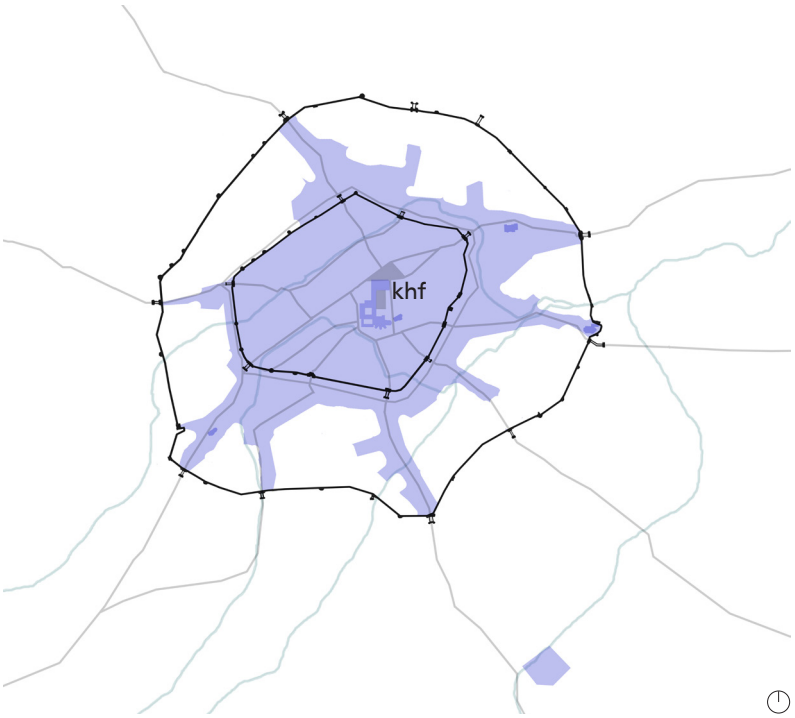


Figure 176. City of Aachen, 14th - 16th centuries. Own elaboration based on the Erdwall hypotheses (Curdes, 1999).

[khf] Katschshoff

destroyed (Römling, 2014). Practically all the buildings had to be rebuilt, which also slowed down the growth of the city.

Urban growth during the 18th century was rather limited . If we look at the first known urban plan of the city (Figure 178), from 1740, it practically maintains the same dimensions as in previous centuries. It is a plan with meticulous detail, by unknown author. It has not a graphic scale, and the north at the bottom of the document. In fact, it is the only known document with this orientation, since all the plans subsequently place north upwards. The plan shows the entire plots of the city, as well

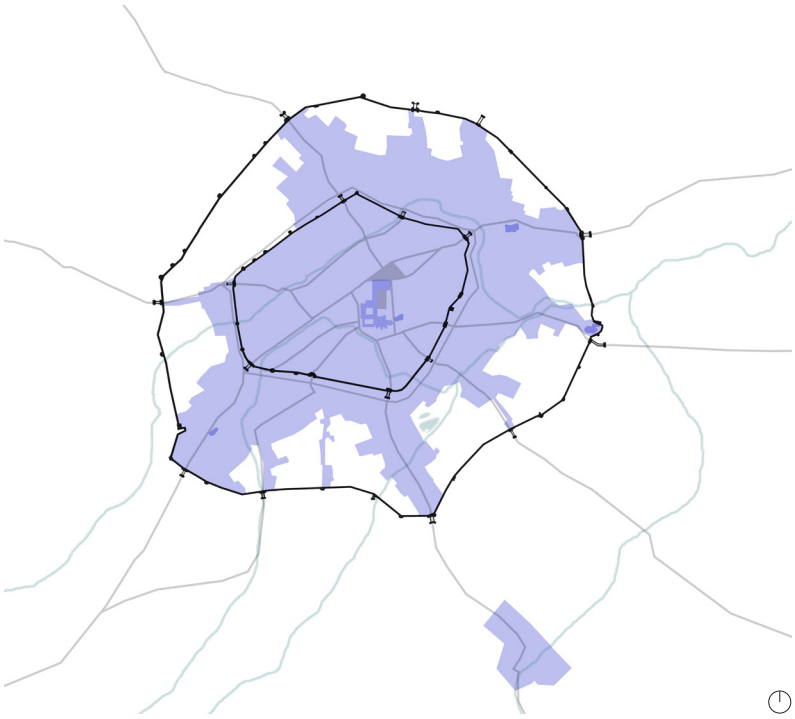


Figure 177. City of Aachen, 16th - 18th centuries. Own elaboration based on maps and views of Aachen in 16th-18th centuries.

as the ground plan of the religious buildings: cathedral, parish churches, monasteries and convents. Above these buildings, both the built space and the unbuilt space, belonging to courtyards or orchards, are represented. All these buildings have a letter that identifies them individually, from A to Z, both upper and lower case. Moreover, the streets are numbered from 1 to 80. There was probably a legend on the plan, although this has not been located. Nevertheless, comparison with other documents allows us to know the original names of monastic buildings and streets. Also noteworthy is the detailed representation of the outer and inner walls. The gates of the city are also located by letters, as well as all the towers and defensive elements, such as the moat of the outer ring. The position of the streams within the city is also shown, marked with a dotted line. This is undoubtedly an important document as it shows the state of the city prior to the ecclesiastical confiscations and the major urban transformations. Thus, it is a document that has been used as a basis for the study of the monastic system of Aachen. The complete representation of the buildings provides an insight into the urban reality in the mid-18th century. On the other hand, it shows the need to know and represent the current state of the city. The plan is used as a tool in order to intervene in the future urban growths.

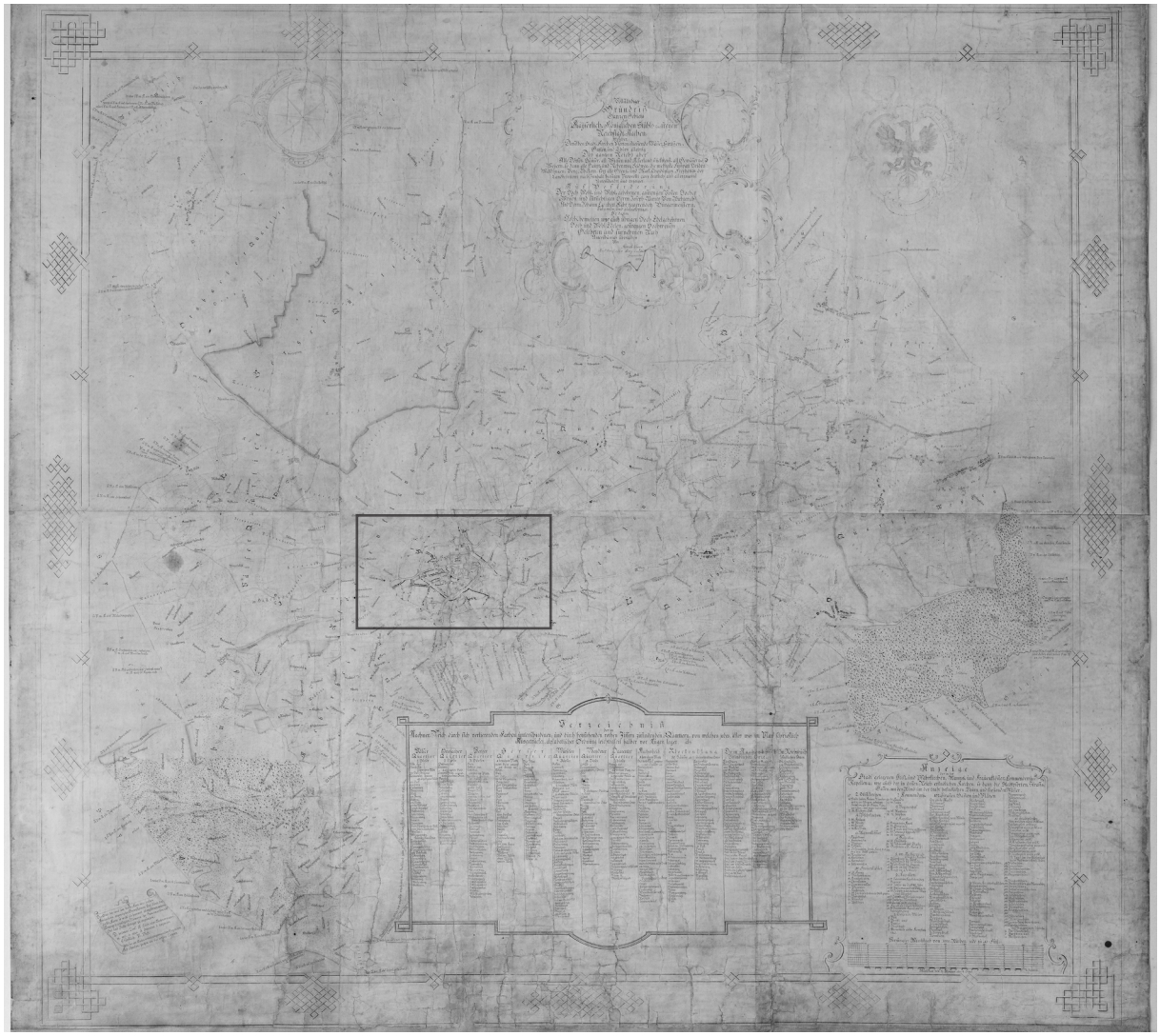
In 1777, Copso's plan shows the entire territorial area of the Kingdom of Aachen (Figure 179). A detailed representation of urban settlements, agricultural plots and even forests can be seen, as well as the main communication infrastructures. North is at the top and it has two graphic scales. The first

Figure 178. Plan of Aachen, 1740. Stadtarchiv Aachen, StAAc_H36.

Figure 179. Right page (top) Plan of Aachen territory. (down) Detail of the city of Aachen, made by Copso, 1777. Stadtarchiv Aachen, StAAc_h39.

marks the scale of 1000 *Ruthen*[7] every 10 feet. The second one measures the time in 30 minutes of the distances. In addition, there is a detailed legend detailing the territorial division of the Kingdom. Furthermore, another legend in the lower right-hand corner specifies all the religious and some civil buildings, as well as the streets that make up Aachen. This shows the importance of monasteries and convents to the city, as well as their existence prior to the confiscations. The city depicted in this plan is very similar to that of 1740, although it has been preserved in poorer quality. What is most interesting is the urban representation inserted directly into the territory. The monastic buildings of Salvatorberg and St. Johannes Baptits in Burtshceid are shown. The superimposition of the two plans gives a general idea not only of Aachen's urban planning but also of its relationship with the territory.

7 Unit of measurement in the Holy Roman Empire until the 19th century. There were more than 20 different Ruthen depending on the region. Approximate equivalence in Cologne 1 Ruthen = 2.87 metres. (Verdenhalven, 1993).



Salvatorsberg
Knipp
Neuhaus
Junkers-mühl
Feldchen
Ponel

4.2 MONASTIC FOUNDATIONS

The monastic construction of Aachen is framed by the medieval European context. In the urban context, a first monastic foundation phase takes place in the form of the first Benedictine or Cistercian orders in more distant and isolated positions. These were followed by the mendicant orders, which emerged in the 13th century and were incorporated into the urban fabric as part of the city. This is a foundational process that, following the timeline, begins in the 10th century and continues until the 19th century. Aachen is part of the common monastic development of central Europe, following a process similar to that of other cities in the Christian tradition. The establishment of religious orders in Aachen becomes even more characteristic if its historical significance as a Carolingian capital or its strategic position as a historical border between kingdoms and regions is taken into account. This leads to an importance that motivated the foundation of a multitude of religious orders, as well as its position in the urban area. In fact, the importance of Aachen allowed for the construction of a double city wall, favouring further monastic expansion, which was always protected by the city walls.

Documentary sources that study the urban monastic system in Aachen beyond the buildings and their architecture are scarce. The documentation and literature discusses each monastic building individually with a brief location of each one. A contradiction has been found in many cases. For this reason, various sources have been compared and studied in order to identify the places where the monasteries were located. Another aspect detected concerning the monastic bibliography of Aachen is its production between the 19th and 20th centuries. One of the few most complete and up-to-date sources of the 21st century is the book *Nordrheinisches Klosterbuch* by Groten et al. (2009). It contains a detailed identification of all monastic buildings, not only in Aachen but also in the whole of North Rhine-Westphalia. However, the study is limited to 1815, which leaves out the monastic developments of the 19th and 20th centuries. On the other hand, the sources include collegiate churches as part of the monastic religious buildings. The two collegiate churches in Aachen, the cathedral and St. Adalbert's, have not been included in this study because their function is linked to a different character than that of the monastic orders.

The monastic foundations have been counted and numbered by building and not by order. In other words, one entry for each new monastic building that appears in the city. In fact, in the founding process up to the 18th century, the former monasteries of St. Mattiashof and Webbegarden were closed and occupied by new orders. The availability of monastic real estate facilitated the foundation of new orders on these properties instead of following the normal process of establishing a

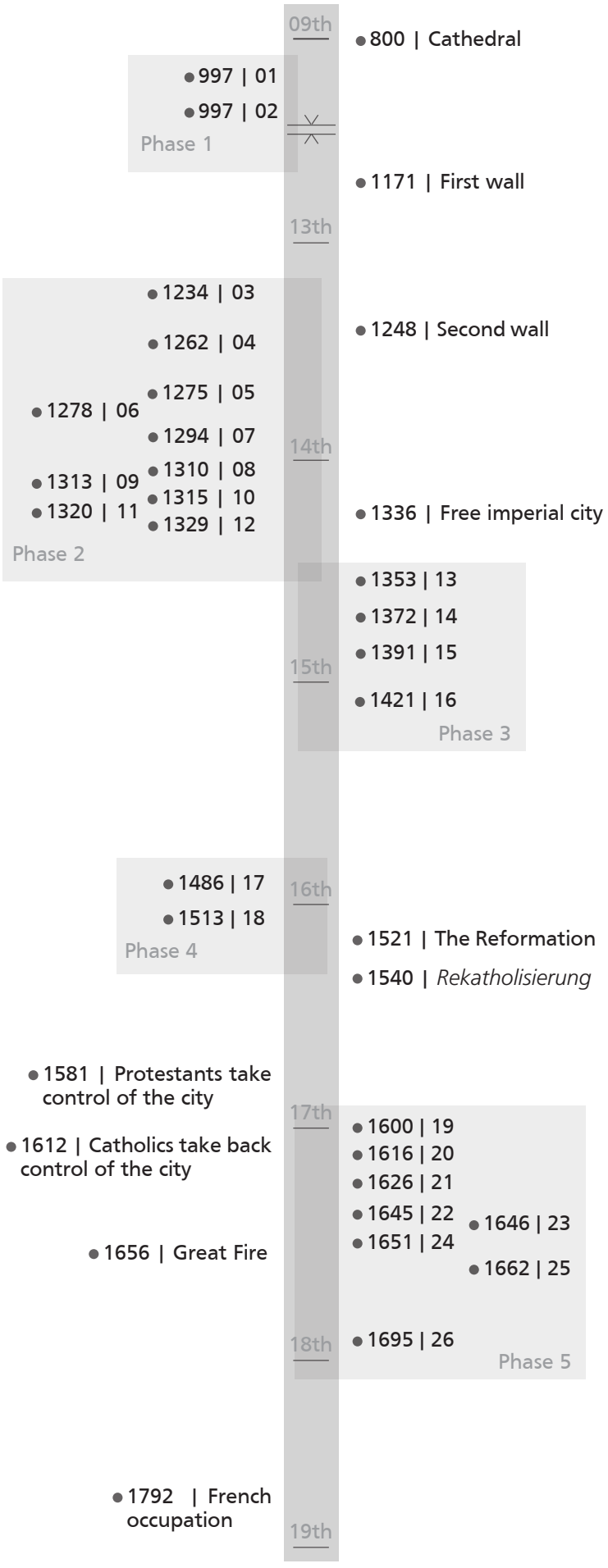
new monastery. Therefore, these orders have been included as part of the building itself, as will be the practice in many cases, especially in the 19th and 20th centuries. On the other hand, two monasteries that belonged to the area of the kingdom of Aachen have not been included. As they are scattered in the territory, far away from the city, they have not generated any urban influence or relationship. These two monasteries are Kornelimünsterabtei, founded in 816, and Klostermühle in Brandenburg, founded in 1477.

The sources used for the study of monasteries and convents in Aachen are manifold. In order to analyse the monastic system, a table has been created, sorted by monastic foundation. The two collegiate churches mentioned above and the foundations in the kingdom of Aachen are included in this table, although they are not considered in the monastic development. In fact, this is a complex process. Over the course of nine centuries, there are constant changes of urban positions of the same order or foundations in former monastic buildings. The most relevant sources for the study are Groten et al. (2009), Curdes (1999), Brecher (1956) and Kirchner (2015). In addition to the bibliography, there are numerous plans and historical iconography of the city. Among these are Franz Blondel's view of 1685 and the plans of 1740, 1860, and 1910 from the municipal archive of Aachen.

4.2.1 ORDERS AND ESTABLISHMENT UNTIL 18TH CENTURY

Understanding the monastic system in Aachen requires a study of its implantation in the urban fabric. This is important not only from a historical point of view that distributes the arrival of the orders chronologically, but also from other perspectives. The study of socio-political events is linked to urban development, which in turn is linked to monastic implantation. For this reason, it is necessary to take an urban perspective in which the location and the relationship with the structure of the city are observed. The urban morphological analysis and the foundation of the religious buildings are separated from the usual chronology in centuries. In this sense, a vision of nine centuries is offered, distributed in six differentiated stages (Figure 180). These are ordered according to urban developments as well as the political, economic and social contextualisation of the time. This is a more accurate analysis than the structured study of a chronological line. In addition, dates and locations are linked together, establishing relationships between monastic buildings.

Aachen's symbol of its Carolingian past is still symbolised today by its cathedral. The palatial chapel was founded by Charlemagne



01 | Salvatorberg
02 | St. Johannes Baptist
03 | Franziskanerkloster (St. Nikolaus)
04 | St. Matthiashof / Marienthal
05 | Stephanshof
06 | Cölestinnenkloster (Weißfrauen)
07 | Dominikanerkloster (St. Paul)
08 | Christensenkloster
09 | Johanniterkommende
10 | Webbegarden / Kapuzinerkloster
11 | Deutschordenskommende
12 | Augustinerkloster (St. Katharina)
13 | Karmeliterkloster
14 | Kreuzherrenkloster (Heilig Kreuz)
15 | Alexianerkloster
16 | Regulierherrenkloster
17 | St. Leonhard
18 | Annakloster
19 | Jesuitenkloster
20 | Klarissenkloster
21 | Elisabethkloster
22 | Pönitentenkloster
23 | Annunziatenkloster
24 | Ursulinenkloster
25 | Karmeliterinnenkloster (St. Theresia)
26 | Marienbongardkloster

Figure 180. Timeline with data on the foundation of monasteries and convents, as well as relevant historical data. Based on the table in Figure 187. Own elaboration.

at the end of the 8th century. Since then, it has been a point of reference for the shaping of the city and the construction of the city's main axes. With regard to the monastic structure in Aachen, the earliest known settlement is not in the city (Figure 181). The Benedictine order made its first foundation in the present-day town of Kornelimünster, 9 km from the cathedral. As part of the monastic process of the time, the monastery is situated completely removed from urban life, with no direct influence or interaction. In fact, the monastic importance was so great that the foundation of abbeys was considered, already in the 8th century, a third ecclesiastical branch, inferior in rank to bishoprics and archbishoprics (Wilson, 2020). As well as the aforementioned foundation, in the territory dominated by Aachen, in 1477 the Canons Regular of the Order of the Holy Cross[8] founded the monastery Klostermühle Brandenburg, 10 km away from the cathedral[9] [ct]. In general, the Lower Rhine and Ruhr area possessed a strong attraction for religious settlements due to sociological, economic and transport considerations (Schaffer, 2008). Finally, in the previously mentioned locality of Kornelimünster, the Benedictine order made a second foundation in 1906. Nowadays, the monastery Neue Benediktinerabtei is still in use by the Benedictines.

In 997, the Benedictine and Cistercian orders made a foundation near Aachen. The Benedictine order was the male and the

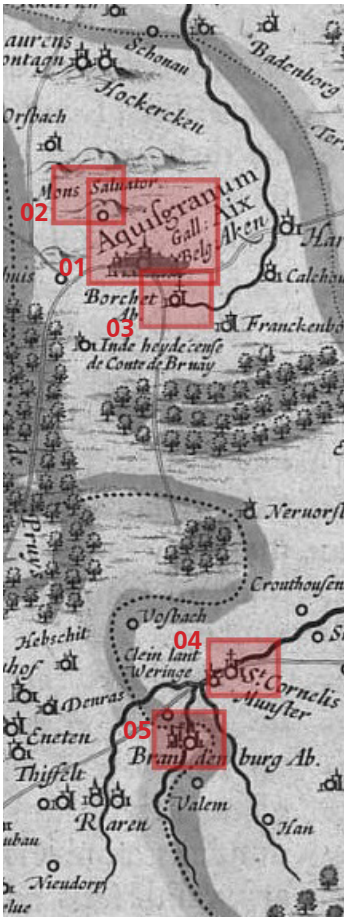


Figure 181. Location of Aachen (01), Salvatorberg (02), Burtscheidabtei (03), Klostermühle Brandenburg (04) and Kornelimünster (05). Own elaboration based on map of Limburg by Blaeu, 1635.

8 Although the official name of the order is Canons Regular of the Order of Holy Cross, they are also known as Crosiers.

9 The present location of the old monastery is Baumgartsweg 34-42, Aachen. Today, the former monastery consists of a group of rural houses.

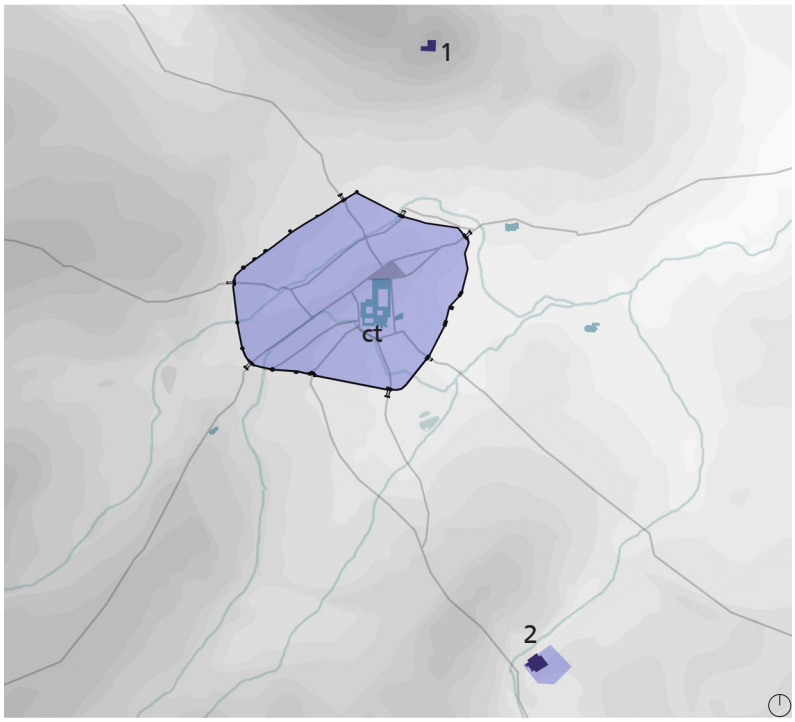


Figure 182. Phase 1 of monastic development, 10th century. Own elaboration.

[1] Salvatorberg

[2] St. Johannes Baptist

[ct] Cathedral

Cistercian order the female. Although the monasteries were not embedded in the urban fabric, they were close enough to influence the development of the city. Both constitute the first monastic development of Aachen, considered as phase one (Figure 182). The first female convent, the Salvatorberg [1], was founded at the request of the Holy Roman Emperor Otto III (Groten et al., 2009). The Cistercian order is situated on one of the high topographical points in the immediate surroundings of Aachen, on the Salvatorberg hill[10]. In contrast to Kornelimünster, the distance between the cathedral and the monastery is only 1 km. This foundation is also characterised by the absence of nearby main roads. The topography, the lack of roads and the abandonment of the building by the order in 1220 made urban expansion in this direction difficult. The second foundation of this period is the foundation of St. Johannes Baptista in Burtscheid [2] in 997, the first male foundation of the Benedictine order in the area around Aachen. In comparison to the Salvatorberg, it is situated 1.5 km from the cathedral, also on a hill[11]. This monastery is strategically located in the south of the city on one of the main thoroughfares, on high ground and next to a stream. The Benedictine order of Burtscheid abandoned the monastic building in 1220. However, the Cistercian sisters moved from the Salvatorberg convent to

10 The Salvatorberg hill has a maximum height of 190m. It is surpassed by the Lousberg hill, which is 260m high. The town centre has a minimum elevation of 150m. Data obtained from the GeoBasis NRW portal. https://www.tim-online.nrw.de/tim-online2/ (31/05/2023)

11 In this case, the height of the hill on which St. Johannes Baptista is situated is 200m, similar to that of Salvatorberg. Data obtained from the GeoBasis NRW portal https://www.geoportal.nrw/?activetab=portal (31/05/2023)

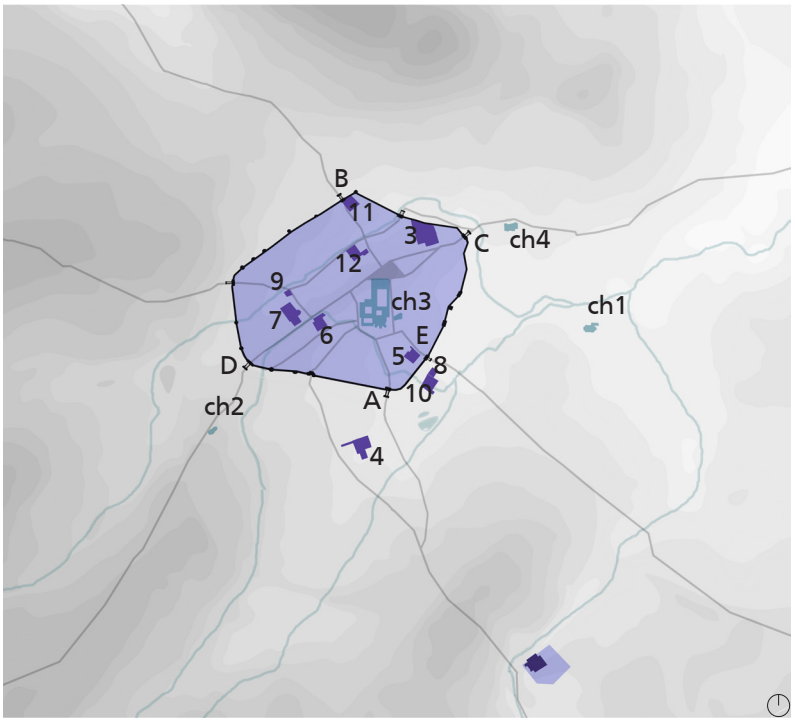


Figure 183. Phase 2 of monastic development, 13th-14th centuries. Own elaboration.

[ch1] St. Adalbert
[ch2] St. Jakob
[ch3] St. Foillan
[ch4] St. Peter
[A] Gate Marschiertor
[B] Gate Ponttor
[C] Gate Kölntor
[D] Gate Jakobstor
[E] Gate Harduinstor
[3] Franziskanerkloster
[4] St. Matthiashof
[5] Stephanshof
[6] Cölestinnenkloster
[7] Dominikanerkloster
[8] Christensenkloster
[9] Johanniterkommende
[10] Webbegarden
[11] Deutschordenskommende
[12] Augustinerkloster

the Burtscheid convent in the same year (Bischops, 1997) until their secularisation during the French occupation in 1802.

Between the 10th and 13th centuries, in addition to the cathedral and the two monasteries of Salvatorberg and Burtscheid, the main parish churches of Aachen appear. These are St. Adalbert [ch1], St. Jakob [ch2], St. Foillan [ch3] and St. Peter [ch4]. It was not until the 13th century that the first mendicant order appeared in Aachen. The second phase consists of a total of 10 monasteries and convents (Figure 183). In phase 2, the building at Salvatorberg is not counted as a monastery, as it is not used as a monastery. Only the Burtscheid remains as part of the first foundation phase. This period is part of the birth and rise of the mendicant orders in Europe. In fact, it is the time when most monasteries and convents appear together. They are mainly located around the main gateways or urban axes.

In the 13th century, the foundation of the Franziskanerkloster[12] took place [3]. The Franciscans had already sent a group to Germany in 1217, but apparently failed due to language difficulties. In 1222 they established foundations in Augsburg, Würzburg, Mainz and Cologne (Schenkluhn, 2000), later reaching the city of Aachen in 1234. The urban position of the monastery is within the city walls on the axis between the Kölntor [gate C] and the Marktplatz[13]. In 1262 the second monastery was founded in Aachen. The Beguines of St. Matthiashof [4] are located outside the city walls near the road connecting the Marschiertor [gate A] with the convent of Burtscheid to the south. This is apparently the first monastery building outside the city walls. However, the construction of the second wall had already begun in 1257 (Curdes, 1999), so that it soon became part of the walled enclosure. After Matthiashof, the Beguines founded a second building in 1275 [5]. The Stephanshof convent is located within the first walled enclosure next to the entrance to the Harduinstor [gate E]. It was an important school where religion, reading, writing and weaving were taught. Between 300 and 400 girls attended this school (Brecher, 1956). Three years later, in 1278, the nuns of the Order of St. Mary Magdalene[14] founded the Cölestinnenkloster[15] [6]. Its inner-wall location seeks the midpoint of the axis between the cathedral and the Jakobstor [gate D]. In fact, next to this convent, on the opposite plot of land, the Dominican order made a foundation[16] in 1294 [7]. The Dominican friars followed the same position strategy as the White Nuns years before. This guarantees a

12 Also known as 'St. Nikolaus'.

13 Main Square located in the city centre.

14 Because of their white habit they are known in German as *Weißfrauen* (white nuns).

15 Also known as 'Weißfrauen' (White nuns).

16 The foundation of the Dominikanerkloster is also known as 'St. Paul'.

privileged position in the connection between two gates and one of the main urban axes.

The convent of Christenserine women [8] is located in 1310 next to the aforementioned Harduinstor [E gate], but outside the first wall. It is the only settlement of the order in North Rhine-Westphalia (Groten et al., 2009). Later, the foundation of Johanniterkommende appears in 1313 [9], next to the Dominican monastery. Although it is a military order, here the main function was to care for pilgrims on the Way of St. James. They sought a position close to the Jakobstraße, which connects to the parish of St. Jakob and the pilgrimage route. In 1315, the Third Order of Saint Francis [10] was established next to the aforementioned convent of Christensenkloster. In fact, its position is key, as it is again located next to the entrance to the Harduinstor [gate E] and next to one of the streams running through the city. The last two foundations of this phase are made up of the Teutonic and Augustinian orders on the axis of the Pontstraße between the Marktplatz and the Ponttor [Gate B]. The monastery of Deutschordenskommende [11] appeared in 1320 next to the above-mentioned gate, taking part of the wall itself as a boundary for the gardens and orchards. Together with the Johanniter, they were the religious-military orders in the city. Finally, the Augustinerkloster[17] [12] was founded in 1329 on the Pontstraße, occupying a privileged position in the city centre.

The third grouping has a total of 4 new foundations (Figure 184). A common characteristic in the establishment of these foundations is their location between the first and second ring of the wall. The construction of the second wall together with the high availability of protected land favoured the appearance of new urban growth, monasteries and convents. At the end of the 14th and beginning of the 15th century, the Carmelite, Crosiers, Alexians and the Congregation of Windesheim were founded. The Carmelite monastery [13] was founded in 1353 as part of the new growth along the Burtscheid road. At first, the Carmelites tended to settle on the outskirts of the towns. This was partly because the Carmelites came late to the cities and the more central locations were densely occupied and more expensive (Andrews, 2006). With this new foundation, the axis of the two Marschiertor [gate A – gate a][18] becomes increasingly important in the urban development of Aachen. Likewise, the Crosiers order made its foundation[19] at the opposite side of the

17 Also known as monastery of 'St. Katharina'.

18 As a second concentric wall appears, the names of the gates are the same for both the first and the second wall. To differentiate between the two gates, capital and small letters are used. Example: Marschiertor [gate A] is the gate of the first or inner wall; Marchiertor [gate a] is the gate of the second or outer wall.

19 The foundation of the Kreuzherrenkloster is also known as 'Heilig Kreuz' (Holy Cross).

city in 1372 [14]. They take the extension of the Pontstraße axis towards the Ponttor [gate b]. They follow the strategy initiated by the Teutonic Knights and the Augustinians on the same axis. The Alexians founded the monastery in 1391 [15] for the care of the sick. Again there is a search for a position near the Marschiertor [gate A]. Probably because it is a very frequented axis, the orders, more and more, try to get closer to the surroundings of the Marschiertor [gates A-a]. Finally, the Congregation of Windesheim [16] was founded on the cross axis towards Cologne. In 1421, between the two Kölntor [gates C-c], the Regulierherrenkloster appears next to the church of St. Peter. As can be seen, despite the new urban growth, the foundations at this time have a boundary character. The opportunity is taken to use land in strategic urban positions where further development is also taking place.

If in the third phase only 4 foundations have been quantified, in the fourth phase there are no more than 3 (Figure 185). The 15th and 16th centuries are the lowest in terms of religious foundations. The low monastic numbers in this period are influenced by the socio-political events of the time. On the one hand, the constant wars between city states of the Holy Roman Empire hinder monastic expansion. On the other hand, the emergence of Lutheranism in 1517 generated a high degree of acceptance in much of central Europe, especially in the territories of the Holy Roman Empire (Wilson, 2020). Moreover, the change of government in Aachen from Catholic to Protestant in the 15th century led to the rejection of new monastic foundations. In

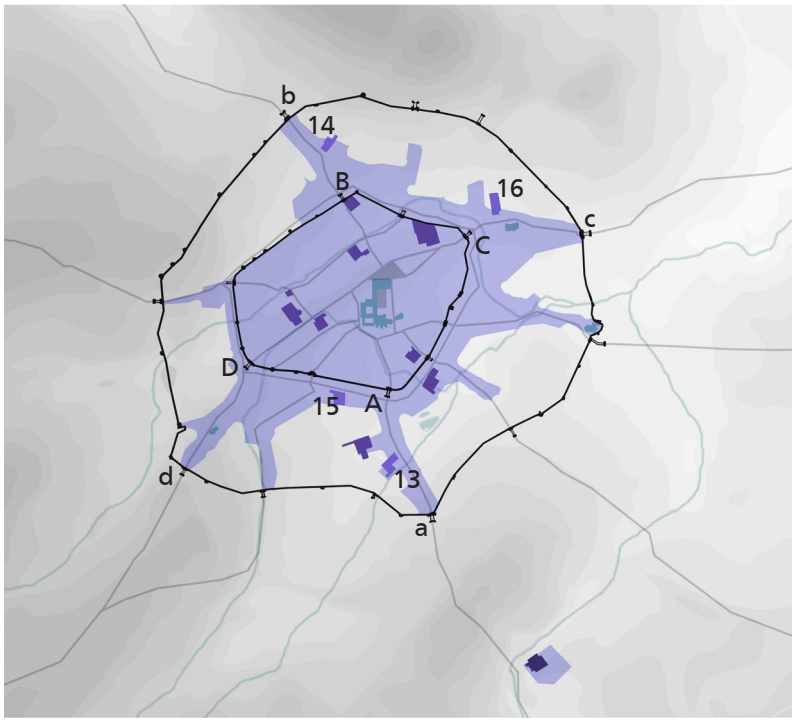


Figure 184. Phase 3 of monastic development, 14th-15th centuries. Own elaboration.

[A-a] Gates Marschiertor
[B-b] Gates Ponttor
[C-c] Gates Kölntor
[D-d] Gates Jakobstor
[13] Karmeliterkloster
[14] Kreuzherrenkloster
[15] Alexianerkloster
[16] Regulierherrenkloster

fact, only one single foundation is recorded in this century. The monastery of St. Leonhard [17] was founded in 1486 by the Canons Regular of the Holy Sepulchre. Later, in 1625, the male order was replaced in the same religious building by its female branch. The Sepulchrine Canonesses were engaged in teaching, Marienthal being one of the oldest secondary schools for girls in Germany. German and French were taught, as well as sewing, hemming and knitting. Religious instruction, on the other hand, was provided by the Jesuits (Brecher, 1956). The first foundation of St. Leonhard's was followed by the foundation of the Sisters of the Third Franciscan Order in 1490, which occupied houses next to Stephanshof and later became the convent of Marienthal[20] in 1640 [4]. Both St. Leonhard and Marienthal opted for a position on the axis towards Burtscheid, and at the beginning of the 16th century there were about four monasteries in the vicinity. Finally, Annakloster [18] is the only foundation of the 16th century. In 1513, the Benedictine sisters made a foundation next to one of the gates of the first walled enclosure. Two centuries after the last foundation on the first wall, in 1329, the orders began to turn their gaze towards more central inner-urban positions.

In comparison to the 15th and 16th centuries, the 17th century reach a new high in the number of monastic establishments. It is the century with the highest number of monastery foundations in the Rhineland in quantitative terms: mainly Capuchins, Observant Franciscans, Jesuits, Carmelites, Minorites and Ursulines (Groten et al., 2009). The fifth phase of the foundational process can be encompassed in a single century due to the constant foundations from the beginning to the end of the century (Figure 186). This monastic rise was the response to the overlapping of different events. On the one hand, a new monastic fervour took place in Europe with the consequent appearance of new religious orders such as the Jesuits. On the other hand, key to the monastic process in Aachen was the *Rekatholisierung*[21] in 1598 (Kirchner, 2015). The recovery of the city by the Catholics, thanks to the Spanish intervention of Spinola in 1614 (Curdes, 1999), increased the monastic establishment as well as the appearance of numerous orders of Hispanic origin. Therefore, in this phase a total of 9 foundations took place, representing the second period of greatest foundational activity in the city. The Jesuit order was the first to establish a foundation in this period, in 1600 [19]. The appearance of the Society of Jesus as the first order of this period is the result of a papal policy. The order was created in 1540 by a papal decree on the initiative of Ignatius of Loyola as a fight against Protestant expansion

20 Although it was not until 1640 that the Franciscan Nuns took possession of the former begine convent, in 1495 the Bishop of Liège ordered the transfer of Mattiashof to the Franciscan Tertiary Sisters (Groten et al., 2009)

21 German term used for the conversion of Protestant territories to Catholicism.

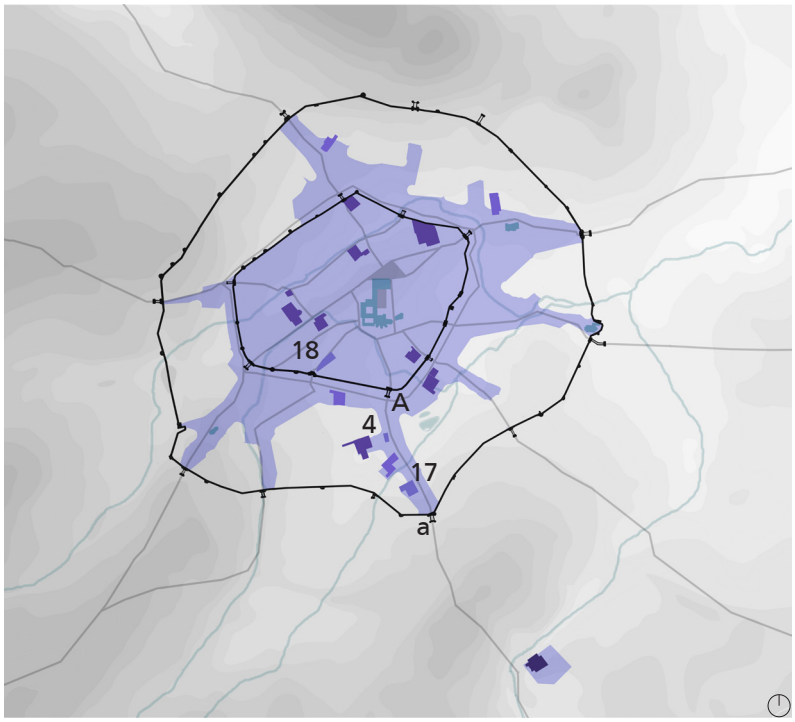


Figure 185. Phase 4 of monastic development, 15th-16th centuries. Own elaboration.

[A-a] Gates Marschiertor
[4] Marienthal
[17] St. Leonhard
[18] Annakloster

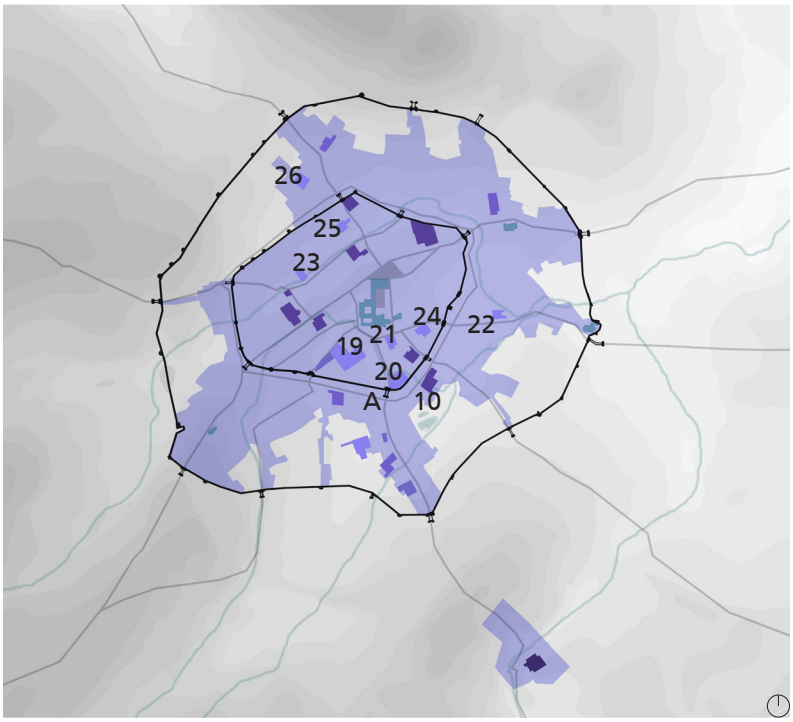


Figure 186. Phase 5 of monastic development, 17th century. Own elaboration.

[A] Gate Marschiertor
[10] Kapuzinerkloster
[19] Jesuitenkloster
[20] Klarissenkloster
[21] Elisabethkloster
[22] Pönitentenkloster
[23] Annunziatenkloster
[24] Ursulinenkloster
[25] Karmeliterinnenkloster
[26] Marienbongardkloster

Num.	Name of monasteries and convents*	First foundation	First order	Gender	Confiscation (Confis.)	Second found.	Second order	Gender	Confis.
-	Marienstift (Cathedral)	800	Collegiate church						
-	St. Adalbert	997	Collegiate church						
1	Salvatorberg	997	Cistercian nuns	Female	1220				
2	St. Johannes Baptist	997	Benedictine friars	Male	1220	1220	Cistercian nuns	Female	1802
3	Franziskanerkloster (St. Nikolaus)	1234	Franciscans	Male					1802
4	St. Matthiashof / Marienthal	1262	Begines	Female	1640	1490	Sisters of the Third Order of Saint-Francis	Female	1802
5	Stephanshof	1275	Begines	Female					1874
6	Cölestinnenkloster (Weißfrauen)	1278	St. Mary Magdalene (Weißfrauen)	Female	1720	1720	Most Holy Annunciation (Celestine Nuns)	Female	1802
7	Dominikanerkloster (St. Paul)	1294	Dominican friars	Male					1802
8	Christensenkloster	1310	Christenserines	Female					1899
9	Johanniterkommende	1313	Order of Saint John (Johanniter Order)	Male					1794
10	Webbegarden / Kapuzinerkloster	1315	Brothers of the Third Order of Saint-Francis	Male	1591	1614	Capuchins	Male	1802
11	Deutschordenskommende	1320	Teutonic order	Male					1802
12	Augustinerkloster (St. Katharina)	1329	Augustinians	Male					1802
13	Karmeliterkloster	1353	Carmelites	Male					1802
14	Kreuzherrenkloster (Heilig Kreuz)	1372	Canons Regular of the Holy Cross (Crosiers)	Male					1802
15	Alexianerkloster	1391	Alexians	Male					
16	Regulierherrenkloster	1421	Congregation of Windesheimer	Male					1802
17	St. Leonhard	1486	Brothers of the Holy Sepulchre	Male	1625	1625	Sisters of the Holy Sepulchre	Female	1802
18	Annakloster	1513	Benedictine nuns	Female					1802
19	Jesuitenkloster	1600	Jesuits	Male					1773
20	Klarissenkloster	1616	Poor Clares	Female					1802
21	Elisabethkloster	1626	Sisters of St Elizabeth	Female					1904
22	Pönitentenkloster	1645	Franciscan Penitent Recollect nuns	Female					1802
23	Annunziatenkloster	1646	Annonciades	Female					1802
24	Ursulinenkloster	1651	Ursulines	Female					1818
25	Karmeliterinnenkloster (St. Theresia)	1662	Discalced Carmelite nuns	Female					1802
26	Marienbongardkloster	1695	Dominican Tertiary Sisters	Female					1802
-	Kornelimünsterabtei [Kornelimünster]	816	Benedictine friars					Male	1802
-	Klostermühle [Brandenburg]	1477	Canons Regular of the Holy Cross (Crosiers)					Male	1784

*The names in brackets are the common names of some buildings. Official and common names are used equally in the text.

Figure 187. Table of monastic buildings in Aachen. Own elaboration according to Groten et al. (2009), Curdes (1999), Brecher (1956) and Kirchner (2015).

Figure 188. (right page) Monasteries and convents in Aachen, 18th century. Own elaboration.

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(O'Malley, 2006). Its urban establishment took place next to the Annakloster, again in the vicinity of the Marschiertor [gate A]. Although in the later phases the choice was for positions outside the first wall, the *Rekatholisierung* of the city led to a strong commitment to a return to the centre of urban life. Six of the nine foundations of the fifth phase will be on the first wall. The secularisation of the Webbegarden convent in 1591 meant that the foundation of the Capuchin friars in 1614 [10] did not lead to the construction of a new building. As with the convent in Marienthal, the Capuchin friars occupied the old monastery as a site for the new foundation (Groten et al., 2009). The Poor Clares and Sisters of St Elizabeth established a foundation on the axis between the Marschiertor [gate A] and the cathedral. The Klarissenkloster in 1616 [20], attached themselves to the wall, using it as a boundary for their own convent. The second one, the Elisabethkloster, appeared in 1626 [21], with a privileged position facing the Münsterplatz and the cathedral itself.

The foundation of Pönitentenkloster in 1645 [22] takes place on one of the future axes with the strongest presence in the city (Rutz, 2006). It connects the cathedral with the church of St. Adalbert, located next to one of the city gates. The convents of the Annunciates, Ursulines and Discalced Carmelite Sisters are the last ones within the first ring of the city. The Annunziatenkloster was founded in 1646 [23] next to the so-called Annuntiantenbach[22] between the Augustinian and Dominican monasteries. The Ursuline foundation is the second in the Holy Roman Empire and a free school for girls (Groten et al., 2009). They are located in 1651 [24] on the site of today's Elisengarten[23]. It is undoubtedly a privileged position, being in the vicinity of the cathedral and next to one of the gates of the walled enclosure. On the other hand, the Discalced Carmelite Nuns of St. Theresia[24] made their foundation in 1662 [25] on the aforementioned axis of the Pontstraße. The last foundation was Marienbongardkloster in 1695 [26] by the Dominican Tertiary Sisters. The convent was positioned in the vicinity of the Pontstraße axis, although not directly on the road. This last stage marks the end of the convent settlement in Aachen. If we exclude the convent of Salvatorberg, which has been without order since the 13th century, the city has a total of 25 monasteries and convents (Figure 187) (Figure 188), which remained practically unchanged until the beginning of the 19th century.

22 German name for the section of the stream next to the convent, which takes its name from the building. Translated it would be the stream of the Annunciates.

23 Open space with gardens in the centre of the city. The cathedral and the Elisenbrunnen building, with its thermal spring water, are in the immediate surroundings.

24 The Karmeliterinnenkloster is also known as 'St. Theresia'.

4.2.1.1 MALE

The first male foundation took place in the same year as the first female foundation, in 997. In both cases, the buildings were located far from the urban context. This first phenomenon outside the walls is linked to the European monastic development linked to spiritual retreat and isolated community life. With the appearance of the mendicant orders on the continental scene, male monasticism was the first to establish a foundation in Aachen. Among all the men's orders in the city, there is no duplicity between them. There are no two male monasteries with monks of the same order.

In a medium-sized city it is not common to find different foundations of the same order until there is a large number of convent buildings. In other cities, such as Düsseldorf[25], up to three Capuchin friars' monasteries existed simultaneously in different parts of the city. In Aachen, eleven monastic buildings belonging to male orders have been found, 44% of the total number of monasteries (Figure 189). Their position in relation to the city is diverse. Six of the eleven located are situated in the first ring and five in the second ring. Almost the same number of male buildings are within the two walls. Regarding the urban characteristics of the position, most of them are found along the important axes Ponstraße, Kölnstraße and Jakobstraße. These axes, in addition to housing most of the monasteries and convents, are the important access routes connecting Aachen with the important towns in the surrounding area.

In addition to the above-mentioned male foundations, three monasteries have undergone a change of order. These are, in order of foundation, St. Johannes Baptist, Benedictine, Webbegarden, Franciscan Third Order, and St. Leonhard, Canons Regular of the Holy Sepulchre. In the first case, the Benedictines, the change of order was to the female branch of the Cistercians in 1220, remaining so until their secularisation in 1802. In the second case, at Webbegarden, there was a change within the Franciscan order, with the Capuchins taking over the monastic property in 1591. Finally, the order of the Holy Sepulchre changed to its female branch of Sisters of the Holy Sepulchre in 1625. There were two male monasteries whose orders changed to female orders of the same branch.

Within the male monasteries, two more monasteries have been found which could be added to the total of eleven mentioned above. The first, at Kornelimünster, was founded in 816. The

25 Although the population of Düsseldorf is three times larger than Aachen's today, in 1816 the population of Düsseldorf was 22,500 compared to Aachen's 32,000 inhabitants. Data according to the census of Statistischen Landesamt Nordrhein-Westfalen (1966).

Figure 189. Monasteries and convents by gender in Aachen, 18th century. Own elaboration.

Male
Female

second, on the Baumgartsweg, in 1477. In both cases, their distance from Aachen is more than 10 km and their monastic character of isolation makes them unique in the area. In this sense, no urban relationships have been detected that would contextualise both monasteries as part of the monastic system of Aachen. Therefore, although they appear in the table, they have been omitted from the urban analysis carried out.

4.2.1.1 FEMALE

Female monasticism generally derives from the male branch. This means that practically every order is made up of a male and female branch. An example of this is the Cistercian order, with its male and female branches, as well as the Franciscans, Carmelites, etc. However, there are orders that are either only male or only female. Three orders have been identified as having both male and female branches in the city. As many of the orders have only female representation, there is no male correspondence in Aachen. These are the Begines, Christense-

rines, Ursulines and the Sisters of St Elizabeth. Regarding the female orders of Christenserines and the Sisters of St Elisabeth, it should be noted that their first foundation and place of origin was the city of Aachen in the years 1310 and 1626 respectively (Groten et al., 2009).

The first female foundation in Aachen was the convent of Salvatorberg in 997 by the Cistercians. However, if we look at the foundations in the city itself, these did not take place until 1262. The Beguines made their first foundation at Mattiashof, followed by the Beguin foundation at Stephanshof. In addition to being the first two foundations for women, they are also the only case of a single order in the city with two different foundations. Women's convents account for 56% of the city's total number of female buildings. There are 14 convents belonging to the female branch, a higher number than the male one. With the exception of the convent in Burtscheid, all the other convent buildings are protected by the city walls. However, the number found in the first ring is almost double the number in the second wall. This shows a high interest in central positions close to the urban centre. Regarding the urban position, all of them are located next to important road connections. A high density can be noted in the area next to the axis towards Burtscheid and the cathedral. A change of orders has been detected in two formerly male buildings. These are St. Johan Baptista and St. Leonhard. While in the former the Cistercians occupy the building of a former Benedictine order, in the latter the same order of the Holy Sepulchre changes from its male to its female branch in the monastery of St. Leonhard. Finally, the last change of order identified is from a female convent to another female order. The old convent of the White Nuns goes to the order of the Most Holy Annunciation[26], although it will only last for 80 years in its ownership compared to more than five centuries for the White Nuns.

4.2.2 SITUATION OF THE MONASTIC BUILDINGS IN THE CITY

It is difficult to get an overall picture of the monastic system when it is a process that spans several centuries. In the case of Aachen there are two stages in which most of the foundations are focused. On the one hand the 13th and 14th centuries, on the other hand the 17th century. One of the well-known views of Aachen, made by Bruin in 1576, locates the monastic buildings of the time. Because the 17th century foundations do not appear, the plan of 1740[27] is also studied. This docu-

26 Due to their blue habit they are known as Blue Nuns or Celestine Nuncs.

27 The plan of 1740 is the first known planimetric document of the city, located in the Aachen Archive. Reference StAAc H29.

ment shows the entire monastic development, preserved until the beginning of the 19th century, prior to the arrival of the French troops and the ecclesiastical confiscations. The plan of 1740 is decisive to understand the position of the monastic establishment of all the buildings before the disappearance of most of them. At the same time, the great graphic detail of the monastic buildings on the plan, differentiating between church and monastic buildings, allows a complete and precise reading of the city's monastic system to be established.

The importance of the monastic buildings in Aachen is not only due to the number of buildings in the city, but also to their social, political and religious significance. In 1795, the city had a population of 23,413 inhabitants (Poll, 1960). If we superimpose a total of 25 monastic buildings on the number of inhabitants, we obtain the result that Aachen had one monastery for approximately every 936 people. Quite a high number for a medium-sized city. If the monastic area were grouped together, this would be 7.6% of the city. After a long process of monastic settlement that began in the 10th century, the number of monasteries at the beginning of the 19th century contrasts with that of other provincial capitals such as Münster with 20, Düsseldorf with 14, Arnsberg with 3 or Detmold with only 2. It is only surpassed by Cologne, with 66 monastic buildings (Groten et al., 2009).

The monastic buildings in Aachen can be categorised according to different criteria. One of these, which has already been analysed, is the division into male and female monasteries. However, depending on the location of these buildings, other parameters related to the urban environment can also be considered. At this point, a more detailed analysis is made between the city and its monastic system. The first classification is based on the position of the buildings in relation to the city wall. In Aachen we find a double walled enclosure. The first wall constitutes the oldest and most central part of the city, while the second absorbs the new urban growth. There are 14 buildings in the first ring and 10 in the space between the first and second ring. This means that 56% of the monasteries are centrally located compared to 40% placed in the urban developments of the second wall. On the other hand, the monastery of Burtscheid outside the walled urban boundaries, representing 4% of the total, should be noted. The percentage within the first wall is higher than within the second wall. A central position close to the cathedral is far better than those within the city limits.

A second classification is based on the religious orders' choice of location. As is common, these are positioned along roads or main urban axes, as well as at the city gates. The main gates are

Figure 190. Position of monasteries and convents in the 18th century. Own elaboration.

the Marschiertor in the south and the Ponttor[28] in the north. In both cases, together with the Kölntor, Adalbertor and the Jakobtor on a second level, they mark the direction of urban and monastic growth. In the vicinity of these gates, 62% of the monasteries and convents are located.

As can be seen (Figure 190), two monastic axes have been identified in Aachen, to the north and to the south. The northern axis is made up of the Ponttor and the Pontstraße, which runs from the gate to the Marktplaz. Five monastic buildings are found along this axis. The second axis is the Marschierttor, together with Kleinmarschierstraße and Franzstraße. This is one of the most prominent and important axes, as it is the direct route between the cathedral and the Burtscheid convent. The relationship between the Burtscheid convent and the city is increasingly growing and is reflected in both urban and monastic expansion in this direction. Thus, a total of seven buildings can be identified as being related to this axis, the largest in the city. In fact, the Burtscheid direction marks the beginning of

28 In both cases, the gates are still preserved today as the only two remnants of gates in the Aachen city wall.

Aachen's exponential urban growth. In relation to the other gates mentioned, although they constitute important communication axes, no major growth has been identified. Finally, a large grouping of monastic buildings has been noticed in the southern area between the cathedral and the Kleinmarschiertor. Probably the availability of land, together with the proximity of the cathedral as the most important religious building, favoured a wide expansion of monasticism in this urban area.

It is possible that there is a third group of buildings further away from the city centre. These are the Salvatorberg and St. Johannes Baptist. The distances to the cathedral are 1,100 m for the first one and 1,400 m for the second. The Salvatorberg lost its monastic character in 1220, leaving only the Burtscheid monastery as the only monastery of its type outside the walled enclosure of Aachen. On the other hand, the monasteries outside the city walls correspond to the first stage of monastic foundation and not to that of mendicant orders linked to urban life. In this sense they are not considered as a third grouping. The existence of St. Johannes Baptist in Burtscheid, however, conditions the growth of Aachen until the place becomes an integral part of the city in the 20th century.

Once different classifications regarding the position of the monasteries in the city have been established, the political dimension of urban organisation and administration is considered. The urban division is established in *Pfarrbezirke*[29] and *Polizeibezirke*[30]. The first parish division is depicted in the Rappardplan of 1860[31] (Figure 192). However, the first monastic confiscation and secularisation took place in 1802, so that the plan is therefore much later. In addition, many of the former monastic churches were transformed into parishes forming new *Pfarrbezirke*. The parishes before 1802 were St. Foillan [Pf1], St. Adalbert [Pf2], St. Peter [Pf3] and St. Jakob [Pf4]. Later the parishes of St. Michael [Pf5], St. Nikolaus [Pf6], St. Kreuz [Pf7] and St. Paul [Pf8] (Groten et al., 2009), churches of former monasteries, were added. If the *Pfarrbezirke* of 1860 are used, a complete reading of the monastic system is not possible, as most of the convents have been secularised at this stage.

The following hypothesis is made to determine the parish division before the Rappardplan (Figure 191). If the parish division of 1860 is moved to a plan before 1802, the *Pfarrbezirke* of the former monastic churches should be deleted. The division

29 German word for districts ruled by a parish.

30 The urban divisions are depicted on the Siedamgrotzky plan of 1877. They are therefore left out of the analysis of the monastic development up to the secularisation of 1802. They are considered in the study and monastic relationship together with the *Pfarrbezirke* of 1860 in section 4.4.

31 Plan made by Rappard in 1860 of the city of Aachen, stored in the Municipal Archive with reference StAAc_Karten_III_d_1_a.

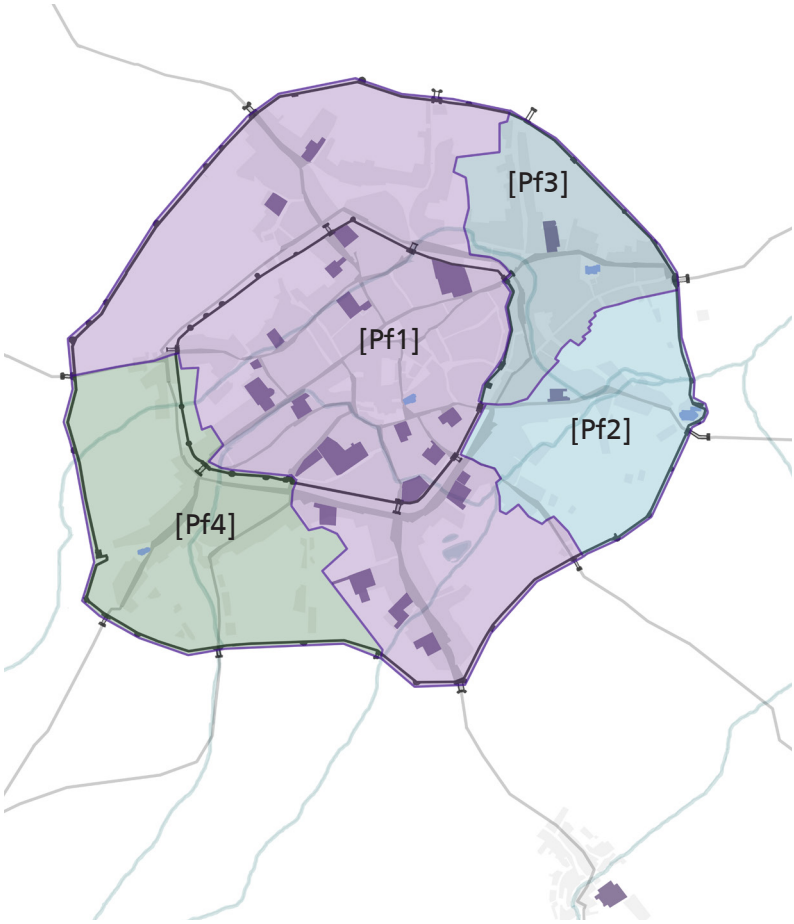


Figure 191. .*Pfarrbezirke*'s [Pf] hypothesis in the 18th century. Own elaboration.

Pf1 | St. Foillan
Pf2 | St. Adalbert
Pf3 | St. Peter
Pf4 | St. Jakob

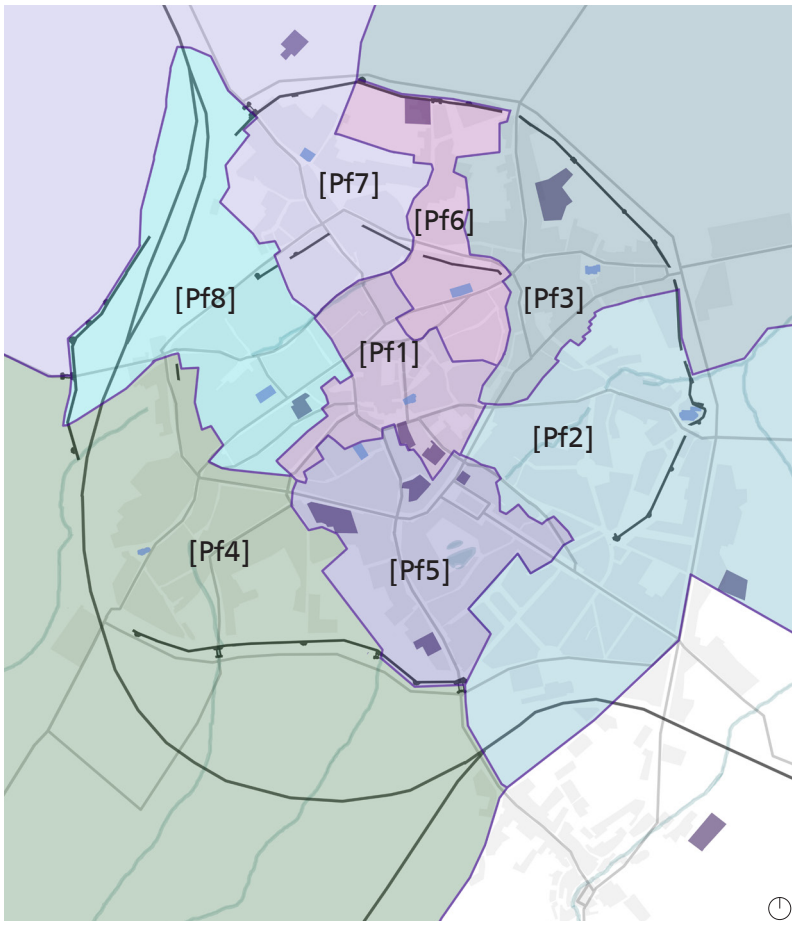


Figure 192. .*Pfarrbezirke* in the 19th century, according to Rappard's plan. Own elaboration.

Pf1 | St. Foillan
Pf2 | St. Adalbert
Pf3 | St. Peter
Pf4 | St. Jakob
Pf5 | St. Michael
Pf6 | St. Nikolaus
Pf7 | St. Kreuz
Pf8 | St. Paul

remains into four *Pfarrbezirke*, each belonging to the four existing parishes. Within the first wall, the oldest and smallest, there is only one parish, St. Foillan. Probably the entire area inside the walls was one single *Pfarrbezirk*. The other parishes would have made up the areas between the first and second city walls. The mentioned axes of Pontstraße and Franzstraße belong to new *Pfarrbezirke* in 1860. It seems likely that these new were created from a single earlier one, which also occupied the area of the first wall, St. Foillan. In this sense, this parish division would have been subdivided into 5 smaller *Pfarrbezirke* taking the new parishes as the main ones. It seems logical that only one single collation would manage the area of the first wall. It is odd to think that any of the parishes of St. Jakob, St. Adalbert or St. Peter could lose some of their influence of the urban centre. This fact reaffirms the hypothesis that St. Foillan was a large *Pfarrbezirk* occupying the area of the first inner wall enclosure.

Taking the above hypothesis as a reference, a new plan has been drawn up, in which the parish division of Aachen prior to 1802 is shown. This is the period before the confiscation, so it would be represented with all the monastic buildings. As can be seen, the ratio of monastic occupation per area is St. Foillan (92%) [Pf1], St. Adalbert (3%) [Pf2], St. Peter (3%) [Pf3] and St. Jakob (0%) [Pf4]. Almost all of the monastic properties, including the two aforementioned monastic axes, are located in the *Pfarrbezirk* of St. Foillan. Only two *Pfarrbezirke* have one monastery each, and the parish division of St. Jakob has none. The position of St. Foillan in relation to the other parishes is decisive for the ecclesiastical and therefore monastic administrative organisation of the city. The central urban position next to the cathedral favours St. Foillan over the others, which are located on the outskirts and far from the centre. On the other hand, the ecclesiastical division could explain part of the urban situation of the monasteries and convents. The choice of a specific place and no other. The area covered by St. Foillan prevails over the rest, any new foundation tries to be located in this area bounded by the aforementioned *Pfarrbezirk*.

4.2.3 IMPACT ON OTHER URBAN FOUNDATIONS

The foundation of an order in one city meant the beginning of others in new cities. From a first monastery, the order expands its network to other cities. The Cluniac order, in fact, takes its name from its first foundation in Cluny, France. From the aforementioned town, the order spread throughout the European continent during the medieval age. Numerous cities and settlements have been the place of foundation and appearance of orders such as Cluny, Toulouse, Assisi, Rome, Jerusalem,

etc. In the case of Aachen, it was also the seat of some of the religious orders. One of the orders to have its first foundation in the city was the Christenserines in 1310, which was also the only foundation of the order (Gossen, 1933). The second was the Sisters of St Elizabeth in 1626. In this sense, the city was the origin of two female orders reflecting its monastic importance.

It is not only important that an order establishes in a city, but also its capacity for expansion. The foundational strategy starts with the first monastery. As other buildings of the same order appear in new cities, these also constitute points of expansion into new cities and places. Usually, foundations are first initiated in large cities and then move on to smaller settlements. In this sense, there is a monastic foundation hierarchy depending on the character of each urban centre. Aachen is an important point in the development of monasticism as a strategic location for future foundations. In addition, Aachen's border situation with other kingdoms and countries[32] favoured the process

32 Aachen's territorial situation has been borderline since the rise of the Holy Roman Empire in the 10th century. Today, Aachen shares the German border with the Netherlands and Belgium.

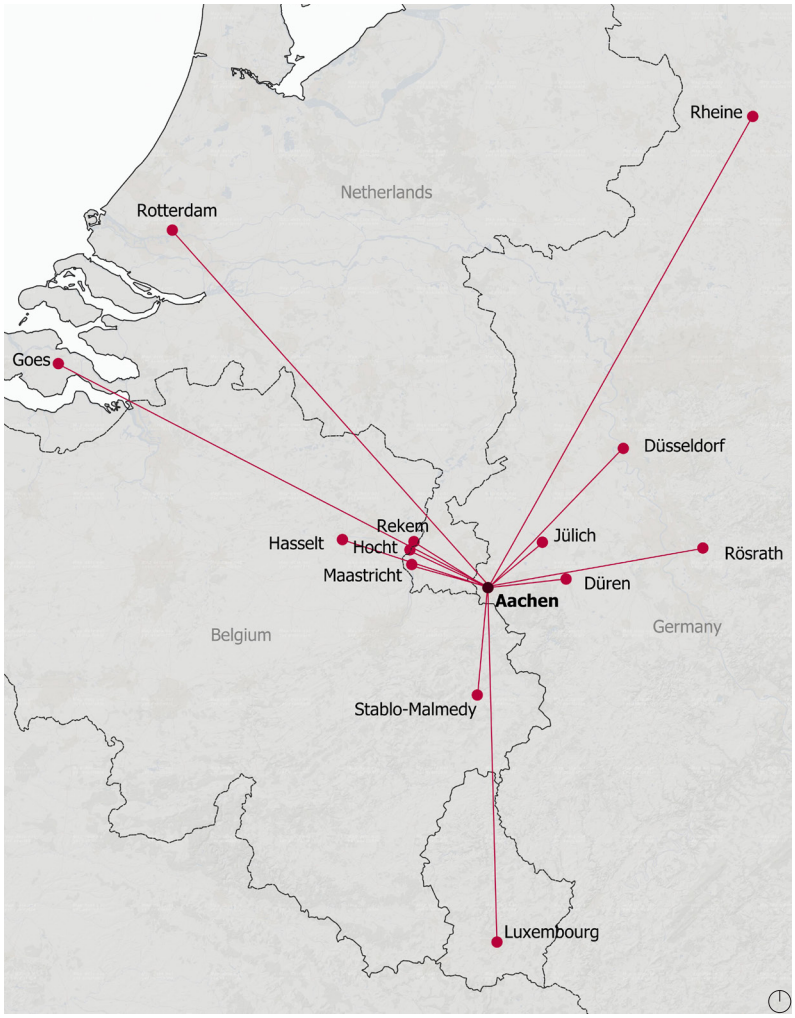


Figure 193. Foundations from Aachen to other cities. Base plan 2023. Own elaboration based on data from Groten et al. (2009), Panzer (2006), Gatz (1965) and Greb (1981).

towards foundations not only on German territory but also in other regions. In order to establish relationships and distances between the locations of the affiliates born in Aachen, a map has been drawn up showing the number of foundations in each city (Figure 193). A total of 14 affiliates have been traced back to foundations in Aachen. This represents a high number considering that only 7% of the towns in North Rhine-Westphalia had more than 10 monasteries and convents. Following the foundation order in Aachen, the Cistercian sisters of Salvatorberg founded St. Agatha in Hocht (Belgium[33]) between 1218 and 1220, before its transfer to Burtscheid (Ceyssens, 1905). In this border scenario, towns like Hocht have a closer link and relationship with Maastricht (Netherlands), despite being in political terms in another country. The Teutonic order made two new foundations. A first one in Maastricht (Netherlands) and a second one in Hasselt (Belgium). The Augustinian order of Aachen established a foundation in 1794 in Rösrath (Germany), near Cologne (Groten et al., 2009). The Carmelite order founds a new monastery in Rekem (Belgium) (Panzer, 2006), close to Maastricht, as well as in the aforementioned town of Hocht.

The Crosiers is one of the orders that created the most affiliates after the Aachen foundation. They are located in Rotterdam, Goes, Maastricht (Netherlands) and Rheine (Germany). The Sisters of the Holy Sepulchre of St. Leonhard's created a new convent in Jülich (Germany) in 1644 (Groten et al., 2009). Among the first new foundations of the Sisters of St Elizabeth after the convent in Aachen in 1626, they build one in Düren (Germany) in 1650 and another in Luxembourg in 1671 (Gatz, 1965). Finally, the Ursuline order made two foundations, in Düsseldorf, in 1677, and a second one in Stablo-Malmedy (Belgium), in 1710 (Greb, 1981). It can be seen that the border situation of Aachen encourages the establishment in several present-day countries. If we count the percentages of foundations by country, we have Germany (36%), Belgium (28%), the Netherlands (28%) and Luxembourg (1%). While Germany stands out as having a higher percentage, both Belgium and the Netherlands are equidistant in terms of the number of foundations. If one looks at the foundation plan, three rings of can be established according to the distance in a straight line. The first comprises the towns around Mastricth and Jülich, with a radius of approximately 25-30 km. The second is the approximately 65-70 km radius of Düsseldorf. The third, more extensive 170-190 km, includes cities such as Rotterdam or Rheine. All this reflects the importance of Aachen, not only as a monastic city but also as an intermediate point in the continuation of the expansion of monasticism in Europe.

33 The current country where the city is located is designated in brackets. Due to the constant change of borders it is complex to locate each city according to historical layers in this analysis.

4.3 CITY AND MONASTERY

The monasteries are an essential part of Aachen's urban life. They are not just another building in the city, but their number and typology make them an important part of the city. These buildings are made up of different elements such as the cloister, the church, the refectory or the rooms, which change their layout depending on the order or the urban position. Among these pieces, the church stands out above the rest. It is the largest and tallest interior space, as well as a place for prayer and a meeting place for the people. In turn, the bell towers, spires and bell-glabes linked to the church play a key role in the urban landscape. On the other hand, the cloisters and gardens are the largest open spaces in the monasteries. In many cases, they are larger in surface area than the built space, generating real urban voids inside the blocks. Besides the actual religious use of the monastic building, they also carried out other functions as urban facilities. In Aachen in particular, numerous convents and monasteries for educational and health purposes have been identified. Finally, the importance of the relationship of toponymy between monastic buildings and urban space is examined. Despite the disappearance of monasteries and convents, there are still a large number of references in Aachen today.

The several transformations of the monastic parts in the 19th and 20th centuries have made it difficult to recognise them in the urban plot. For the study of the monastic system, we have taken the floor plans of the Municipal Archive of 1740. This plan is decisive not only because it predates the secularisation of 1802, but also because it graphically represents the position and urban form of all the monasteries and convents. In fact, it is interesting to note the difference between the parts of each building, distinguishing between the church, convent buildings and open spaces. This confirms the importance and division of these parts within the monastic typology. However, the Burtscheid convent does not appear on the plan used, as it lies outside the drawn boundaries. For this purpose, the first representation of the convent in ground plan, located in the Rappardplan of 1860, has been used as a basis. Finally, the 24 inner-wall monastic buildings are obtained by adding the Burtscheid convent, bringing the total number of buildings to 25.

4.3.1 THE CHURCH, A KEY PART OF THE MONASTIC BUILDING

The most outstanding part of the monastery complex is the church. This space is highly unique within the monastery, both for its architectural and spatial characteristics. In many cases it is a symbol of identity and expression of the monastery itself, since in this space the religious order shows itself to the city. On the other hand, architectural elements such as towers, church

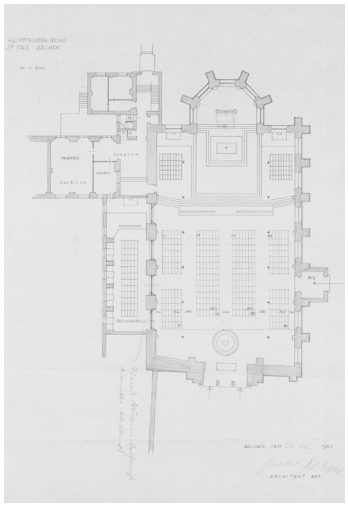


Figure 194. Plan of St. Paul church, 1953. LVR-Amt für Denkmalpflege im Rheinland, historisches Planarchiv.

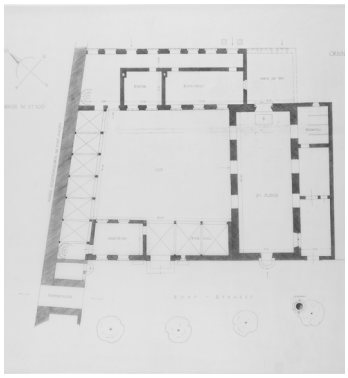


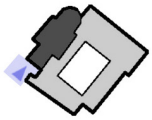
Figure 195. Plan of Deutschenordenkommende in Aachen. Reconstruction made by Werner Ingendaay, 1948. LVR-Amt für Denkmalpflege im Rheinland, historisches Planarchiv.

Figure 196. (right page) Plan of monasteries and convents at the end of the 18th century in Aachen according to known data. Own elaboration.

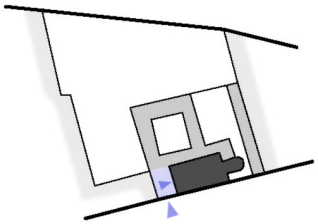
spires or bell-glabes appear in the churches. These not only highlight the figure of the church, but also the urban image, creating an urban landscape that stands out from the village. These features that form the temple favour its permanence over other parts of the monastic building. In fact, most of the monasteries and convents disappeared, leaving the church as the last element. Moreover, the continuity of the church does not always mean that a religious use has been achieved. On many cases, the church is adapted to other compatible uses in relation to its proportions and characteristics.

The church is a common element in all monasteries and convents. However, there are differences between them for various reasons. The main one is their division into two large groups according to the religious orders, male and female. This grouping is not only marked by the religious order itself, but also by the layout of the church, its size, access and position in relation to the urban road. Among the total of 25 monastic churches at the end of the 18th century (Figure 196), almost half are male, 13 monasteries, and 12 are female, 12 convents.

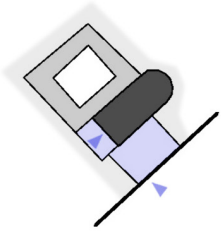
One of the typological characteristics of the male temple is the existence of an atrium or entrance space as a preamble. Within the 13 monastic temples in Aachen, nine of them have an atrium before the main entrance. In the monasteries of Webbegarden, St. Katharina, Karmeliterkloster and Jesuitenkloster, only one direct entrance from the street has been found at the foot of the church. The remaining buildings have been divided into two groups according to the characteristics of their entrances. The first group consists of 5 buildings with an interior atrium and the second group consists of 4 buildings that use an extension of the urban street as an atrium. In the first group, the monasteries of St. Nikolaus, St. Paul (Figure 194) and St. Leonhard use a courtyard as a preamble to the church. Likewise, the Regulierherrenkloster uses an entire street as an atrium. In contrast, the Alexians place the compass inside the building itself without making it an open space. They build an entrance hall from which the church can be entered later. In cases where the street is used as an atrium, two resources are used. On the one hand, an extension of the street itself is used, as in Johanniterkommende or Deutschenordenkommende (Figure 195). On the other hand, a small square or barrera is built, as in Écija with Nuestra Señora de la Victoria or Nuestra Señora del Carmen. In Aachen, this is used in places such as St. Johannes Baptist or the Kreuzherrenkloster. The latter, together with Johanniterkommende and Augustinerkloster, are the only ones that adopt the corner as the position of the church, thus having a greater urban prominence. Despite this orientation, which allows greater possibilities for entering the church, they maintain, as far as possible, the existence of the atrium.



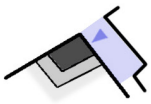
-997-
St. Johannes Baptist



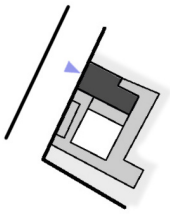
-1234-
Franziskanerkloster



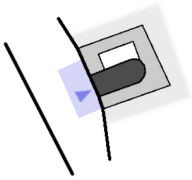
-1294-
Dominikanerkloster



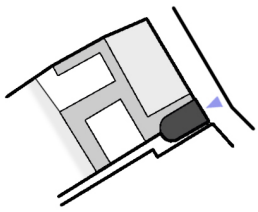
-1313-
Johanniterkommende



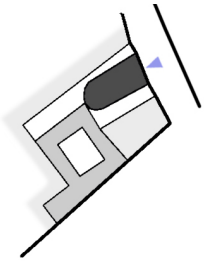
-1315-
Webbegarden / Kapuzinerkloster



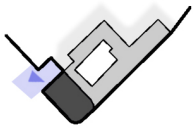
-1320-
Deutschordenskommende



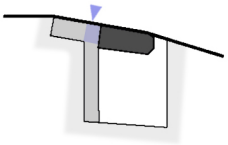
-1329-
Augustinerkloster



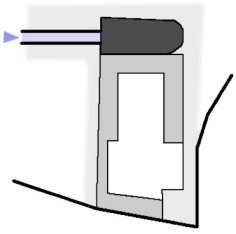
-1353-
Karmeliterkloster



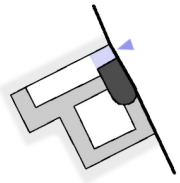
-1372-
Kreuzherrenkloster



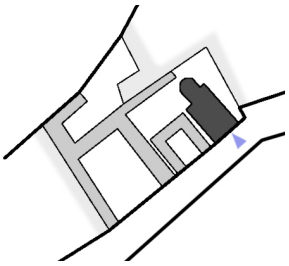
-1391-
Alexianerkloster



-1421-
Regulierherrenkloster

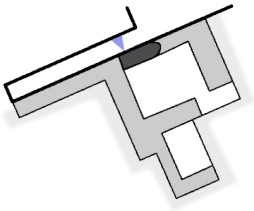


-1486-
St. Leonhard

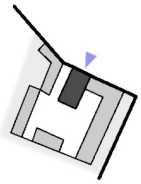


-1600-
Jesuitenkloster

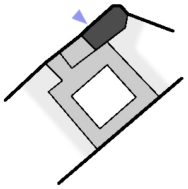
M
F



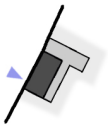
-1262-
St. Mattiashof / Marienthal



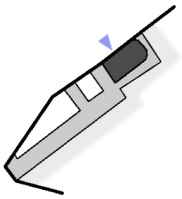
-1275-
Stephanshof



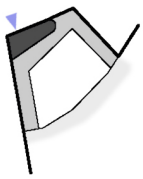
-1278-
Cölestinnenkloster



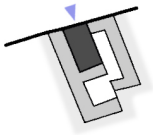
-1310-
Christensenkloster



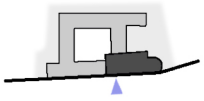
-1513-
Annakloster



-1616-
Klarissenkloster

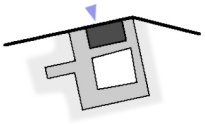


-1626-
Elisabethkloster

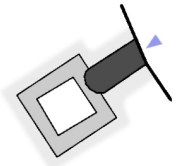


-1645-
Pönitentenkloster

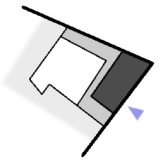
-1646-
Annunziatenkloster



-1651-
Ursulinenkloster



-1662-
Karmeliterinnenkloster



-1695-
Marienbongardkloster

Figure 197. (right page) Plan of cloisters and orchards in monasteries and convents at the end of the 18th century in Aachen according to known data. Own elaboration.

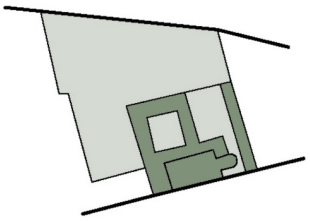
Churches belonging to women's orders are different from those belonging to men's orders. These are characterised by the fact that they are more longitudinal, with no atrium as a preamble and a side entrance. Due to the enclosure of many of these orders, the division of space in the church makes this typology different from the male one. However, in the case of Aachen, exceptions to the above-mentioned characteristics have been detected, such as the entrances at the foot of the church at Stephansfhof, Elisabethkloster and Karmeliterinnenkloster. Among the 12 women's convents, nine churches are positioned parallel to the road and only three have an entrance at the foot of the church. The rest adopt the common position followed by the women's orders. Three other convents, Weißfrauen, Klarissenkloster and Marienbongardkloster, stand out due to their corner position to the church. In addition to this corner position, there are four other male buildings, making a total of seven monasteries and convents in this position.

Regarding the size of the naves in the churches, in both cases it is difficult to establish dimensional parameters. As they are schematic plans from an urban plan, it is not possible to establish with certainty an exact number between 1 and 3 naves for the churches. On the other hand, planimetric information on the old churches is scarce. Moreover, they have undergone transformations or enlargements in the last century and have even been completely rebuilt. Therefore, the analysis is restricted to parameters of position, orientation and access in relation to the urban plot, without going into the typological and architectural characteristics of the churches. The complexity of the monastic temple is diverse and is mainly marked by the gender of the order, male or female. Finally, it is necessary to stress once again the importance of the church as a fundamental part of the monastic system. In general, it is the only permanence after the disappearance of the convent building. Thanks to the church, there are still numerous remaining convents and monasteries in the city, playing a key role in the urban landscape.

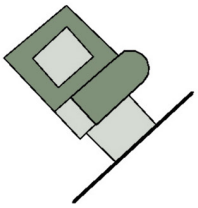
4.3.2 THE CLOISTER, ARTICULATOR OF THE MONASTIC PIECES

The second characteristic element of convents and monasteries is the cloister. This is a space that acts as a distributor of the monastic building. In general, all the rooms that make up the monastery, such as the church, refectory, dormitories, library, etc., are located around it. Due to the size of this type of building, the cloisters also normally take up large areas. When the building is more complex or has a large surface area, it is common to find numerous cloisters, and there may be two or even three at the same time (Molina Liñán, 2021). Alongside

-997-
St. Johannes Baptist

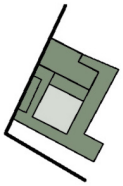


-1234-
Franziskanerkloster

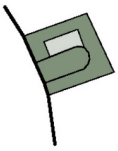


-1294-
Dominikanerkloster

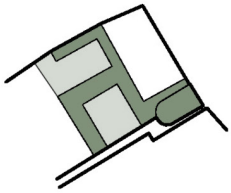
-1313-
Johanniterkommende



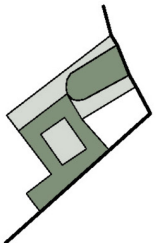
-1315-
Webbegarden / Kapuzinerkloster



-1320-
Deutschordenskommende

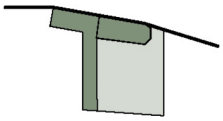


-1329-
Augustinerkloster

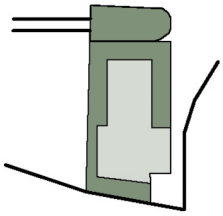


-1353-
Karmeliterkloster

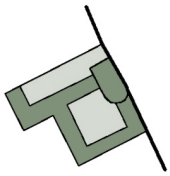
-1372-
Kreuzherrenkloster



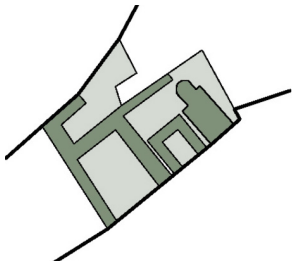
-1391-
Alexianerkloster



-1421-
Regulierherrenkloster

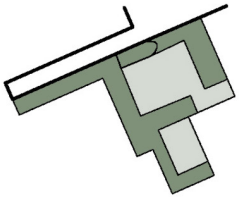


-1486-
St. Leonhard



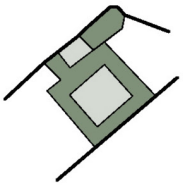
-1600-
Jesuitenkloster

M
F



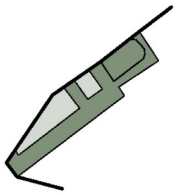
-1262-
St. Mattiashof / Marienthal

-1275-
Stephanshof

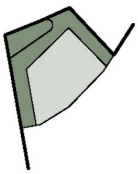


-1278-
Cölestinnenkloster

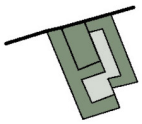
-1310-
Christensenkloster



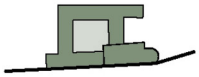
-1513-
Annakloster



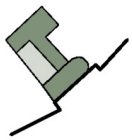
-1616-
Klarissenkloster



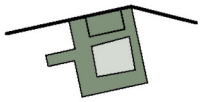
-1626-
Elisabethkloster



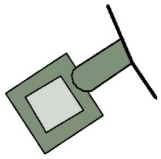
-1645-
Pönitentenkloster



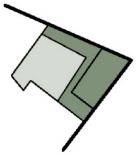
-1646-
Annunziatenkloster



-1651-
Ursulinenkloster



-1662-
Karmeliterinnenkloster



-1695-
Marienbongardkloster

the cloister, there are other open spaces such as orchards. In the early days of monasticism, these were crucial because they guaranteed the order's self-sufficiency. Nevertheless, for the mendicant orders it is really difficult due to the different locations in the city and the irregular layout of the plots of land (Schenkluhn, 2000). Furthermore, the lower availability of land and the possibility of supply within the city itself meant that the orchards were on a second level.

In Aachen, the open spaces on the ground floor of monastic buildings prior to the secularisation of 1802 have been analysed (Figure 197). Regardless of the urban position of the building, it always has at least one cloister. Only one exception has been found, that of the Johanniterkommende. The order only built a church in the city together with outbuildings attached to it, but did not develop a cloister according to the plan of 1740.

Figure 198. Table with areas of cloisters and orchards of known monastic buildings at the end of the 18th century. Own elaboration.

Monasteries and convents	Cloister 1 (m2)	Cloister 2 (m2)	Cloister 3 (m2)	Cloister 4 (m2)	Garden 1 (m2)	Building (m2)
St. Johannes Baptist	620				30.400	3100
Franziskanerkloster (St. Nikolaus)	300	630			4500	1700
St. Matthiashof / Marienthal	430	1160				2200
Stephanshof	800					1000
Cölestinnenkloster (Weißfrauen)	150	520				1400
Dominikanerkloster (St. Paul)	490					2700
Christensenkloster	140					500
Johanniterkommende						460
Webbegarden / Kapuzinerkloster	380					1500
Deutschordenskommende	150					1000
Augustinerkloster (St. Katharina)	520	570				1400
Karmeliterkloster	300	740				2000
Kreuzherrenkloster (Heilig Kreuz)	230					1200
Alexianerkloster	1310					800
Regulierherrenkloster	1800					2200
St. Lenohard	510	500				1300
Annakloster	110	370				1200
Jesuitenkloster	170	1020	990	780		1900
Klarissenkloster	1120					1000
Elisabethkloster	340					1100
Pönitentenkloster	290					1000
Annuntiatinnenkloster	220					650
Ursulinenkloster	330					1100
Karmeliterinnenkloster (St. Theresia)	460					1300
Marienbongardkloster	700					850

No other documents or references have been found for this building that indicate the existence of a cloister, gardens or orchards. The study of the open spaces has not taken into account the grouping between male and female, as has been done for the churches, because in this case it is not decisive. On the other hand, the cloister part is not always enclosed around its entire perimeter by the monastic building. At least 14 buildings have been counted in which this situation exists. Sometimes the enclosure is made by a fence or buildings on adjoining plots, as in the case of the Franciscan, Augustinian or Alexian monastery. In other situations it is common to use the wall as a perimeter and support for the creation of courtyards and orchards, as in Franziskanerkloster or Klarissenkloster.

There are 16 of the 25 monastic buildings with only one cloister (64%), 6 have up to two cloisters (24%), while only 2 have three or more (8%) (Figure 198). As can be seen from the table, the existence of one cloister is much higher than the existence of two or more. Among the causes, three possibilities have been identified. The first is the probable shortage of urban land, which prevents the construction of new conventual spaces. The second is the absence of a need for a second cloister. In fact, the high urban density reduces the free space in favour of built-up space. Thirdly, the graphic representation of the plan. Both the line thickness of the buildings and the plot boundaries are the same, making it difficult in many cases to differentiate between areas belonging to monasteries and those not belonging to them. In cases like the Franziskanerkloster it is easily readable, while in others like Marienthal it is more difficult to differentiate between monastic space and other buildings (Figure 199).

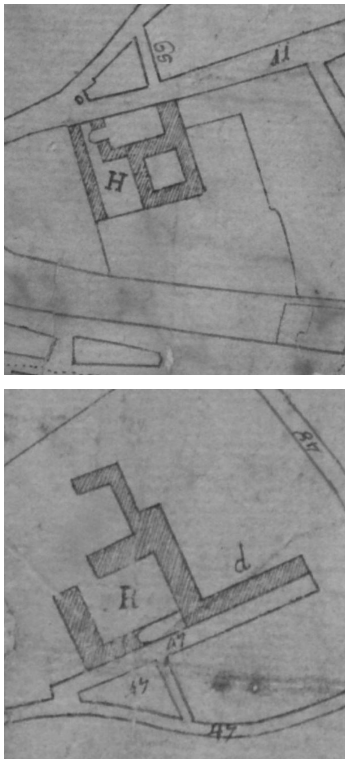


Figure 199. Situation of Franziskanerkloster (top) and Marienthal (down). Plan of Aachen, 1740. Stadtarchiv Aachen, StAAc_H36.

Finally, from the five buildings with two cloisters or courtyards, three are female and three are male. In the case of the Franciscan monastery, it has a large open space dedicated to orchards. The Jesuit school, on the other hand, is distributed in different parts that form different courtyards in the area of the plot it occupies. In the schematic plans drawn, the case of the Burtscheid monastery stands out, with an absence of orchards. It is odd to think that as one of the first monastic buildings in Aachen and outside the city, there was no space dedicated to cultivation and gardens. Perhaps such an area must have existed in the surrounding area. The depiction of the building of St. Johannes Baptist in the Rappardplan of 1860 suggests that the entire green area, divided into square plots, was the former orchards of the monastery (Figure 200). Although the building is secularised on the plan, the shape of the former monastic plot can still be read. If this were the case, the monastery would have had an area of approximately 3 hectares of orchards.

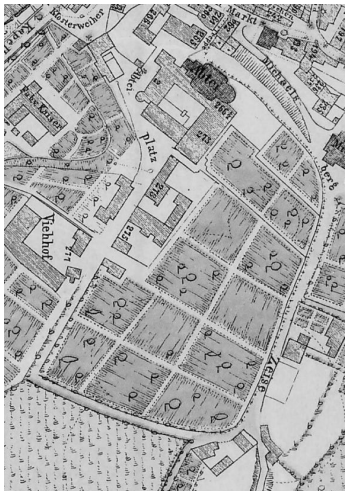


Figure 200. Situation of St. Johannes Baptist in Burtscheid. Rappardplan of Aachen, 1860. Stadtarchiv Aachen, StAAc_Karten III d1a.

The characteristics obtained from the data on the surface area of the cloisters are complex to analyse. As the floor plans taken from the Aachen plan of 1740 are considered, the data are approximations. On the basis of these information, the buildings have been divided into three groups according to the size of the cloisters. The largest group consists of 15 buildings ranging from 100 m2 to 400 m2. Most of these buildings have only one cloister. The only exception with two cloisters in the same group is St. Anna with two smaller open spaces. A second group is made up of 10 buildings with cloister dimensions ranging from 500 m2 to 800 m2. In this group, both Augustinerkloster and St. Leonhard have two cloisters within these sizes. On the other hand, there are buildings with two combined cloisters, one in the first group and one in the second. These are the Franziskanerkloster, Weißfrauen, Karmeliterkloster or Jesuitenkloster. A third group consists of four monastic buildings ranging in size from 1,000 m2 to 1,300 m2. Only Alexianerkloster and Klarissenkloster have a single cloister in this group, the other two are combinations with groups one and two.

There are three exceptions to the three-group relationships that have been established. On the one hand, the orchards of the aforementioned Franciscan monastery have a much larger surface area than the other groups, approximately 4,500 m2. The second exception ist the cloister of St. Johannes Baptista, wich has a surface area of 1,800 m2 and is outside any of the three groups. It certainly constitutes a rather large cloister for the average represented by the first group, where it does not exceed 500m2. The third exception is the three hectares of orchards mentioned in the monastery of St. Johannes Baptist in Burtscheid. Outside of any classification. Finally, the diversity of these spaces and their open character make the monastic city multifaceted and open on many sides (Schenkluhn, 2000). On the other hand, the large dimensions of the monastic spaces of cloisters and orchards favoured the construction of new buildings or dwellings. In short, there was a reduction in the diversity and extent of open spaces within blocks in favour of built space.

4.3.3 MONASTERIES AND CONVENTS, URBAN FACILITES

Urban facilities are characterised by the fact that they are urban pieces at the service of the city. Nowadays there is a wide variety of facilities of a health, cultural, educational, religious, etc. nature. In the classical period there was a notable advance in the typology of facilities. Buildings such as theatres, baths, libraries and schools formed the basis of the structure of the Roman city. In the medieval period, many of these buildings lost their initial character, and their use was delegated to

Figure 201. Monasteries and convents as urban facilities, at the end of the 18th century. Uses founded are religious, sanitary and educational. Own elaboration.

institutions such as the Church. While the parishes took on an eminently religious and administrative role, the religious orders took on educational, hospital or cultural uses. Therefore, in addition to being buildings with a religious use, monasteries and convents are the prelude to modern urban facilities such as schools and hospitals.

The city of Aachen is a noteworthy example of the development of monasteries and convents as urban facilities. At the end of the 18th century, at least three types of facilities have been identified as religious, educational and health uses (Figure 201). Logically in this typology, the religious use is the predominant one in the city, with 14 buildings destined exclusively for this purpose, 56% of the 25 monastic buildings. Although the rest of the monasteries and convents also had a religious use, this was shared with other uses. Seven buildings were found in the city for educational use, accounting for 28% of the total. Their distribution is fairly homogeneous in the urban area, being located next to the main access streets to the city. Four schools occupy a position within the first wall, the

Jesuits, Ursulines, Begines[34] and Augustinians. The latter were characterised by their studies in science, and in 1512 they had seven doctors of theology to teach (Mielke & Bertsch, 2001). The teaching work of the Jesuits is widely known, offering in Aachen a comprehensive teaching in the areas of grammar, syntax, rhetoric, theology, drama and mathematics. In fact, it is recorded that every year, between one and four students decided to join the same order (Mielke & Bertsch, 2001). On the other hand, the Ursulines dedicated themselves exclusively to the teaching of girls, following the models of the Dominican nuns, Sisters of the Holy Sepulchre and Franciscan Penitent Recollect nuns. The latter three are located in the area of the second wall, where the Pönitentenkloster was the first girls' school in Aachen (Brecher, 1956).

In the case of health facilities, these represent a total of four. Although in number they may seem a small proportion, the percentage they represent is 16%. Their position in the urban fabric is concentrated in the area to the south of the Marschiertor of the first wall. The functions of Alexians, Sisters of St. Elisabeth and Christenserines were the care and healing of the sick (Groten et al., 2009). Only the Congregation of Windesheimer was further away from the other hospital buildings, in the Größkölnstraße. The importance of these orders and their function in the city stands out from the rest. In fact, it was their use that saved them from the French secularisation of 1802, which affected all religious orders except the hospital orders (Römling, 2014). This is due to the need for such facilities in the city and the absence of a civil hospital system. Today, the oldest surviving order in Aachen is in fact the hospital order of the Alexians. Although there are no remains of the original building, the Alexians have preserved their first urban site, which has been extended on numerous occasions.

Another use of the monasteries in Aachen that should be mentioned is the industrial one. Even though it is not a priority use, up to six buildings with beer production have been located. Among the buildings located, these are the Webbegarden, St. Katharina, Karmeliterkloster, Alexianerkloster, Johannes Baptista and Annakloster (Groten et al., 2009). In addition to the aforementioned buildings, the existence of a brandy distillery in the monastery of Burtscheid (Bischops, 1997) is also worth mentioning. This importance is not on the activity itself, but on the versatility that constitutes the monastic typology, capable of developing diverse functions independently of its initial religious character. Finally, in addition to the above-mentioned uses, it should be noted that there are many other uses that

34 The order did not have a long teaching history in Aachen. The Begines began educating girls from the 18th century onwards (Groten et al., 2009).

are complementary to the religious one. In this section only those located in the city of Aachen have been mentioned. These could include cultural uses, as many monasteries and convents acted as libraries. Alternatively, for example, industrial activity not only in brewing, but also in wine production (Aladro Prieto, 2021), livestock farming or agriculture.

Figure 202. Name of the Karmeliterstraße. Author, 2022.

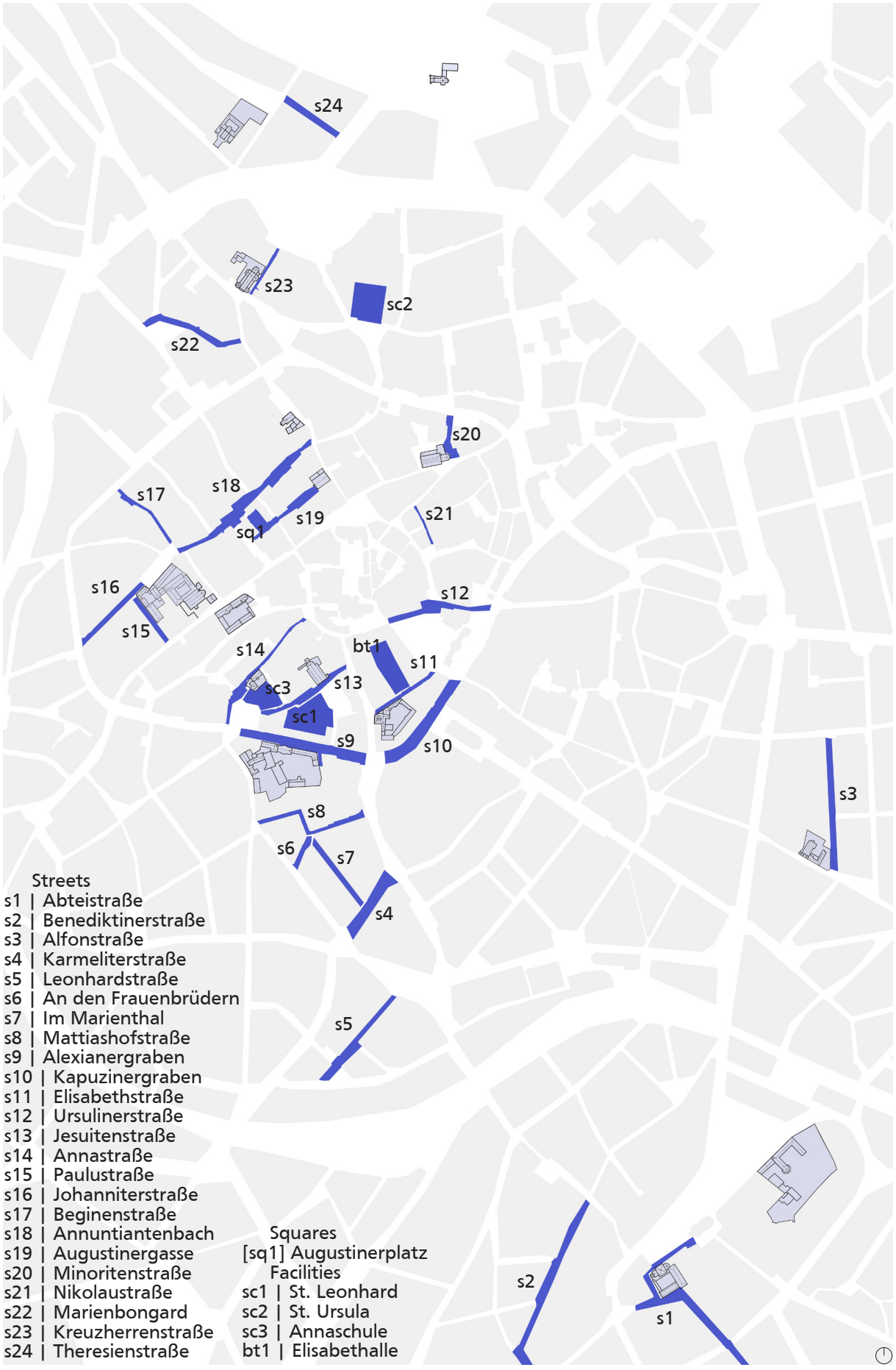
4.3.4 TOPONYMY

The linking of the name to a place can be found from the urban to the territorial scale. This relationship has a multitude of variables. One of them is the reference to names of relevant persons, but they are also related to historical landmarks, professions, characteristics or even descriptions of the site. In Aachen, names such as Schmiedstraße (blacksmiths' street) or Fischmarkt (fish market) can be found, which refer to the work activity of the place. On the other hand, names such as Theaterstraße (theatre street) are linked to the theatre itself. A direct relationship between the name and the public space further emphasises its importance in the city. From the earliest city plans, the street names have been part of the legend alongside the important buildings. In Copso's plan of Aachen of 1777, 102 streets and squares are listed. Although the names can easily change, in many cases they are still preserved in time. In other cases, there are changes that lead to a new toponymy of the place. One of the examples of a change in Aachen is the present-day axis of Franzstraße, formerly called Großmarschierstraße, due to its proximity to the Marschiertor.

Figure 203. Name of the Augustinerplatz. Author, 2022.

The importance of the monastic system in Aachen is emphasised by studying its influence on the toponymy of the city's streets in the 21st century (Figure 205). Despite the disappearance of a large number of monasteries and convents, their presence in the urban toponymy still persists. Throughout the city, 24 streets (Figure 202), 1 square (Figure 203), 3 educational facilities and 1 leisure facility have a name related to the monastic system (Figure 204). The street names are Abteistraße [s1], Benediktinerstraße [s2], Alfonstraße [s3], Karmeliterstraße [s4], Leonhardstraße [s5], An den Frauenbrüdern [s6], Im Marienthal [s7], Mattiashofstraße [s8], Alexianergraben [s9], Kapuzinergraben [s10], Elisabethstraße [s11], Ursulinerstraße [s12], Jesuitenstraße [s13], Annastraße [s14], Paulustraße [s15], Johanniterstraße [s16], Beginenstraße [s17], Annuntiantenbach [s18], Augustinergasse [s19], Minoritenstraße [s20], Nikolausstraße [s21], Marienbongard [s22], Kreuzherrenstraße [s23] and Theresienstraße [s24]. Most of them refer to the religious order, with 14 streets out of 24 (58%). The square located at one extreme of Augustinerstraße is called Augustinerplatz [sq1]. Although both are named according to the Augustinian

Figure 204. Name of the school St. Leonhard. Author, 2022.


s24
s23
sc2
s22
s20
s17
s18
s19
sq1
s21
s16
s12
s15
s14
bt1
s11
sc3
s13
sc1
s9
s10
s3
s8
s6
s7
s4
s5
s2
s1
Streets
s1 | Abteistraße
s2 | Benediktinerstraße
s3 | Alfonstraße
s4 | Karmeliterstraße
s5 | Leonhardstraße
s6 | An den Frauenbrüdern
s7 | Im Marienthal
s8 | Mattiashofstraße
s9 | Alexianergraben
s10 | Kapuzinergraben
s11 | Elisabethstraße
s12 | Ursulinerstraße
s13 | Jesuitenstraße
s14 | Annastraße
s15 | Paulustraße
s16 | Johanniterstraße
s17 | Beginenstraße
s18 | Annuntiantenbach
s19 | Augustinergasse
s20 | Minoritenstraße
s21 | Nikolaustraße
s22 | Marienbongard
s23 | Kreuzherrenstraße
s24 | Theresienstraße
Squares
[sq1] Augustinerplatz
Facilities
sc1 | St. Leonhard
sc2 | St. Ursula
sc3 | Annaschule
bt1 | Elisabethalle

monastery, they are located at the rear of the old building. The educational facilities are two secondary schools, St. Leonhard [sc1] and St. Ursula [sc2], and a school, Annaschule [sc3]. St. Ursula started out as the adaptation of the Ursuline convent, which had been used for teaching, into a secondary school. However, although it is still a religious institute, the teaching is not currently carried out by the Ursulines. Both of the above-mentioned institutes have a Catholic religious character, with the exception of the Annaschule. Since it is linked to the present-day evangelical church of St. Anna, it has an evangelical religious character. Within the group of facilities, only the Hallenbad Elisabethalle [bt1] is missing. The baths are located on the former convent plot of St. Elisabeth's, taking the same name for the present building.

Figure 205. (left page) Monastic toponymy in the 21st century. Own elaboration.

Regardless of the importance of the monastic system in the urban toponym, not all streets have a name derived from monastic buildings. While some have up to two references, as in the Franziskanerkloster with Minoritenstraße and Nikolaustraße, other monasteries, such as the Deutschordenskommende, have no connection to the place name. Furthermore, there is a strong influence of former monasteries and convents that have disappeared from the city streets. Of the 22 streets, 9 mention buildings that no longer exist. These are Karmeliterstraße [s4], Leonhardstraße [s5], Im Marienthal [s7], Mattiashofstraße [s8], Kapuzinergraben [s10], Elisabethstraße [s11], Ursulinerstraße [s12], Johanniterstraße [s16], Annuntiantenbach [s18] y Marienbongard [s22]. In addition to these names, the aforementioned facilities also refer to extinct monasteries such as St. Leonhard [sc1], St. Ursula [sc2] or Hallenbad Elisabethalle [bt1]. Undoubtedly, the monastic toponymy in the city is of high importance due to the inheritance and relationship between city and monastery. Not only is there a connection between the names of existing buildings, but a large majority of them belong to monastic buildings that no longer exist and constitute a present-day example of Aachen's monastic past.

4.4 URBAN TRANSFORMATIONS OF THE MONASTIC PIECES

The social-political and urban influences of the 19th century determined the development of the city. The succession of different events such as the Napoleonic secularisation and the *Kulturkampf* marked the course of monastic development in Aachen. On the other hand, the developments of the French Enlightenment, new urban ideals, the emergence of new facilities and population growth facilitated major urban changes

Figure 206. Monastery of Kornelimünster, 1807. Stadtarchiv Aachen, StAAc_Plaene D18.

and expansions. Mining activity in the Ruhr region of North Rhine-Westphalia boosted industrialisation and demographic growth. The exponential increase in Aachen's population can be seen in census data. In 1812, the city had a total of 30,137 inhabitants (Poll, 1960). In fact, it was second only to Cologne[35] in North Rhine-Westphalia. From this date onwards, the population of Aachen grew exponentially and by the end of the century, in 1900, it had increased fourfold, with a total of 135,245 inhabitants[36].

4.4.1 URBAN CHANGES IN THE 19TH CENTURY, SECULARISATION AND KULTURKAMPF

Napoleon Bonaparte's invasion of Aachen dates the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century. From 1792, the French presence in the city lasted until 1814 (Schulze, 2008). Advances in French engineering and topography lead to the drafting of new town plans such as the Plan de l'abbaye de Cornelymünster of 1807 (Figure 206), or the Plan d'Aix la Chapelle of 1802[37]. This document was produced during the French government by Michel Maissiat at a scale of 1:2000 (Curdes, 1999). As in the 18th century plans, the monastic buildings of Aachen, as well as its urban morphology before the enlargements and realignments, are again located on these plans. The quality and state of preservation of the plan prevent a clear reading from which precise information can be extracted. Nevertheless, the size of the population, the location of monastic buildings, streets, city gates, etc. can be observed in a generic way.

Like in the rest of the territories occupied by France, local measurements are suppressed by the common unit of the metre (Martín López, 2002), the beginning of the International System of Units. In fact, in the territory of the Holy Roman Empire, the unit of measurement of the *Ruthen*[38] was different in each city with more than 20 different *Ruthen* (Verdenhalven, 1993). French developments also brought new urban ideals. As an example, the French municipal government builds the first cemetery outside the city walls in 1803, called Ostfriedhof

35 The population of Cologne in 1816 was 49,276 inhabitants. (Statistischen Landesamt Nordrhein-Westfalen, 1966).

36 Historical population data for the cities of Aachen and Cologne as well as the whole of North Rhine-Westphalia. In (Statistischen Landesamt Nordrhein-Westfalen, 1966) and (Statistischen Landesamt Nordrhein-Westfalen, 1964).

37 The Maissiat Plan d'Aix la Chapelle, 1802, is located in Aachener Büro der franz. Landvermessung.

38 Approximate *Ruthe* equivalence in Cologne 1 *Ruthe* = 2.87 metres (Verdenhalven, 1993)

[cem] (Ingeborg Schild, 1991). In addition, the old city walls were demolished and the monasteries and convents were suppressed. The Napoleonic decree of 9 June 1802 abolished the monasteries, expropriating and secularising them (Fabianek, 2012). Thus, the first confiscation of Aachen takes place with 75% of monasteries and convents, 19 out of 25. Although these were abolished, many of them were reused for other purposes such as storage, barracks, or converted into parishes. On the other hand, it is noteworthy that in the same year 1802 the first bishopric of Aachen was created (Wietzorek, 2013), becoming independent from the ecclesiastical government of Cologne.

With the expulsion of the French from Aachen in 1814, the city became part of the Prussian government. This period was a real revolution in terms of urban planning. The quantity and quality of the plans also increased. The first plan of this period is the municipal plan of 1818. The city underwent hardly any urban transformation except for the French secularisation. Two

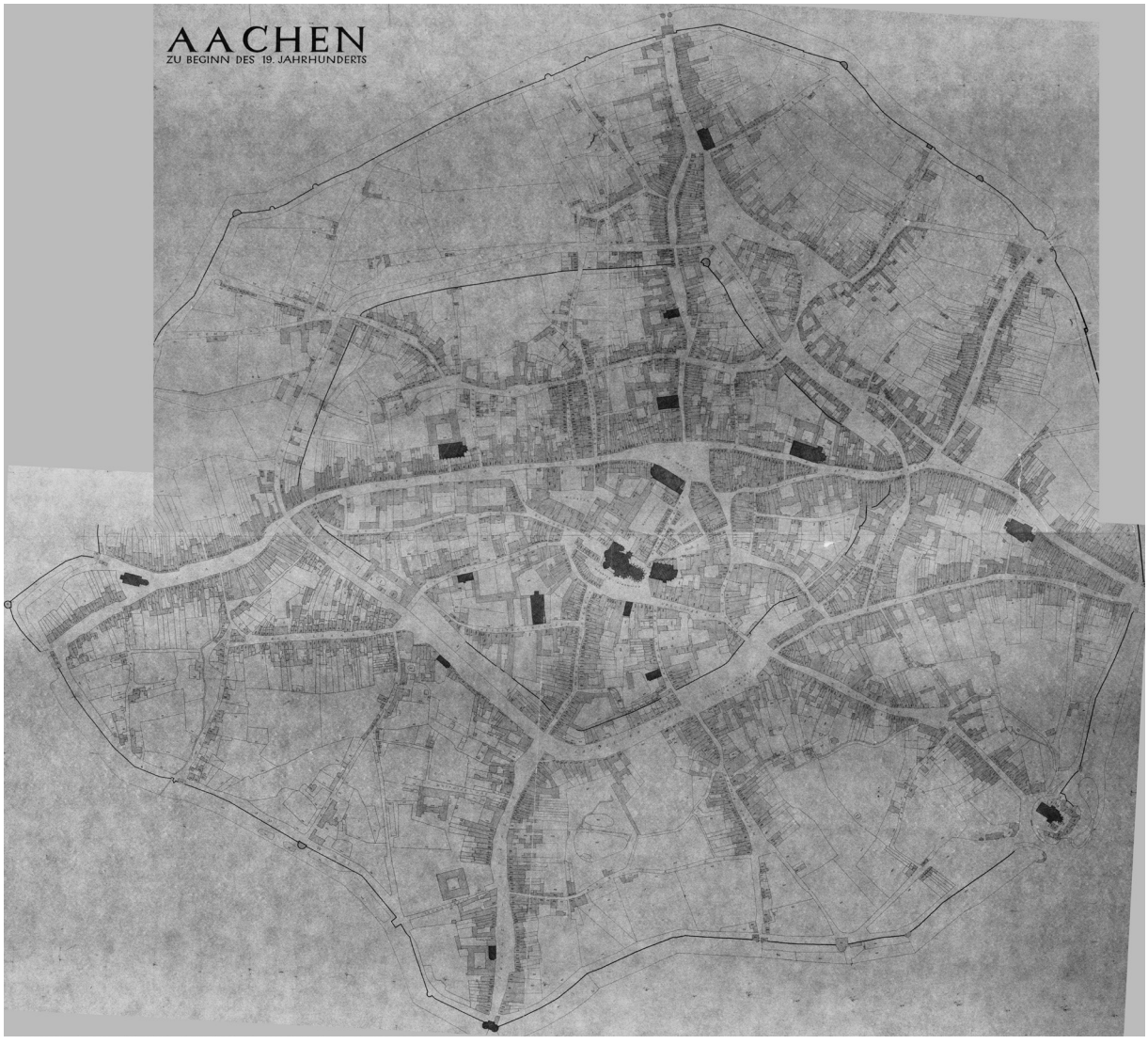
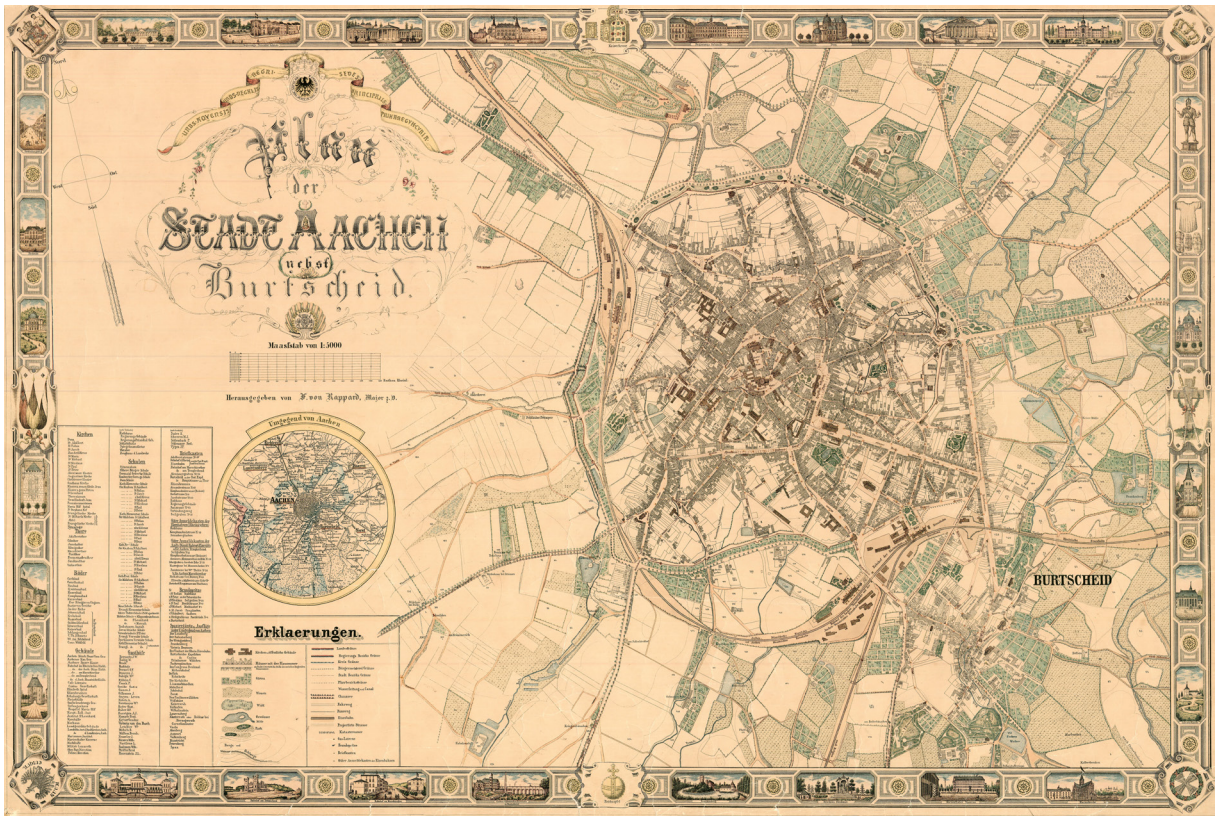


Figure 207. Aachen. Urkataster, 1820. Stadtarchiv Aachen, DigitaleKopie.

Figure 208. Detail of Marienthal and Karmeliterkloster. Urkataster, 1820. Stadtarchiv Aachen, DigitaleKopie.

years later, in 1820, the first land register of Aachen was drawn up (Figure 207). The plan shows an accurate scale of the city, together with detailed information, such as the representation of the urban plots and their numbering. The cathedral, parishes and monastic churches with religious use are marked in darker shading. Convent buildings such as the Marienthal or Annunziatenkloster are shown in the same shading as the other buildings, as they have been confiscated (Figure 208). On the other hand, the availability of the Kapuzinerkloster plot of land for the creation of the theatre is also noteworthy. Brandmayer's plan of 1825 shows the construction of the theatre [th] (Curdes, 1999) and the widening of the Theaterstraße. This plan shows the first large avenues and extensions, mainly in the southern and eastern areas of the city, as a sign of urban modernity. At the same time, in 1822, the construction of Elisenbrunnen began [elb] (Römling, 2014). A pavilion where drinking water was available, as well as the hot springs. It is the prelude to the city's overcoming of the walled perimeter, as well as the urban expansion as far as Burtscheid. The presence of the old monastery to the south and the availability of flat land favoured growth in this direction. At the same time, the appearance of the first railway in Aachen in 1841 (Römling, 2014), with a railway line to the urban west and south, hinders development towards these areas [trs]. However, the difference in elevation between the lower road and the upper railway tracks in the southern sector means that the railway is not a physical barrier.

Figure 209. Aachen. Rappardplan, 1860. Stadtarchiv Aachen, StAAc_Karten III d1a.



The emergence of the train in Aachen is linked to the development of industrial activity in the Ruhrgebiet (Figure 210). The 19th century onset of coal mining and extraction in this region triggers an exponential urban development in the cities (Reicher et al., 2011). Aachen was one of the first German cities to industrialise (Curdes, 1999), where its population tripled in sixty years. In 1840 the city had 44,289 inhabitants and in 1906 it had 152,873 inhabitants[39]. In addition, it was important the foundation in 1865 of the university [rwth] called 'Königlich Rheinisch-Westfälischen Polyteschnischen Schule'[40] (Rüdiger, 2021). In fact, the first studies at the polytechnic university in Aachen are focused on engineering and mechanics (Rüdiger, 2021), directly linked to industrial and mining activity. The aforementioned changes begin to be detected at the urban level in the city's Rappard Plan (Figure 209). This is the first colour document to depict the city and a large part of its immediate periphery. It is scaled to 1:5000 in Ruthen and has a detailed legend called Erklaerungen, including a territorial situation of the city. In addition, the perimeter of the map is filled with depictions of views of buildings, public spaces, monuments and the heritage of Aachen. The city shows the first signs of modernisation (Figure 211), such as the large avenues in the east, the

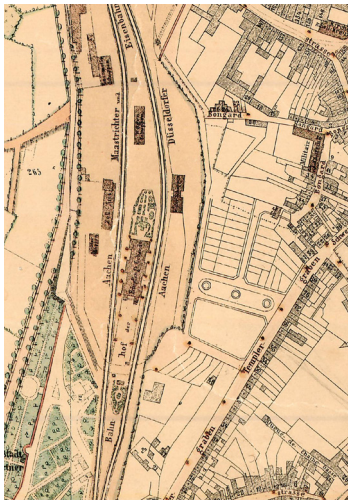


Figure 210. Detail of Aachen. Rappardplan, 1860. Stadtarchiv Aachen, StAAc_Karten III d1a.

39 Historical population data for the cities of Aachen and Cologne as well as the whole of North Rhine-Westphalia. In: (Statistischen Landesamt Nordrhein-Westfalen, 1966) y (Statistischen Landesamt Nordrhein-Westfalen, 1964)

40 Its translation would be 'Royal Polytechnic of Rhineland-Westphalia'.

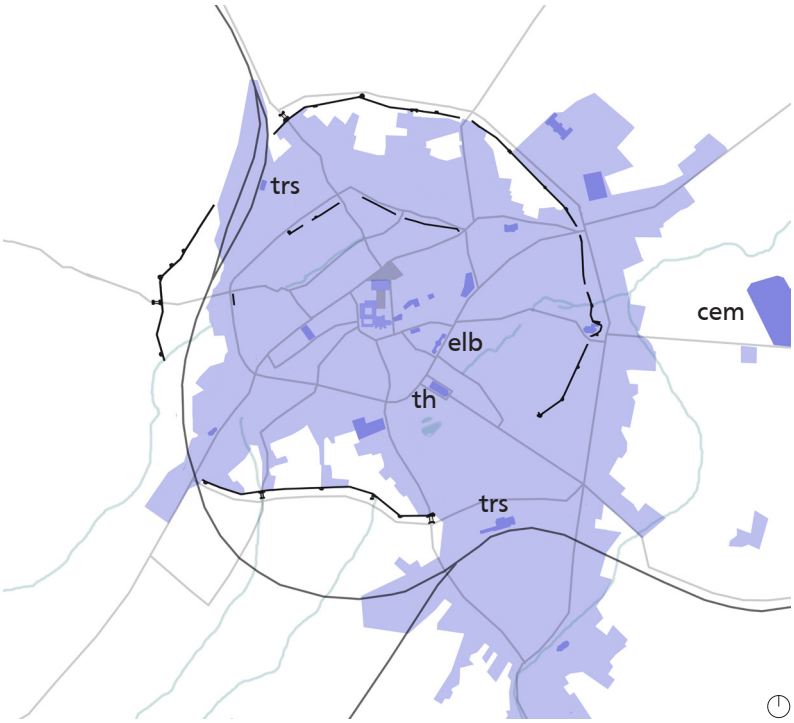


Figure 211. City of Aachen in 1860. Own elaboration based on Rappardplan plan.

[cem] Cementery
[trs] Train station
[elb] Elisenbrunnen
[th] Theatre

railway line and the demolition of the city walls. Above these, the first wall ring disappears completely, while the second ring is demolished mainly in the urban expansions to the south and east, while remaining in the north and west. At the periphery of the city, the first factory buildings for the manufacture of gas and fabrics, among others, are located. Another aspect that can be identified in the plan is the urban division into eight Pfarrbezirke[41]. Although this is the first representation of the localised parish division, it is a transformation of the previous division as discussed in 4.2.2 above.

The dissolution of Prussia and the foundation in 1871 of the Deutsches Kaiserreich by Wilhelm I (Schulze, 2008) not only brought about a change at the political level, but also at the social and urban level. The new state initiated a policy of suppressing the influence of Catholicism under Otto von Bismarck, known as the Kulturkampf (Fleckenstein, 2006). Between 1871 and 1878, a new period of monastic confiscations by the state began, eliminating practically every surviving order of French secularisation. In 1872, there were some 196 women's monasteries in the Bishopric of Cologne. In 1878, due to the Kulturkampf the number was reduced to 70 convents (Schaffer, 2008). Again, most of the buildings were secularised, except for a few, such as the Alexians, who continued their hospitaller work. In fact, of the 30 Alexian settlements in the bishopric, only six remained (Schaffer, 2008). Despite the strong struggle against the monastic institution, the last decades of the 19th century saw a new resurgence of religious orders. Secularisation was reversed. The decree of 27 January 1887 allowed the admission of religious orders without state approval and the law of 29 April 1887 re-established all orders again (Gatz & Schaffer, 1997). Within the framework of the Kulturkampf is Capellman's plan of 1876 at a scale of 1:2500[42]. Compared to the Rappardplan, there is a notable urban growth mainly towards the east, with a greater number of plots and factories. Compared agiain to the previous plan, a new plan appeared in 1877 (Figure 212), the main difference being the identification of the Polizeibezirk[43], replacing the old division of Pfarrbezirke. This was followed in 1889 by the Euser plan. It is a detailed plan where the topographic elevations are defined, together with sewers, stream channels and street lighting were designed and introduced as elements of improvement and modernisation of the city.

41 German word for the parish division of neighbourhoods.

42 The 1876 Capellman's plan is Stadtarchiv Aachen (StAAc_Karten III d_26).

43 German word for the civil division of neighbourhoods.

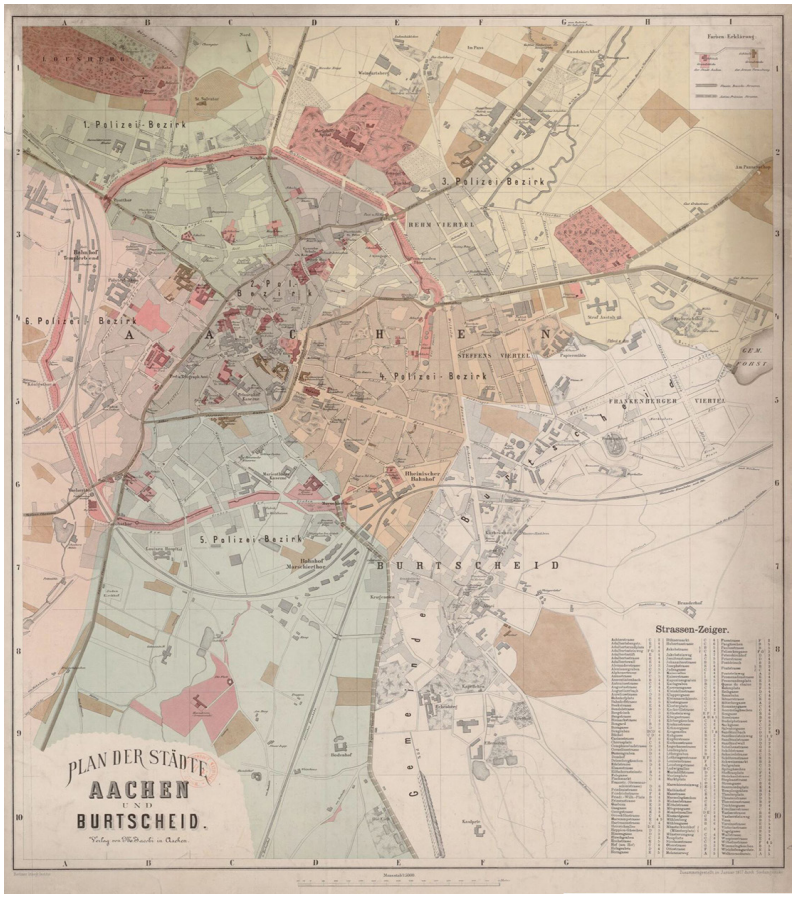
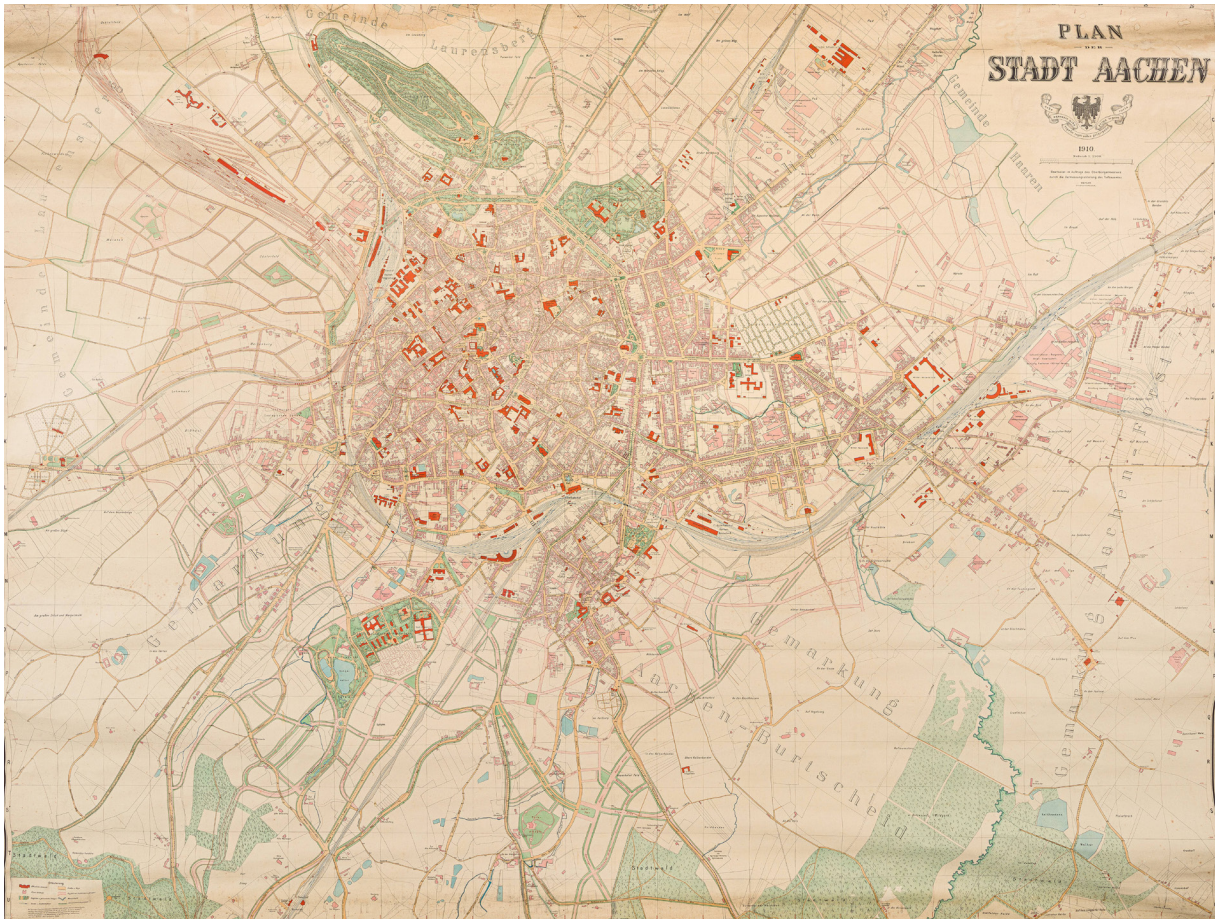


Figure 212. Aachen. Siedamagrotzky plan, 1877. Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Cartes et plans, GE C-10357

Figure 213. Aachen. Tiefbauamt plan, 1910. Stadtarchiv Aachen, StAAc_Karten III d34.



The last 19th century plan is that of 1895, again by Capellmann at a scale of 1:2500 [44]. The plan shows how the southern core of Burtscheid is finally incorporated as a part of the city. To the east, a new district, the Frankenberger Viertel, begins to take shape, while to the north and west, new developments begin to appear. In this sense, the plan shows the division of the urban area in all directions, as a result of planning for future growth. On the other hand, the presence of the city walls in this period is non-existent, as they were almost completely destroyed.

Although the 19th century ends numerically, the first decade of the 20th century up to the First World War continues the urbanistic impulse of the previous century. In this sense, the Tiefauambt Plan of 1910 (Figure 213) shows the latest developments and characteristics of these processes, prior to the Great War (Figure 214). The plan is a colour document with a scale of 1:2500. It depicts brief growths in the same directions as before, south and east. The major difference with respect to the previous one from 1895 is the current layout of all the projected streets and plots. Meanwhile, the former perimeter avenues are now fully integrated into the city. All facilities are shaded darker, such as hospitals [hos], religious buildings, schools or the University. The latter is expanding further and further to the north, occupying new plots of land and expanding its academic offerings. On the periphery, the growth of

44 The 1895 Capellman's plan is in Stadtarchiv Aachen (StAAc_Karten III d_32).

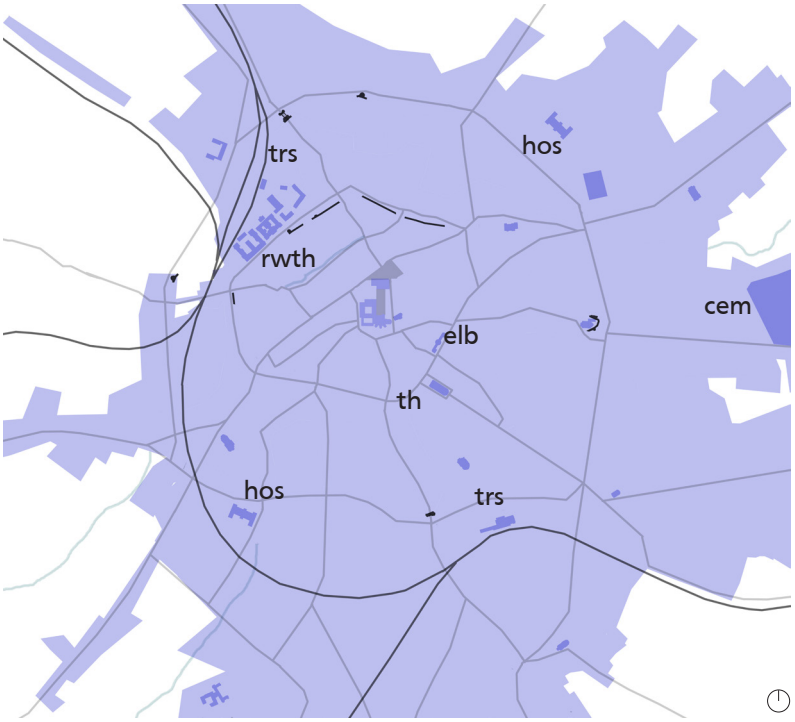


Figure 214. City of Aachen in 1910. Own elaboration based on Tiefbaumt plan.

[cem] Cementery
[trs] Train station
[elb] Elisenbrunnen
[th] Theatre
[hos] Hospital
[rwth] RWTH Aachen University

industrial buildings continues, along with scattered buildings. Finally, former natural areas such as the Lousberg or Salvatorberg are now integrated as large urban parks, expanding Aachen's green spaces.

4.4.2 ORDERS AND FOUNDATIONS IN THE 19TH CENTURY

The monastic establishment in Aachen during the 19th century is an even more complex and constantly changing process. The monastic decline, the French secularisation and the *Kulturkampf* further complicate this period. In this regard, three types of foundations during this century are to be considered. The first one uses an existing building for a foundation, as was already the case with Marienthal in 1490 and Kapuzinerkloster in 1614. The second group consists of foundations in new buildings of new orders. In the third group, the foundations of orders that changed buildings or returned to the city after the secularisation of 1802 have been selected.

On the other hand, orders whose buildings are located far away from the city centre, such as the Kloster der Armen Brüder des heiligen Franziskus (1865), Kloster von Guten Hirten (1877) and the new foundation of St. Elisabeth (1937), have not been included in the study, although they appear in the table. Even though the foundations are recorded, they stand out from the drawn boundaries and are not decisive for urban growth. In fact, in this century, urban growth occurred on a large scale and urban voids were rapidly filled, making it difficult to locate new convents and monasteries in the city centre. Moreover, unlike the foundations before the 18th century, where the centre was sought after, the monastic piece loses its role of urban relevance and is now established in the new growth.

The two major events that mark the monastic development of Aachen are undoubtedly the French secularisation and the *Kulturkampf*. Both are therefore taken as markers for the phases of monastic development (Figure 215). In 4.2.1 the first five phases in Aachen were noted, ending in 1802 with the Napoleonic occupation. Temporally, the next phase ends with the outbreak of the First World War. The foundations of this period are divided into two phases, six and seven, for which a table has been drawn up (Figure 216). The monastic buildings are listed in chronological order. In addition, when the number is followed by a comma and another number, it means that it has been refounded once, if it has a one, or a second time, if it has a two. The last two buildings are outside the timeline taken. This is because they do not constitute a phase in them-

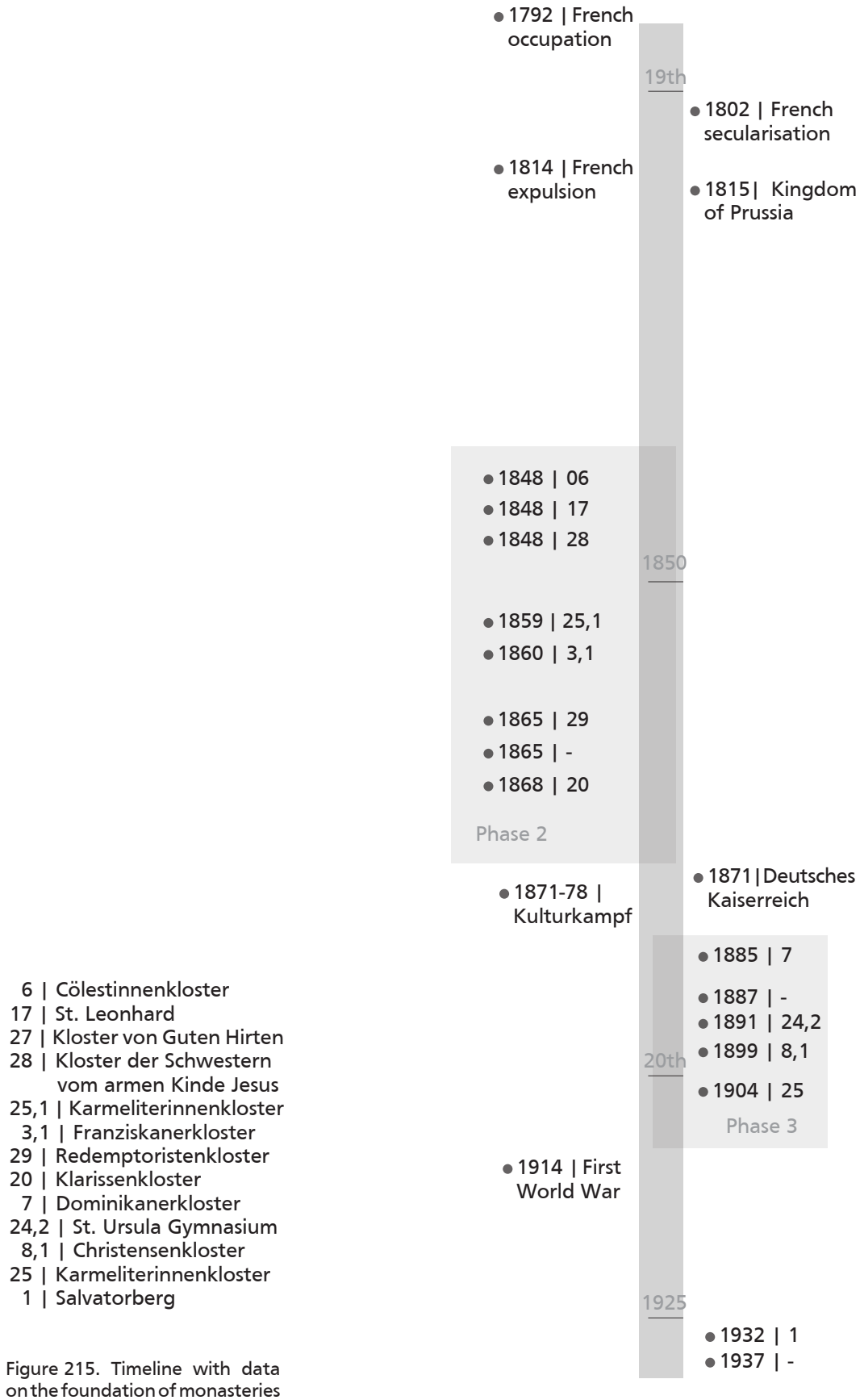


Figure 215. Timeline with data on the foundation of monasteries and convents, as well as relevant historical data. Based on the table in Figure 216. Own elaboration.

selves but are isolated foundations like the Salvatorberg. The Elisabethkloster, however, is the result of a relocation of the order to the outskirts of the city.

From 1802 onwards, the sixth phase (Figure 217) takes place between 1802 and 1871-78, the development of the *Kulturkampf*. In this period there is a small permanence of some of the existing orders, especially those dedicated to hospitals and care of the sick (Gatzt, 1971). In Aachen, these are the Christenserines [8], the Alexians [15] and the Sisters of St. Elizabeth [21]. In addition to the three mentioned above, the Begines [5], who at that time were dedicated to teaching, managed

Figure 216. Monasteries and convent in Aachen during Phases 6 and 7. Data obtained from Groten et al. (2009), Curdes (1999), Brecher (1956) and Kirchner (2015). Own elaboration.

Num.	Name of monasteries and convents	Year of first foundation	Order	Gender	Secularisation (Secul.)
5	Stephanshof	1275	Begines	Female	1874
8	Christensenkloster	1310	Christenserines	Female	1899
15	Alexianerkloster	1391	Alexians	Male	-
21	Elisabethkloster	1626	Sisters of St Elizabeth	Female	1904
6	Cölestinnenkloster (Weißfrauen)	1848	Sisters of the Poor Child Jesus	Female	-
17	St. Leonhard	1848	Ursulines	Female	1878
27	Kloster von Guten Hirten	1848	Sisters of the Good Shepherd	Female	1887
28	Kloster der Schwestern vom armen Kinde Jesus	1848	Sisters of the Poor Child Jesus	Female	1872
25,1	Karmeliterinnenkloster	1859	Discalced Carmelite nuns	Female	2005
3,1	Franziskanerkloster	1860	Franciscans	Male	1968
29	Redemptoristenkloster	1865	Redemptorists	Male	1986
-	Kloster der Armen Brüder des heiligen Franziskus	1865	Poor Brothers of the Seraphic St. Francis	Male	1877
20	Klarissenkloster	1868	Poor Sisters of St. Francis	Female	-
7	Dominikanerkloster (St. Paul)	1885	Poor Sisters of St. Francis	Female	-
-	Kloster von Guten Hirten	1887	Sisters of the Good Shepherd	Female	1982
24,2	St. Ursula Gymnasium	1891	Ursulines	Female	2014
8,1	Christensenkloster	1899	Christenserines	Female	1973
25	Karmeliterinnenkloster (St. Theresia)	1904	Sisters of St Elizabeth	Female	1937
1	Salvatorberg	1932	Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate	Male	-
-	Elisabethkloster	1937	Sisters of St Elizabeth	Female	-

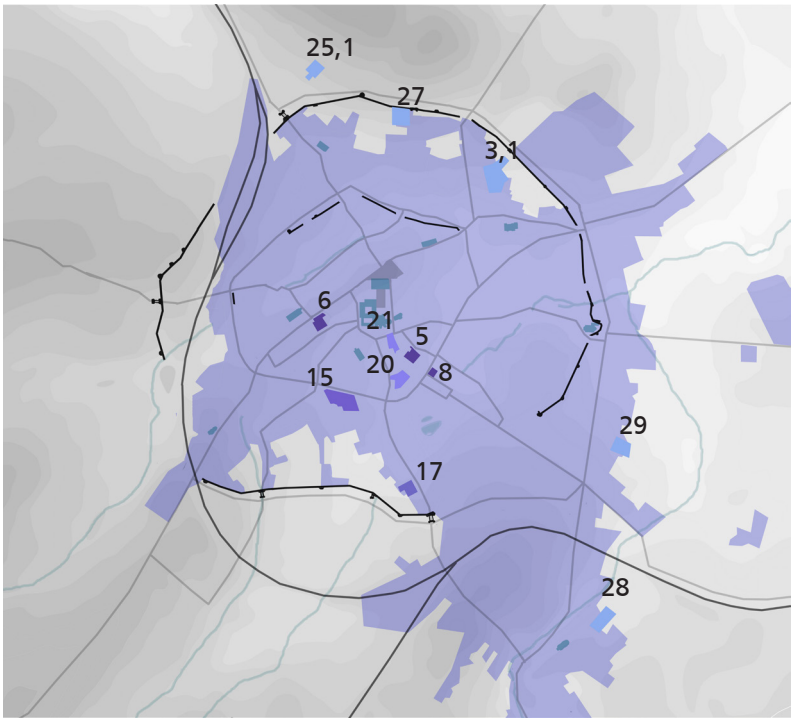


Figure 217. Phase 6 of monastic development, 1802-1871. Own elaboration.

[3,1] Franziskanerkloster
[5] Stephanshof
[6] Sisters of the Poor Child Jesus
[8] Christensenkloster
[15] Alexianerkloster
[17] Ursulinenkloster
[20] Poor Sisters of St. Francis
[21] Elisabethkloster
[25,1] Karmeliterinnenkloster
[27] Kloster von Guten Hirten
[28] Kloster der Schwestern vom armen Kinde Jesus
[29] Redemptoristenkloster

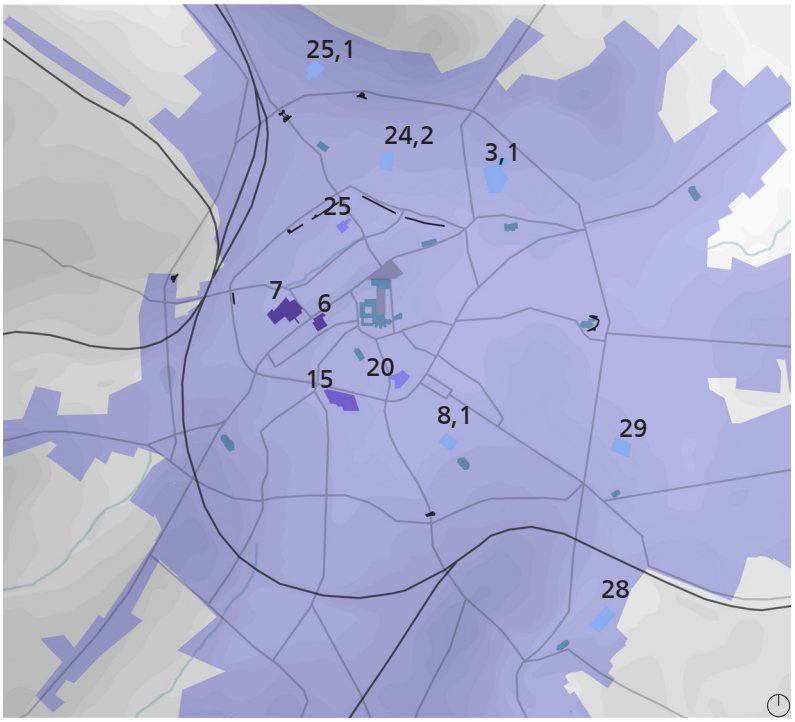


Figure 218. Phase 7 of monastic development, 1871-1914. Own elaboration.

[3,1] Franziskanerkloster
[6] Sisters of the Poor Child Jesus
[7] Poor Sisters of St. Francis
[8,1] Christensenkloster
[15] Alexianerkloster
[20] Poor Sisters of St. Francis
[24,2] St. Ursula Gymnasium
[25] Elisabethkloster
[25,1] Karmeliterinnenkloster
[27] Kloster von Guten Hirten
[28] Kloster der Schwestern vom armen Kinde Jesus
[29] Redemptoristenkloster

to survive the French secularisation. On the other hand, new orders appeared, such as the Sisters of the Poor Child Jesus, founded by Clara Fey in 1844, or the Poor Sisters of St. Francis founded by Franziska Schervier in 1845 (Meiwes, 2000). The characteristics of this phase include the establishment of new orders, the occupation of former monasteries and convents, as well as the return of old orders to the city.

In 1848, four foundations took place in the city. Two of them involve the establishment of new convents, while the other two make use of two existing convent buildings. The first, St. Leonhard's [17], is used by the Ursuline nuns as their new headquarters in Aachen after they were removed from their original settlement next to the cathedral. The second, the Cölestinnenkloster [6], is used by the new order of Sisters of the Poor Child Jesus, which still continues its religious life in the building today. In addition, the same order makes a new foundation in Burtscheid [28], next to the former monastery of St. Johannes Baptist. The fourth foundation was made by the order of Sisters of the Good Shepherd [27], located within the boundaries of the second wall and on the perimeter of the new urban growth to the north. In this sense, the lack of available land in the centre, coupled with the scarcity of urban development to the north, favoured the emergence of new orders in this area. These were closer and connected to the centre of Aachen. In 1859 and 1860 two former orders returned to Aachen, the Discalced Carmelite nuns [25.1] and the Franciscans [3.1]. Both of them moved back to the north, following the strategy of the Kloster von Guten Hirten. The Redemptorists made a new foundation in the city in 1865 [29]. The position of the monastery was again on the perimeter of the urban sprawl. On this occasion, the order was located to the east, in the vicinity of new roads such as Theaterstraße. The last foundation of this phase was that of the Poor Sisters of St. Francis on the site of the former convent of the Poor Clares [20]. The building is occupied by the nuns right up to the present day and is one of the few buildings to retain its monastic use.

After the end of the *Kulturkampf* period, between 1871 and 1878 (Römling, 2014), the development of the seventh monastic foundation phase began (Figure 218). In response to the strong impact of the *Kulturkampf*, many orders returned and others made new foundations in Aachen. From the former Dominikanerkloster, the church of St. Paul was used as a parish church since 1804 (Jeuckens, 1955). The monastic quarters of the Dominican monastery were abandoned in 1802 as in most other buildings. In 1885, the order of Poor Sisters of St. Francis, in addition to occupying the former Klarissenkloster in 1868, also occupied the Dominikanerkloster [7]. Due to the paro-

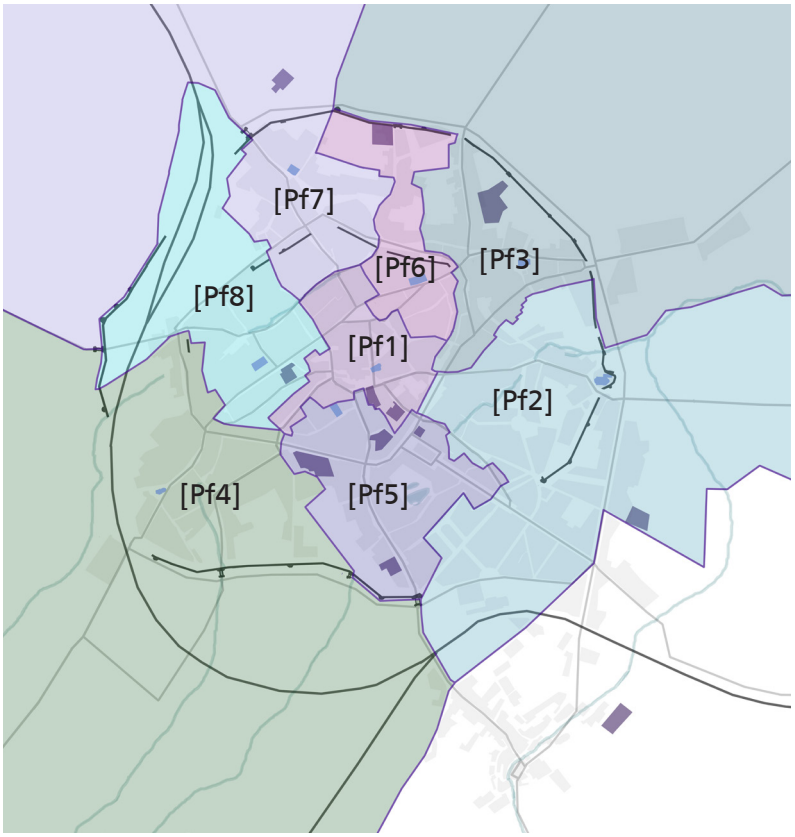


Figure 219. .*Pfarrbezirke* (Pf) in the 19th century, according to Rappard's plan. Own elaboration.

Pf1 | St. Foillan
Pf2 | St. Adalbert
Pf3 | St. Peter
Pf4 | St. Jakob
Pf5 | St. Michael
Pf6 | St. Nikolaus
Pf7 | St. Kreuz
Pf8 | St. Paul

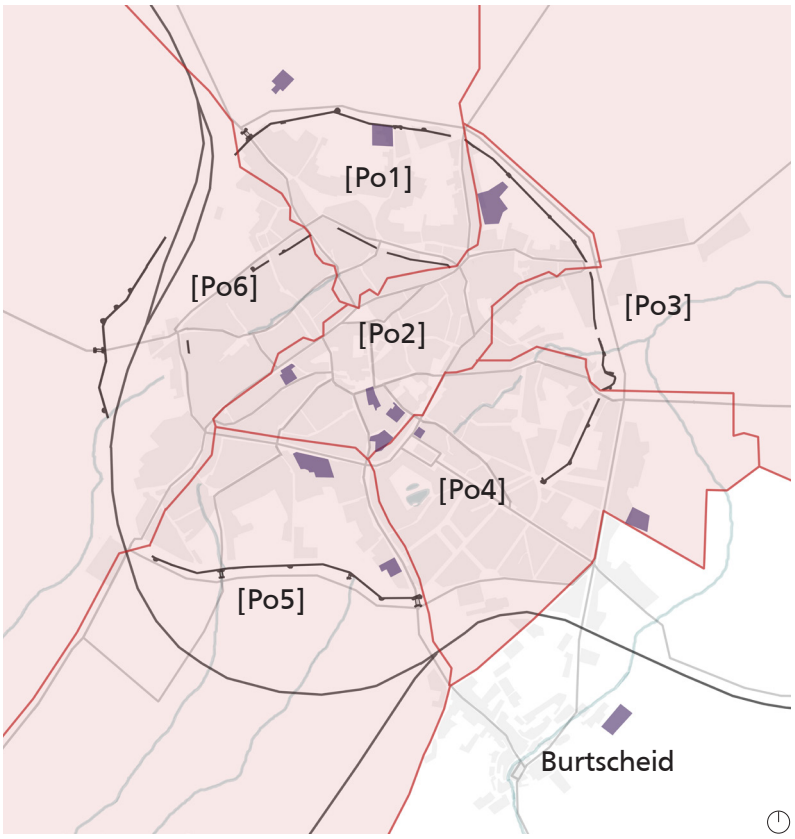


Figure 220. .*Polizeibezirke* (Po) in the 19th century, according to Siedamagrotzky plan in 1877. Own elaboration.

chial character of the church, which was no longer part of the monastery, the nuns built a new church and new extensions. In addition, these new convent buildings were used for a mixed religious and residence for the elderly purpose.

The Ursulines, established in St. Leonhard in 1848, moved for the third time and founded the religious-educational St. Ursula Gymnasium [24.2] in 1891. The Ursulines continued their educational work in the city with a new foundation still in use today. In 1899, the Ursulines changed their convent for the first time. From their original location next to the present theatre, they founded the new Christensenkloster [8.1] nearby. Like the Ursulines, they changed location again in 1973, but this time they left the city of Aachen and moved to the nearby town of Stolberg (Ordensgemeinschaft der Christenserinnen, 1999). The last foundation in this seventh phase is the second foundation of the Sisters of St. Elizabeth. After being removed from their convent next to the cathedral in 1904, they moved to the former convent of the Discalced Carmelite Nuns, the Karmeliterinnenkloster [25], in the same year. However, the nuns only stayed in this building for about thirty years, moving back to their present location in 1937 on the outskirts of Aachen.

The monastic processes of the 19th century are linked to the organisation of the urban space of the *Pfarrbezirke* (Figure 219). As mentioned in point 4.2.2. above, from 1802 onwards, the parish divisions first shown in the Rappardplan of 1860 were taken over. The former districts of St. Jakob, St. Peter and St. Adalbert expand their area of influence beyond the old city walls in the direction of the new urban growth. New monastic buildings were built in all areas except St. Jakob's, which remained without a monastery or convent. Only the foundation of Burtscheid remains outside the parish division of Aachen, as it lies outside the city limits. This division was later modified by the civil division of the *Polizeibezirke* in 1877 (Figure 220). In contrast to the *Pfarrbezirke*, these take streets and urban axes to establish the boundaries of neighbourhoods such as Pontstraße, Jakobstraße or Alexianergraben. Altogether, six *Polizeibezirke* were created, establishing new areas with very different boundaries to the ecclesiastical ones. The position of the monasteries and convents is indifferent to the one mentioned above, and they are considered to be just another city facility. In this period, urban interests respond to new categorisations outside the ecclesiastical institution. This idea was further reinforced in the *Kulturkampf*, where the Church and monasticism lost practically all the importance of the past.

4.4.3 PERSISTENCE AND FRAGMENTS OF THE MONASTERY

The urban transformations of the 19th century had an immediate effect on the urban plot and the buildings that make it up. As mentioned in point 4.4.1, this century was characterised by the opening up of streets, changes in street orders, widening, new urban projects and the appearance of new urban facilities. In these processes of change, the monastic buildings suffered the effects in a decisive way. In addition to urban factors, the French secularisation, the *Kulturkampf* and later the Second World War directly affected the monastic system in Aachen.

The buildings analysed correspond to the totality of monasteries and convents as a result of urban foundations during the seven phases. Although these belong to different periods and stages, they are studied together in this section as they constitute the entire monastic system. In this sense, the monastic persistence and fragments (Figure 221) have been divided into three groups, each one with a different table. The first one consists of those buildings that have managed to remain in their entirety. The second group comprises those where the monastic temple and fragments of the monastic outbuildings exist. The third is made up of those monasteries where only the church has managed to be preserved as the last remnant of its monastic past. Finally, there would be a fourth group with a single building, which was formerly a convent but has lost the church and fragments.

The first group comprises the complete buildings and is composed of nine buildings ordered by year of foundation (Figure 223). The monasteries and convents shown in the table retain their complete monastic structure, i.e. church and monastic outbuildings. However, this does not imply that the construction is the original one of their foundation. Many of them were completely renovated and extended, such as the Alexianerkloster in 1929 (Wiegers, 1956). This was demolished and completely rebuilt. On the other hand, the Second World War forced the partial or complete reconstruction of all monastic buildings in Aachen. Although nine buildings are listed in the table, which is quite a large number, almost all of them have been rebuilt or renovated.

Regarding the data shown in the table, the first one reflects the approximate plot surface in m2. In general, this is between 2,000 and 5,000 m2. Only the Dominikanerkloster[45] stands

45 Although these are complete properties, the plot area is approximate. This is because there may be the possibility of small modifications of the plot with respect to the current one. Although the information on the original monastic plot is available, it is not completely measurable due to the inaccuracy of the historical cartography.

out with 8,500 m2, as it is the sum of the former Dominican monastery and the extension built on the new Franziskanerinnenkloster. Meanwhile, the areas of the Alexianerkloster with 11,691 m2 and the Kloster der Schwestern vom Armen Kinde Jesus with 19,470 m2 are even more impressive. The former is mixed between gardens and current hospital use and therefore requires a large urban area. The latter took advantage of its urban edge position in Burtscheid by acquiring large tracts of gardens, following the model of St. Johannes Baptist [46] (Figure 222). There is no doubt that these last two buildings as well as the other six buildings represent large areas in the city.

Concerning the uses of the monastic plot, five of them maintain a conventual religious use. Among these, only one, the Alexianerkloster, which predates 1802, has maintained its uninterrupted use since its first foundation. Since 1391, due to its status as a hospital, it was able to avoid the French secularisation, the

46 The total surface area of St. Johannes Baptist would be that of the building, 3,720 m2, plus that of the orchard area, 3.10 hectares. However, with the loss of the orchards, only the monastic building is counted.

Figure 222. Church of St. Johannes Baptist in Burtscheid. Author, 2022.

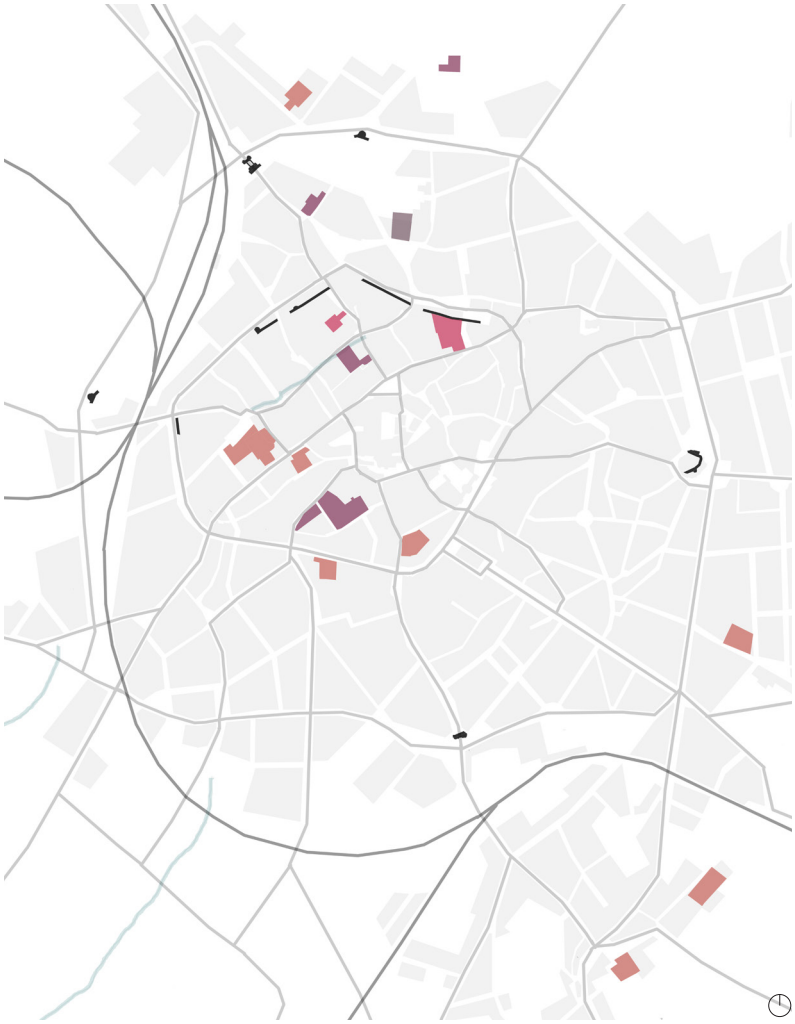


Figure 221. Groups of monastic transformations in Aachen Own elaboration.

- Group 1. Complete buildings
- Group 2. Church and fragments
- Group 3. Church
- Group 4. Without church

	Aprox. plot surface (m2)	Year of foundation	Year of confiscation	Current order	Current plot use
Salvatorberg	1.980	997	1220 (secularisation)	1932. Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate	Religious
St. Johannes Baptist*	3.720	997	1802	-	Religious (Church) Residential
Dominikanerkloster (together with Franziskanerinnenkloster)	8.510	1294	1802	1885. Poor Sisters of St. Francis	Religious and social care
Cölestinnenkloster	2.070	1278	1802	1848. Sisters of the Poor Child Jesus	Religious
Alexianerkloster	11.690	1391	-	Alexians	Religious and sanitary
Klarissenkloster	2.120	1616	1802	1868. Poor Sisters of St. Francis	Religious and archive
Kloster der Schwestern vom armen Kinde Jesus (Burtscheid)	19.470	1848	-	Sisters of the Poor Child Jesus	Religious
Karmeliterinnenkloster	5.180	1859	2005 (secularisation)	-	Without use
Redemptoristenkloster	4.900	1865	2005 (secularisation)	-	Service sector

*Although the monastic building is preserved, the plot of land and the orchard area, estimated to be 3.1 hectares in size, are not.

	Aprox. original plot surface (m2)	Aprox. current plot surface (m2)	Year of foundation	Year of confiscation	Year of disappearance	Current plot use
Franziskanerkloster (St. Nikolaus)	10.000	1.400	1234	1802	1946	Cultural (church) and car park
Karmeliterinnenkloster (St. Theresia)	4.700	980	1662	1802	1937	Religious (church) and educational

Figure 223. (top) Group 1 table. Complete buildings. Data obtained from Groten et al. (2009), Curdes (1999), Brecher (1956) and Kirchner (2015). Own elaboration.

Figure 224. (down) Group 2 table. Church and fragments. Data obtained from Groten et al. (2009), Curdes (1999), Brecher (1956) and Kirchner (2015). Own elaboration.

Kulturkampf (Groten et al., 2009), as well as to avoid possible urban transformations on its plot. The remaining buildings in conventual use today belong to 19th century foundations. The Kloster der Schwestern vom armen Kinde Jesus has maintained its use thanks to its location in Burtscheid, far from the centre and with an urban perimeter position. The other foundations took advantage of the availability of existing monasteries and convents for their new settlement. These are Cölestinnenkloster, Klarissenkloster and Dominikanerkloster (Figure 225). In the latter, the new Poor Sisters of St. Francis extended the building and it was renamed Franziskanerinnnekloster from 1885 onwards. In the same way, two other orders maintained two other buildings for monastic use, the Discalced Carmelite nuns and the Redemptorists. However, in 2005, both abandoned

the buildings, leaving the Karmeliterinnenkloster unused [47] and the Redemptoristenkloster (Figure 226) building bought and remodelled to house offices (Schweitzer, 2008).

Finally, this first group closes with the two oldest monastic buildings in Aachen. St. Johannes Baptist retains its religious use only in the church. Although the convent building has been preserved, after the confiscation of 1802, its use did not revert to religious use and it is still used today as a residential building. In contrast, Salvatorberg began as a convent during the 10th century, until it was abandoned in 1220. The church was the only element that managed to be preserved, being used as a parish church. However, the order of Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate made a foundation in the building in 1932 (Groten et al., 2009). In the 20th century, it was once again used as a convent and an extension was built for the new order.

The second group is made up of buildings in which both the church and some monastic fragments persist (Figure 224). They are again arranged by year of foundation, although in this group only two buildings have been located. As the complete building does not exist, the approximate surface area of the conventual plot has been divided into two columns, the initial one occupied by the original building and the current one based on the fragments detected. In the comparison between the initial and current surface area, it is interesting to note the great difference between the two. Furthermore, it can be seen how they have decreased in size in both situations: the convent of St. Theresia is reduced fourfold, while the convent of St. Nikolaus is reduced sevenfold. The current surface areas in both cases are around 1,000-1,500 m2. The characteristics of the two buildings make them very similar to each other: a large reduction in surface area, secularisation in 1802 and different uses.

After 1802, the building in Franziskanerkloster was used as a prison until 1872, barracks in 1876-1879, and later as a courthouse or school in 1925 (Hans Georg, 2010). This variety of uses led to numerous and successive transformations of the original building, which in 1925 is barely recognisable as a clear monastic structure. What little remained of the monastic fragments in the schools was destroyed by the bombings of the Second World War. Only the remains of the old perimeter wall of the orchards, visible and integrated into the existing buildings, have survived. On the other hand, due to a strong demand for parking in the centre of Aachen, the site has been used for the construction of a car park. The Karmeliterinnenklos-

Figure 225. Dominikanerkloster. Author, 2023.

Figure 226. Redemptoristenkloster. Author, 2022.

47 Although the building itself has no use, after the convent was abandoned by the order it has been squatted until the present day.

ter maintained its conventual use thanks to the Sisters of St. Elizabeth until 1937 (Gatzt, 1971). When the nuns moved to a new building, the convent of St. Theresia was abandoned and demolished shortly afterwards. Only the remains of a few houses attached to the church, used by the RWTH Aachen University, remain. The rest of the former convent site was also used by the university and new buildings were constructed on it. Only the church of St. Theresia remains in religious use and has been used by the Romanian Orthodox Church since 1957 (Figure 229) (Küpper, 1972). In contrast, the former Franciscan church changed its religious use to cultural use in 2002 (Citykirche St. Nicholaus, 2023), being used by the city for cultural activities.

The third grouping is formed by those monastic buildings where the church is the only fragment (Figure 227), where four buildings are located. All the churches retain their religious use except for the former Augustinian monastery. The church of St. Katharina is now used as a cultural centre for the city (Figure 230), as well as the Kaiser Karls Institute. After the confiscation in 1802, the monastery were already used for educational purposes, but in 1895 it was demolished for the construction of a new building on the old site for the same purpose (Dünnwald, 1974).

Regarding the church of Heilig Kreuz (Figure 231), there are no remains of the original structure. Although the parish church exists, it was built in 1897 on the site of the old monastic church (Cortjaens, 2002). At that date, the monastic buildings also disappeared. However, the church was replaced by a larger

Figure 227. (top) Group 3 table. Only church. Data obtained from Groten et al. (2009), Curdes (1999), Brecher (1956) and Kirchner (2015). Own elaboration.

Figure 228. (down) Group 4 table. Without church. Data obtained from Groten et al. (2009), Curdes (1999), Brecher (1956) and Kirchner (2015). Own elaboration.

	Aprox. original plot surface (m2)	Aprox. current plot surface (m2)	Year of foundation	Year of confiscation	Year of disappearance	Current plot use
Augustinerkloster (St. Katharina)	4.000	810	1329	1802	1895	Cultural (church) and educational
Kreuzherrenkloster (Heilig Kreuz)	3.000	1.300	1372	1802	1897	Religious (chruch) and residential
Annakloster (St. Anna und Joachim)	2.000	680	1513	1802	1910	Religious (church) and educational
Jesuitenkloster (St. Michael)	8.300	1.500	1600	1773	1860	Religious (church) and car park

	Aprox. original plot surface (m2)	Aprox. current plot surface (m2)	Year of foundation	Year of confiscation	Year of disappearance	Current plot use
St. Ursula Gymnasium	4.160	4.160	1891	2014*	1946	Educational

one, and its ground plan was even rotated by ninety degrees. Today, the Annakloster church is used for religious purposes, but not as a Catholic church, but as an evangelical one, called St. Anna und Joachim. After its secularisation, the church was ceded by Napoleon to the Evangelical community in 1803 (Schild, 2003) and is still in use today. Next to it, the Evangelical school, also called Annaschule, was built. Finally, St. Michael's Church was confiscated in 1773 as a result of the abolition of the Jesuit order by Pope Clement in the same year. By 1783, this meant the suppression of more than 700 monasteries in the Habsburg lands by Emperor Joseph II (Schaffer, 2008). After the confiscation of the Jesuits in Aachen, the teaching work was maintained in the building until 1794. The French occupation led to a change in the use of the building to residential and cloth factory in 1803, which continued until 1839 (Mielke and Bertsch, 2001). Subsequently, the plot was used for residential buildings until the Second World War. The ruin of the residential buildings led to their demolition for the construction of a car park. Furthermore, in 1987 the church passed into the hands of the Greek Orthodox Church (Groten et al., 2009) and is still used for Orthodox Christian worship today.

Figure 229. Church of St. Michael. Author, 2022.

The last group represents a particularity in one of the monastic buildings in Aachen, where only St. Ursula Gymnasium is found (Figure 228). It is a building of which no convent fragments remain, nor does the church. The building was founded as a convent of Ursuline nuns for educational purposes, following the tasks of the religious order. It had a monastic and school structure as well as a chapel (Moese, 1998). However, damage during the war led to the demolition and complete reconstruction of the institute with a new, modern and innovative character. Although the building continues to be run by the religious community, it loses all monastic typology. The convent that once occupied the site disappeared. Finally, in 2014, the religious community delegated the operation of the building to the St. Ursula Foundation (Gasper, 2014), thereby separating itself completely from the building itself.

Figure 230. Church of St. Katharina. Author, 2022.

4.4.4 THE RENEWAL OF URBAN SPACES

The confiscations of the 19th century were superimposed on the growth and urban transformation processes, as well as other new foundations in this century. In accordance with the new urban standards, new street orders and the opening and widening of streets took place. In the case of Aachen, the opening of the Theaterstraße in conjunction with the construction of the theatre in 1825 is a notable example (Römling, 2014). In this process, the voids created by the disappearance of the monastic buildings play an essential role. The Capuchin

Figure 231. Church of Heilig Kreuz. Author, 2022.

monastery was used for the construction of the theatre, while the Ursuline convent was used for the construction of the Elisenbrunnen city park (Curdes, 1999). In any case, urban modifications differ from one to another. Factors such as the size of the settlement, its importance and the rate of urban transformation mark the level of change between the convent plot and its present state.

The appearance of new urban spaces on old monastic plots is due to the size of these plots in relation to the smaller size of the residential plots. In fact, it is common to see the opening up of streets or the appearance of squares as a result of the subdivision of such a plot where there was previously a single building. On the other hand, the central position of the monastic buildings in the city prioritises their confiscation and intervention for new urban developments. In the case of Aachen, eight examples of monastic transformation have been detected in which an urban space appears. Among these, six are the appearance of new roads without major changes in the shape of the plot, while two constitute new urban spaces for the city that are completely different from the starting plot.

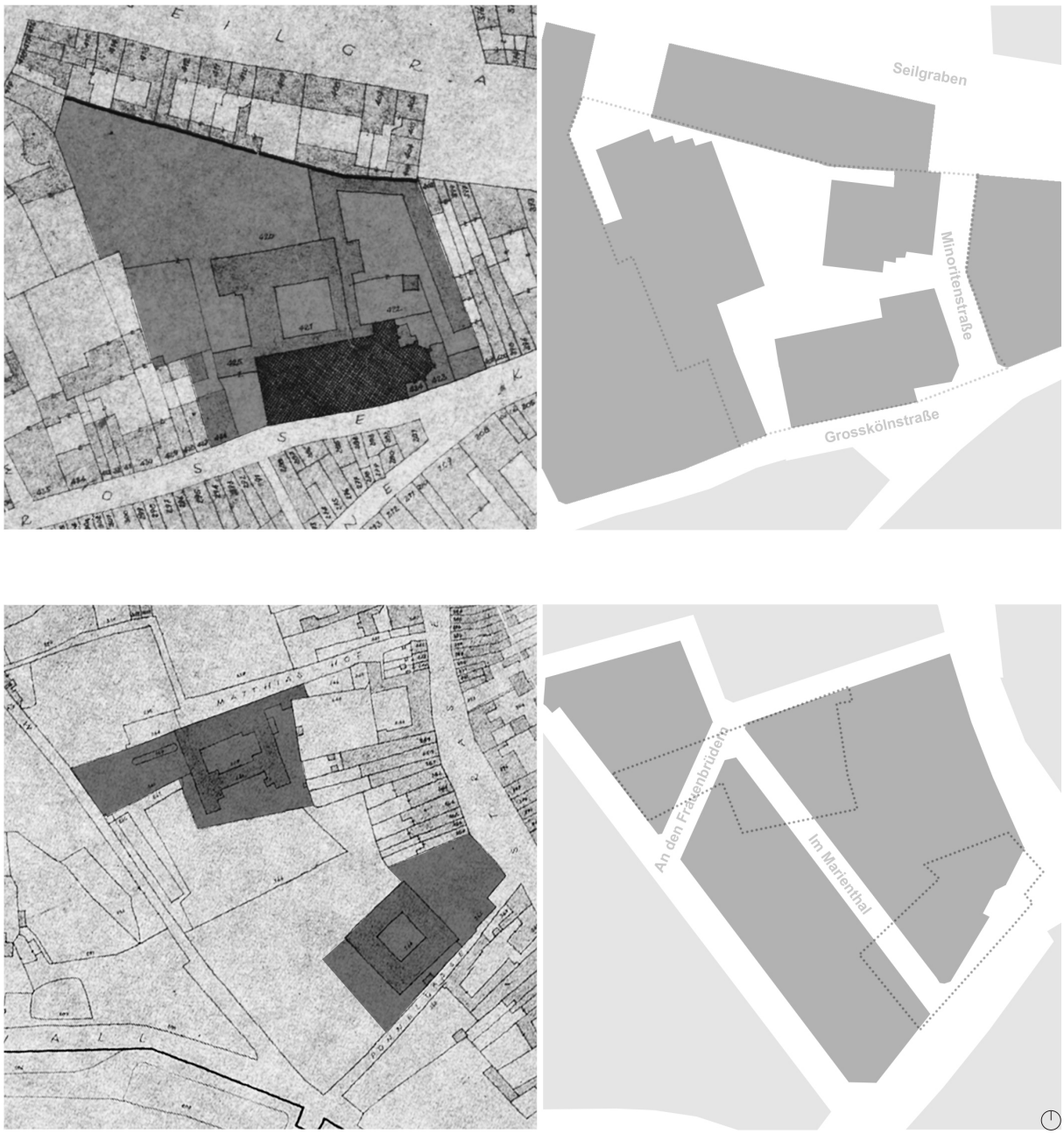
The first urban transformation on a monastic plot referred to is that of the city's first monastery, the Franziskanerkloster (Figure 232). After its exclaustration in 1802, the monastic buildings and grounds were put to various public uses. In 1893, the Minoritenstraße[48] was opened on the right side of the monastery grounds, connecting the Seilgraben to the north with the Grosskölnstraße to the south. Continuous alterations to the buildings on the monastery site eventually eliminated any fragments of the original monastery. Only the church was left as the heir to the Franziskanerkloster. Today, a new building in the centre, a car park on the left and a small central garden area reminiscent of the monastery's former orchards have been built on the former site. The second case found is on two monastic buildings, as they are located in the same block (Figure 233). These are Matthiashof [49], to the north of the monastic plot, and Karmeliterinnenkloster, to the south. After their confiscation in 1802, the convent grounds and buildings were used as military barracks.

At the end of the 19th century, the convent remains were completely demolished (Raczek, 1978). At the beginning of the 20th century, the streets An den Frauenbrüdern and Im Marienthal [50] were opened. The removal of the convents and

48 The name of the street is taken directly from the religious order of the monastic plot.

49 As explained in section 4.2, the convent at Mattiashof was later renamed Marienthal when it was occupied by the Sisters of the Third Order of Saint-Francis.

50 Again, the names of both streets derive from the Marienthal convent, using monastic toponymy.

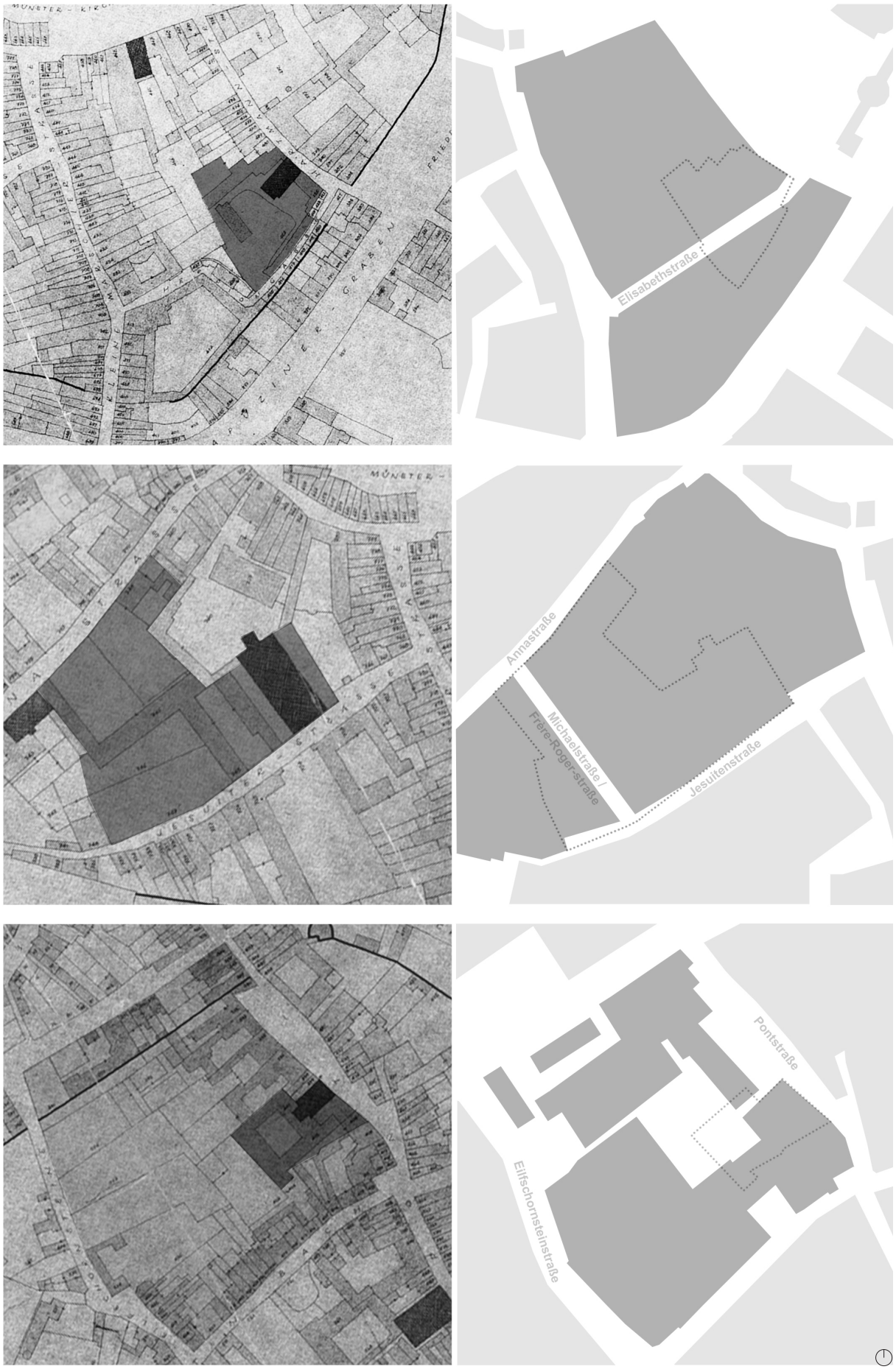


the large size of the city block led to its division into three blocks. The aim was to facilitate further subdivision and to guarantee access to the new plots of land.

In the case of Stephanshof (Figure 234), the convent plot is again used for a new urban road space. However, this is not the opening of a new street but the rectification of an existing one. The monastic plot was used to correct and widen the street. The confiscation in 1874 of the convent did not give rise to any new uses. In Euser's plan of 1899, the monastery plot is completely empty, with the extension of Elisabethstraße built over it. In the case of the Jesuit monastery (Figure 235), although the order was secularised in 1773, the monastery

Figure 232. (top) Monastic plot transformation of Franziskaner-kloster. Left (Urkataster 1820), right (current plan 2023). Own elaboration.

Figure 233. (down) Monastic plot transformation of Marienthal and Karmeliterkloster. Left (Urka-taster 1820), right (current plan 2023). Own elaboration.


Elisabethstraße
Annastraße
Michaelstraße /
Frère-Roger-Straße
Jesuitenstraße
Pontstraße
Elfschornsteinstraße

buildings remained. However, these were quickly demolished for the construction of houses and other buildings. In addition, a new street is created connecting Annastraße with Jesuitenstraße, called Michaelstraße [51], which first appears on Rappard's plan in 1860. In fact, as in the case of the Franciscan monastery plot, the street is again named after the monastic past of the plot on which it is situated. The urban transformation of the Karmeliterinnenkloster plot (Figure 236) is notorious. Until 1937, the building remained practically intact. Subsequently, the plot was demolished and used by the RWTH Aachen University. A large central open space opens up in the block, occupying part of the former convent cloister. Although it is an open space, it is used as a car park for the university. This is why there is no proper name for the urban space, as it is a car park. In addition, new entrances are opened from Eilfschornsteinstraße and Pontstraße to the large inner space, the latter being next to the church. Of the original building, only the church and some outbuildings for educational purposes remain.

The transformation of monastic spaces into urban spaces culminates in two of the most important buildings for the city, Kapuzinerkloster and Ursulinenkloster. The former was confiscated in 1802 (Figure 238). The building and its orchards became municipal property and were completely demolished in 1820. The former monastic grounds were used for the opening of a new urban road on which the theatre was also located in 1825. The Theaterstraße is the first major avenue connecting the city centre with the new growth to the south-east of Aachen (Curdes, 1999) (Figure 237). In addition, a new street order is created between the old street edge and the theatre, called Theaterplatz. The original monastic block is almost

51 Although the name was originally linked to the parish of St. Michael, the street was renamed Frère-Roger-Straße in 2005.

Figures on the left page

Figure 234. (top) Monastic plot transformation of Stephanshof. Left (Urkataster 1820), right (current plan 2023). Own elaboration.

Figure 235. (middle) Monastic plot transformation of Jesuitenkloster. Left (Urkataster 1820), right (current plan 2023). Own elaboration.

Figure 236. (down) Monastic plot transformation of Karmeliterinnenkloster. Left (Urkataster 1820), right (current plan 2023). Own elaboration.

Figure 237. Postcard from 1916 of the Theaterstraße. Feldpost 22. Reserve Division, 20.8.

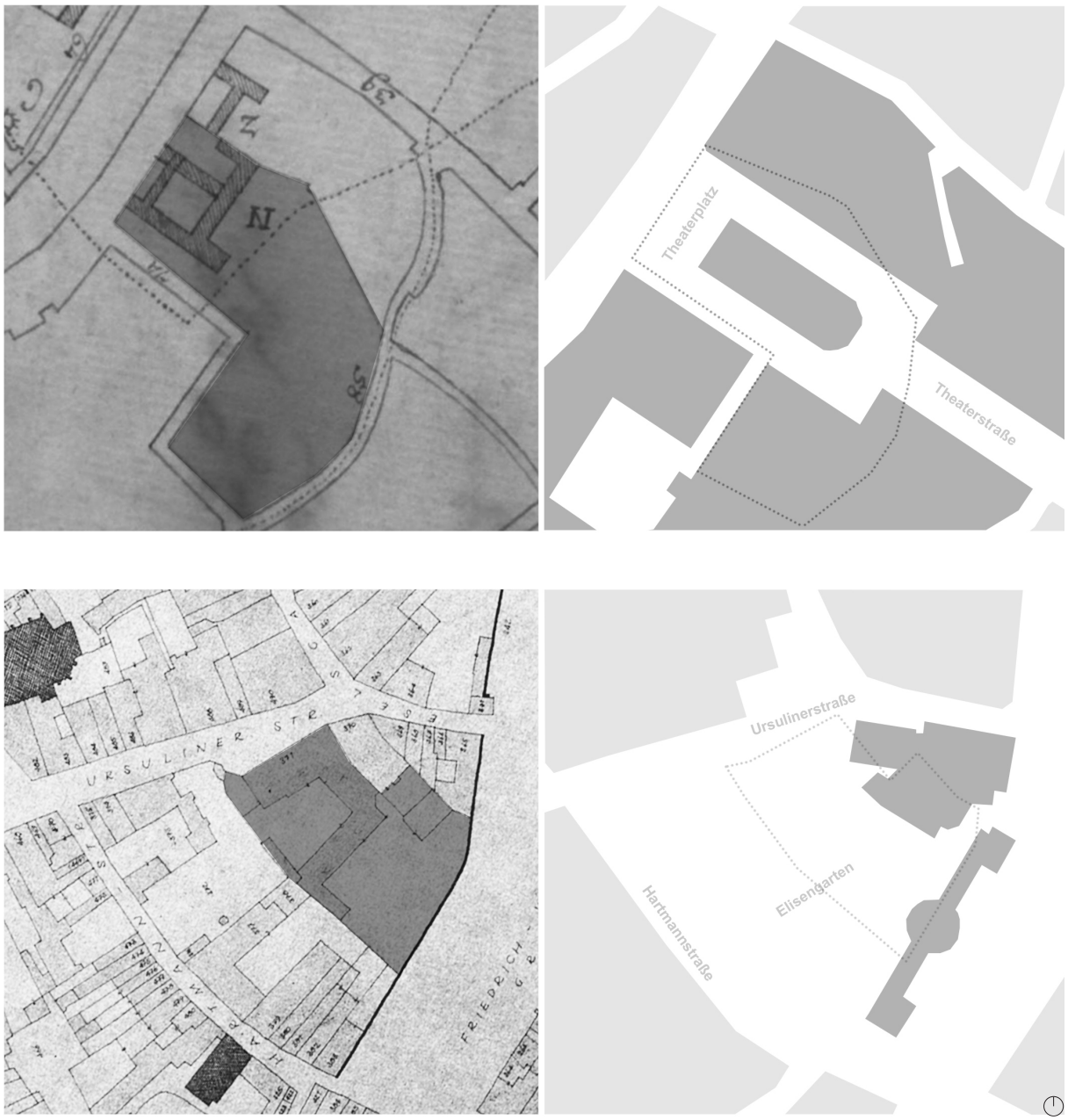


Figure 238. (top) Monastic plot transformation of Webbegarden or Kapuzinerkloster. Left (Urkataster 1820), right (current plan 2023). Own elaboration.

Figure 239. (down) Monastic plot transformation of Ursulinenkloster. Left (Urkataster 1820), right (current plan 2023). Own elaboration.

unrecognisable compared to its present state. However, there are still traces of the old street orders and roads that allow the original form to be identified. Finally, the Ursulinenkloster was confiscated in 1818 (Figure 239) and completely demolished. Rappard's plan of 1860 already shows the convent plot without any buildings on which an urban green space known as Elisengarten has been created. The creation of this central park was very popular with the public, which led to its extension into Hartmannstraße after the Second World War. Damage to nearby buildings allowed the park to grow towards this point, making it one of the most iconic and popular gathering places in Aachen today. As can be seen, although its urban form is almost imperceptible, Ursulinerstraße still retains the name of the convent on Elisengarten.

4.4.5 DISAPPEARANCE AND LOSS OF THE MONASTIC BUILDING

One of the most striking aspects of the monastic transformations is the total disappearance of monasteries and convents. This is due to the large size of the buildings and plots of land, as their loss is a significant event in the change of the urban structure. Secularisation combined with abandonment, deterioration and urban transformations lead to the suppression of this architecture. As noted in the previous point, many of these large areas were used to generate more urban density. There is no doubt that large plots and buildings have been reused for new urban purposes. It is easy to identify the location of some monastic buildings by their fragments today, although those that have disappeared are more difficult to locate. The study of the historical planimetry together with the urban views offers the possibility of locating the position of these buildings. The existence of pre-disappearance plans in the urban fabric, such as that of 1740, has made it possible to situate almost every monastic building in Aachen (Figure 240).

Figure 240. Disappeared monasteries and convents in Aachen. Own elaboration.

	Aprox. original plot surface (m2)	Year of foundation	Year of confiscation	Year of disappearance	Current plot use
Marienthal	3.800	1262	1802	1902	Residential
Stephanshof	1.800	1275	1874	1888	Residential
Christensenkloster	640	1310	1899	1899	Residential
Johanniterkommende	480	1313	1794	1829	Residential
Kapuzinerkloster	4.200	1315	1802	1820	Cultural
Deutschordenskommende	1.200	1320	1802	1820	Service sector
Karmeliterkloster	3.100	1353	1802	1802 (church) 1890 (monastery)	Residential
Regulierherrenkloster	4.000	1421	1802	1813	Residential
St. Leonhard	2.300	1486	1878	1944	Residential
Elisabethkloster	1.500	1626	1904	1904	Sport
Pönitentenkloster	1.600	1645	1802	1815	Service sector
Annunziatenkloster	1.100	1646	1802	1875	Educational
Ursulinenkloster	2.000	1651	1818	1854	Green space
Marienbongardkloster	1.500	1695	1802	1953	Educational

Figure 241. Table of disappeared monasteries and convents in Aachen. Data obtained from Groten et al. (2009), Curdes (1999), Brecher (1956) and Kirchner (2015). Own elaboration.

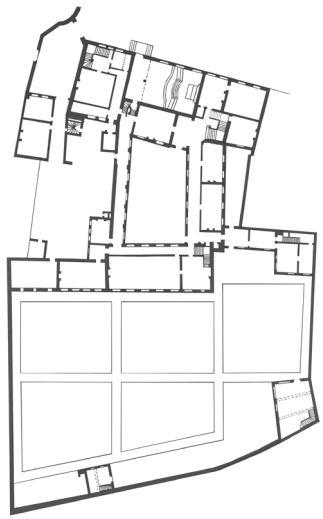


Figure 242. Plan of Ursulinenkloster, before its dissapearence in 1854. Redrawn by the author. LVR-Amt für Denkmalpflege im Rheinland, historisches Planarchiv.

The missing monastic buildings belong to any of the seven founding phases of Aachen. However, not all of them disappeared at the same time but belong to different periods and stages depending on political and urban developments. A table has been compiled showing a total of 14 buildings (Figure 241), sorted by year of foundation. In addition, different aspects related to the process of disappearance have been identified, such as the initial plot surface, the year of confiscation, the year of disappearance and the current use of the plot. The first column has been carried out by taking the approximate plot surface. Due to the absence of original planimetry in many cases, approximate measurements have been taken based on urban plans. This means that the buildings studied may have omitted areas of gardens or orchards, which are more difficult to identify than the building itself. Finally, this data identifies some plots of about 4,000 m2 in area, although most are in the range of 1,000-2,000 m2. The dates have been organised into three columns, foundation, confiscation and disappearance. The last two dates are interesting, as the confiscation does not usually coincide with the disappearance of the monastery or convent. Although in many cases the building is reused for other purposes, in the end they are demolished. Finally, we have counted the types of uses that exist on the current plot, with residential being the predominant one.

The disappearance of the buildings is not due to a unitary process, but rather to various factors and dates. Although these

are very varied, four stages can be observed. The first, around 1802 as a result of French secularisation. A second, around 1880 as a result of the Kulturkampf, and a third in 1900 as a result of urban transformations. Finally, there would be a fourth around 1950, as a consequence of the war. This last grouping may be relevant for the analysis, but not for establishing common criteria. No specific characteristics have been detected that would generate results derived from the year of disappearance. Regardless of the year, the transformation process is independent in each case. However, the change in the use of the plot is relevant. As can be seen in the table, conversion to residential use is the most common one. Fifty percent of the plots of the disappeared monasteries have a current use as housing. Irrespective of the temporal character, this modification can be found from the oldest in 1813 at the former Regulierherrenkloster to the most recent in 1944 in St. Leonhard.

The other half of the transformations generate tertiary uses or urban facilities, emulating one of the initial functions of the monastic buildings. The urban positions of the Pönitentenkloster and Deutschordenskommende on the central and commercial axes of Adalbertstraße and Pontstraße respectively have facilitated a conversion of the monastic plot into commercial tertiary use. The rest of the former monastic plots are nowadays urban facilities for cultural, sports or educational uses. Although some of them involve major changes between the current and the original plot, such as Kapuzinerkloster in the theatre, others have inherited the monastic plot and built the new building. For example, the Elisabethkloster is occupied by the current Elisabethhalle swimming pool, which takes its name from the former convent, as does the Elisabethstraße. However, as with the Christenserines, the Sisters of St. Elizabeth moved to a new building on the site of the former convent of St. Theresia in 1904. Later, in 1937, they made a new foundation on the Preusweg, where they continue their religious work in the city today (Lepie, 1998). Some of the educational plots of the RWTH University belonged to the former convents of Annunziantenkloster and Marienbongardkloster. In both cases, the only remaining elements in the city toponymy are Annuntiatenbach and Marienbongard.

Lastly, the now extinct Ursuline convent (Figure 242), already mentioned in the previous section, is the origin of Elisengarten (Figure 243). Although the order changed buildings, the mention of the missing Ursulinenkloster is about its first foundation in Aachen. The two times the order was secularised, it returned to the city in a new position. First they occupied the former monastery of St. Leonhard between 1848 and 1878. Finally, they established a new foundation in 1891 as a college, called St.

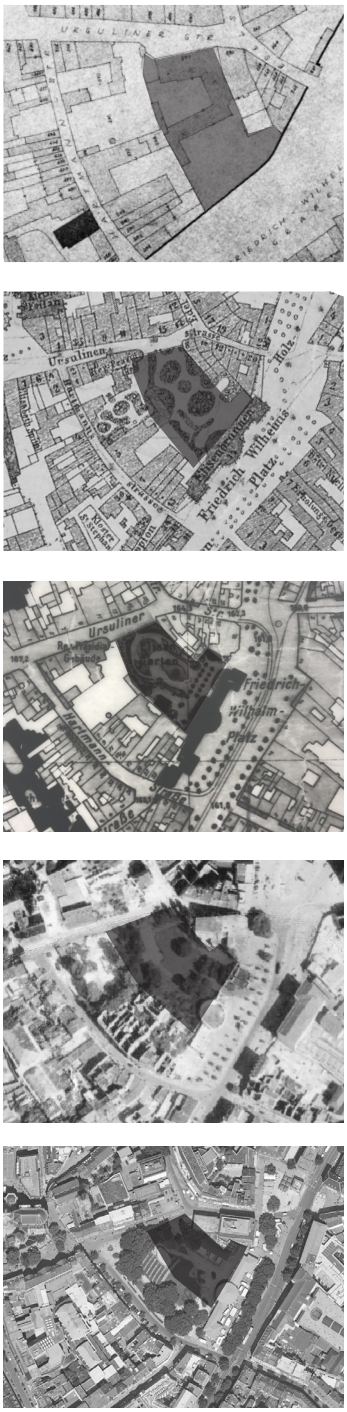


Figure 243. Development of Ursulinenkloster monastic plot. From top to bottom. UrKataster (1820), Rappardplan (1860), Tiefbauamtplan (1910), aerial view (1946) and aerial view (2023).

Ursula Gymnasium (Rutz, 2006). The bond established between the order and the city, as with the Sisters of St. Elizabeth and Christenserines, goes beyond the building itself. The aim is to remain in the city regardless of the urban situation.

The loss of the majority of monastic buildings has been inevitable. Secularisation, wars and the lack of conservation of the conventual fragments have led to the loss of the buildings mentioned in this point. Despite the total disappearance of the monastic structures, many are still recognisable in the morphology of the urban plot. In many cases, part of the original street orders of the monastic plots can be distinguished as heirs to the monastic heritage. At the same time, the inheritance in the current toponymy establishes a clear relationship between the importance of the building and the place. Thanks to this, many of these buildings have managed to survive to a certain extent and have their inheritance in the 21st century.

4.5 URBAN LANDSCAPE

Historical iconography is a graphic support of great relevance for the city, as they offer a detailed view of the buildings, streets, roads and territorial context. These representations are characterised by a view of the urban settlement as a whole from the outside, either observed from the human perspective or from an aerial view. Although the historic city of Aachen is situated on a flat topography, in the immediate surroundings there are hills such as those of Lousberg or Burtscheid. The localised representations of the city have been made from both situations, with those drawn from Burtscheid being predominant. In all of them, the central elements are the cathedral next to the town hall, as well as the city walls with the Ponttor or Marschiertor. In addition to the towers of the city walls, the belfries of the churches are an important part of Aachen's urban landscape.

4.5.1 THE MONASTIC CITY IN ICONOGRAPHY

The city of Aachen has a fairly comprehensive collection of historical views and iconography. Numerous drawings, engravings and paintings exist of the city from the 16th century onwards. A total of 17 views from the 16th to the 19th century have been taken for a study of Aachen. In addition to the temporal production, the variety of artists according to their provenance is remarkable. If reference is made to the current borders, authors from the Netherlands, Belgium, Germany, Switzerland, the Czech Republic, France and Great Britain can be found. Among these, a greater number of artists from the first three

Figures on the right page

Figure 244. View 01 of Aachen. Hoefnagel, 1567. In Braun, G. (1572) *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*.

Figure 245. View 02 of Aachen. Hoefnagel, 1567. In Braun, G. (1572) *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*.

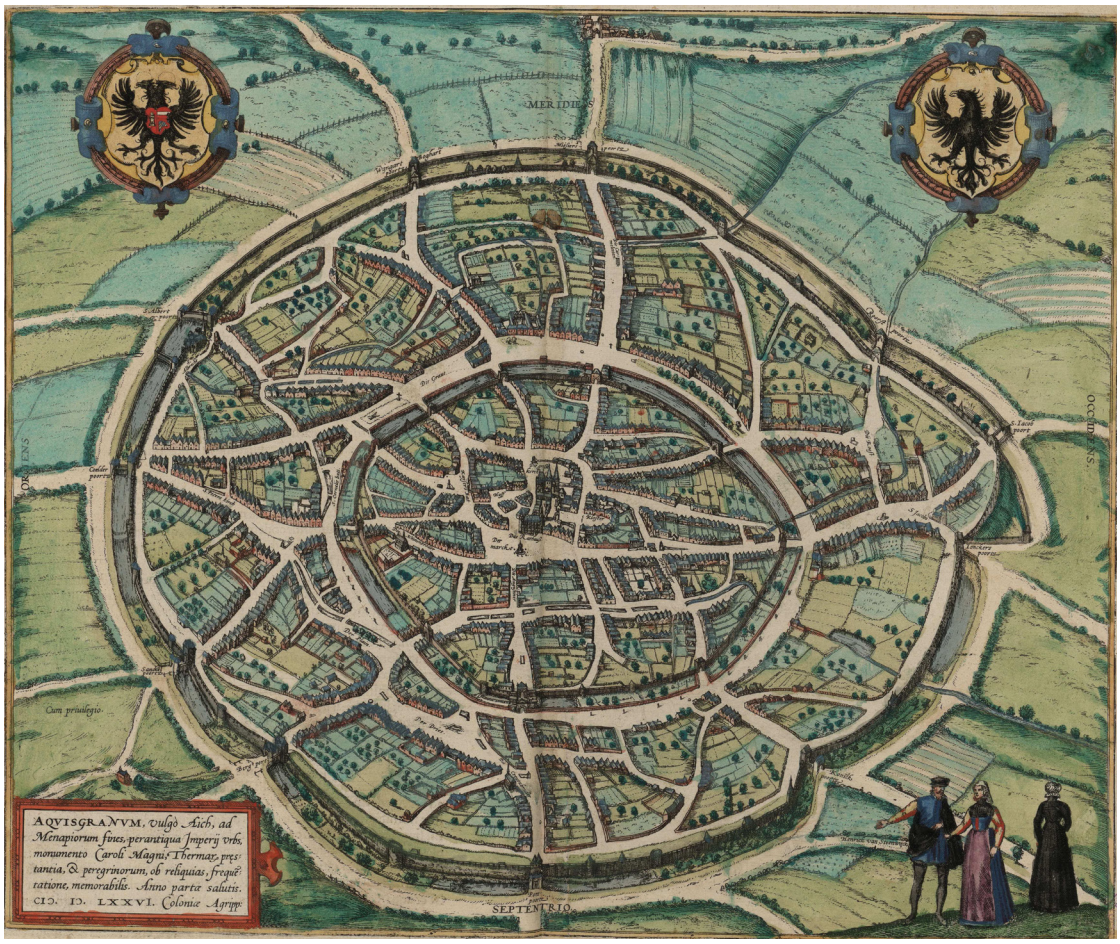


Figure 244

Figure 245

countries are to be found in the area around Aachen. This chronological and personal diversity confirms the importance and international role of the city.

Two of the oldest known views of Aachen are those made by Joris Hoefnagel in 1572. The Flemish artist was known as the author of the urban representations in the atlas *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, published in the 16th century by George Braun. The work was the most complete work contemporary to its date in its collection of urban representations of the most important cities of that time. One of the characteristics of the atlas is the leaf arrangement of the views that appear in it. The importance of a city is measured by the size it occupies in the book. Whether it takes up a full page, half a page, or three or four cities at a time. The first depiction of Aachen (Figure 244) is not only single but double-page spread, pointing to the high importance of the city at the time. On the other hand, there are variations in Hoefnagel's urban depictions such as city plans, bird's-eye views, cityscapes, landscapes and battles (Van der Krogt, 2008). Aachen is drawn according to the city plan category and is the most complex to produce. It shows the blocks and plots of land, together with the most important buildings of the city. The second representation of Aachen, however, is a bird's eye view (Figure 245). It also shows the most significant plots and buildings, although from a different perspective. Both views are very similar to each other, but the second one takes more perspective than the first one, allowing for a better representation of the façade of the buildings.

Hoefnagel's views have been extensively reproduced many times since then. The most notable are those by Van Steenwyck in 1576 (Figure 246), Keller in 1614 (Figure 247), Merian in 1647 (Figure 248), Joan Blaeu in 1649 (Figure 249) and Franz Blondel in 1685 (Figure 250). Although they are copies of the original, they are often different. In general, the upper corners continue to be used for the coats of arms of the city and its membership of the Holy Roman Empire. As they were made more than 100 years later, some incorporate new buildings, such as the addition of the Capuchin monastery in Blondel's view. Blondel's drawing has been key to locating the buildings of the monastic system, as they are numbered and referenced in a legend. In fact, one of the differences between Hoefnagel's first representation and three other copies is the addition of a legend. Merian, Blaeu and Blondel add a numerical legend on the sides with the location of important buildings in the city. This includes civil and religious buildings, especially the monasteries and convents of Aachen. In addition, Blondel's also includes the thermal baths as a reflection of the importance of the city's thermal waters. Furthermore, Blaeu incorporates

Figures on the right page

Figure 246. View of Aachen. Van Steenwyck, 1576. In Braun, G. Novellanus, S. and Hogenberg, F. (1576) *Beschreibung und Contrafactur der vornembsten Stät der Welt.*

Figure 247. View of Aachen. Keller, 1614. In the city museum.

Figure 248. View of Aachen. Merian, 1647. In Merian, J. (1647) *Beschreibung der vurnehmsten Stett und Plätz.*

Figure 249. View of Aachen. Blaeu, 1652. In Blaeu, J. (1652) *Novum Ac Magnum Theatrum Urbium Belgicae Regiae.*

Figure 250. View of Aachen. Blondel, 1685. Stadtarchiv Aachen, StAAc_H29_001.

Figure 251. View of Aachen. Guicciardini, 1572. In Guicciardini (1572) *Descrittione di Lodovico Guicciardini patritio fiorentino di tutti i Paesi Bassi altrimenti detti Germania inferiore*.

Figure 252. The Siege of Aachen. Snayers, In 1614. Christie's, London, lot 108.

Figure 246

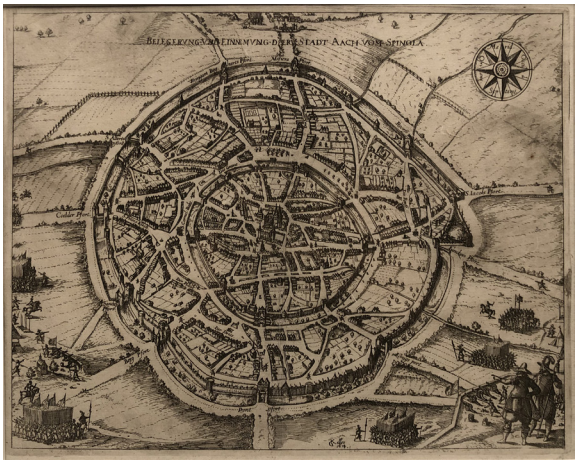


Figure 247

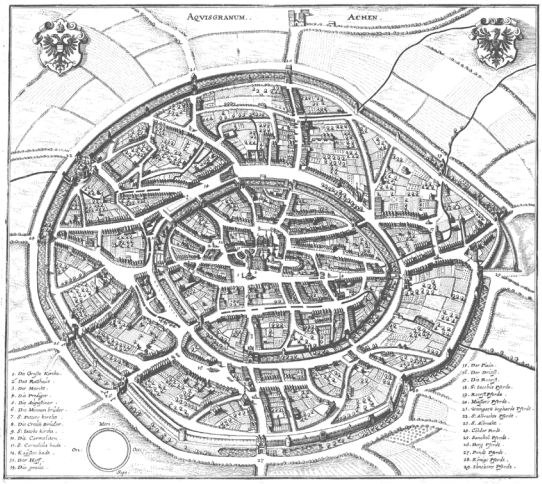


Figure 248

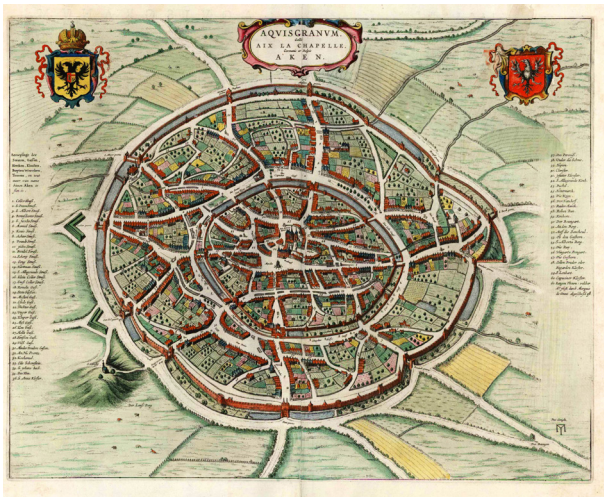


Figure 249

Figure 250

Figures on the right page

Figure 253. View of Aachen (left) and Hesse (right). Meisner, 1623. In Meisner, D. (1623) *Thesaurus Philo-Politicus.*

Figure 254. View of Aachen. Merian, 1647. In Merian. (1647) *Topographia Germaniae. Topographia Westphaliae.*

Figure 255. View of Aachen. Hipschmann, 1690. In (1690) *Martialischer Schau-Platz des Lustreichen und zuglich blutigen Rhein-Strohms.*

Figure 256. Fire of Aachen. Huysmans, 1656. In the city museum.

Figure 257. View of Aachen. Anonymous, 18th century. In British museum. 1992, U.72.

Figure 258. View of Aachen. Anonymous, 1748. In Antiqua Print Gallery, London.

Figure 259. View of Aachen. Blanchard, 1786. In the city museum of Aachen.

a detailed legend of the streets and public spaces of the city, the first document to include such references.

Contemporary to Hoefnagel, the Italian Lodovico Guicciardini produced the first bird's-eye view of Aachen in 1572 (Figure 251). It is part of the work *Descrittione di Lodovico Guicciardini patritio fiorentino di tutti i Paesi Bassi altrimenti detti Germania inferiore*, dedicated to the monarch Philip II of Spain. It shows the former regions that today form the Netherlands, Belgium and parts of northwestern Germany, which were part of the kingdom of Spain. The view is from the western side of the city, with the north on the left. Some buildings are also visible on the periphery, probably the Burtscheid monastery on the right. Painting is also a means of depicting Aachen. Pieter Snayers' oil painting of 1614 depicts the wartime event of the siege of Aachen by Spinola's troops (Figure 252). In the foreground, the route taken by the Spanish troops towards the city is shown in the foreground. Aachen is presented in the middle ground of the perspective used by Snayers, to which more troops come in this same plane. The size of the city is far removed from the real one, as in the painting it almost resembles a fortress rather than a city.

The artist Daniel Meisner has depicted a new view of Aachen in 1623 found in the work *Thesaurus Philo-Politicus*. It contains a series of engravings of cityscapes. These are characterised by the inclusion of elements in the foreground, marking the distance from the city in the background. These elements include both people, as in the engraving of the city of Aachen in Germany, and things or animals, such as an ostrich in the view of Hesse, Germany (Figure 253). After Meisner's depiction, the one by Merian stands out. The Swiss Matthaus Merian was an illustrious engraver known for the 21-volume topographical work called *Topographia Germaniae*. In the eighth volume, in the section *Topographia Westphaliae*, the author depicts Aachen (Figure 254). The perspective is taken from the Burtscheid elevation to the north, with the Lousberg and Salvatorberg hills in the background. In addition, this view is notable for its accurate and detailed depiction of the position of religious buildings such as churches and monasteries, as well as the cathedral and towers of the city walls. A copy of Merian's view by Hipschmann was found in 1690 (Figure 255). This one is less detailed, but not in the city, but in the foreground of Burtscheid and the background with Salvatorberg. Some details in the city such as doors, windows, etc. are also simplified. Similarly, a new copy, anonymous in this case, from the 18th century in colour (Figure 257). What is unique in comparison with the others is the indication of the names of the religious buildings, parishes, monasteries and convents, above them.

Figure 253

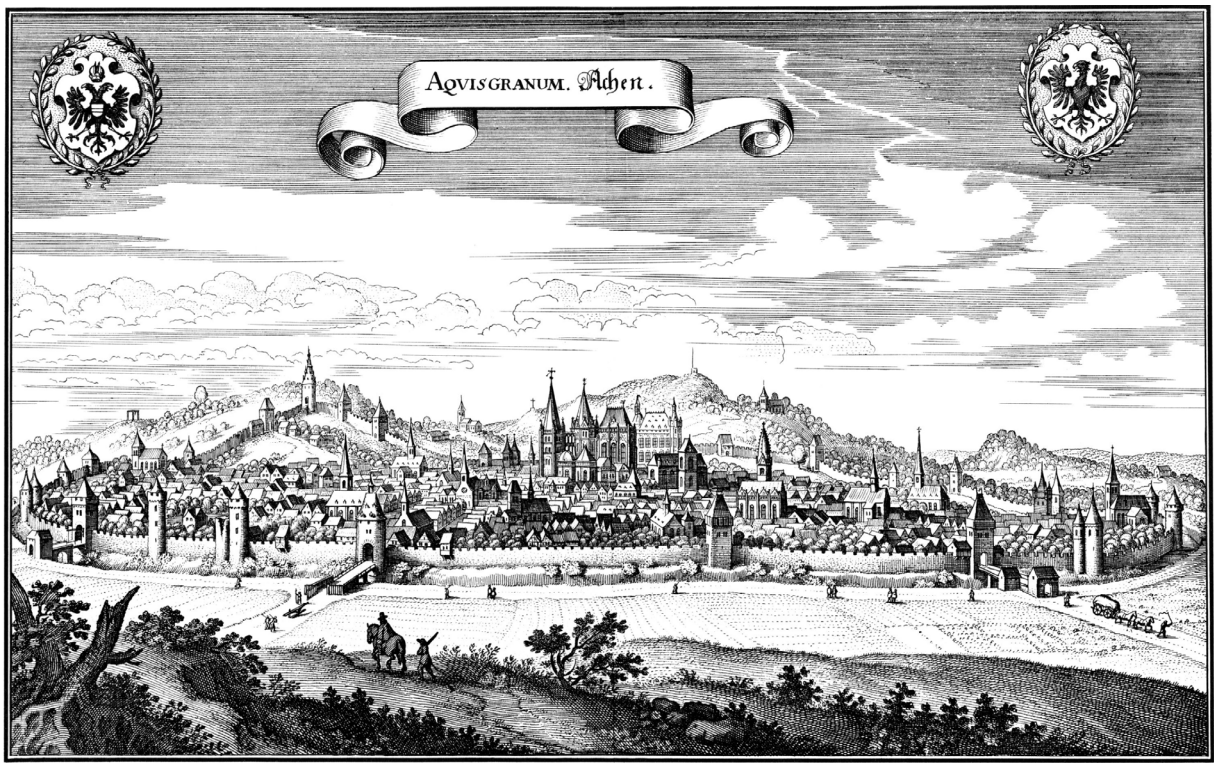


Figure 254

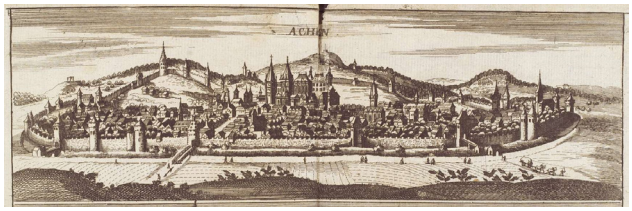


Figure 255

Figure 256

Figure 257

Figure 258

One of the major events that marked the city during the modern age was the great fire of 1656. Huysmans recorded this event at the end of the 17th century in the well-known painting of the Fire of Aachen (Figure 256). The picture shows the city again from Burtscheid Hill while the entire city centre, including the cathedral, is on fire. It also shows the inhabitants fleeing with all their belongings to the outside of the city in the foreground. Due to the fire, the town had to be completely rebuilt, including the monastic system. In 1748 another view of Aachen is located from a different point of view than the previous ones (Figure 258). The view is taken from the road to Cologne, with the Lousberg and Salvatorberg mountains on the right and the Burtscheid on the left. The cityscape again stands out with its towers and church spires. Some years later, in 1786, a view of Aachen was again produced anonymously (Figure 259). It is a simplified view of the city compared to the earlier ones, although it still emphasises the monastic presence of the city. The view is also notable for its depiction of the first

Figure 260. View of Aachen. Sluyter, 1818. In Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 92070_Ag_EU_TEL_a0492_AustriaETravel.

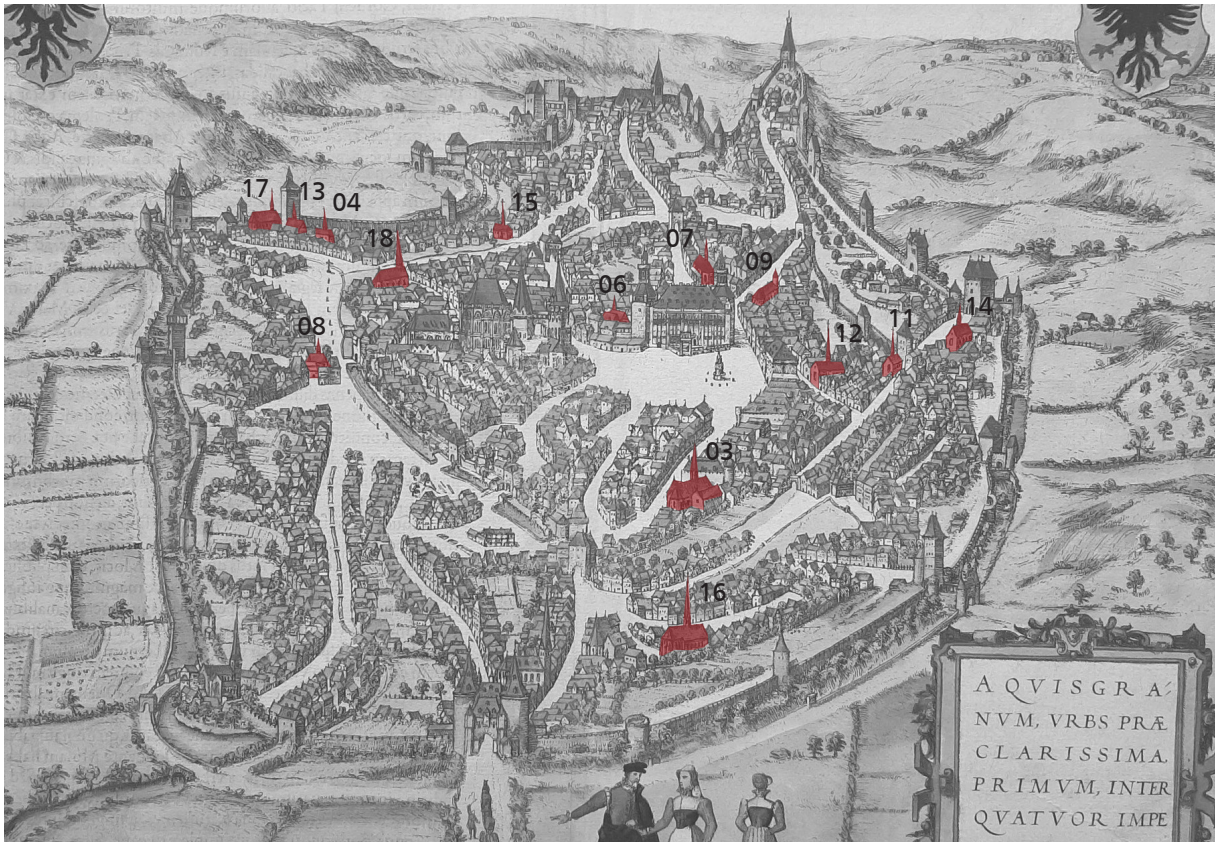
Figure 261. View of Aachen. French, 1850. In the city museum of Aachen.

balloon flight over the city by François Blanchard. Dirk Sluyter from the Netherlands produced the first view of the 19th century, in 1818 (Figure 260). The view takes as its influence and perspective the one made by Merian two centuries earlier. Like Merian, it also plays with three planes. The city is located in the middle one, leaving the Lousberg and Salvatorberg hills in the background, where the monastic building can be seen. Finally, in the mid-19th century, the view by William French is notable for the introduction of industrialisation in Aachen (Figure 261). Once again Burtscheid is the point of perspective in the drawing. The railway station takes centre stage, followed by the extension of the Theaterstraße and the theater. In addition to the cathedral and the town hall, a large number of industries stand out in this view. These are represented by the chimneys and the smoke coming out of them. They became part of the 19th century cityscape. Finally, there is a transition to the use of photography, mainly in the 20th and 21st centuries. One of the differences between photography and the urban views observed is its use in the interior of city streets, buildings and details of everyday life (Figure 262).

Figure 262. (Top to down) Großkölnstraße; Charlemagne Fountain; Elisenbrunnen. Anonymous, 20th century. In (Wietzorek, 2013).

4.5.2 TOWERS, CHURCH SPIRES AND BELL-GLABES

The monastic buildings stand out in the urban landscape mainly because of their towers, church spires and bell-glabes. In the historical iconography, a large number of these architectural elements stand out above the cityscape. They have built part of Aachen's identity through their imagery in the urban landscape. However, different developments over the last centuries have brought about major changes in the perception of the monastic cityscape. Many of the towers, spires and church spires have disappeared and have never been recovered or rebuilt. Part of the base of the old church spires or bell towers can still be seen today. When it is impossible to recover the bell tower, it is simplified into a small structure that can house at least one bell. This is a common phenomenon in most of the monastic buildings in Aachen. Moreover, many of the monastic towers are of low height in order not to compete with the slender belfries of the parish churches. In this sense, the original idea of austerity of the monasteries as opposed to the parishes is continued. For example, the rule of the Franciscan order imposed the use of the bell-glabe as opposed to the tower in order to move away from the sumptuousness and presumption that the bell tower meant for the order (Villetti, 2003). In addition to the towers, an intermediate level can be found between the tower and the bell-glabe, the church spire. These are slender elements but smaller than a belfry, so they do not compete with the parishes.



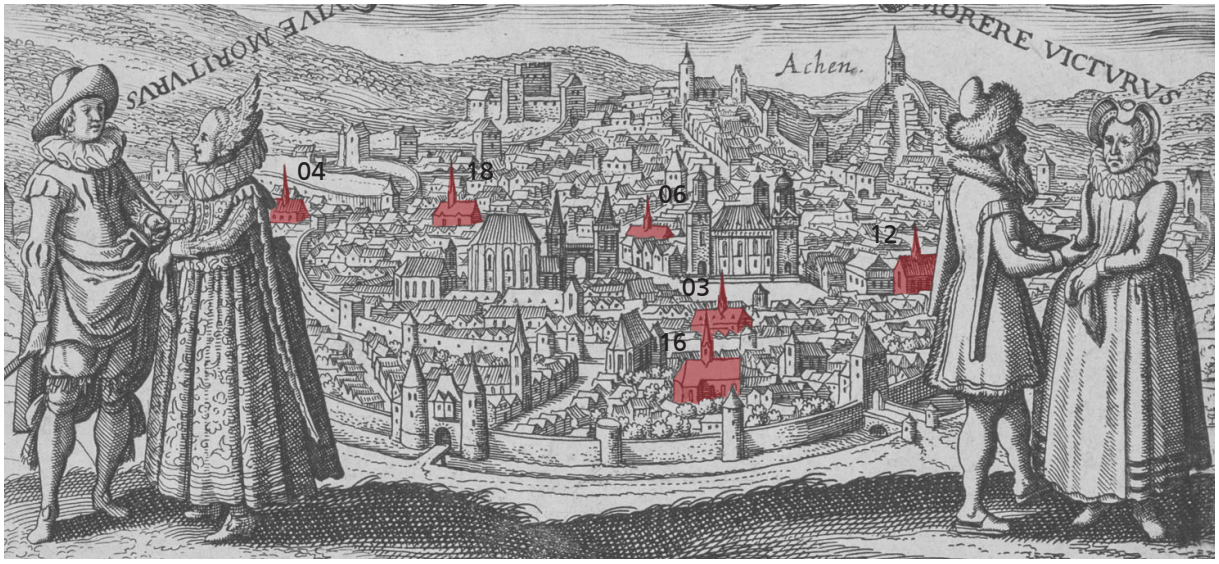


Figure 263. (top) Location of monasteries and convents in Aachen. Hoefnagel, 1567.

Figure 264. (down) Location of monasteries and convents in Aachen. Meisner, 1623.

Monasteries and convents in Aachen

01 | Salvatorberg
02 | St. Johannes Baptist
03 | Franziskanerkloster (St. Nikolaus)
04 | St. Matthiashof / Marienthal
06 | Cölestinnenkloster (Weißfrauen)
07 | Dominikanerkloster (St. Paul)
08 | Christensenkloster
09 | Johanniterkommende
11 | Deutschordenskommende
12 | Augustinerkloster (St. Katharina)
13 | Karmeliterkloster
14 | Kreuzherrenkloster (Heilig Kreuz)
15 | Alexianerkloster
16 | Regulierherrenkloster
17 | St. Leonhard
18 | Annakloster
19 | Jesuitenkloster
20 | Klarissenkloster
22 | Pönitentenkloster
25 | Karmeliterinnenkloster
28 | Kloster der Schwestern vom armen Kinde Jesus
29 | Redemptoristenkloster

Among all the historical iconography of Aachen, it has been selected those where the monastic system is best represented and highlighted. As they are urban views, many of them focus on the representation as a whole. Therefore, it has benn chosen those where the position of monasteries and convents is defined. These are the Bruin (1576), Meisner (1623), Merian (1647), Sluyter (1818) and an aerial view (2023). In each of the views the possible monastic buildings found have been identified in red. Not all of them could be located in all the views, but a large majority of them could. On the other hand, the parish towers and the cathedral have not been marked. Although these form part of the urban landscape of towers, they are not part of the monastic system.

The view from Bruin is the first one in which the monastic system can be seen building part of the cityscape of Aachen

Figure 265. (top) Location of monasteries and convents in Aachen. Merian, 1647.

Figure 266. (middle) Location of monasteries and convents in Aachen. Sluyter, 1818.

Figure 267. (down) Location of monasteries and convents in aerial view, 2023. Fabio Bayro Kaiser, 2023.

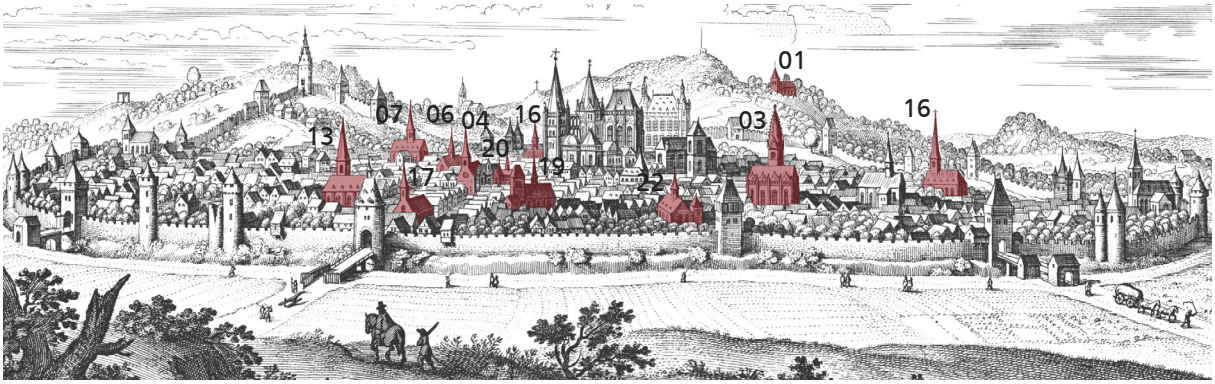


Figure 268. Church of Augustinerkloster in 18th century. Stadtarchiv Aachen (StAAc_H218e_001).

Figure 269. Missing church spire in Augustinerkloster. Author, 2023.

Figure 270. Church spire of the Franziskanerkloster in a Postcard. Anonymous, 1902. In (Wietzorek, 2013).

(Figure 263). Fourteen monastic buildings can be located by knowing the position of their location. Of these it is worth noting the graphics used, all of which are of a darker colour and all of which have church spires or small towers. Although a large part of the monastic system is depicted, buildings such as Webbegarden and Christensenkloster are not shown, the reason being unknown. Meisner's view (Figure 264) is very similar to Bruin's, although he takes a perspective closer to ground level. Even so, both the point of view taken, and the graphics of the monastic buildings are quite similar, with Regulierherrenkloster and Franziskanerkloster again in the foreground. Here, the number of religious buildings is less numerous, as many of them are hidden behind the people standing in the foreground. As a result, only six of the fourteen previously depicted can be identified. Even so, they are clearly visible and identifiable in the urban structure.

Close to the Meisner view, the Merian view changes the vantage point from which to observe the city, with a large number of buildings of the monastic system reappearing (Figure 265). This change makes it possible to identify new buildings such as Salvatorberg, outside the city walls on a hill. Within the city, eleven monastic buildings have been identified, mainly those located between the cathedral and the southern part of the city walls. The rest are hidden behind the cathedral and the town hall. In this drawing, the composition of the urban landscape can be seen quite clearly through the towers of the walls and churches, as well as the church spires of the monasteries. The Franziskanerkloster again stands out with its large tower that towers above the other churches. The 1818 view of Sluyter (Figure 266) clearly shows the effects of the confiscation and the disappearance of a large part of the monastic system. Only three monastic buildings have been identified, Salvatorberg and probably the church of Jesuitenkloster and Karmeliterinnenkloster, known as St. Theresia. Finally, following the representations of historical iconography, a current 21st century identification of the monastic system has been made (Figure 267). For this purpose an aerial image has been used, marking the remaining monastic elements. Up to 13 buildings can be found in the image. However, in some cases the tower, bell-glabe or church spire has been lost, while in others they are not very large. Therefore, they do not protrude above the urban fabric, with the exception of the churches of Salvatorberg, Alexianerkloster, Jesuitenkloster and Heilig Kreuz. Even so, they still have a strong presence in the image of Aachen.

Of the existing monastic temples in Aachen, towers, church spires and bell-glabes have been identified. Among the total of 16 temples, 6 have towers, 1 spire and 1 with a bell-glabe (Figure 271) (Figure 272). The latter is the Klarissenkloster, where the

bell-glabe consists of a simple body with a single bell. It is also the only one preserved and recorded in the city among the monastic system. Between the two other groups, the towers are the most complex due to their diversity. As mentioned above, most of them are brick-built towers with a simple architecture with hardly any decorative aspects. In turn, these are not slender vertical elements that stand out, rather, they are flattened and often go unnoticed. Among these, one exception is the Heilig Kreuz church. Although it is situated on the former convent plot, it was rebuilt in 1897 (Cortjaens, 2002) as a parish church and not a monastic church , acquiring a more monumental, neo-Gothic character, also applied to the tower. Therefore, it is the only tower that differs and stands out from the others. Similarly, the tower of St. Johannes Baptist in Burtscheid is notable for having more decorative elements than the others. However, its height is not much higher than the dome of the transept of the church. In general, the position of the towers in Aachen varies widely. They may be located at the foot of the church, as in the Salvatorberg or the Redemptoristenkloster, or at the rear, as in the Jesuitenkloster. In other cases, as in the former Dominikanerkloster and Franziskanerkloster, the initial tower or church spire has disappeared in favour of a small bell tower at the side of the church. This is a small, rather inconspicuous structure in which to house at least one bell. Although practically all the churches and buildings have been rebuilt or renovated after the war, their towers, church spires and bell-glabes have not been recovered, as is the case of Annakloster or Augustinerkloster (Figure 268) (Figure 269).

Church spires are characteristic structures of the central European skyline, as they are more modest than traditional towers (Nussbaum, 2000). They are usually positioned at the head of the church or halfway along the axis of the central nave above the roof. Their slender and light character allows their position on the main roof as in the Minoritenkirche in Cologne or in St. Jakob in Xanten. In fact, thanks to historical photographs, it has been possible to locate some old church spires such as that of the church spire of Franziskanerkloster (Figure 270), which has now completely disappeared. Regarding the position at the rear of the church, the buildings of St. Katharina and St. Theresia are notable examples. While in the former only the base of the church spire is preserved, in the latter it has been completely recovered. In fact, it is the only church spire to be found in the city of Aachen on a monastic temple. In the buildings of St. Nikolaus, St. Paul, St. Theresia and more modestly in Weißfrauen, the old church spire has been replaced by a small bell tower on the side of the building with a single bell. The result is a solution that resembles the church spire but is completely unnoticed and loses all connection with the cityscape.

Figure 271. (page 324) Towers, church spires and bell-glabes position in 2023 monastic buildings in Aachen. Own elaboration.

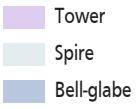
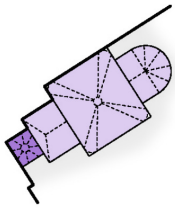
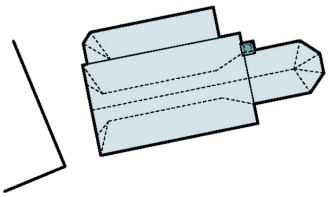


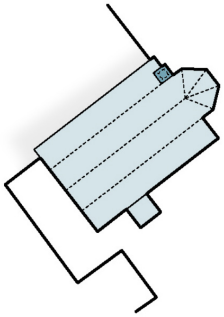
Figure 272. (page 325) Towers, church spires and bell-glabes in 2023 monastic buildings in Aachen. Own elaboration. Author, 2023.



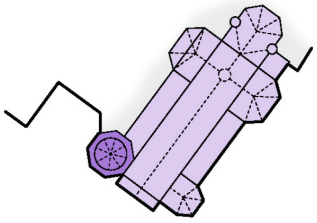
-997-
St. Johannes Baptist



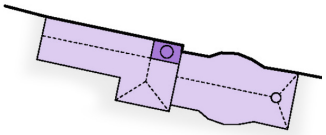
-1234-
Franziskanerkloster
(St. Nikolaus)



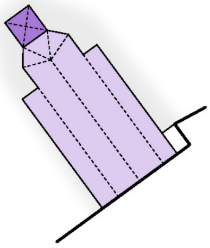
-1294-
Dominikanerkloster
(St. Paul)



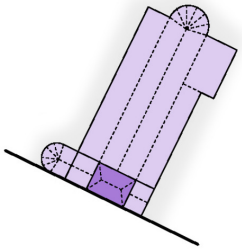
-1372-
Kreuzherrenkloster
(Heilig Kreuz)



-1391-
Alexianerkloster

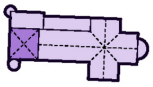


-1600-
Jesuitenkloster
(St. Michael)

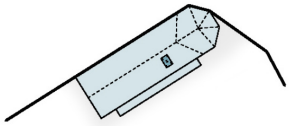


-1865-
Redemptoristenkloster

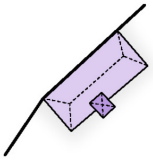
M
F



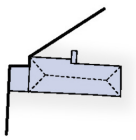
-997-
Salvatorberg



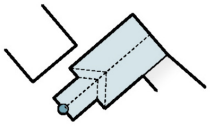
-1278
Cölestinnenkloster



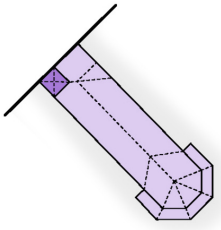
-1513-
Annakloster
(St. Anna und Joachim)



-1616-
Klarissenkloster



-1662-
Karmeliterinnenkloster
(St. Theresia)



-1848-
Kloster der Schwestern vom
armen Kinde Jesus

-997-
St. Johannes Baptist

-1234-
Franziskanerkloster
(St. Nikolaus)

-1294-
Dominikanerkloster
(St. Paul)

-1372-
Kreuzherrenkloster
(Heilig Kreuz)

-1391-
Alexianerkloster

-1600-
Jesuitenkloster
(St. Michael)

-1865-
Redemptoristenkloster

M
F

-997-
Salvatorberg

-1278
Cölestinnenkloster

-1513-
Annakloster
(St. Anna und Joachim)

-1616-
Klarissenkloster

-1662-
Karmeliterinnenkloster
(St. Theresia)

-1848-
Kloster der Schwestern vom
armen Kinde Jesus

4.6 THE MONASTIC HERITAGE

A great part of Aachen's monastic heritage survives to this day despite the events that led to its decline, such as confiscations and wars. From the 19th century onwards, the city experienced an exponential growth that has continued into the 21st century, only interrupted by the war and post-war years between 1940 and 1950. In this sense, the population decreased by 93%, only to return to its 1940s level at the beginning of the 1960s. In addition to the population decline, another major effect of the Second World War was the destruction of practically the entire city, especially the historic centre. The city centre as well as churches, convents and monasteries were destroyed or badly damaged. Despite this, the value and importance of these buildings for the city led to their reconstruction. As a result, there are still churches and monastic buildings that are protected today by heritage legislation, which would otherwise have disappeared forever. Most of them have been given heritage protection as a result of the reconstruction of the city. Furthermore, Aachen itself declared its historic city centre protected in 2011. These facts favour the conservation and protection of the urban heritage, which are intended not only to preserve it, but also to prevent a repetition of the heritage loss of the 20th century.

4.6.1 THE CITY IN THE 20TH AND 21ST CENTURIES

Until the outbreak of the First World War, urban development in Aachen at the beginning of the 20th century was a continuation of the momentum of the 19th century. Thus, there was the appearance of the railway, the establishment of the university, new urban expansion and a strong industrial development, the latter being a determining factor in the growth of the population. Data show that in 1910 the city had at least 75 textile factories and 14,365 workers (Wietzorek, 2013). In terms of population, there is also an increase that accompanies urban growth. In 1913, the population was 160.508 inhabitants (Statistischen Landesamt Nordrhein-Westfalen, 1964) compared to 50.000 in the middle of the 19th century. However, socio-political events again play a major role in slowing down both the urban and demographic growth of Aachen. Between 1914 and 1918, during the First World War, the population dropped to 140.843 inhabitants according to the statistics of 1917 (Statistischen Landesamt Nordrhein-Westfalen, 1964). This represents a decrease of 20,000 fewer people in only four years. Although the war took its toll on the city, it did not prevent it from growing again rapidly and exponentially in the decades that followed.

The 1925 cadastral plan of the city shows the new urban transformations, with a scale of 1:2500 (Figure 273). As the plan is in colour, it is easy to identify the difference between streets, green spaces, urban facilities and industry. The main growth occurs in a northerly direction, in the area around the periphery of the Lousberg. This is due to the modification of the railway line, moving from this area to a more westerly position, allowing growth in this sector to a large extent. In addition, this favours the growth of the university towards the north, occupying a larger urban area, as well as a greater importance at regional and national level. The Frankenberger Viertel in the south-east is also being consolidated as a new district. On the other hand, the majority of industry and military barracks are relocated to the periphery, freeing them from the central urban areas.

Despite the short break during the war, Aachen developed gradually and steadily until 1940, reaching a population of 162,164 inhabitants in that year (Statistischen Landesamt Nordrhein-Westfalen, 1964). This does not mean that population and urban growth went hand in hand with the growth in the number of convents and monasteries. In fact, during the National Socialist government, relations between church and state were hostile (Schaffer, 2008). Moreover, a year earlier,

Figure 273. Aachen. Vermessungsamt, 1925. Stadtarchiv Aachen, StAAc_Karten_III_d_35.

Figure 274. St. Katharina, 1948-1950. LVR-Amt für Denkmalpflege im Rheinland, historisches Archiv.

Figure 275. Aachen, 1944. Photo by Helmut Vondenhoff, 1944.

in 1939, one of the events that shaped the future of Germany and Europe, the Second World War, had already begun. The repercussions of this war were catastrophic, especially for the urban heritage of German cities (Figure 274). Before being conquered by the Allies, the city of Aachen was heavily bombed with a total of 74 air raids (Römling, 2014) (Figure 276). The city centre and 62% of the residential buildings were destroyed (Curdes, 1999) (Figure 278), in addition to a reduction of the population to 11,139 inhabitants in 1944 (Statistischen Landesamt Nordrhein-Westfalen, 1964). If the First World War reduced the population by 12% in four years, the Second World War would reduce it by 93% in the same time range. The consequences are visible in the population data.

For the purpose of reconstructing the city, the Zerstörungsplan was developed in 1946 (Figure 277) where a categorisation of the destruction is made in percentages: 0% for intact, 0-25% moderately intact, 25-70% medium-severe damage and 70-100% totally damaged. The aim of the plan is no other than to check the level of destruction of the city after the war and the state of preservation of the buildings. As is evident, the tallest and largest buildings were the most damaged. This mainly applies to large urban facilities such as churches, the theatre, the university and the town hall (Figure 275). The most striking feature of the map is the difference in the level of destruction between the historic centre and the urban periphery. It is much more intense in the centre, reaching destruction rates of between 70% and 100% in a large number of plots. The attack on the

Figure 276. Aerial view of Elisenbrunnen, 1945. Privatarchiv Jorg Mühlenberg.

Figure 277. Aachen. Zerstörungsplan, 1946. Stadtarchiv Aachen, StAAc KPL 1 S4.

Figure 278. Aachen, 1944. Digital media library in https://www.n-tv.de/mediathek/bilderserien/politik/Als-die-ersten-GIs-deutschen-Boden-betraten-article21340067.html (19/04/2023).

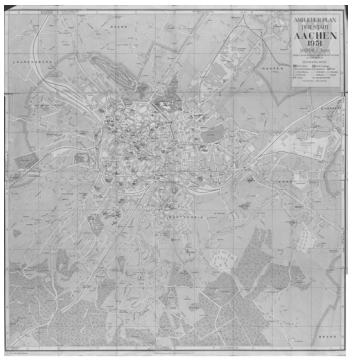


Figure 279. Aachen. Vermessungsamt, 1951. Stadtarchiv Aachen, STAAc_Karten_III_d_38.

Figure 280. Elisenbrunnen und Theater, 1952. Aerial view, Katasterplankarte.

city was not arbitrary, nor did it target the entire population equally, but was designed and calculated to direct the attacks on the area of the historic centre.

The end of the war and the economic aid of the Marshall Plan led to a rapid economic and urban recovery. Taking into account the data on destruction and population decline, within six years the city was almost back to its pre-war population. In 1950, Aachen had 129,811 inhabitants (Statistischen Landesamt Nordrhein-Westfalen, 1964). Although the population grew rapidly again without hindrance, the reconstruction of the buildings was a slower process and took longer. In the municipal plan of 1951, at a scale of 1:10000 (Figure 279), the coexistence of new urban expansions, the reconstruction of other areas and the ruins of buildings can be seen. This can be better appreciated in the aerial image of 1952 (Figure 280), where a large number of buildings are still in ruins, without roofs or demolished leaving the plot totally free. This is a reflection of the high percentage of destruction that was still in force a decade later. During the years of reconstruction, a large part of the population mainly sought out the less affected areas, i.e. those on the periphery, favouring greater urban growth. Subsequently, and little by little, the historic centre would once again become overcrowded. In this sense, the sectors to the west of the city that were hitherto undeveloped are occupied. In addition, there is a greater abundance of new buildings to the north, south and east.

From the 1950s onwards, Aachen continued its urban and population growth without encountering new difficulties. In fact, the number of inhabitants reached its peak in 1991 with 254,313 registered persons (Landesbetrieb IT.NRW Statistik und IT-Dienstleistungen, 2023). The city continues to modernise and develop in all four directions, as well as to fill in and occupy the remaining urban voids. Historically, Aachen's development has been marked by its walled perimeter, with two streets even being built in the wall rings. In the second half of the 20th century, however, these boundaries become blurred and even protrude from the graphic format used in this analysis for its urban representation (Figure 281). The city acquires a new urban-territorial scale. An example of this is the 1978 municipal plan[52]. In this document, the city appears completely reconstructed and built up in its entirety. The large urban voids that can be seen are used for urban facilities such as the cemetery or as parks or urban orchards. Whereas Burtscheid originally consisted of a monastery and a small settlement on the outskirts of the city, it is now a neighbourhood on the perimeter of the city centre.

52 Plan of Aachen of 1978 located in Katasteramt der StädteRegion Aachen & Land NRW.

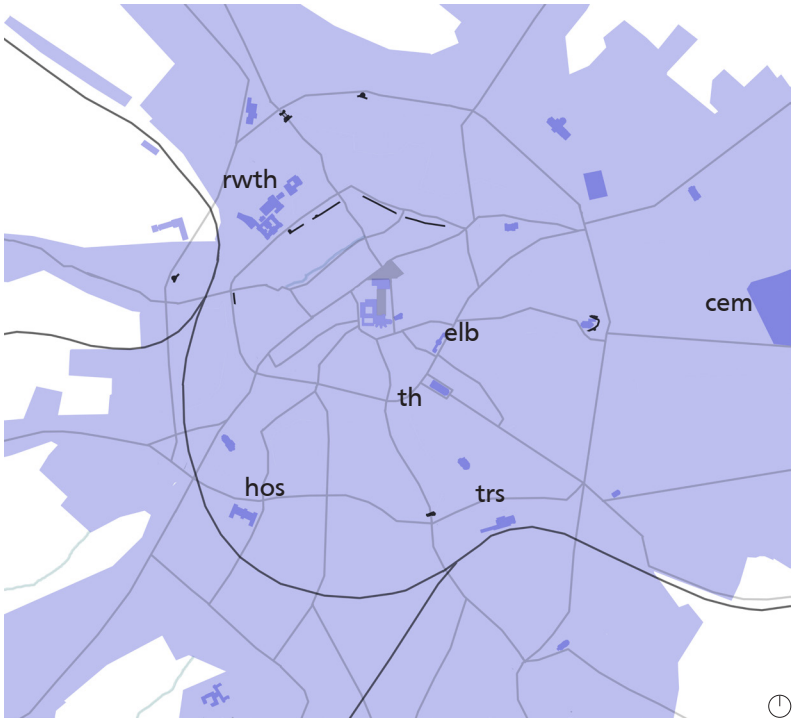


Figure 281. City of Aachen in 1951. Own elaboration based on Vermessungsamt plan.

[cem] Cementery
[trs] Train station
[elb] Elisenbrunnen
[th] Theatre
[hos] Hospital
[rwth] RWTH Aachen University

The urban growth of Aachen in recent decades can be observed through a succession of aerial images every 35 years, in 1952, 1988 and 2023 (Figure 282). In a comparison between the three, the biggest difference is found between the first image, from 1952, and the other two. The area to the west between the railway tracks can be highlighted, which has been used for the growth of the university with new buildings and facilities. On the other hand, we can see how the southeast and southwest sectors are built on and completed. In general, in the new perimeter growth, a single-family housing typology is used, with low-density areas being built next to green areas and urban allotments. Between 1988 and 2023, there are hardly any major differences, and the city goes beyond the limits of the graphic framework used. Nevertheless, the limits of the two former walled perimeters, which constitute the historic centre and two current traffic rings, are clearly distinguishable (Figure 283). In terms of population, since the 1980s, the city has maintained a stable number of inhabitants up to the present day, with a total of 248,878 inhabitants registered in 2022 (Landesbetrieb IT.NRW Statistik und IT-Dienstleistungen, 2023). However, from a time perspective, the number of people is twice as high as in 1950 in Aachen after the war. Although factors such as industrial activity, which favoured population growth, have declined in recent decades, facilities such as the university play an essential role. In addition, the strategic territorial position as a border town between three countries is decisive for the current and future urban development.

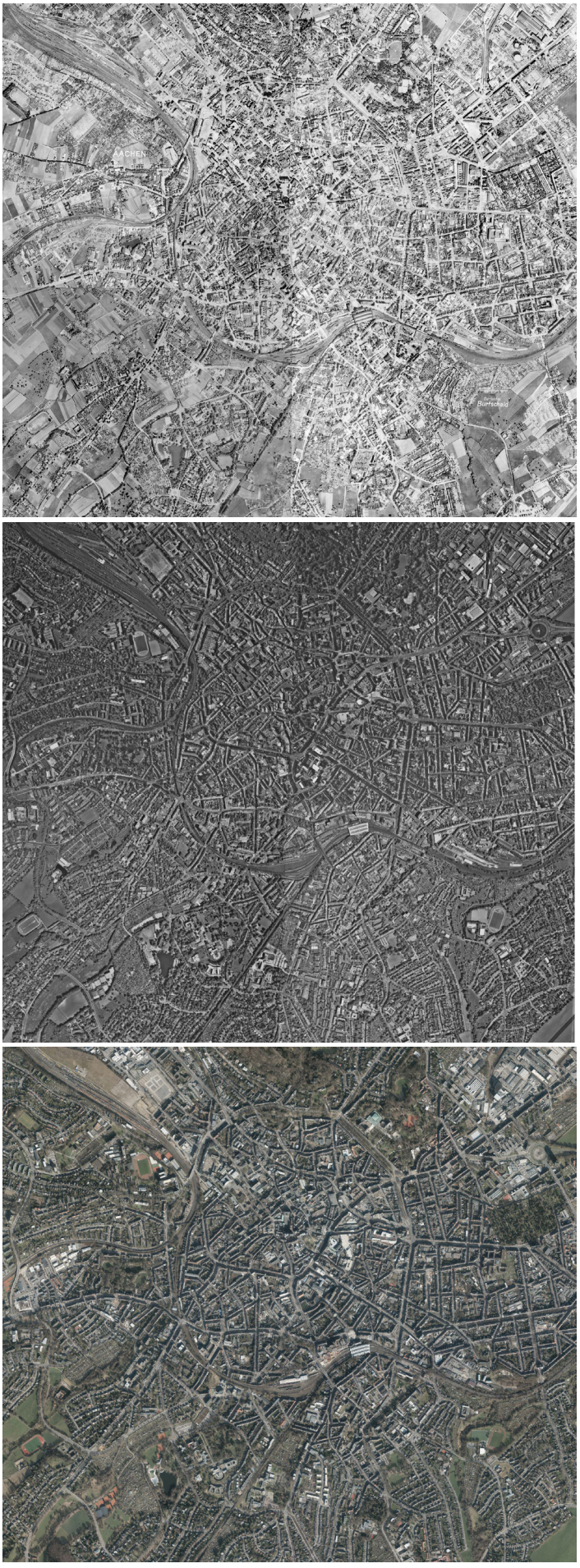


Figure 282. Aerial view of Aachen in 1952, Katasterplankarte. Aachen in 1988 and in 2023, Google Earth.

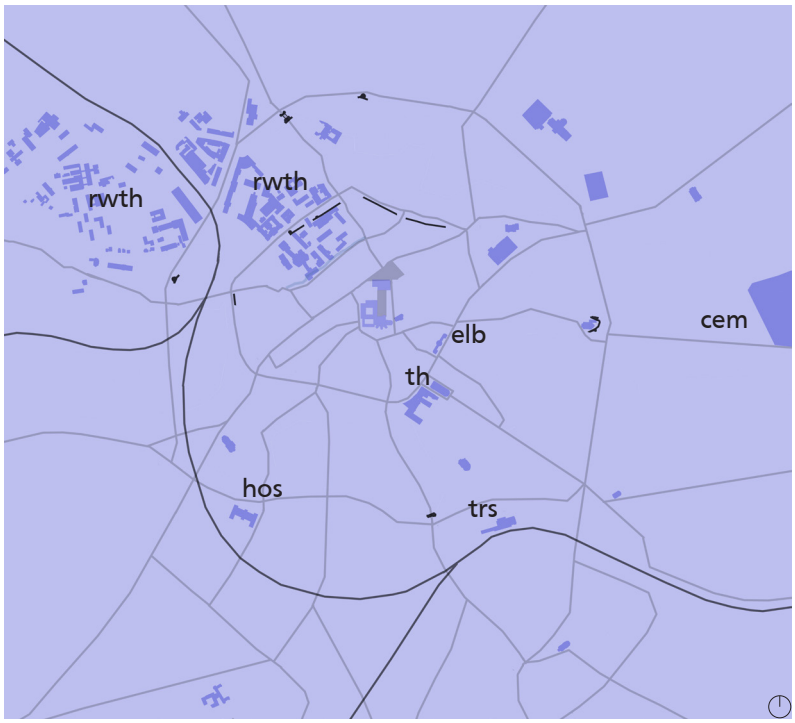


Figure 283. City of Aachen in 2023. Own elaboration based on current Google Earth views.

[cem] Cementery
[trs] Train station
[elb] Elisenbrunnen
[th] Theatre
[hos] Hospital
[rwth] RWTH Aachen University

4.6.2 CONTINUITY OF THE MONASTIC INSTITUTION

The urban changes from the 19th century onwards, the French secularisation, the *Kulturkampf* and the World Wars put a brake on monastic development. However, the period after the Second World War was characterised by a new growth of monasticism at the national level. In fact, male orders in Germany increased from 338 to 640, more than 89% (Schaffer, 2008). To a large extent this is due to the return of many orders that were expelled during the *Kulturkampf* or the war. In Aachen, this institution has managed to maintain its presence in the city. Since its first appearance in the urban environment at the end of the 10th century, the monastic presence in Aachen has continued almost uninterruptedly for more than eleven centuries.

The survival of the monastic institution is due to its constant change and adaptation. The loss of importance means that today there are not as many buildings as there were in the past. However, those that do exist are integrated as urban facilities alongside schools, civic centres, sports centres, hospitals or libraries. Compared to the past use of facilities, the religious use is moving from a first level to a second or non-existent level, as opposed to the complementary uses which are now the main driving force of these buildings. On the other hand, the foundation of new orders today is also a reflection of the continuity of monasticism. The greatest founding boom took place during the Middle Ages and the Modern Age with a large number of orders. But in the last centuries, new foundations of

Figure 284. Nun of the women's orders in Aachen. Author, 2022.

orders such as that of Clara Fey in 1844 or Franziska Schervier in 1845 stand out (Figure 284). On the other hand, as one moves up the time scale, the religious presence in the city becomes less and less. An example of this is the abandonment of the city by the Jesuit and Discalced Carmelite orders in 2005.

In Aachen, the role played by the monastic orders can still be emphasised today. In the year 2022, 6 buildings have been counted with monastic use compared to 25 at the beginning of the 19th century (Figure 285). The 24% of the monastic buildings still have a religious use, in addition to the traditional hybridisation with complementary uses in some examples. These are Salvatorberg, Cölestinnenkloster, Dominikanerkloster / Franziskanerinnenkloster, Alexianerkloster, Klarissenkloster and Kloster der Schwestern vom armen Kinde Jesus. The table shows those aspects that are relevant to the understanding of monasticism in the city today.

First of all, the only two buildings in which the monastic order has remained uninterrupted, the Alexianerkloster and the Kloster der Schwestern vom armen Kinde Jesus, are worth mentioning. The former is the oldest monastery in Aachen, which since 1587 has continuously maintained its religious and health care function. Despite this, continuous reconstructions and alterations have resulted in the loss of the original building. However, these have always been carried out on the same monastic plot, and have been extended on several occasions. The second one is the last and second foundation in Burtscheid in the middle of the 19th century. Its location far from the major urban changes and its more recent construction are factors that allow the order to persist in comparison to others. The rest of the buildings that maintain a monastic use are due to the arrival of orders other than the original ones. Most of them are

Figure 285. Buildings with monastic use in 2023. Data obtained from Groten et al. (2009), Curdes (1999), Brecher (1956) and Kirchner (2015). Own elaboration.

	Year of foundation	Original order	Year of confiscation	Current order
Salvatorberg	997	Cistercian nuns	1220	1932. Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate
Cölestinnenkloster (Weißfrauen)	1278	St. Mary Magdalene (Weißfrauen)	1802	1848. Sisters of the Poor Child Jesus
Dominikanerkloster / Franziskanerinnenkloster	1294	Dominican friars	1802	1885. Poor Sisters of St. Francis
Alexianerkloster	1587	Alexians	-	Alexians
Klarissenkloster	1621	Poor Clares	1802	1868. Poor Sisters of St. Francis
Kloster der Schwestern vom armen Kinde Jesus (Burtscheid)	1848	Sisters of the Poor Child Jesus	-	Sisters of the Poor Child Jesus

all refoundations belonging to the mid-19th century, with the exception of Salvatorberg in 1932. The latter is an exception during this period, being considered an isolated case without belonging to any of the phases discussed in the previous points. Moreover, all of the re-foundations are women's orders. Two of them are founded by the order of Armen Schwestern vom heiligen Franziskus. The oldest, in 1868, occupies the former Klarissenkloster. The most recent, in 1885, is located on the former Dominikanerkloster. In contrast to the former Poor Clares' building, the new nuns of the Dominican convent extended it by occupying part of the block, enlarging both the plot and the built-up area. In fact, as they were unable to use the church of St. Paul, the nuns built a small church as part of the extension of the old monastery. Finally, the order of Schwestern vom armen Kinde Jesus made two foundations in Aachen in 1848. The first was a new foundation in Burtscheid, mentioned above. The second, on the site of the former convent of the White Nuns, has remained in conventual use until the present

Figure 286. Monasteries and convents by Gender in Aachen, 2023. Own elaboration.

day. Today, however, the convent plot is mainly restricted to the church and a few small outbuildings.

In order to understand the permanence of monasticism in Aachen, it is essential to locate it in the city (Figure 286. Just like in the period of its greatest splendour with all 25 monasteries and convents, it is necessary to position them again in the 21st century. As can be seen, the number of buildings is fairly small both in terms of number and surface area. In fact, the Salvatorberg in the north is almost imperceptible. Despite all the urban transformations discussed above, the monastic buildings continue to occupy historic positions today, i.e. inside the first walled ring and in the Burtscheid area. Undoubtedly, they continue to represent decisive and strategic positions in the urban ensemble. On the other hand, in terms of the gender of the order, and starting from the initial situation of 11 males and 14 females at the end of the 18th century, there are currently 4 females and 2 males. These men's orders correspond to the aforementioned order of the Alexians, which is now dedicated as a hospital, and to the new community of Oblaten in Salvatorberg. This fact means a difference between male and female orders, leaving monasticism in Aachen once again in the hands of the religious orders.

4.6.3 MONASTERIES AND CONVENTS WITHOUT MONASTIC PRESENCE

The main use of the monastic typology is undoubtedly religious. However, since their appearance on the urban scene, the existence of a hybridisation of uses has been detected in these buildings, mainly as urban facilities. The capacity to adapt to other uses, in addition to the originally religious one, has facilitated the evolution of a large number of these buildings. An example of this is the transformation of a monastery from a religious-educational use to a purely educational one. The religious decline in society and the new urban needs have allowed the use of a large part of the old monasteries and convents as new urban facilities without the religious component. To this must be added the processes of secularisation and expropriation, which, together with the large number of these buildings in cities, has led to their reuse for new purposes.

A great variety of uses has been detected, not only in Aachen but also in other nearby cities. An example of this is the Museum of Applied Arts in Cologne, which is located on the monastic building of the Minorites, although the church is still used for religious purposes. In the city of Neuss, on the other hand, the present-day use of the former monastery of the observant

monks is particularly noteworthy. Called the Zeughaus Neuss, it is now used as a concert hall, a celebration hall and even a bar. Finally, one of the most prominent and well-known examples in the region is the Dominican church in Maastricht (Figure 287). The building now houses one of the city's best-known bookshops, as well as a café inside. This intervention respects the original spatiality of the church and helps to preserve the Dutch monastic heritage. The monastic buildings in Aachen without the presence of religious orders are a total of eight (Figure 288). Since their confiscation, the monastic plots have had a multitude and diversity of uses (Figure 289), although most of the churches have continued to be used for religious purposes. This section analyses the current use of the permanences, without considering the former monastic plot, studied in sections 4.4.3 and 4.4.4 In this sense, five of the nine temples maintain their use for religious ceremonies. In fact, this is the most widespread and abundant use for monastic temples today.

Figure 287. Bookshop inside an old Dominican church, Maastricht. Author, 2022.

After the religious use, the cultural use is the most prominent, with the parishes of St. Nikolaus and St. Katharina being the main examples. On the other hand, the least frequent uses are residential, educational and office. In relation to educational use, St. Theresia does not have an educational activity, but the former convent building is used for offices of the RWTH University. Although it has an administrative function, it is on land used for educational purposes. Finally, there is the unused convent of the Carmelite nuns. The special feature of this building is that it has been a squatted monastery since the departure of the religious order in 2005. Unlike the Redemptoristenkloster, whose Jesuit order also left in the same year, this one was converted into offices and engineering and architectural studios.

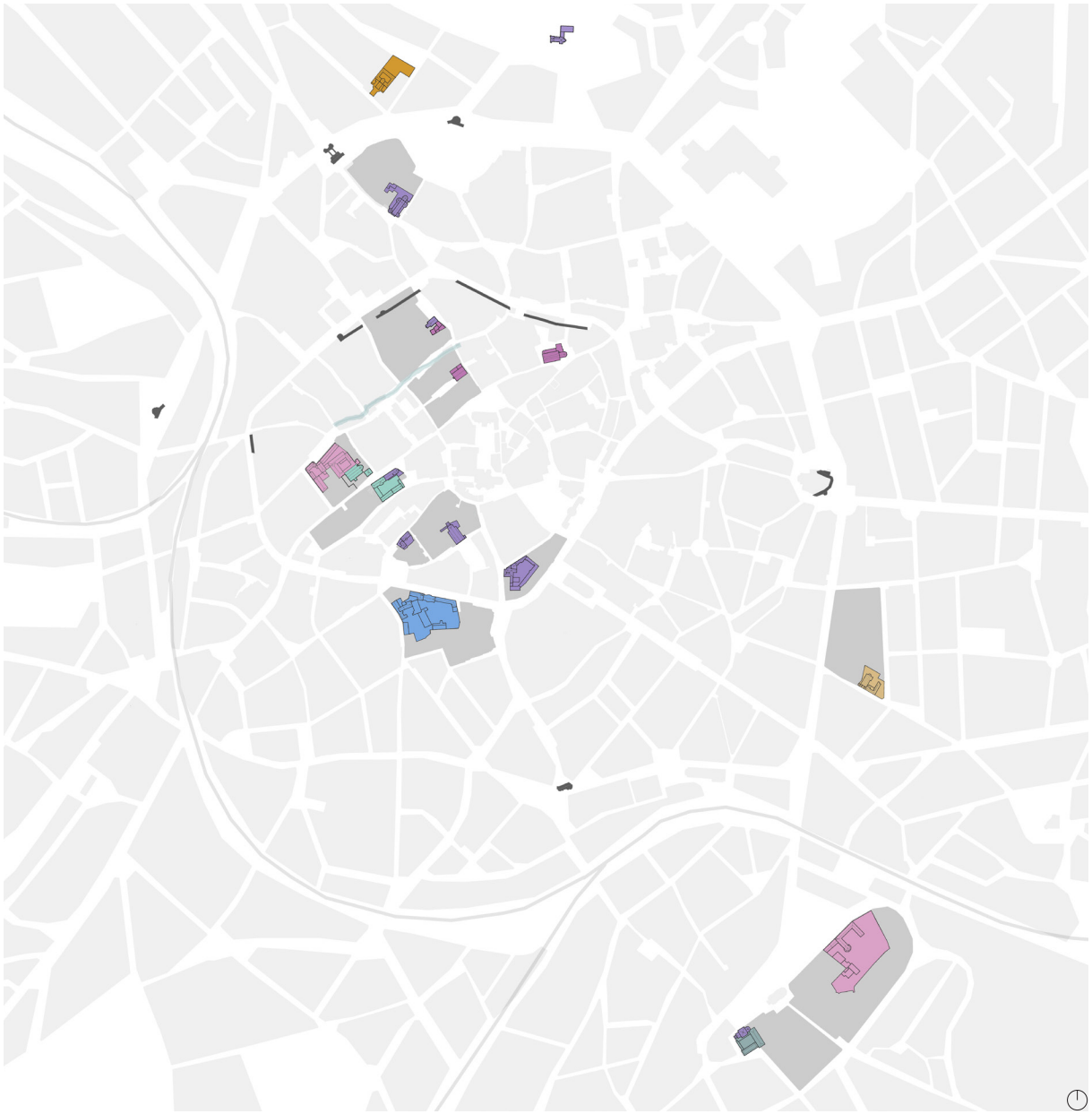
Figure 288. Monastic buildings with non-monastic uses in 2023. Data obtained from Groten et al. (2009), Curdes (1999), Brecher (1956) and Kirchner (2015). Own elaboration.

	Year of foundation	Year of disappearance*	Remains	Current use of the remains
St. Johannes Baptist	997	-	Monastery	Religious and housing
Franziskanerkloster (St. Nikolaus)	1234	1946	Church and Wall remains	Cultural
Augustinerkloster (St. Katharina)	1329	1895	Church	Cultural
Kreuzherrenkloster (Heilig Kreuz)	1372	1897	Church	Religious
Annakloster (St. Anna und Joachim)	1513	1910	Church	Religious
Jesuitenkloster (St. Michael)	1600	1860	Church	Religious
Karmeliterinnenkloster (St. Theresia)	1662	1937	Church and some convent buildings	Religious and Educational
Karmeliterinnenkloster	1859	-	Convent	Without use
Redemptoristenkloster	1865	-	Monastery	Offices

*Year of the building's disappearance. All that remains are in the right-hand column.

If the data on use are taken from the table and expressed in percentages, 55% of the churches still maintain a religious use as a parish, compared to 45% with other uses. According to the information analysed, the permanence of the church alone has in many cases made it difficult to use it for new non-religious purposes. In contrast, the churches of St. Nikolaus or St. Katharina have managed to break this trend and have been converted into urban facilities with a cultural use for the city. In other cases where a religious use is maintained, it changes religion, i.e. from Catholic to Orthodox Christianity. There are two examples of this in the city, one is St. Michael's, a former Jesuit church, which is now used by the Greek Orthodox Church. The other is St. Theresia, now used as the seat of the Romanian Orthodox Church of Aachen. In any case, the presence of monasticism itself is becoming less and less in the city. The

Figure 289. Uses in monastic buildings in 2023. Own elaboration.

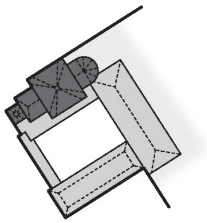


former monasteries and convents are acquiring new uses, acting as modern urban facilities in the service of society and the city.

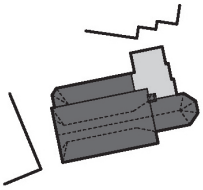
The previous plan shows all the buildings of the current monastic system, their uses and their remains. In the same way as in point 4.3.1, a diagram of the 18th century monastic plans was made, an updated one for the 21st century is carried out (Figure 291). In this sense, the current monastic situation is drawn highlighting the plot, the position of the street and the churches in a darker colour. The main difference that stands out at first glance is the isolation of many monastic churches as opposed to complete buildings. However, there are nuances here. Firstly, the former Dominikanerkloster is now the new Franziskanerinnenkloster. It took over the former Dominican buildings and extended them, including the construction of a new church. The Alexianerkloster (Figure 290), on the other hand, was demolished and completely rebuilt in 1929, leaving only the original monastic plot. This transformation also occurred in churches such as the Heiligen Kreuz in 1900, which was demolished and rebuilt.

If one looks at the larger buildings, excluding the aforementioned Alexians, they all belong to the last phase of monastic foundation in the 19th century. Their urban position, far from the historic centre, as well as their appearance in the last phase have favoured their preservation today. This is in contrast to the older ones, where only the church remains, such as the Franziskanerkloster, Augustinerkloster or Jesuitenkloster.

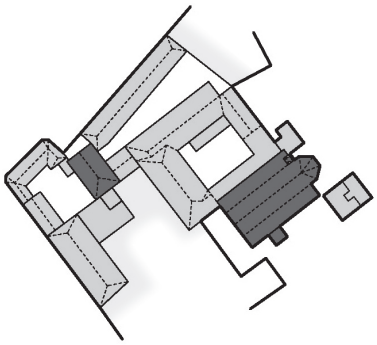
Figure 290. Plan of Alexianerkloster in 1922. Redrawn by the author. LVR-Amt für Denkmalpflege im Rheinland, historisches Planarchiv.



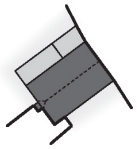
-997-
St. Johannes Baptist



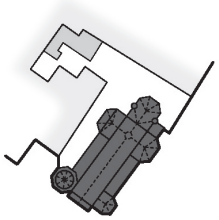
-1234-
Franziskanerkloster



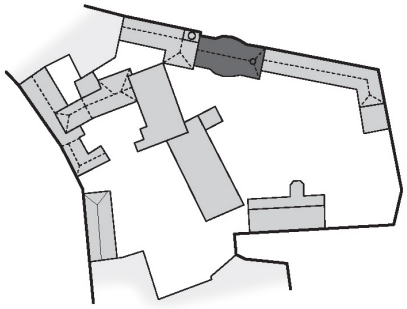
-1294-
Dominikanerkloster &
Franziskanerinnenkloster



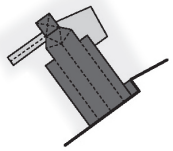
-1329-
Augustinerkloster



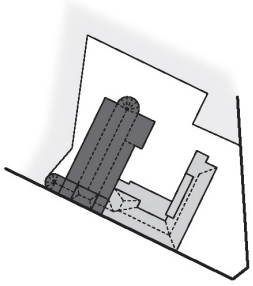
-1372-
Heiligen Kreuz



-1391-
Alexianerkloster

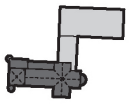


-1600-
Jesuitenkloster

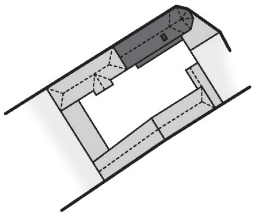


-1865-
Redemptoristenkloster

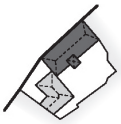
M
F



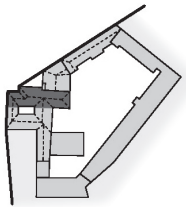
-997-
Salvatorberg



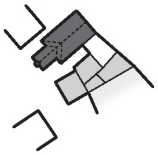
-1278-
Cölestinnenkloster



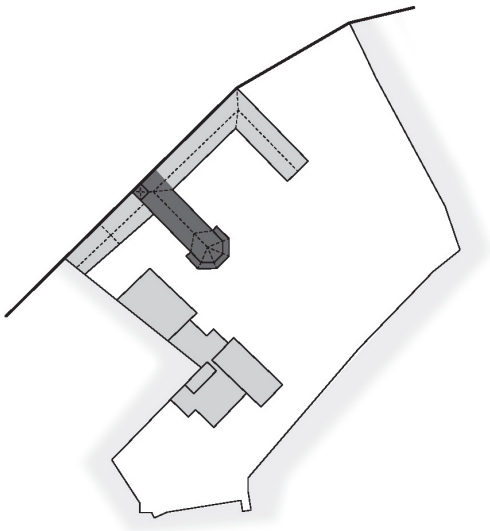
-1513-
Annakloster



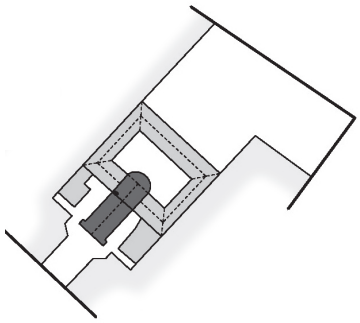
-1616-
Klarissenkloster



-1662-
Karmeliterinnenkloster



-1848-
Kloster der Schwestern von
armen Kinde Jesus



-1859-
Karmeliterinnenkloster

Between the male and female orders, the latter has managed to preserve the largest area and the highest number of intact convent buildings. Again, with the exception of Alexianerkloster. It is also worth mentioning that although the position of the Dominikanerkloster is among the male orders, as this is its origin, its extension and current use depends on a female order.

Figure 291. (left page) Plan of monasteries and convents in 2023 in Aachen. The church is highlighted in dark. Own elaboration.

Regarding the monastic buildings, only in Dominikanerkloster and Alexianerkloster has an extension of the original plot been detected. The enormous size of the monastic building means that the sale and segregation of plots is a normal transformation of the block. The uses of the aforementioned buildings, social care and sanitary, have been decisive for the extension of the building. More floor space and outbuildings are required for the current operation of these monastic buildings. Finally, the layout of the monastic system in Aachen in the 21st century shows a clear monastic imprint. Both the number of buildings and their dimensions have a great impact on the urban level, which undoubtedly builds up the city's heritage.

4.6.4 PROTECTION AND CONSERVATION IN URBAN PLANNING

The preservation of the monastic heritage system is currently carried out by means of protection and protection of the monastery. However, heritage conservation in Aachen means not only preventing the loss of the historic building, but also the loss of the identity it represents for the city. The bombing during the Second World War virtually destroyed the historic centre and the rich architectural heritage it contained. To prevent this loss, the inhabitants had to rebuild the city and its buildings in order to recover them. The speech given in 1949 by the architect Wilhelm K. Fischer (1953) at a conference in the town hall of Aachen is of interest, where "After the immeasurable damage of the last war, a new task has now arisen: The planning and reconstruction of a city more than 1000 years old [...] must be protected and cared for like a monument. Preserving it means saving the urban character, the familiar order, and restoring features that have been partially erased by time"[53] (p.156). In this sense, the importance in protection and conservation reaches a value different from the traditional historical one, the value of identity.

53 Original quote: „Nach den unermeßlichen Schäden des letzten Krieges ist nunmehr eine neue Aufgabe gestellt: Planung und Neuaufbau einer mehr als 1000jährigen Stadt [...] gilt es wie ein Denkmal zu schützen und zu pflegen. Ihn erhalten heißt, den Charakter der Stadt, die liebgewordene überschaubare Ordnung zu retten und die vom Strom der Zeit teilweise verwaschenen Züge zu sanieren." (Fischer 1953, p. 156)

Heritage awareness, social conscience and heritage laws are decisive in the process of conservation and protection. In order to preserve the monastic footprint in the city, it is necessary to work with the appropriate institutions and tools. Heritage legislation joins city planning and municipal by-laws in the process of protecting the monastic heritage, as well as the declaration of Aachen Cathedral as a World Heritage Site. For this purpose, the World Heritage Declaration of 7 June 1978 for the cathedral and the North Rhine-Westphalia law, the *Gesetz zum Schutz und zur Pflege der Denkmäler im Lande Nordrhein-Westfalen*[54] of 11 March 1980, have been considered. In Germany there is no national law, as heritage legislation is the sovereignty of the *Bundesländer*, so there are 16 different administrations and legislations (Raabe, 2015). Therefore, only the law of the *Bundesland* of North Rhine-Westphalia is taken as a reference. In addition to the above-mentioned heritage law, there are local heritage ordinances, such as the *Satzung für die Erhaltung des Denkmalbereiches "Innenstadt"* of 24 March 2011 for the historic district of Aachen. This contains the heritage protection plan as well as the catalogue of protected buildings. The latter is the main legislative document for heritage management in Aachen.

First of all, the study of the heritage protection of the city has to be approached from the *Denkmalschutzgesetz* (DSchG) of North Rhine-Westphalia (Figure 292). In Article 2 of the law, called *Begriffsbestimmungen*[55], the different categories of *Denkmal* are defined. These are: *Baudenkmäler*, *Denkmalbereiche*, *Bewegliche Denkmäler* and *Bodendenkmäler* (Germany. Nordrhein-westfälisches Denkmalschutzgesetz, 1980, § 2). As can be seen, there is no specific protection for cities or urban areas, although the one used for the protection of urban areas is the *Denkmalbereich*. In its definition in Article 2(3), it is stated that a *Denkmalbereich* can be used for urban layouts, urban landscapes, districts, neighbourhoods, farms, streets, etc. (Germany. Nordrhein-westfälisches Denkmalschutzgesetz, 1980, § 2). In addition to cities, this category is also used for the protection of areas in the natural environment, so that it is a category that covers different types of heritage as long as it is a delimited area. Therefore, a *Denkmalbereich* can be used to protect a city, a neighbourhood, a street or an agricultural landscape. The diversity of elements protected by the *Denkmalbereich* means that the number of elements protected by it is quite high. On the other hand, in contrast to *Baudenkmäler*, there is no list or catalogue of all *Denkmalbereiche*. This makes it difficult not only to locate them in North Rhine-Westphalia, but also to quantify

54 Abbreviated as *Denkmalschutzgesetz* (DSchG).

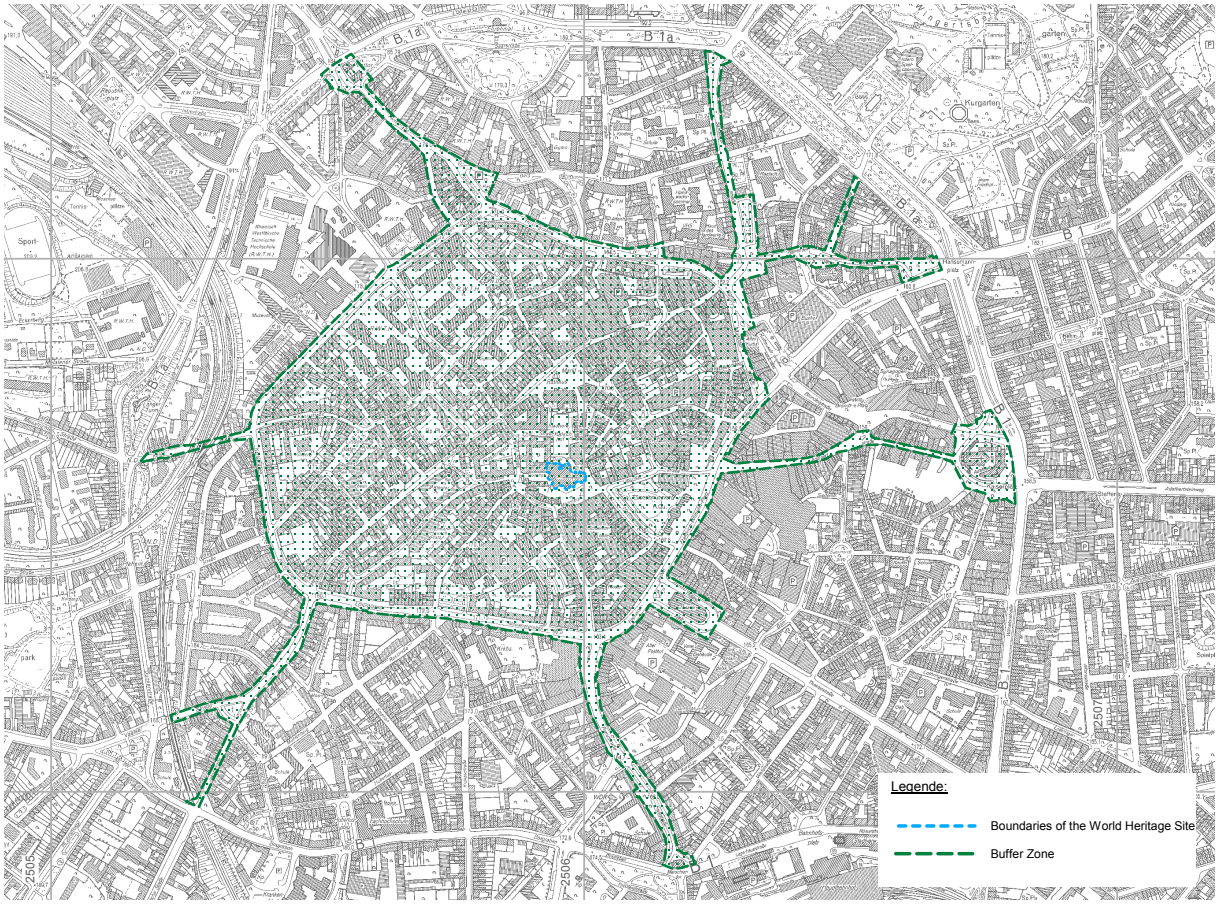
55 Translated by the author here as: Begriffsbestimmungen (definitions), Denkmal (Heritage), Baudenkmäler (Monuments), Denkmalbereiche (Historic Sites), Bewegliche Denkmäler (Movable Monuments) and Bodendenkmäler (Archeological Areas).

them. It is quite problematic to establish a total or approximate number, as this figure has not yet been counted in its entirety. This protection is implemented by Article 5, *Unterschutzstellung von Denkmalbereichen*[56]. The legislative instrument has to be the municipal ordinances or by-laws, approved by the Oberen *Denkmalbehörde*[57] of the *Bundesland* North Rhine-Westphalia. In addition, plans and graphic representations must be attached (Germany. Nordrhein-westfälisches Denkmalschutzgesetz, 1980, § 5). Ultimately, it is the city that is responsible for the instrumentalisation and protection of its *Denkmalbereichen*.

Figure 292. Identification plaque for the heritage protection of a building, Aachen. Author, 2022.

Article 25 stipulates that the municipalities are responsible for drawing up and updating monument conservation plans (Germany. Nordrhein-westfälisches Denkmalschutzgesetz, 1980, § 25). Under the designation *Satzung für die Erhaltung des Denkmalbereiches "Innenstadt"* [58] the historic city centre has been protected since 27 March 2011. The scope of action is defined in Article 1 of the ordinances. If one looks at the protection plan, the area is mainly comprised of the city centre corresponding to the first walled enclosure of Aachen (Figure 293). On the other hand, the urban area belonging to the

Figure 293. World Heritage site and Denkmalbereich (Historic Site) of Aachen. In Satzung für die Erhaltung des Denkmalbereiches "Innenstadt".



56 Translated by the author as: Protection of Monumental Areas.

57 Translated by the author as: Higher Monument Authority.

58 Translated by the author as: Regulation for the preservation of city heritage centre.

historic axes such as Pontstraße, Franzstraße or Jakobstraße is also included. Undoubtedly, the importance of urban space over built space is clear. In these axes, priority is given to the conservation of the urban layout over the built-up area. In addition, the buildings or landmarks that make up these urban axes, such as the Ponttor, the Marschiertor or St. Adalbertkirche, are included. On the other hand, the first section of the urban space and theatre building is added to this historic area. This inclusion shows part of the impact that the urban developments and transformations had on the city. In the *Denkmalberecih* as a whole, the urban form and layout, plot structure, streets, squares, green areas, the residential fabric, facades, roofs and urban views are protected (Stadt Aachen, 2011, § 2). The latter aspect of urban views is closely related to the protection of the aforementioned axes. In Aachen, there is a high level of awareness not only for the protection of the urban area as a whole, but also for the design of its urban landscape.

Although the patrimonial laws of the *Bundesland* and Aachen are indispensable, the World Heritage status of Aachen Cathedral must not be forgotten. It was inscribed on the Unesco list in 1978 (ICOMOS, 1978), being the third inscribed and the second cultural element[59] in the world and the first in Germany. The boundaries of the World Heritage Site have been restricted to the surface of the cathedral itself since 1978. In 2013, however, changes were made to include the buffer zone. A buffer zone cannot exist on its own, but needs to be part of a system that encompasses heritage areas (Turner, 2008), i.e. the Cathedral area. As the cathedral has a central position in the city, its area is not accidental. The same area is taken as the *Denkmalbereich* in Aachen. This not only reaffirms the suitability of the *Denkmalbereich* as an area for the cathedral, but also reinforces the heritage protection of the historic centre of Aachen through the Unesco World Heritage buffer zone.

Within the heritage protection categories of the law, the *Baudenkmal* category for buildings has also been referred to. In Aachen, most of the protected buildings are residences. One of the reasons for this is their importance for surviving the war period. In Germany, about 15% of the dwellings were destroyed, while 23% were partially destroyed (Raabe, 2015). Overall, this means that almost 40% of residential buildings were destroyed, increasing the importance of those that survived. On the other hand, religious buildings, being larger in size, were more affected than residential buildings, almost 100%. In this sense, most of them were rebuilt in order to avoid the loss of heritage that their total disappearance would entail.

59 The first is the Galapagos Islands and the second is the city of Quito, both in 1978. Retrieved from: https://whc.unesco.org/?cid=31&lother=es&cid=31&lother=es&&mode=table&order=year&desc=1 (31/05/2023)

All protected buildings in Aachen are registered in the inventory of the municipality according to § 25 *Denkmalpflegeplan* of the DSchG (Germany. Nordrhein-westfälisches Denkmalschutzgesetz, 1980, § 25). This register is divided between the heritage elements located within the *Denkmalbereich* and the general listing. The first general catalogue for Aachen predates the 1980 law and was published in 1977. The document already anticipated some of the heritage aspects that were included in the legislation three years later. In addition, all existing convent buildings are added (Osteneck, 1977), as well as their heritage protection. On the other hand, in the *Denkmalbereich*, the first list was published in 1988. It has been revised 18 times, most recently in 2016, with a detailed list of all *Baudenkmal* listed properties, including monasteries and convents (Figure 294).

Figure 294. Heritage protection of monastic buildings in 2023. Data obtained from Groten et al. (2009), Curdes (1999), Brecher (1956), Kirchner (2015) and data from Geodatenportal Stadt Aachen https://geoportal.aachen.de/ (13th January 2023). Own elaboration.

	Year of foundation	Year of disappearance*	Remains	Current use	Protection
Salvatorberg	997	-	Convent	Religious	Baudenkmal - Church
St. Johannes Baptist	997	-	Monastery	Religious and housing	Baudenkmal
St. Nikolaus	1234	1946	Church and Wall remains	Cultural	Baudenkmal
Cölestinnenkloster (Weißfrauen)	1278	-	Edificio conventual	Religious and archive	Baudenkmal
Dominikanerkloster / Franziskanerinnenkloster	1294	-	Monastery	Religious and social care	Baudenkmal
Augustinerkloster (St. Katharina)	1329	1895	Church	Cultural	Baudenkmal
Kreuzherrenkloster (Heilig Kreuz)	1372	1897	Church	Religious	Baudenkmal
Alexianerkloster	1587	-	Monastery	Religious and sanitary	Baudenkmal - Iglesia
Annakloster (St. Anna und Joachim)	1513	1910	Church	Religious	Baudenkmal
Jesuitenkloster (St. Michael)	1600	1860	Church	Religious	Baudenkmal
Klarissenkloster	1621	-	Convent	Religious	Bodendenkmal
Karmeliterinnenkloster (St. Theresia)	1662	1937	Church and some convent buildings	Religious and educational	Baudenkmal
Kloster der Schwestern vom armen Kinde Jesus	1848	-	Convent	Religious	Baudenkmal
Karmeliterinnenkloster	1859	-	Convent	Without use	Baudenkmal
Redemptoristenkloster	1865	-	Monastery	Offices	Baudenkmal

*Year of the building's disappearance. All that remains are in the right-hand column.

Figure 295. Monastic building protection and Denkmalbereich. Own elaboration.

The permanences of the monasteries and convents in Aachen are protected by the DSchG (Figure 295). Their position in the city is very varied as a result of their monastic development. Of the total number of buildings, 53% are located within the *Denkmalbereich* area. This is a high percentage, as two buildings are tangent to the protection delimitation of the historic centre. Within the heritage protection categories, the buildings are located in *Baudenkmal*, with the exception of the former Poor Clare monastery, which is protected as *Bodendenkmal*. In all probability, the reconstruction of the building on the former plot of land has resulted in the protection of the soil from the building. As it is a contemporary construction, the protection of the convent plot has been prioritised over the building. On the other hand, only the church building is protected in the cases of Alexianerkloster and Salvatorberg. The former as a result of

work carried out at the beginning of the 20th century, where the entire monastic building was reconstructed in present-day architectural codes. The second is due to the recent extension next to the church to accommodate the new order using the building. Regarding the town planning protection of all the buildings, this is the same in all cases. There is no difference between one building and another. There is only one level of protection of *Baudenkmal* established by heritage law.

On the other hand, distinctions can be made in the permanences or uses at present. Practically all of them retain the religious use, either in their temple or in the whole building. Seventy-three percent of the monastic buildings still conserve this use, being hybridised with other complementary uses such as sanitary or institutional. On the other hand, the first two monastic buildings, Salvatorberg and St. Johannes Baptist in Burtscheid, have been preserved in terms of their year of foundation. In addition, the church of St. Nikolaus from the first urban monastery in Aachen has been preserved. The table shows that the parameters determined by age are not decisive. The persistence of the church or religious use seems to identify a favourable inclination towards urban protection in Aachen. However, this is not the case for buildings such as the Klarissenkloster. In spite of the preservation of the monastery premises and the religious use, it is likely that other heritage values take precedence over the protection of the building, resulting in a protection of the land rather than of the architecture. Even so, the plot contains some form of heritage protection, with all monastic buildings in Aachen being protected by urban planning.

5.1 TERRITORIAL AND URBAN MODEL COMPARISON IN ANDALUSIA AND NORTH RHINE-WESTPHALIA

Monasticism is a globalising phenomenon, especially in the European context. Since its appearance during the Middle Ages, the monastery has remained a characteristic building in both the city and the landscape. It produces a unique architectural typology with a high influence not only on urban areas, but also on land-use planning. This had a significant influence on the positions of monasteries in relation to roads, rivers, cities or areas of strategic interest. Therefore, it is necessary to analyse different territorial layers in order to understand monastic development. In this sense, it has been necessary to contextualise the territories where the cities of Ecija and Aachen, studied in this research, are located. Different scales have been taken, ranging from the current national level to the unit of territorial division in each country, i.e. Andalusia and North Rhine-Westphalia.

For a comparison between the two territories, it is necessary to define the boundaries. For this purpose, the current boundaries in 2023 have been taken as a reference, which mark and define the study area. Once the study area has been delimited, two main data are taken into account that provide information on the possible structure and urban model of the territory, surface area and population (Figure 296). Putting the data side by side and comparing them with each other, notable differences can be observed. In terms of surface area, the Andalusian territory is approximately three times larger than that of North Rhine-Westphalia. However, this data contrasts with the population, where the Rhenish territory has twice the population of Andalusia. This difference in data means that in a territory three times smaller than Andalusia, twice as many people live there.

The city system of North Rhine-Westphalia must be characterised by an urban model with a high population rate. In addition to large cities with more than 500,000 inhabitants, the model of areas with medium densities is built with cities between 100,000 and 300,000 inhabitants. In the case of Andalusia, the medium-sized city is between 20,000 and 50,000 inhabitants. The large cities are those with more than 100,000 inhabitants. This difference is mainly due to diverse socio-political developments, such as industrialisation, and to the adoption of other urban models that respond to different needs.

Figure 296. Comparative table of Andalusia and North Rhine-Westphalia. Own elaboration.

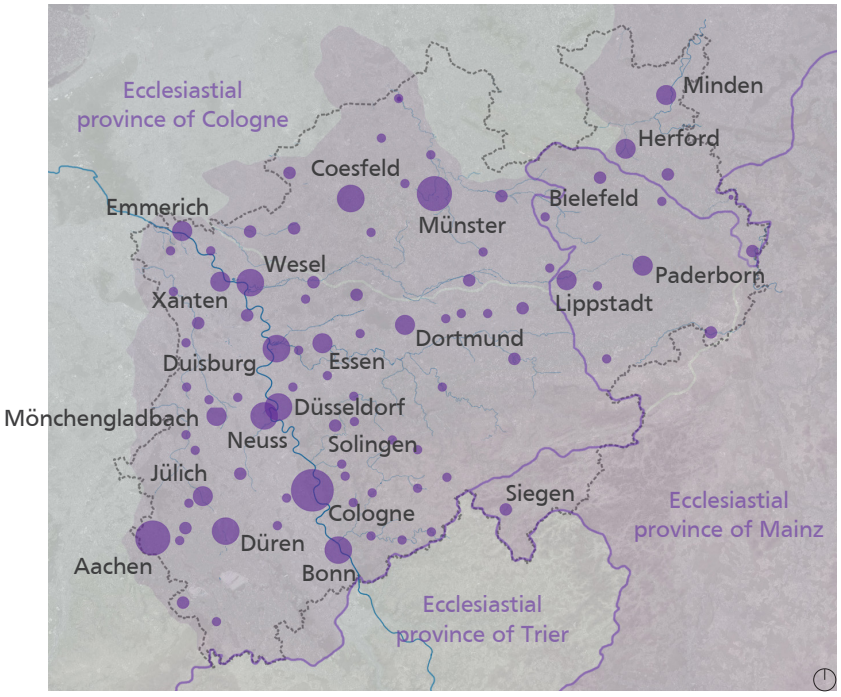
	Andalusia	North Rhine-Westphalia
Surface (km2)	87,598	34,112
Population (Inhabitants 2022)	8.5 mil.	18 mil.

Cities in both territories can be compared to each other, as long as they are understood within their respective contexts.

One of the key aspects for the understanding of monasticism in the two territories has been historical study. In the Iberian Peninsula, its division during the Middle Ages into two religions, Christian and Muslim, was a determining factor. The existence of two cultures and religions made the arrival of monasticism in Andalusia impossible until the beginning of the 13th century. However, it was not until the end of the 15th century that the territory was completely conquered by the Christians. From this period onwards, the religious orders did not encounter any obstacles to their expansion. In the case of North Rhine-Westphalia, it was the opposite. The Christian presence marked the political development of Europe and was consolidated with the establishment of the Holy Roman Empire. However, from the 15th century onwards, Protestantism emerged in opposition to the Catholic Church and religious wars began in central Europe. This event shook Catholic Christianity, which opened up a new religious front in the territories of central and northern Europe. Finally, Catholicism and the religious orders succeeded in gaining a foothold in Germany, where they still maintain a strong presence, despite the existence of a large number of Protestant followers.

Taking the current territorial limits of Andalusia and North Rhine-Westphalia, the monastic system has been analysed on a territorial scale at the end of the 18th century. This date is not by chance, since in both cases it is the prelude to the beginning of the Napoleonic confiscations and the time of greatest monastic production in both cases. A total of 552 foundations have been counted in Andalusia and 432 in North Rhine-Westphalia[1] (Figure 297). If we superimpose the number of foundations on the number of cities selected, 77 in Andalusia and 88 in North Rhine-Westphalia, we obtain a higher number of foundations in Andalusia. However, as this area is three times larger, the monasteries tend to spread out and try to occupy a larger part of the territory. Doubtless, this led to a greater number of monastic orders appearing. In this sense, in a much smaller territory such as North Rhine-Westphalia there are practically the same number of orders as in Andalusia, so that the rate of monastic foundation is twice as high (Figure 298). If its divided the number of monasteries by the surface area, the monastic rate of each territory can be obtained. Certainly, the central position in Europe and a long-standing presence of Christianity in the territory has favoured monastic foundation in North Rhine-Westphalia.

1 Although not all the cities have been selected, as this is not an objective of the research, a broad representative sample of the territory has been selected. This selection is detailed in the two tables in the annexes, one for each territory.



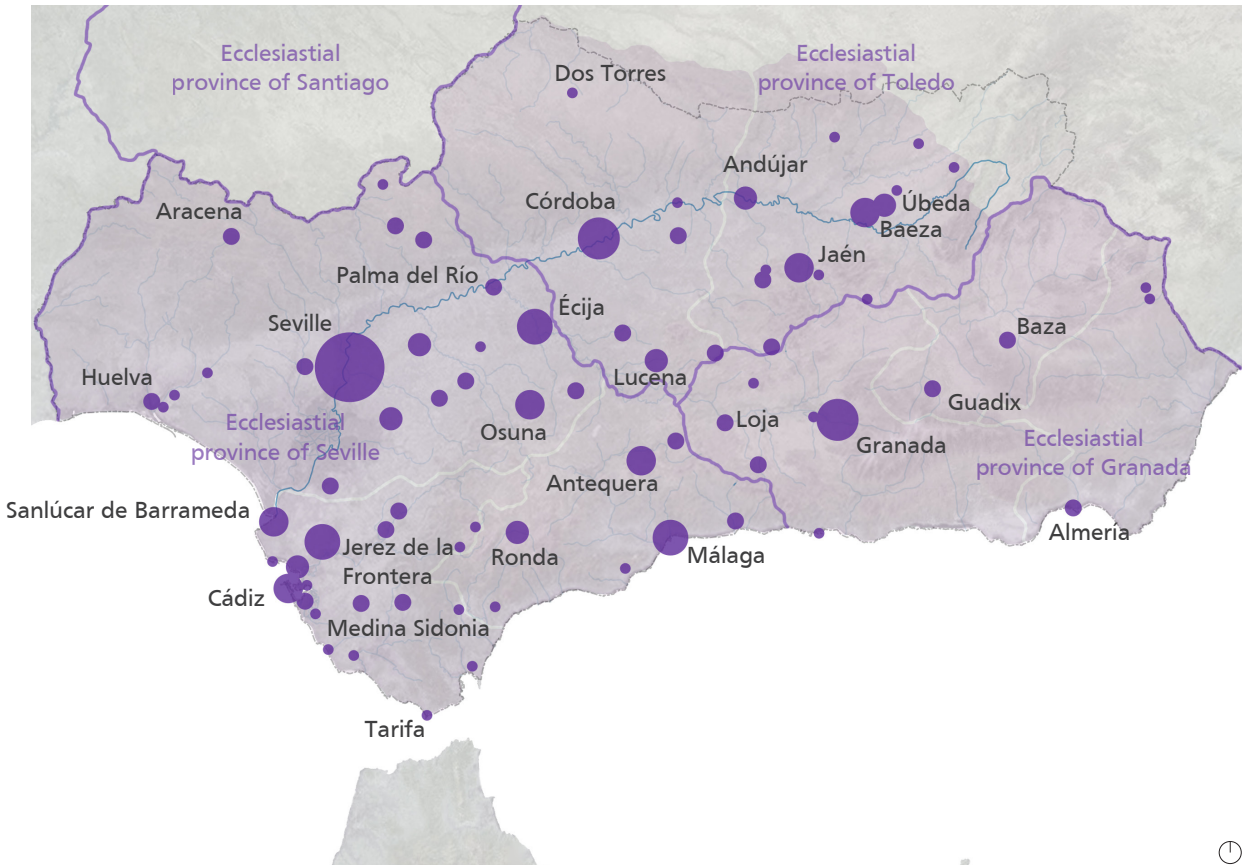


Figure 297. Number of monastic buildings at the end of the 18th century in North Rhine-Westphalia (top) and Andalusia (down). Same scale. Own elaboration based on the table in annexes.

Number per city
- < 2
- 2 - 8
- 8 - 12
- 12 - 20
- 20 - 30
- 30 - 50
- 70 >

	Andalusia	North Rhine-Westphalia
Surface (km2)	87,598	34,112
Number of selected cities	77	88
Number of monasteries and convents in 18th century	552	432
Monastic rate (Number of mon./Surface * 100)	0.63	1.26

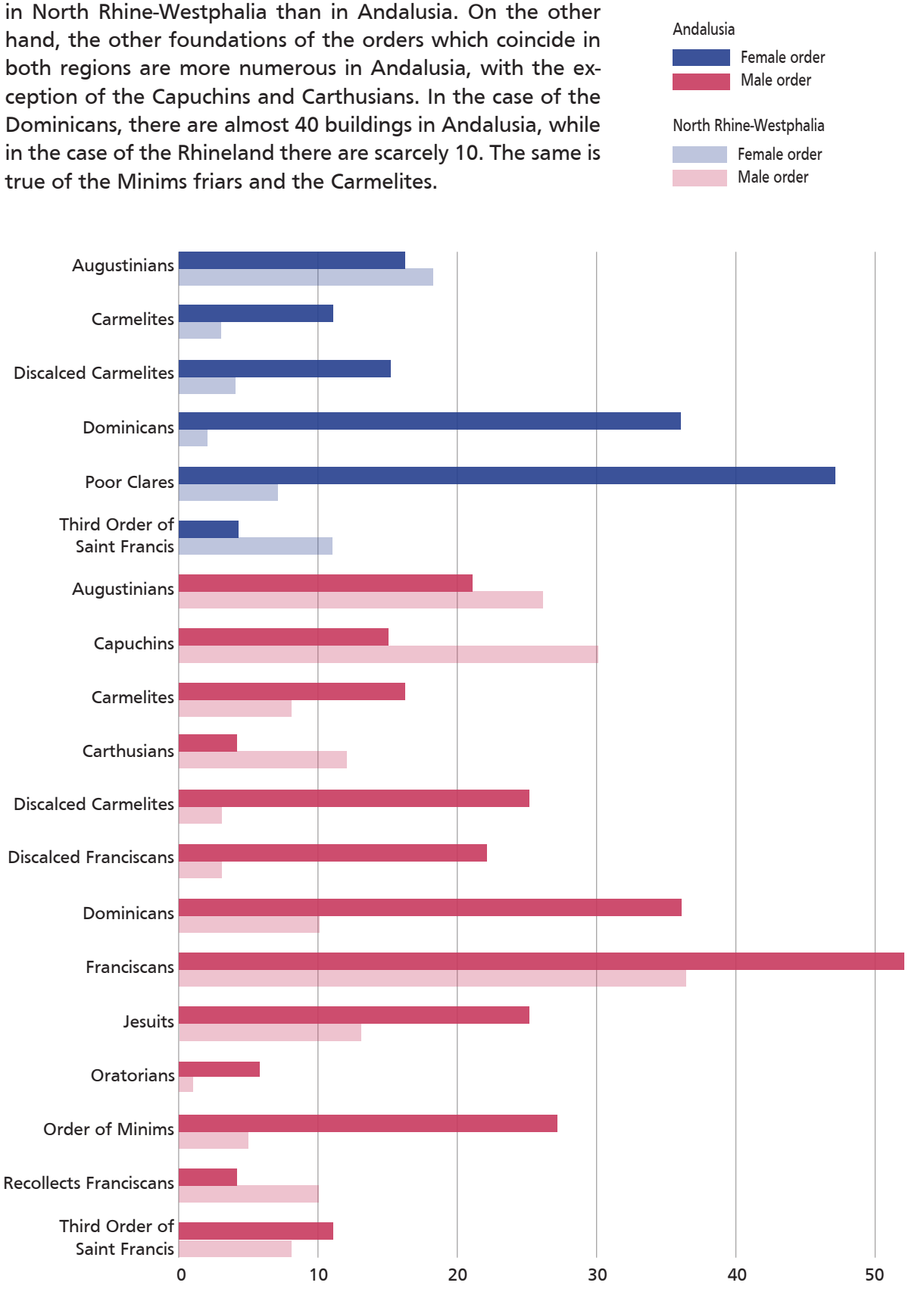
Figure 298. Comparative table of territorial characteristics of Andalusia and North Rhine-Westphalia. Own elaboration

As the monastery is a religious typology, it is essential to study not only the political structure of the territory, but also the ecclesiastical one. The Catholic Church divides the Christian territory into provinces and dioceses, inheriting the Roman system of territorial organisation. These are governed by a bishop or archbishop, building part of the ecclesiastical institutional hierarchy. Thus, the whole of Europe has an administrative structure and ecclesiastical government that differs from the political one. This territorial division is still in place today. In both Andalusia and North Rhine-Westphalia, the development of the ecclesiastical provinces has been studied. The province of Seville on the one hand and the province of Cologne on the other stand out. Both are the largest in terms of territory and number of monasteries. Taking the territorial extension of 1500, the province of Cologne stands out with 271 foundations and the province of Seville with 249 monasteries and convents. Cologne and Seville stand out as the largest monastic cities in their provinces with 67 and 76 monastic buildings respectively. The second largest cities in terms of the number of monasteries and convents are Ecija with 21 and Aachen with 25 buildings.

If we add up the foundations in both territories, we get a result of more than 1,000 monastic buildings. Behind this number, several religious orders can be intuited. Hence, not only the total number of foundations was compared, but also the number of orders in each territory. In general terms, 39 orders have been quantified, divided into 15 female and 24 male orders in Andalusia. On the other hand, in North Rhine-Westphalia, 56 orders were found, 29 were female and 27 male (Figure 299). In points 2.4 and 2.5 separate graphs have been prepared showing the total number of foundations for each order. In this section, both graphs have been combined to see which orders stand out in each territory and how many foundations exist in the overlapping orders. Only the overlapping orders, i.e. those found in the two territories, have been shown. This makes it possible to observe the monastic influence according to the order. In both cases, the male and

female Franciscan orders are the most numerous. In the case of North Rhine-Westphalia, however, the Poor Clares have barely ten foundations, compared to Andalusia with almost fifty. The number of Augustinian foundations is also higher in North Rhine-Westphalia than in Andalusia. On the other hand, the other foundations of the orders which coincide in both regions are more numerous in Andalusia, with the exception of the Capuchins and Carthusians. In the case of the Dominicans, there are almost 40 buildings in Andalusia, while in the case of the Rhineland there are scarcely 10. The same is true of the Minims friars and the Carmelites.

Figure 299. Number of foundations of overlapping orders in Andalusia and North Rhine-Westphalia. Own elaboration based on the table in annexes.



As mentioned above, there are more orders in North Rhine-Westphalia than in Andalusia. In general, these orders have an isolated character and belong to the first monastic period, when Andalusia was still Muslim. Orders such as the Benedictines and Cistercians are particularly noteworthy. In addition, there are military orders specific to each region, such as the orders of Calatrava, Santiago or Alcántara, specific to Spain, while in Germany the Knights of St. John or the Teutonic order were prominent. There were also orders with little monastic expansion, which did not develop at the European level. In the case of Germany, orders such as the Ursuline, the order of St. Mary Magdalene, also known as White Nuns, or the Christenserines stand out. On the other hand, the Mercedarian order is characteristic of Spanish territory.

Finally, it takes Le Goff's reference in the definition of the monastic city through the Dominican, Franciscan, Augustinian and Carmelite orders. For this purpose, these four orders have been located in the selected cities[2], in order to corroborate whether the monastic cities follow this pattern (Figure 300). The first feature that can be identified as a difference is the number of 9 cities in Andalusia that have the four orders mentioned, compared to 2 in North Rhine-Westphalia. This fact verifies, for example, a great absence of Dominicans in the Rhenish region as opposed the Andalusian one. On the contrary, the blue colour, which belongs to the Franciscan order, stands out practically throughout the whole territory in both cases. There is no doubt that the Franciscan order is the one that achieves the greatest expansion on the European scale and in the selected territories.

Lastly, although it does not represent a common feature of the European city, having these four orders does indicate the level of importance. It can be seen how cities can be ordered by importance, according to the foundations of these four orders. In Andalusia, most of the provincial capitals are represented like Seville, Córdoba, Granada or Jaén, as well as the most important medium-sized cities like Écija, Osuna, Antequera, Jerez de la Frontera or Sanlúcar de Barrameda. In North Rhine-Westphalia, the religious capital and diocese of Cologne is shown, as well as the most representative medium-sized city in the region, Aachen. After these two cities, on a second level are other diocesan capitals and medium-sized cities such as Borken, Münster, Herford or Paderborn.

2 The method, explanation and analysis of both plans is given in sections 2.4.3.2 and 2.5.3.2.

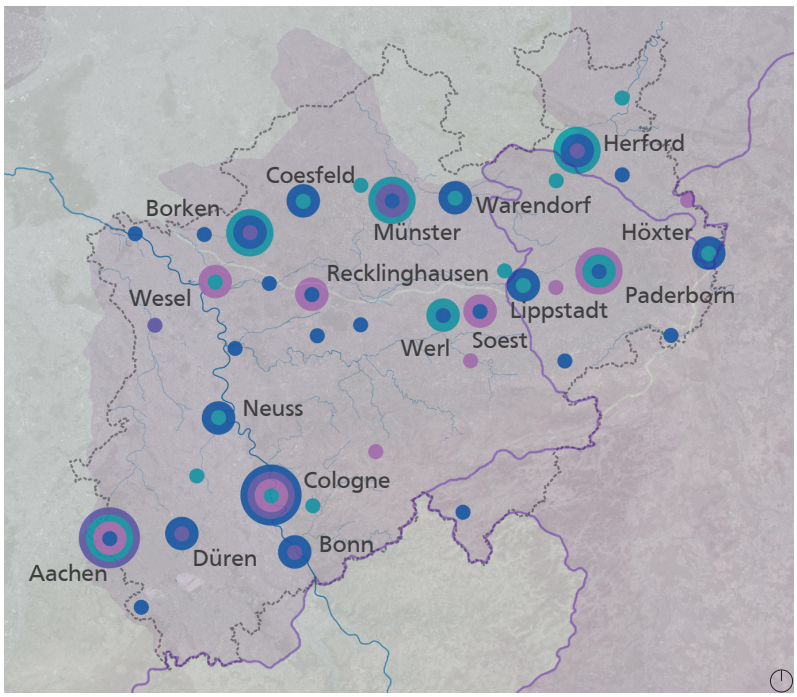


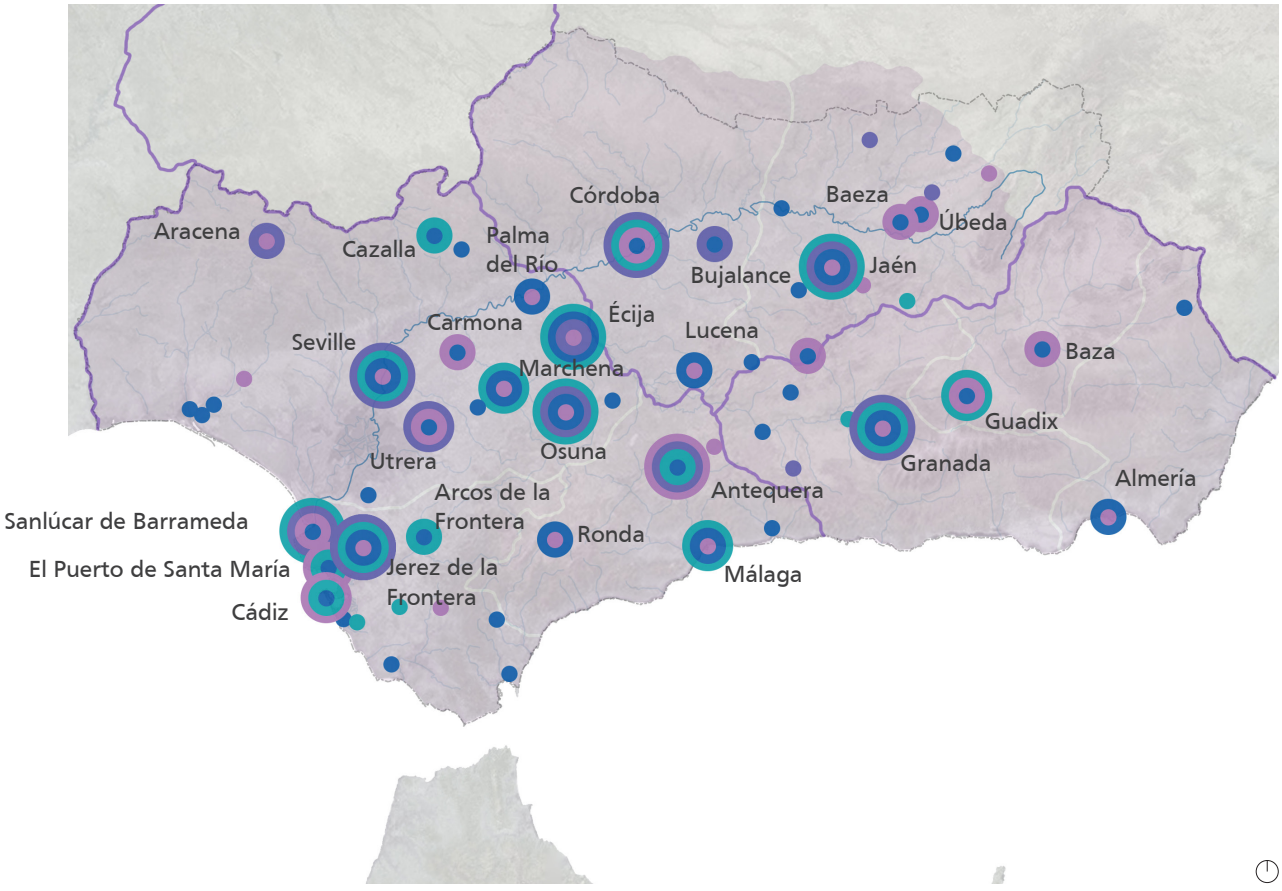
Figure 300. Location of male religious orders by cities in North Rhine-Westphalia (top) and Andalusia (down). Ordered by year of foundation. Same scale. Own elaboration based on the table in annexes.

Mendicant male orders

- Agustinians
- Carmelites
- Dominicans
- Franciscans

Order of foundation

1st 2nd 3rd 4th



5.2 FOUNDING STRATEGY COMPARISON OF AACHEN AND ÉCIJA

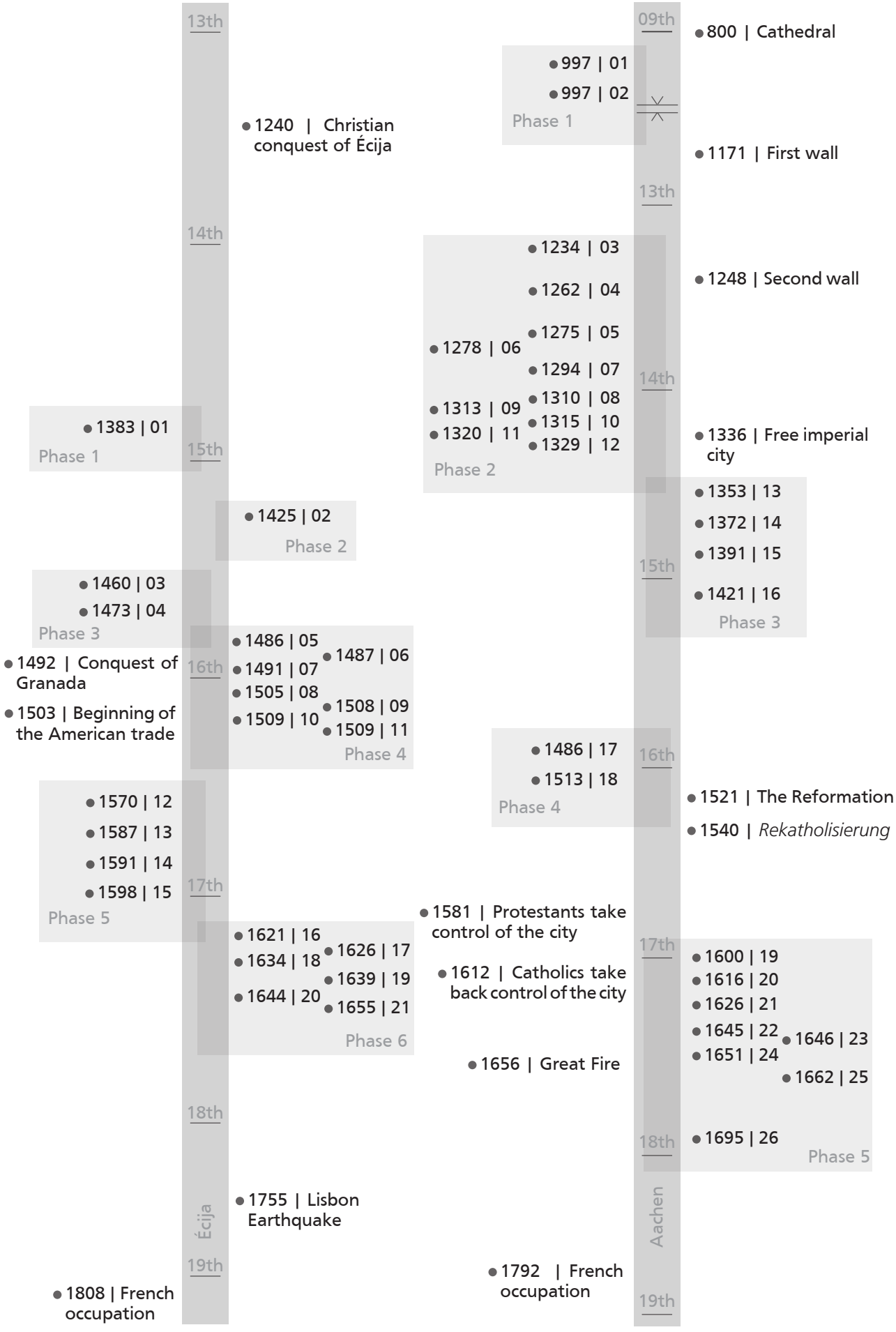
The monastic implantation in the city has a common factor, its development on the European continent. Within a broad spectrum of cities, Aachen and Écija are two examples that share both similarities and differences. In fact, in terms of population they are quite similar to each other. According to late 18th century censuses, Écija had 29,343 inhabitants[3] in 1787, compared to Aachen with 23,413 in 1795 (Poll, 1960). Although on this date the population of Écija was higher than that of Aachen, the latter was quickly overtaken by the German city as it industrialised, while Écija's population stagnated. Once an analysis of both of them has been carried out separately, it is necessary to take the data and establish a comparison of the obtained results. In this sense, this section deals with the foundational stage and monastic development until the end of the 18th century. This first stage is a crucial point in the configuration, urban and monastic growth of Écija and Aachen.

Firstly, the search for bibliographical and documentary sources has been fundamental in defining the monastic implantation. In both cases, a scarcity of information on the urban monastic system has been detected. Previous studies have focused on buildings in isolation or singularly and from more architectural or artistic perspectives. In the case of Aachen, more information is found between the 19th and 20th centuries. In the 21st century, Groten et al. (2009) have made a detailed collection of data on monasteries and convents in the whole of North Rhine-Westphalia. Its publications are centred on the first monastic buildings until 1815, the end of the French occupation and the beginning of the Prussian Empire. In Écija, similar to Aachen, there is also a greater bibliographical production, mainly in the 20th century. In addition, there are important documents from the 17th and 18th centuries, such as the book by Father Martín de Roa in 1629. In the 21st century studies have also been located, mainly those of López Jiménez (2016) and García León and Martín Ojeda (2018). The latter provides a detailed description of all the monastic buildings in Écija, although from a more historical-artistic point of view. In both cities, the study of cartography and historical urban views has also been decisive. Thanks to them, it has been possible to verify the position of monasteries and convents. Spinola's plan of Écija from 1826 and the 1740 plan of the Aachen archive have been decisive.

In order to establish a comparison between the monastic foundational processes in Aachen and Écija (Figure 301), it is necessary to take both chronological axes (Figure 302). One

3 Historical population data for Andalusia from the Andalusian Institute of Statistics and Cartography. Retrieved from https://www.juntadeandalucia.es/institutodeestadisticaycartografia/ehpa/ehpaTablas.htm Accesed on 31 May 2023.

Figure 301. Monastic buildings in Écija (top) and Aachen (down), at the end of the 18th century. Monasteries and convents in purple, parishes in turquoise. Same scale. Own elaboration.


13th
14th
15th
16th
17th
18th
19th
Écija
09th
13th
14th
15th
16th
17th
18th
19th
Aachen
1240 | Christian conquest of Écija
1755 | Lisbon Earthquake
1808 | French occupation
1383 | 01
Phase 1
1425 | 02
Phase 2
1460 | 03
1473 | 04
Phase 3
1492 | Conquest of Granada
1503 | Beginning of the American trade
1486 | 05
1491 | 07
1505 | 08
1509 | 10
1487 | 06
1508 | 09
1509 | 11
Phase 4
1570 | 12
1587 | 13
1591 | 14
1598 | 15
Phase 5
1621 | 16
1634 | 18
1644 | 20
1626 | 17
1639 | 19
1655 | 21
Phase 6
800 | Cathedral
997 | 01
997 | 02
Phase 1
1171 | First wall
1234 | 03
1262 | 04
1275 | 05
1278 | 06
1294 | 07
1313 | 09
1310 | 08
1315 | 10
1320 | 11
1329 | 12
Phase 2
1248 | Second wall
1336 | Free imperial city
1353 | 13
1372 | 14
1391 | 15
1421 | 16
Phase 3
1486 | 17
1513 | 18
Phase 4
1521 | The Reformation
1540 | Rekatholisierung
1581 | Protestants take control of the city
1612 | Catholics take back control of the city
1656 | Great Fire
1600 | 19
1616 | 20
1626 | 21
1645 | 22
1651 | 24
1646 | 23
1662 | 25
1695 | 26
Phase 5
1792 | French occupation

of the first differences is the beginning of monasticism in both cities. Aachen in the 10th century and Écija in the 14th century. The latter's beginning is mainly due to the fact that the city belonged to the Islamic culture, and therefore lacked previous Christian monastic typologies. Aachen's position in central Europe favoured its Christianisation from the early times. This allowed the settlement of the first monastic orders in the 10th century, albeit outside the city. The emergence of the mendicant orders, linked to urban life, took place in Europe in the 13th century. By then Écija had been conquered by the Christians and in the 14th century the Dominicans established a foundation. In Aachen, on the other hand, the Franciscans did so. This point is common since both Dominicans and Franciscans are the most numerous and influential mendicant orders in Europe.

The foundational phases in each city are similar to each other. Despite the differences generated by socio-political events, they share the same development. The arrival of the mendicant orders in Aachen takes place in two phases, while in Écija it takes in four. The need for four phases is due to different reasons. Among these, one is the adaptation of the Muslim culture to Christianity. Another was the remoteness and distance from the European centre where Christianity had a greater influence. Finally, during the fourth phase of Écija there is a clear urban and economic growth of the Andalusian region. Undoubtedly, it was influenced by the beginning of the conquest and trade with America in the 16th century. Aachen, on the other hand, experienced a decline in the 16th century due to the events of the time. The rise of Protestantism, the Protestant takeover of the city and the wars in Central Europe hampered monastic development. It was not until the arrival of the 17th century that there was a second revival of religious orders in Europe and thus in both cities. In the case of Aachen, this was compounded by the Catholic takeo-

Figure 302. (left page) Timelines from Écija (left) and Aachen (right). Own elaboration.

Figure 303. Comparative table of urban indicators of the monastic city. Own elaboration

	Écija	Aachen
Monasteries and convents	21	25
Approximate monastic surface area (km2)*	0.084	0.077
Approximate urban Surface area (km2)	0.82	1.01
Monastic index Monastic area/Urban area	10%	7.6%

* In Aachen, the area does not include the Burtscheid convent or the surrounding buildings. In Écija, the monastery of El Valle and the monastery of San Agustín are not included due to their distance from the city.

ver of the city. Finally, the total number of monasteries and convents in both cities is 21 in Écija and 25 in Aachen. A fairly similar number in both cases, together with the similarity of the urban proportions at the time.

Once all the religious orders have established foundations, they can be compared from an urban point of view. From the foundation plans generated, the last phase is taken in each case. Phase 5 in Écija and phase 6 in Aachen. From these plans, the urban and monastic surface area information is extracted, compared and the monastic index is obtained (Figure 303). The latter is important as it establishes the monastery-city ratio. This percentage indicates the influence of the monastic system on the urban fabric. However, it should be remembered that the data mentioned here are approximations based on the hypotheses of urban growth and size of the monastic buildings. If we look at the first data in the table, the number of monastic buildings is slightly higher in Aachen than in Écija, although similar in both. Nevertheless, a comparison of the approximate surface area in km2 shows that the monasteries and convents in Écija are larger in surface area than those in Aachen. Here the difference may lie in the area of gardens and orchards. In both Aachen and Écija it has been difficult to find the exact surface areas of buildings as well as of the green spaces of gardens and orchards. While in some buildings the data could be verified, in others the overall dimensions are approximate. On the other hand, the urban surface is that at the end of the 18th century, again quite similar in the cities. Finally, with the result of the division between the monastic and urban surface, a monastic index is obtained. This is 10% in Écija and 7.6% in Aachen. Undoubtedly, this is a determining factor that establishes the monastic index of a city. In both cases it is again very similar, taking into account a certain margin of error between the monastic surfaces. Both the number of monastic buildings and the urban area data are very similar to each other.

As monasticism is a phenomenon on a European scale, there are inevitably similarities of orders that generate establishment in both cities (Figure 304). If all the orders are grouped together, they can be divided into three groups. The first with only orders in Écija (11 orders), the second with orders in Aachen (20 orders) and a third group with orders in common (9 orders). In total, the number of different orders between the two cities is 40. The 22.5% of these are orders in common. This means that a quarter of the monastic system is shared in Écija and Aachen. The orders found between the two cities are Dominicans, Franciscans, Carmelite Friars, Augustinians, Jesuits, Brothers of the Third Order of St. Francis, Capuchins,

Poor Clares, and Discalced Carmelites nuns. Comparing the variety of orders between Écija and Aachen, there is a big difference. In the German city many of the orders are of a local or regional character. An example of this are the orders with foundations in Aachen such as Christenserines, Ursulines or Sisters of St Elizabeth. In fact, not all monasticism was prone to continental expansion. In many cases it only covered small areas. On the other hand, during the monastic development of Aachen, up to three buildings were used by different orders. This undoubtedly increases the list with respect to Écija where, in general, the same order has occupied the same building since its foundation.

Figure 304. Comparative table of religious orders in Aachen and Écija from the 10th to the end of the 19th century. Own elaboration.

Orders only in Écija	Orders only in Aachen	Orders in Écija and Aachen
Dominican nuns	Cistercian nuns	Dominican friars
Hieronymites	Benedictine friars	Carmelite friars
Minim friars	Begines	Franciscans
Mercedarians	St. Mary Magdalene / Weißfrauen	Poor Clares
Carmelite nuns	Christenserines	Augustinians
Minim nuns	Order of Saint John / Johanniter Order	Brothers of the Third Order of Saint-Francis
Conceptionists	Teutonic order	Jesuits
Discalced Carmelite friars	Canons Regular of the Holy Cross / Crosiers	Discalced Carmelite nuns
Discalced Mercedarian friars	Alexians	Capuchins
Discalced Mercedarian nuns	Congregation of Windesheimer	
Hospitaller Order of St. John of God	Brothers of the Holy Sepulchre	
	Sisters of the Holy Sepulchre	
	Benedictine nuns	
	Sisters of St Elizabeth	
	Franciscan Penitent Recollect nuns	
	Annonciades	
	Ursulines	
	Dominican Tertiary Sisters	
	Most Holy Annunciation / Celestine Nuns	
	Sisters of the Third Order of Saint-Francis	

	Écija	Aachen
Monasteries and convents	21	25
Male	13 (62%)	11 (44%)
Female	8 (38%)	14 (56%)
Buildings in inner walled area or first wall	11 (53%)	14 (56%)
Buildings outside the walls or second wall	9 (43%)	10 (40%)
Monastic axes	Comedia and Recogidas streets	Pontstraße / Franzstraße
Gate linkage	70%	62 %
Remote buildings	1 (4%)	1 (4%)

Figure 305. Comparative table of data according to monastic groupings in Écija and Aachen. Own elaboration.

From the above-mentioned orders, according to the groupings made in points 3.2 and 4.2, a new comparison has been made (Figure 305). The data observed in the planimetry of the cities of Écija and Aachen are shown (Figure 306). The first group refers to the number of monastic buildings according to their male or female branch. The data show that in Écija there are more friars than nuns, while in Aachen the opposite is true. Beyond the number and quantity, these data do not reflect decisive results. In the beginning, the female orders tried to find central positions. Later this is diluted and their position inside or outside the walls becomes dependent on factors other than male or female. On the other hand, in the case of Aachen, its double walled status means that all foundations are protected. Therefore, the difference between friars and nuns is not decisive in the comparison of foundational parameters and strategies.

The position inside and outside the walls, or the second wall in Aachen, is decisive. In both cities it is very similar, 50-40%. There are practically the same number of monasteries and convents in the city centre and in the new growth. In first place, the urban centres represent a difficulty of land availability, as well as a higher economic value. Even so, the orders tried to settle in central locations. When they do not, they are always located on the perimeter of new growth. These areas have a greater land opportunity and are economically cheaper. It is interesting to note the creation of monastic axes in the cities as a result of monastic implantation. These axes, in turn, coincide with the main access roads to the city. In Écija there is only one axis formed by streets, Comedia, Padre García Tejero, Garcilaso and Secretario Armesto, while in Aachen

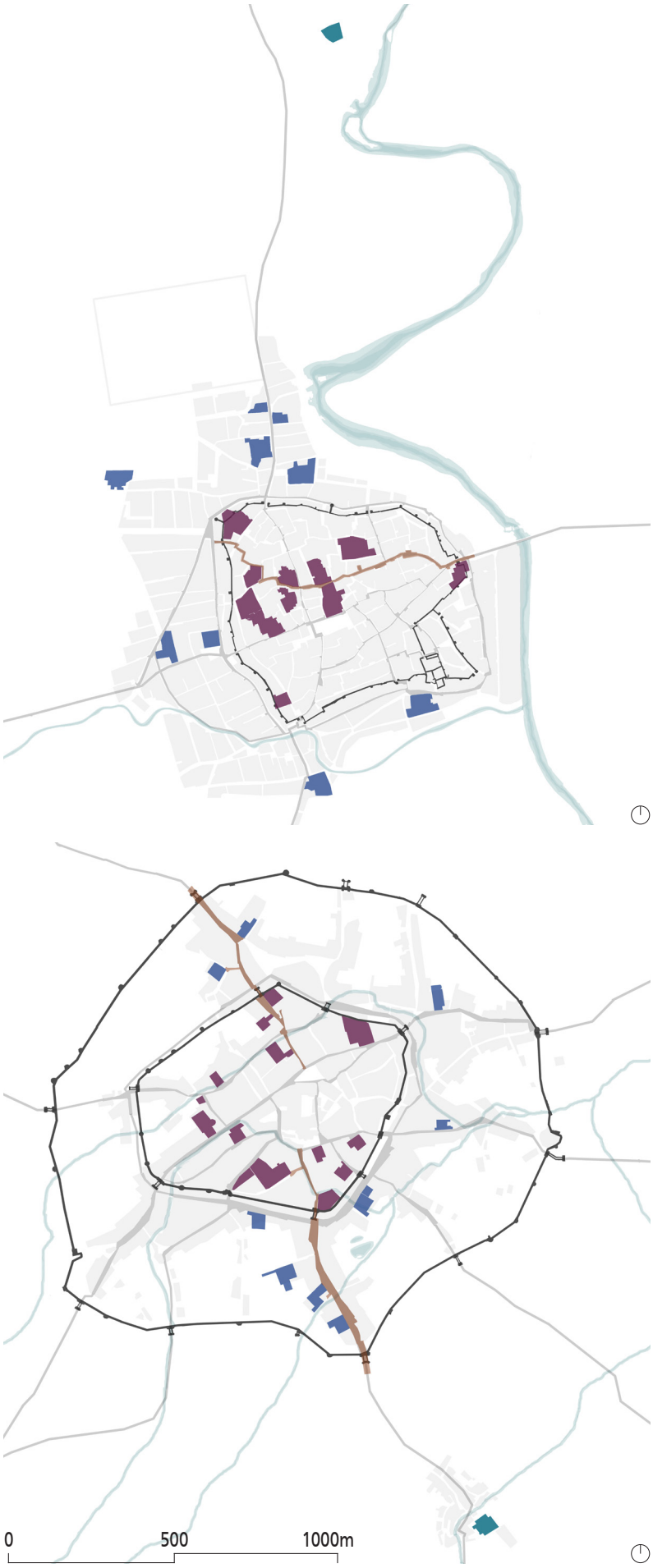


Figure 306. Urban position of the monasteries and convents in Écija (top) and Aachen (down), at the end of the 18th century. Same scale. Own elaboration.

Buildings in first wall

Buildings in second wall / outer first wall

Buildings outer walls / far from walls

Monastic axis

there are two axes, Pontstraße and Franzstraße. The main difference between the two cities is the position of the axes. While in Écija there is an axis in the city centre, in Aachen it is mainly in the spaces between the inner and outer wall gates.

The importance of the city gates in relation to the monastic system is also important. The accesses mark points of entry and exit, which is why it is strategic to control these areas. In Écija, 70% of the monastic buildings are linked to either Puerta Palma or Puerta Cerrada. In Aachen, 62% of the monastic buildings are located around the gates of Marchiertor, Ponntor and Kölntor. In both cases, the gates mark a decisive place where possible foundations can be laid. Finally, mention must be made in both cities of two buildings outside the city walls, far from urban life. Both the monastery of St. Jerome in Écija and the monastery of St. Johannes Baptist in Aachen are approximately 1 km away from the city centre. Although the characteristics of the order require their isolation and distance from urban life, in both cases they are at a similar distance. Probably they need to establish certain urban relations, although to a lesser degree than the other orders. Hence their foundation close to the city but not within it.

The existence of parish districts has been detected in both cities. Independently of the terminology *collación* or *Pfarrbezirk*, in those cities where parishes exist, there is also an ecclesiastical division (Figure 307). In Écija and Aachen, these are due to their urban configuration and the position of the parishes. While in Aachen the central parish dominates the first ring and the second ring is distributed among the four parishes, in Écija it is different. Four parishes inner the city walls in Écija divide it. A fifth church takes the southern growth, while a sixth parish affects the eastern sector. Nevertheless, in both cities there is always one parish district that predominates over the others, both in size and in influence over monasteries and convents. The division into 6 parish districts in Écija is as follows: Santa Cruz (60%), Santa María (25%), San Juan (0%), Santiago (5%), Santa Bárbara (0%) and San Gil (10%). The division of Aachen into 4 parish districts is as follows: St. Foillan (92%), St. Peter (3%), St. Adalbert (3%), St. Jakob (0%). In both cases there is definitely an area with the highest percentage of monasteries, while in both cities there are areas with no monasteries at all. As a result, it seems clear that in addition to the factors previously taken into account for the foundations, these must have taken place on urban plots according to the parish division. The social, political and religious relations between parishes and monasteries are decisive. Thus, the most likely places for new monastic foundations are in the district of Santa Cruz in Écija and St. Foillan in Aachen.

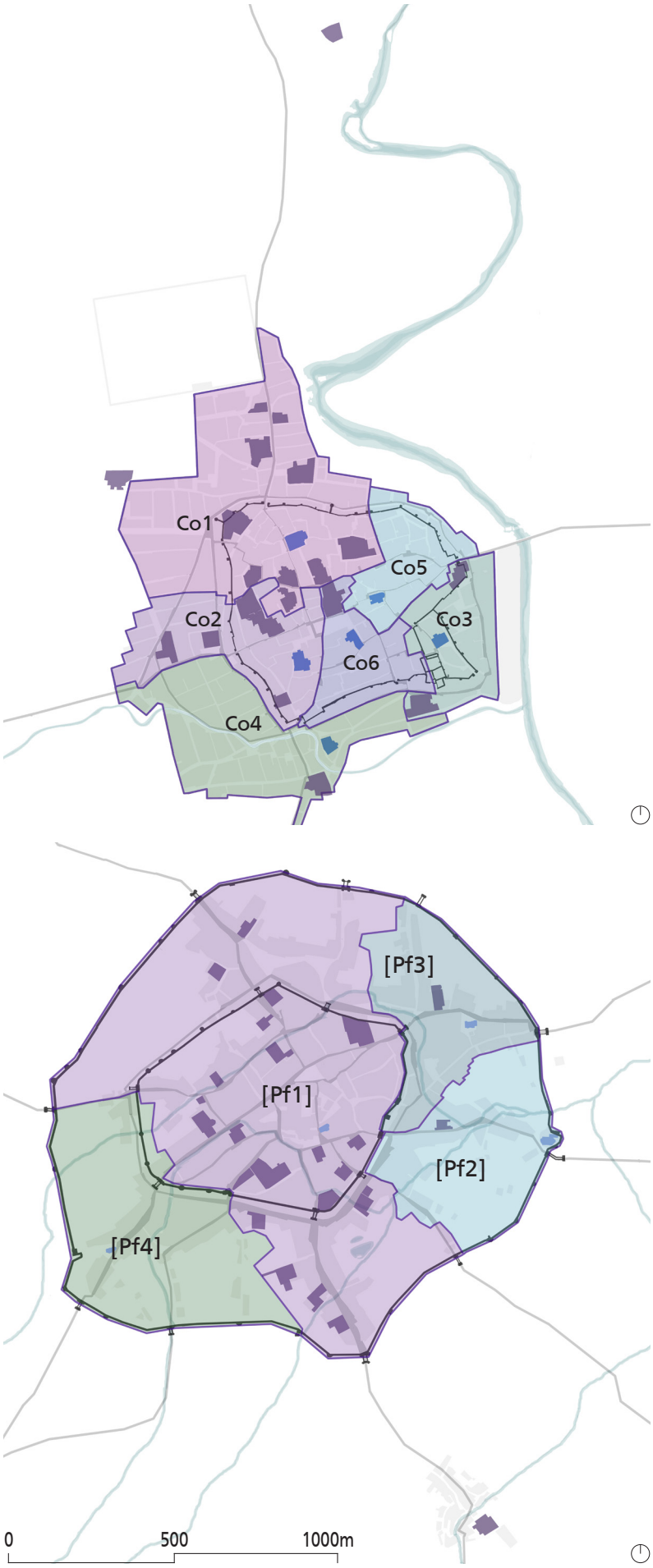


Figure 307. Parish districts, together with the monasteries and convents in Écija (top) and Aachen (down), at the end of the 18th century. Same scale. Own elaboration.

Co1 | Santa Cruz
Co2 | Santa María
Co3 | San Gil
Co4 | Santiago
Co5 | San Juan
Co6 | Santa Bárbara
Pf1 | St. Foillan
Pf2 | St. Adalbert
Pf3 | St. Peter
Pf4 | St. Jakob

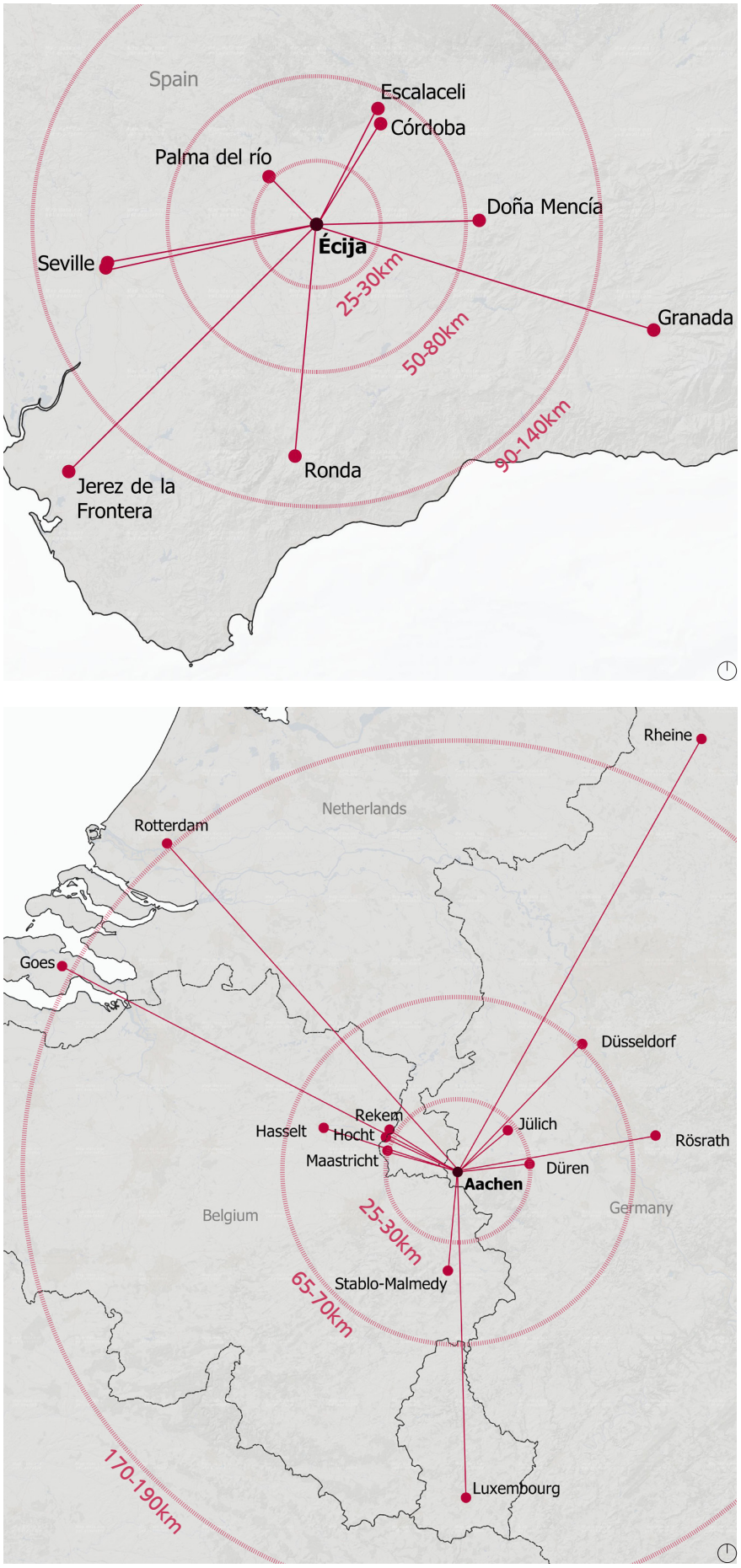


Figure 308. Foundations to other cities. Écija (top) and Aachen (down). Base plan 2023. Same scale. Own elaboration.

Not only is the importance connecting Écija and Aachen as monastic cites, but also their strategic position to establish new foundations. In both cities the monastic foundation is used not as an end but as a means to continue the expansion of European monasticism. In this sense the cities play an important role. When counting the number of known foundations to other cities, a total of 9 foundations were made from Écija and 14 from Aachen. The importance does not lie in the number of foundations, but in the type of cities in which they were made. If we look at the maps (Figure 308), we can easily recognise some small towns, some medium-sized cities and some large cities. In the case of Écija, there are 4 foundations (44%) in small towns, while 5 foundations (56%) are in medium-sized or large cities. A similar case is found in Aachen. 6 foundations (42%) are in small towns, while 8 foundations (58%) are in medium-sized or large cities. In both Aachen and Écija, the impact of foundations on other cities is quite similar. The founding power, due to the importance and strategic urban position, favours foundations in both small and large cities. Therefore, both are two important cities from a European foundation point of view.

On the other hand, to the above-mentioned classification into types of cities, the foundational scope measured in kilometres must be added. In addition to taking into account the importance of the cities, the distances to the city of origin must also be measured. In both cases, three rings or distances have been identified. In Écija the grouped distances are between 25-30 km, 50-80 km and 90-140 km. In Aachen the grouped distances are 25-30 km, 65-70 km and 170-190 km. Some similarities can be observed in the two cities, but with some differences. While the first and second group of distances are practically the same, the differences are in the last group. The distances in Aachen are greater than in Écija. This may be due to geography, among other factors. Aachen is located in a central position in Europe without a hilly topography. In contrast, Écija is bordered to the south by the Mediterranean and Atlantic seas and to the north by the Sierra Morena mountains. The absence of cities in a distant setting, coupled with geographical issues, means that smaller distances are to be found in the latter group.

5.3 MONASTIC SYSTEM COMPARISON OF AACHEN AND ÉCIJA

The study of the monastic system requires the completion of the urban establishment of the buildings. In both Écija and Aachen, the monastic foundations were completed at the end of the 17th century. The 18th century saw a consolidation of the functions and relations between the monastery and the city. At the end of this century, beginning of the 19th century, the first confiscation took place, in both cases as a result of the Napoleonic invasions. In this sense, this date is taken as the basis for the analysis of the monastic typology and its comparison, because it represents the highest point of monastic development. While in Aachen the monastery and convent floor plans in the municipal archives have been a reference for the analysis, in Écija it has proved more difficult as there is no plan with the same characteristics as in Aachen. Although many of the buildings in Écija exist or maintain the church, many others have disappeared completely. The knowledge of historical plans of buildings such as San Fulgencio or San Agustín has made it possible to know what some of these buildings were like in their origin. On the other hand, in other cases, the layout of the monastic plot is completely unknown, except for the church. These have been located thanks to different historical plans and established hypotheses. The only case where it has not been possible to establish the position of the church, but an approximation of the plot, is the monastery of San Jerónimo del Valle.

The analysis of each city establishes different groupings for monasteries and convents. One of them is the division between male and female, which has again been used for the plot plans. In this sense, it has been possible to observe similarities between the typological characteristics of the buildings according to this grouping. In terms of the most important parts of the monastic typology, these include the church, the cloister and the orchards. The church is a fundamental part in monasteries and convents, which will directly influence the layout of the building in relation to its position on the plot. The first characteristic identified in the churches of Aachen and Écija was their orientation (Figure 310). Normally in Christian culture, this is east-west in most cases. However, depending on the urban needs on the plot, some examples have been found in the two cities with north-south positions. If this overlaps with the shape of the plot and the access to the church, as in the female cases always from the side, the orientation changes. Urban factors prevail over traditional orientation. Two notable examples that respond to these characteristics are the convents of Santa Inés del Valle in Écija and Christensenkloster in Aachen.

In addition to the orientation data, other features of urbanistic importance have been added, such as the corner posi-

	Écija	Aachen
Monasteries and convents*	20	25
East-West Orientation	16	21
Corner position	11	7
Built Atrium	4	4
Atrium in public space	8	5

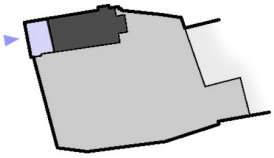
*In Écija, the church of the monastery of San Jerónimo del Valle has not been included.

Figure 309. Comparative table between the positions of monastic buildings in Écija and Aachen. Own elaboration.

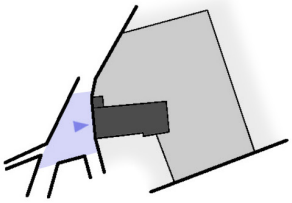
Figure 310. Plan of monasteries and convents at the end of the 18th century in Écija (page 372) and Aachen (page 373). Same scale. Own elaboration.

tion or the situation of the atriums (Figure 309). With regard to the corner location, it has been identified that this is of great importance and is quite high in Écija, but not in Aachen. When looking at the monastic plants of the Carolingian city, they rarely have a corner plot. However, in those cases where there is the possibility of a corner church, the convents and monasteries in Aachen are placed at this point. The way of access to the church must also be taken into account. It should be remembered that in men's churches, access is usually from the foot of the church and through an atrium, either built next to the temple or in the street. In women's churches, access is usually from the side, due to the enclosure of many of these orders. When this is not the case, it indicates that the order does not respond to the conventual enclosure. In both cities, these access arrangements are constantly repeated in both male and female buildings. As the male access is more unique and has two possibilities, interior or exterior, these have been counted. While the interior ones are built by the monastery itself, the exterior ones use a small square or *barrera* as part of the urban space. In both cases, the use of the urban space as an entrance atrium predominates. In many cases, the first type of atrium is generated by the monastery through the plot itself, as in Kreuzherrenkloster or Santa Ana. On the other hand, the use of a small square is due to the position of the church on an existing place in the street, as in Johanniterkommende or Las Gemelas.

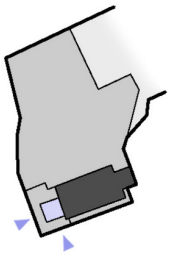
The other characteristic elements of the monastic typology are the unbuilt spaces, cloisters and orchards. As previously mentioned, in Écija the sample is reduced to 12 buildings, as it has not been possible to find information on the interior plot layouts of all the monastic buildings (Figure 311). However, there are data on more than half of the buildings that can be compared with each other. The result of the analysis of these elements in both cities is very similar (Figure 312). The presence of a single cloister prevails over the existence of more than one. In Aachen there are six localised cases with



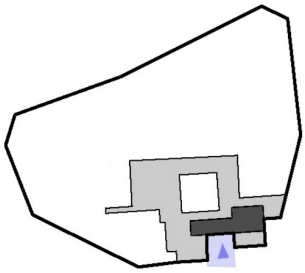
-1383-
San Pablo y Santo Domingo



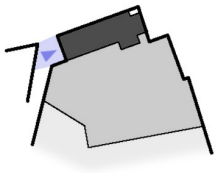
-1425-
Nuestra Señora del Carmen



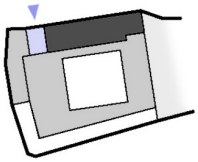
-1473-
San Francisco



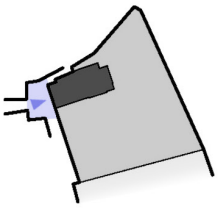
-1491-
San Agustín



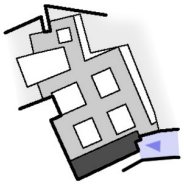
-1505-
Nuestra Señora de la Victoria



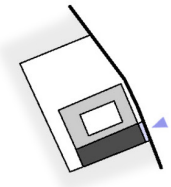
-1509-
Nuestra Señora de la Merced



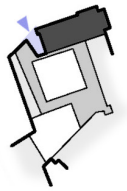
-1591-
Limpia Concepción de
Nuestra Señora



-1598-
San Fulgencio



-1621-
Divina Pastora



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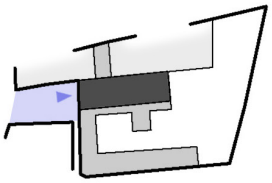

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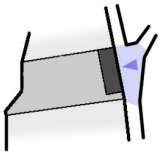

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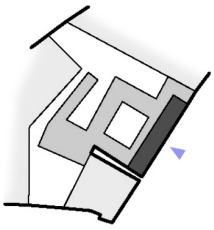

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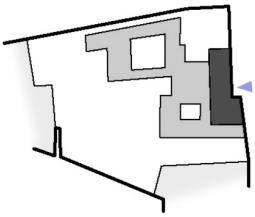

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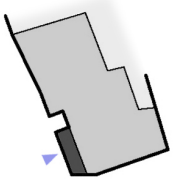

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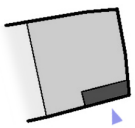

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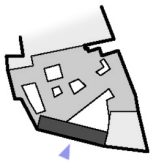

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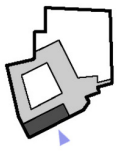

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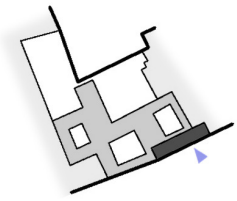

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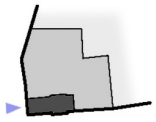

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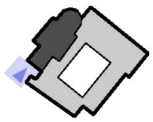
Écija



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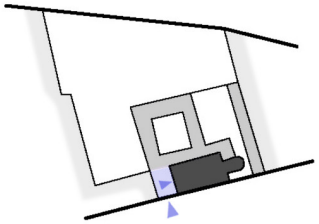
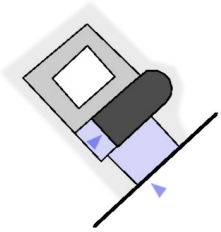


-1234-
Franziskanerkloster



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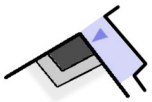
Dominikanerkloster



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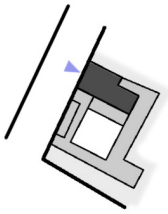
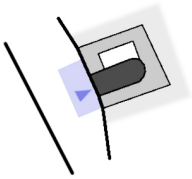


-1315-
Webbegarden / Kapuzinerkloster



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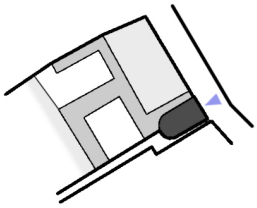

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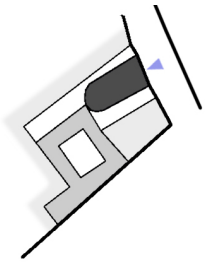

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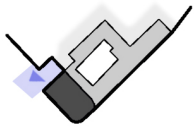
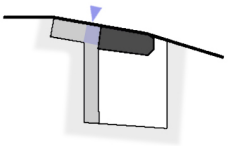


-1372-
Kreuzherrenkloster



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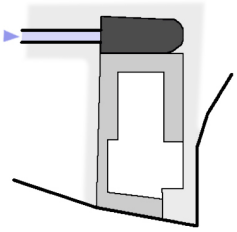
Alexianerkloster



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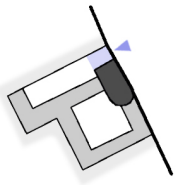

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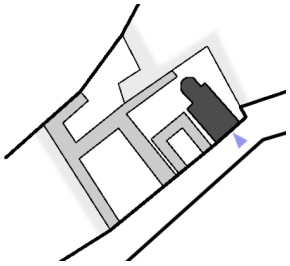
St. Leonhard



-1600-
Jesuitenkloster

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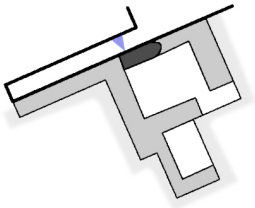

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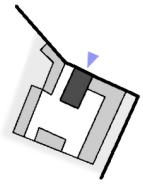

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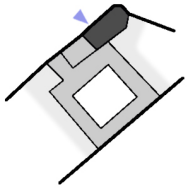

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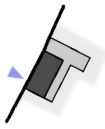

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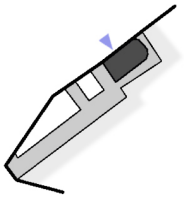

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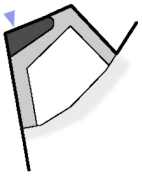
Annakloster



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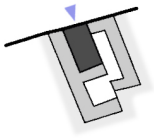

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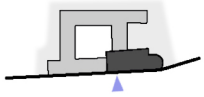

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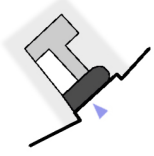

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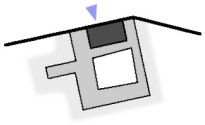

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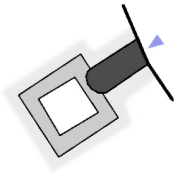

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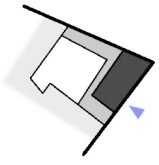


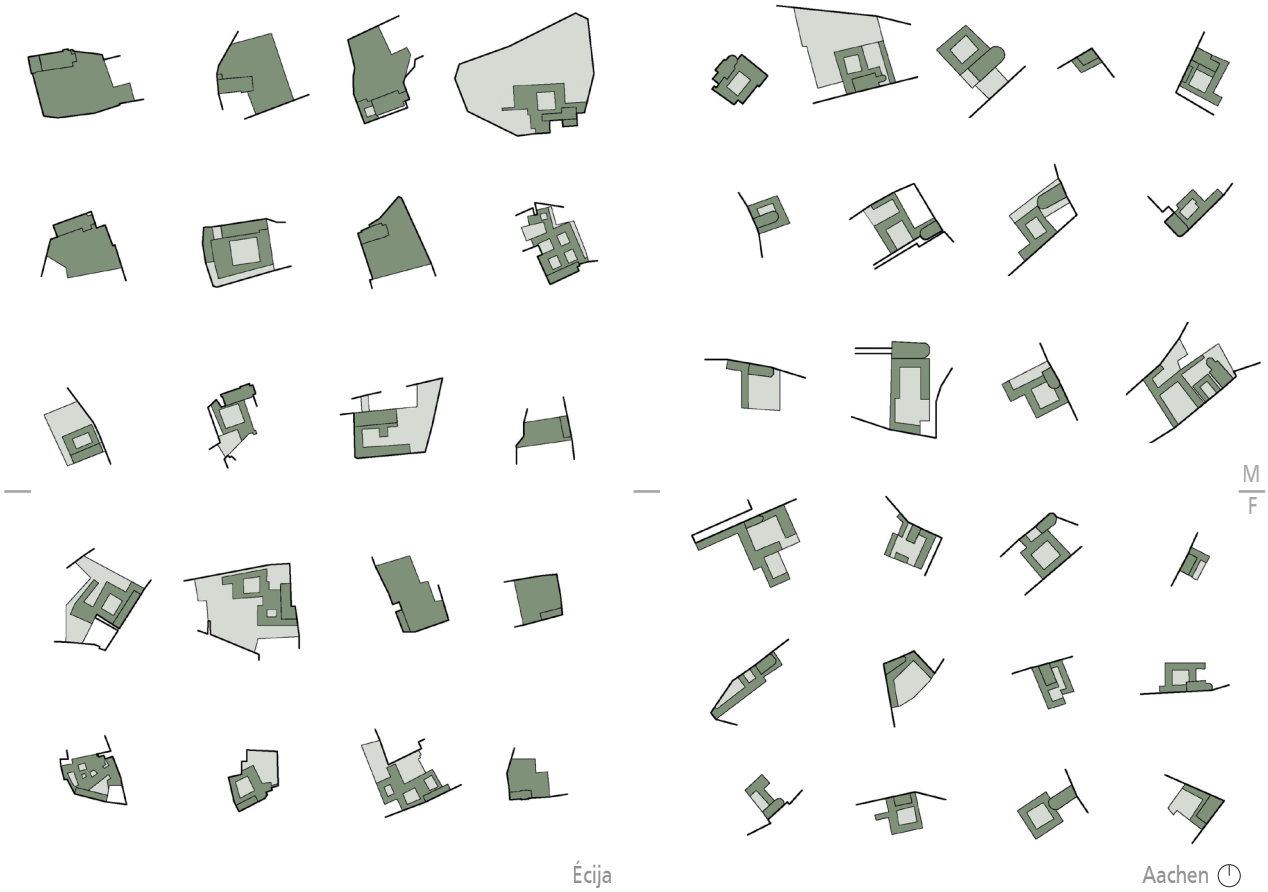
-1695-
Marienbongardkloster

Aachen

two cloisters. Usually, it is common to find a cloister space followed by a space for gardens and orchards. In cases where more than one cloister exists, this is either due to the absence of gardens as in Las Recogidas or to inner urban positions as in Cölestinnenkloster. In addition to the number of cloisters, these have been classified into three groups, each according to their surface areas. In Écija and Aachen, group 1 is very similar to each other, but there are major differences with group 2 and 3 in Aachen. Probably, in these two groups, spaces that worked more as orchards than as cloisters, due to their size, were included. However, these have been entered in the category of cloisters under the criterion of having three quarters of the perimeter surrounded by monastic buildings as in Klarissenkloster. On the other hand, group 3 in Écija corresponds to a lower category, to inner courtyards. These are generated when the urban density is very high and the conventual building does not create orchards, as can be seen in Las Recogidas.

The orchards and gardens analysed do not have a direct relationship when compared between cities. Moreover, they do not generate an urban pattern derived from other factors. The main result is that their position changes according to the availability of land and the position of the monastery or convent. This means that, logically, those located outside the city walls and on the urban periphery have a larger surface area of orchards and gardens than those located in the urban centre. These areas range from 2,500 to 5,000 m2 in both cases, which makes it more difficult to find them inside the cities. At the same time, it is worth mentioning the possible dimensions according to the hypotheses of St. Johannes Baptist with 3 hectares in Aachen and San Jerónimo del Valle with 4 hectares in Écija.

The analysis of the monastic system has shown that these buildings were used as urban facilities, with the city of Aachen standing out (Figure 313). Of the 25 buildings, 44% have a mixed use complementary to the religious one, seven are used as schools and four as hospitals. In fact, the importance of the sanitary use allowed the survival of the monastic buildings dedicated to this use during secularisation. Unlike Écija, there is only one building of each use, which is added another with a social character. This was dedicated to the rehabilitation and reintegration of women in vulnerable situations, but always from a religious perspective. The great difference between the two cities may be due to several reasons. On the one hand, in Écija it was known that there were hospitals run by religious brotherhoods, although not orders, such as that of San Sebastián. This meant that there was no need for



	Écija	Aachen
Monasteries and convents*	12	25
1 cloister	7 (64%)	16 (64%)
2 cloister	1 (9%)	6 (24%)
3 cloister	2 (18%)	1 (4%)
4 cloister	1 (9%)	1 (4%)
Cloister groups	Group 1 | 100-300 m2 Group 2 | 350-500 m2 Group 3 | 50-100 m2	Group 1 | 100-400 m2 Group 2 | 500-800 m2 Group 3 | 1000-1300 m2

*In Écija, eight buildings have not been considered because there is no data on cloisters and orchards.

a demand for monasteries for hospital use in the city. On the other hand, the difference in educational use may be due to the territorial position of each city. Aachen is located in a central European position where there is a constant flow of cultural exchanges, across borders and countries. Écija is located in the south of the Iberian Peninsula, where the geographical limits are more pressing, generating a greater territorial isolation.

Figure 311. (top) Plan of cloisters and orchards in monasteries and convents at the end of the 18th century in Écija (left) and Aachen (right). Same scale. Own elaboration.

Figure 312. (down) Comparative table between cloisters of monastic buildings in Écija and Aachen. Own elaboration.

Finally, in Aachen there is another use that is always shared with the religious one, the industrial use. Although the monastic activity related to agriculture or livestock farming is well known, so is the production of wine or beer. The monastic buildings usually had a large number of urban and rural properties which were used to earn income. In these clearly agricultural or industrial activities can be found. The use mentioned in this section refers to monastic buildings in the urban fabric. In Aachen, six of the 25 have at least one brewery production, which is one more activity to add to monastic and urban life. In contrast to this high number, almost as many as the number of educational buildings, in Écija there is no known existence of any complementary activity to religious life in convents and monasteries. Due to the rural and livestock farming nature of Écija, there could be some link with one of these uses, but no documentation has been located in which explicit reference is made to them.

For the analysis of toponymy, the time frame of the 21st century has been used. The study of the onomastics of streets and their historical evolution is an arduous task that is far

Figure 313. (top) Comparative table between monastic buildings in Écija and Aachen as urban facilities. Own elaboration.

Figure 314. (down) Comparative table of the monastic toponymy of Écija and Aachen. Own elaboration.

	Écija	Aachen
Monasteries and convents	21	25
Only religious use	18 (85%)	14 (56%)
Educational use	1 (5%)	7 (28%)
Sanitary use	1 (5%)	4 (16%)
Social use	1 (5%)	0
Industrial use mixed with other uses *	0	6

*The industrial use is referred to the total number of monasteries and convents. In Aachen there are 6 out of 25.

	Écija	Aachen
Streets	12	24
Squares	2	1
Educational facility	2	3
Leisure facility	0	1

from the objectives of this research. Although the old street names appear on many maps, they either change over time or remain the same until the present day. This last aspect represents a value that we wanted to highlight by studying monastic toponymy in the 21st century. Firstly, not all monastic buildings have left their mark on urban toponymy. Many of the monasteries and convents that have disappeared have managed to maintain their presence through the names of streets or squares, but this is not the case in 100% of the cases. A comparison between Écija and Aachen (Figure 314) shows that in the Carolingian city the monastic survival in the urban space is much greater than in Écija, since both have a similar number of monastic buildings. On the other hand, in both cases, a similarity has been detected in the preference for using monastic names to designate a greater number of streets than squares.

It is interesting to note a common factor in Écija and Aachen, namely the use of monastic onomastics to designate educational facilities. This is because they usually derive from the former monastic colleges such as St. Ursula in Aachen or San Fulgencio in Écija. The importance of the educational character mentioned in urban facilities prevails even in the use of the name in both private and public schools. In Aachen, meanwhile, a connection has been found between a public leisure building and the place. This is the Hallenbad Elisabethalle, which, being situated on the former convent site, inherits its name directly from the monastic building. Finally, it should also be noted that these monastic connections with the city through the name have been decisive in both cases, together with the use of cartographies and historical documents, in order to verify the location of monastic buildings that have disappeared.

A point which has been analysed in Écija, but which could not be carried out and compared in Aachen, is the rites and processions. Although there are still numerous Catholic churches in addition to the cathedral itself, no urban religious activity was found in Aachen. However, Catholic festivities such as Corpus Christi, or *Fronleichnamfest* in German, are celebrated in both cities, but no rites related to Holy Week or the patron saints of the city have been found, as is the case in Écija. Therefore, only the rites related to monastic buildings in the Andalusian city can be referenced. The main result is the existence of five brotherhoods with outings and processions during Holy Week, to which must be added the two belonging to the male and female patron saints of the city. They make up a total of seven different processions. In all cases, these processions go through the historic centre, allowing the monastery or convent to go out into the city as a metaphor.

5.4 TRANSFORMATION OF MONASTIC BUILDING COMPARISON OF AACHEN AND ÉCIJA

Before beginning a comparison of the monastic system's transformations in both cities, it is necessary to examine the demographic census. This not only shows the number of inhabitants, but is directly related to the urban development. In points 3.4 and 4.4 some population data were mentioned. But for comparison all data from the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century have been considered (Figure 315). Looking at the two graphs, the beginning of the 19th century is quite similar in both cases. The population of Écija is 29,343 inhabitants[4] compared to 23,413 in Aachen[5]. However, this situation is reversed at the turn of the century. While Écija's population stagnated to between 20,000 and 30,000 inhabitants, the opposite was true in Aachen. Thanks to the industrialisation of the city and the mining activity in the Ruhr area, Aachen experienced an exponential growth. From 23,413 inhabitants at the beginning of the 19th century, it grew to 156,143 in 1910. The evolution of the urban fabric reflects the data expressed in the graph, growing quickly and occupying large new areas. In contrast, Écija remained a mainly agricultural and livestock farming city. Industrialisation did not have strong repercussions either in the city or in the province to which it belongs. Finally, although the cities started with similar characteristics on the same path, they diverged at the beginning of the 19th century. If industrialisation had had a greater impact on Écija, perhaps Écija and Aachen would have followed the same direction.

The early 18th century marked a turning point in the transformation of the city and the development of the monastic system. Despite the differences in population, the cities of Aachen and Écija show similar urban characteristics, typical of this century, such as the opening and widening of the streets, the construction of new facilities and infrastructures, as well as the confiscation of monasteries and convents. On the other hand, there is a great development of new planimetry in this century where the progress of urban transformations can be observed. This planimetry has been analysed in both cases, revealing a multitude of details and urban keys considered at this point. Among these is the change of administrative structure from the religious one in *Collaciones* or *Pfarbezirke*, to the civil one in *Cuarteles* or *Polizeibezirke*. In Écija this change took place in 1826, while in Aachen around 1870. These changes did not affect the monastic development, which was linked to

4 The population data for Écija are obtained from the Instituto de Estadística y Cartografía de Andalucía. Retrieved from https://www.juntadeandalucia.es/institutodeestadisticaycartografia/ehpa/ehpaTablas.htm Accesed on 31 May 2023.

5 The population data for Aachen are obtained from the (Statistischen Landesamt Nordrhein-Westfalen, 1966), (Statistischen Landesamt Nordrhein-Westfalen, 1964) y datos de la web Statistischen Landesamt Nordrhein-Westfalen, 1966 https://www.it.nrw/statistik Accesed on 31 May 2023.

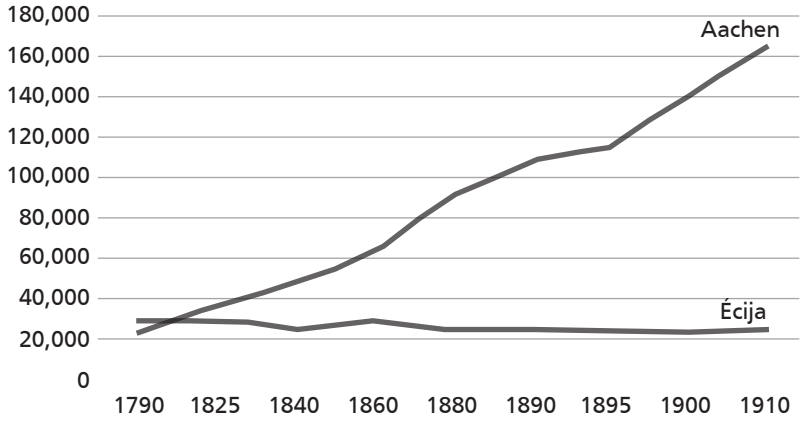


Figure 315. Comparative population graph of Écija and Aachen. Based on population data from the Instituto de Estadística y Cartografía de Andalucía and Statistischen Landesamt Nordrhein-Westfalen. Own elaboration.

the parish division. The loss of religious influence in the urban area means that the monastic buildings are on a second level.

It is interesting to note the process of secularisation, starting with the French occupation in both Aachen and Écija. However, there is a big difference in the cities. While in the German city, the confiscation was effective in 1802, in the Spanish city the process was reversed after the French expulsion and the orders returned to their former monasteries and convents. The effect of the French secularisation reached 75% of the monastic buildings in Aachen. Only those dedicated to hospital use and a few educational establishments were spared. In both cities, there were also national confiscations of a state character. In Écija, that of Madoz and Mendizábal took place in 1835. This time it played a decisive role and was effective in 67% of the monastic buildings. In Aachen in 1871 and 1878, the Kulturkampf, organised by Otto von Bismarck, secularised 38% of the monastic buildings. Finally, the secularisation and expulsion of the Jesuits long before the aforementioned confiscations should be pointed out. In 1767 in Écija and in 1773 in Aachen, leaving the Jesuit buildings in the cities without monastic use. As can be seen, in both cases the confiscations had a great impact on the monastic typology. If the French one is not, the state one is, or both at the same time. The loss of the ecclesiastical role in modern society and the urban transformations in the two cities led to the secularisation of most of the monastic system.

In point 5.2, the French occupation was marked as the end point of the timelines in both cities. This is only the case in Écija, but not in Aachen. In the first city, after the confiscation of 1835, there was no re-foundation of old orders, nor was there any new one. In this sense, in Aachen there were two different phases after 1802. The first between the French secularisation and the *Kulturkampf*, the second between the *Kulturkampf* and the First World War. The response of monas-

ticism to secularisation is the production of new monasteries and convents in the city. These have been sorted into three groups and the number of foundations in each group has been counted. 7 orders moved from their original foundations to newly created buildings, 10 new orders used old, unused monastic buildings and 3 new orders founded new monastic buildings. In short, these stages are marked by the reuse of old monasteries and convents, together with the appearance of new ones. This mainly happens in orders that existed in the city and when they return they find that their old buildings have already been occupied by other uses. Therefore, there is a need to create new buildings. With these phases, the monastic settlement in Aachen came to an end.

For the monastic transformations in the two cities, data has been taken for all foundational phases in each of them. After a detailed analysis, it has been observed that each and every monastery and convent in Écija and Aachen has been transformed in some way. Perhaps the only one that remains practically intact is that of Las Marroquíes in Écija, as the conventual plot is a single block. However, in the rest, even if the building has not undergone modifications, there may be a reduction in the area of gardens and orchards, as was the case in St. Johannes Baptist in Aachen. A common feature in both cities has been the grouping of the monastic transformations into three blocks (Figure 317). The first, complete buildings or buildings that retain a high percentage of the original foundation. The second, those examples where the church remains together with some monastic fragments and a third group in which only the existence of the church is visible. On the other hand, in points 3.4.2 and 4.4.3, a fourth group has been mentioned where there is no church or monastic fragments. In fact, there is only one building in Écija and one in Aachen. As these are very specific cases, practically exceptions, they have not been considered as a determining part of the results.

Figure 316. Comparative table of the of the transformation monastic groups in Écija and Aachen. Own elaboration.

The table compiled from these groups shows the number of buildings within each of the categories per city (Figure 316). In general, the data are quite similar to each other. In both Écija

	Écija	Aachen*
Group 1 | Complete Buildings	7	9
Group 2 | Church and fragments	3	2
Group 3 | Church only	5	4

*In Aachen are included all the monastic buildings from the seven phases.

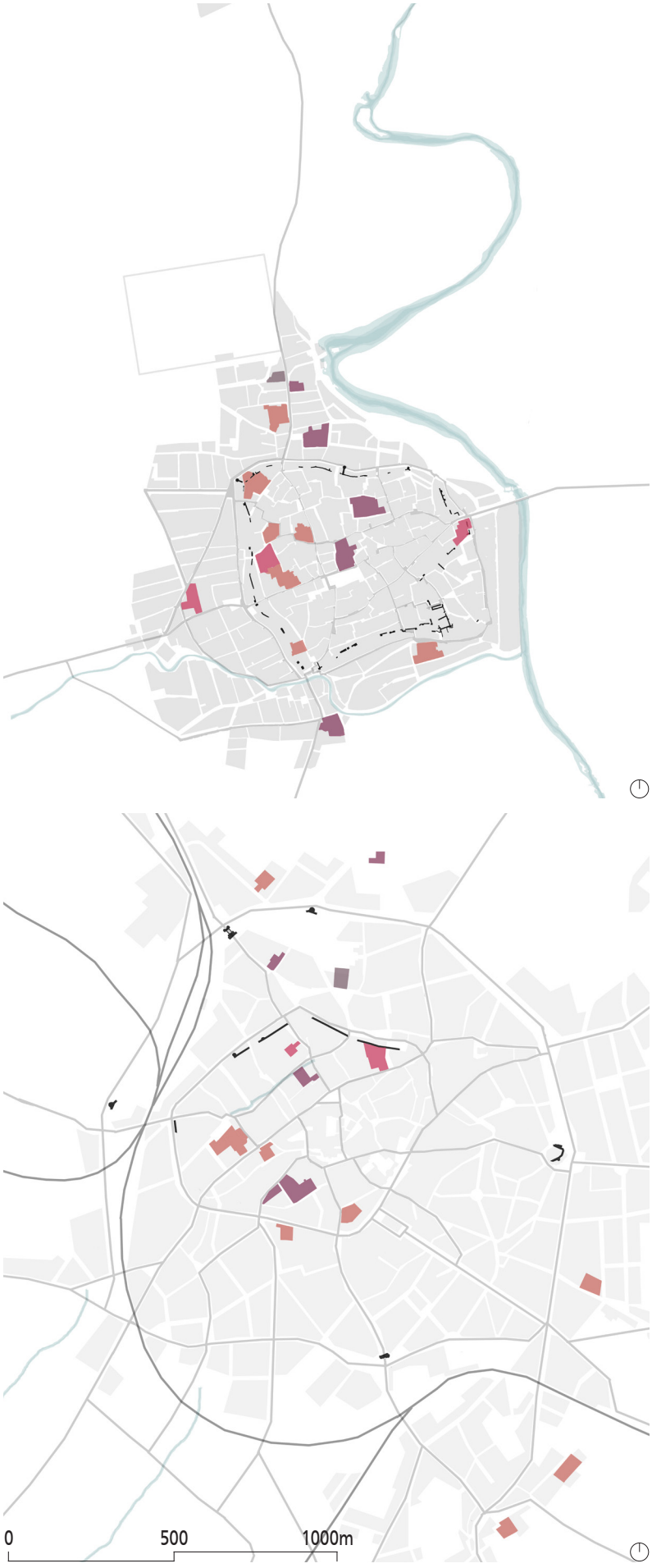


Figure 317. Groups of monastic transformations in Écija (top) and Aachen (down). Same scale. Own elaboration.

- Group 1. Complete buildings
- Group 2. Church and fragments
- Group 3. Church
- Group 4. Without church

and Aachen two situations predominate, the permanence of the whole building or only the church. This is logical if one considers the difficulty of maintaining monastic fragments in addition to the church. In general, the decision is to demolish all parts of the monastery except the church. Moreover, the church has been taken as a reference point, as it is the last element to disappear from the monastic typology. First the orchards and gardens disappear, then the monastic parts and finally the church. If we look at the monastic transformations and their respective situations in the city, we have not found any remarkable results. In both cities, there are monastic buildings in all kinds of positions belonging to any of the three mentioned groups. It has not been possible to locate any patterns or references that mark a guideline or a consequence depending on the urban position. Both in the urban centre and in other positions a great mixture of different casuistry can be detected.

The three aforementioned groupings have been made by taking data on surface area, key dates, as well as the transformation of uses on the current plot. In contrast to the urban position, the uses do represent an indicator element of the transformation process of the monastic plot in both cities. In most of the plots, several uses have been identified, many of them complementary to the religious one. The latter is maintained mainly in the churches as a predominant use compared to others. For a comparison, all uses in each monastic plot have been taken (Figure 318). In the case that the plot has two uses, these are placed in different lines, so that the sum of plots does not give the total number of monasteries and convents. The first thing that can be seen from the table is that most of the plots retain, totally or partially, the religious

Figure 318. Comparative table of new uses in monastic plot transformations in Écija and Aachen. Own elaboration.

New uses in monastic plot transformations	Écija	Aachen
Religious	10	11
Residential	7	2
Educational	2	4
Sanitary	-	1
Cultural	-	3
Social care	-	1
Service sector	-	1
Car park	-	2
Storage	1	-
Without use	3	1

*These are the uses found on each plot. In many plots there may be two or more uses as the transformation of the plot rarely coincides with a single use.

use in both Écija and Aachen. This is also coherent when the traditional use of the plot is religious, and in many cases there is a church that maintains worship. In other cases, the religious use has not been interrupted, as is the case of the convents of Santa Florentina or Santa Inés del Valle in Écija.

Other new plot uses, such as residential, are prominent in Écija but not in Aachen. This is clearly linked to the urban development of the 19th century. While in Aachen growth generates new housing offers, in Écija the few free spaces that appear are used for residential construction. This can be seen in the diversity of uses and types of facilities that appear on former monastic plots in Aachen. From educational spaces to cultural and health facilities, there is a demand for new facilities in inner city areas or those which are mainly occupied by housing. Urban growth also requires a greater diversity of uses and makes use of the old plots of land for them. In Écija, meanwhile, the number of unused buildings is very high. This may be because the city does not have a high demand for new uses or facilities compatible with the monastic typology or because this demand is resolved with new buildings, neglecting the reuse of existing ones.

Another characteristic of monastic urban transformations is the appearance of new urban spaces. This is a common process due to the typological characteristics of the monastic plot, large surface area, central position and new uses. However, only one case has been found in Écija, compared to eight in Aachen. The Écija example is a small, pedestrianised street used as an access to the dwellings built on the former site of the monastery of San Francisco. In Aachen, on the other hand, there are openings of small streets, such as in the Franziskanerkloster or Jesuitenkloster plots, and large urban transformations, such as in Kapuzinerkloster or Ursulinenkloster. In fact, the latter two are the most important for the city. The first gave rise to the cultural facilities of the theatre and the Theaterstraßer[6]. The second gave rise to the Elisengarten, a large green space in the city centre (Figure 319).

Disappeared monastic buildings are a separate group from the first three mentioned above. Nevertheless, the disappearance of a monastery or convent is closely linked to their transformation into urban spaces. Again, the examples of Kapuzinerkloster and Ursulinenkloster stand out as missing buildings that have generated new urban spaces. Among the total number of monasteries and convents that have disappeared, in Écija there are 6, or 27% of the total, while in Aachen there

6 Similar to the Theaterstraße in Aachen, the new Miguel de Cervantes Street was created in Écija, although it does not have a monastic origin.

Figure 319. Urban transformations of: Pasaje de la milagrosa in Écija (top), Elisenbrunnen (middle) and Theater (down) in Aachen. Author, 2022.

are 17, or 55% (Figure 320). Their position in both cities does not respond to measurable criteria. Disappearances of buildings can be found both in the inner city centre and in the urban periphery. In this sense, no pattern has been found that responds to the decision to demolish a monastic building. In fact, this is not related to the year of disappearance either.

An analysis of the uses of the former plots after their disappearance has provided interesting data (Figure 321). As can be seen, once again residential use is predominant in both cases. The disappearance generates a new plot of land, which is quickly used for the construction of housing. In Aachen, on the other hand, the use of a new land availability for the construction of educational facilities and buildings for the service sector is striking. In addition, two of the educational plots are part of the RWTH Aachen University. In this sense, the university is a powerful facility that makes use of the monas-

Figure 320. Disappeared monasteries and convents in Écija (top) and Aachen (down). Same scale. Own elaboration.

New uses in disappeared monastic plots	Écija	Aachen
Residential	2	8
Educational	1	3
Cultural	-	1
Green space	-	1
Service sector	1	3
Sport	-	1
Farming	1	-
Industrial	1	-

All monasteries and convents	Écija	Aachen
Approximate surface of the original plots (m2)	143,730	155,340
Approximate surface of the current plots (m2)	42,170	70,390
Monastic transformation rate	0.29	0.45

Figure 321. (top) Comparative table of the new uses in desappeard monastic plots in Écija and Aachen. Own elaboration.

Figure 322. (down) Comparative table of the monastic surface in Écija and Aachen. Own elaboration.

tic transformation. Thus, once again, the use of facilities in Aachen stands out compared to the plots in Écija. In the city, the agricultural use stands out, referring to the disappearance of the Monastery of Nuestra Señora del Valle. The industrial use responds to the location of an oil factory on the plot of the monastery of Nuestra Señora de la Merced. This is an approximation as the exact position of the old monastery is not known with precision.

In the transformations of the monastic buildings, as well as in the disappearance of these, the approximate surface of the original plot and the current plot have been counted. The current plot refers to the possible persistence and fragments that may exist of the old monastery or convent, such as the church. In the case of those that have disappeared, the number is zero. All these data, given in separate tables in 3.4 and 4.4, have been used together to define the rate of monastic transformation in Aachen and Écija. For this purpose, the sum of the original and the current plot surface has been summed and compared between the two cities (Figure 322). Once added together, we have two pieces of information that indicate, firstly, the approximate size of the maximum expansion of the monastic system in each city, and secondly, the approximate current dimensions of the monastic system in each city.

In both cities the final surface area is quite similar, 143,730 m2 in Écija and 155,340 m2 in Aachen. However, this is not the case today.

The monastic transformation index is the result of dividing the current area by the original area, giving a number that indicates the degree of preservation of the monastic system in each city. The closer to one, the greater the preservation of monasteries and convents. However, this index avoids any reference to building modifications or conservation, as well as other parameters. The figure for Aachen is 0.45 compared to 0.29 for Écija. This means that, in terms of urban area, the monastic system in Aachen is better preserved than in Écija. This parameter is one of the main results of the monastic transformation. Nonetheless, it is necessary to consider other parameters which, together with this one, provide an overall view of the urban monastic system.

5.5 URBAN LANDSCAPE COMPARISON

Historical iconography is composed of city views that allow a better understanding of the urban form of the past. Depending on the city, these documents can vary greatly. The 16th century saw the beginning of a widespread production of urban views, which can be characterised according to different aspects such as artistic techniques, the use of colour, author, year, etc. In addition, advances in printing allowed for an increase in the reproduction of copies faster, with greater dissemination and geographical reach. The publication of the *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* in Europe is one of the clearest examples of the combination of printing and historical iconography on a continental level. In fact, it is one of the first atlases to bring together a multitude of urban views of different kingdoms and regions both in Europe and in the earthly sphere. It is in this context that the first views of the cities of Écija and Aachen, both drawn by Joris Hoefnagel.

The urban sights in both cities are abundant and have a long time span. In Écija, 10 views have been located from the 16th to the 19th century, while in Aachen, 17 views between the 16th and 19th centuries. Although the German city apparently has a greater number of them, there is another aspect to consider. In both cases there are copies of earlier views made by different authors, so that the number would be reduced in both cases. According to the analyses carried out, eliminating those that may be copies of others and taking as a basis only the original, there would be a total of 8 images in Écija and 11 in Aachen. Both cities have a fairly equal number of views.

The views of Hoefnagel are the starting point for both Écija and Aachen in iconographic production. However, the greater importance of Aachen compared to Écija is evident from the fact that there are two versions for the German city as opposed to one for the Andalusian city. In addition to Hoefnagel, in the 17th century the two cities were again represented by the author Meisner. The production of a new publication that included the most important urban views of the time led Meisner to draw both Aachen and Écija (Figure 323). On the other hand, although no other authors have been located who share drawings of the two cities, other international artists have been detected in both cases. This is a reflection of the importance of the two settlements in the international European context. In Écija, illustrators such as Silvestre and Wjingaerde, who recorded the London Bridge in 1550, stand out. In Aachen, other well-known cartographers and draughtsmen such as Merian and Blaeu were also prominent. In fact, Merian produced one of the best-known views of Seville in 1638, while Blaeu worked on a territorial cartography of Andalusia.

The monastic system is not only an important typology for the city, but also creates a new urban landscape. The appearance of monastic buildings on the urban scene in the Middle Ages created a new landscape full of towers, church spires and bell-glabes that jutted out from the urban fabric. These vertical

Figure 323. (top) View of Écija and (down) view of Aachen. Meisner, 1623. In Meisner, D. (1623) *Thesaurus Philo-Politicus*.

elements generate a new urban profile, constituted by the totality of religious buildings. The urban views confirm the construction of this landscape, as well as the strong presence of monastic buildings in Écija and Aachen. From the analyses carried out, it has been taken the views which best represent the monastic landscape in both cities. These are those of Silvestre in Écija (1660) and Merian in Aachen (1647) where the position of the monastic buildings can be seen in red (Figure 324) (Figure 325). In both cases there is a numerous presence of these buildings, as well as the construction of an urban profile of their own. Regarding the vertical elements that make up this urban landscape, it is important to highlight one aspect. In both cities, the tower is a common element in monasteries and convents to create belfries. However, the use of the church spire and bell-glabe differs from one city to the other. While the bell-glabe predominates in Écija, in Aachen it is the church spire, a more widespread solution in Central Europe. Nevertheless, examples of all three types of bell tower solutions have been found in both situations.

Although both Écija and Aachen had a monastic urban landscape, recognisable through historical iconography, it has been modified over time. The Lisbon earthquake that struck Écija in 1755 destroyed a large part of the church towers. As a result, the bishop of Seville decided to rebuild all the belfries, even modifying the bell-glabe into a tower in many cases. However, some of the work begun was never finished, as was the case in San Pablo y Santo Domingo in Écija, whose tower remains unfinished. On the other hand, the confiscations of the 19th century played an essential role. In Écija, this led to the disappearance of towers such as San Fulgencio and chur-

Monasteries and convents in Écija

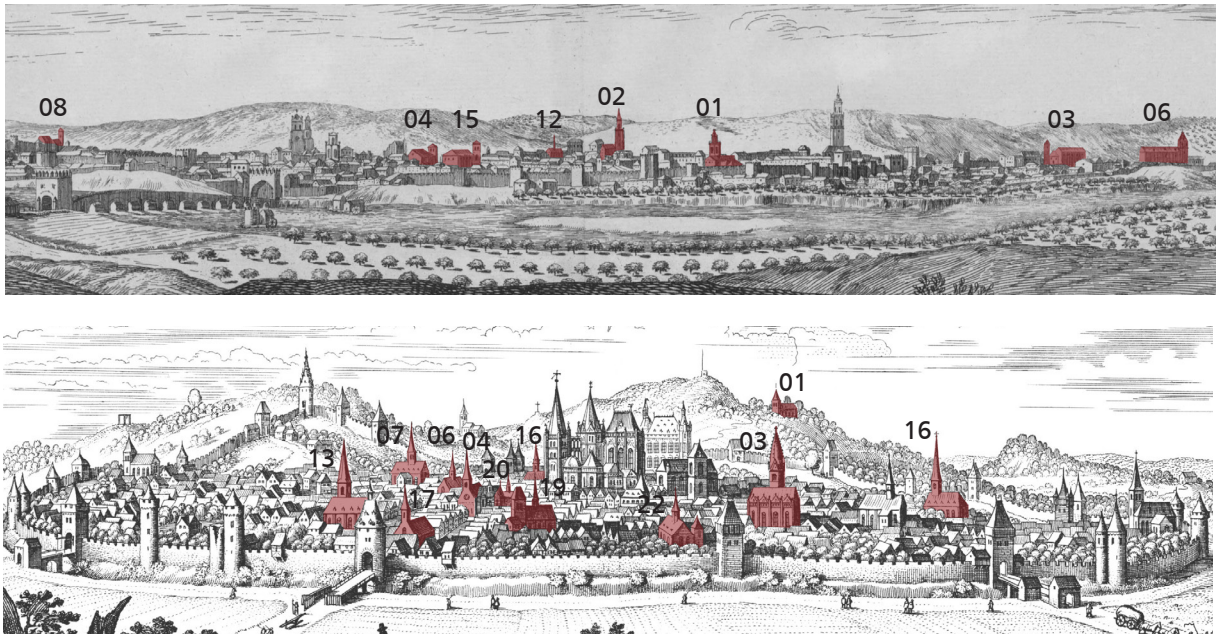
01 | San Pablo y Santo Domingo
02 | Nuestra Señora del Carmen
03 | Santa Florentina
04 | San Francisco
06 | Santa Inés del Valle
08 | Nuestra Señora de la Victoria
12 | Las Recogidas
15 | San Fulgencio

Monasteries and convents in Aachen

01 | Salvatorberg
03 | Franziskanerkloster (St. Nikolaus)
04 | St. Matthiashof / Marienthal
06 | Cölestinnenkloster (Weißfrauen)
07 | Dominikanerkloster (St. Paul)
13 | Karmeliterkloster
16 | Regulierherrenkloster
17 | St. Leonhard
19 | Jesuitenkloster
20 | Klarissenkloster
22 | Pönitentenkloster

Figure 324. (top) Location of monasteries and convents in Silvestre's view, 1660. Own elaboration.

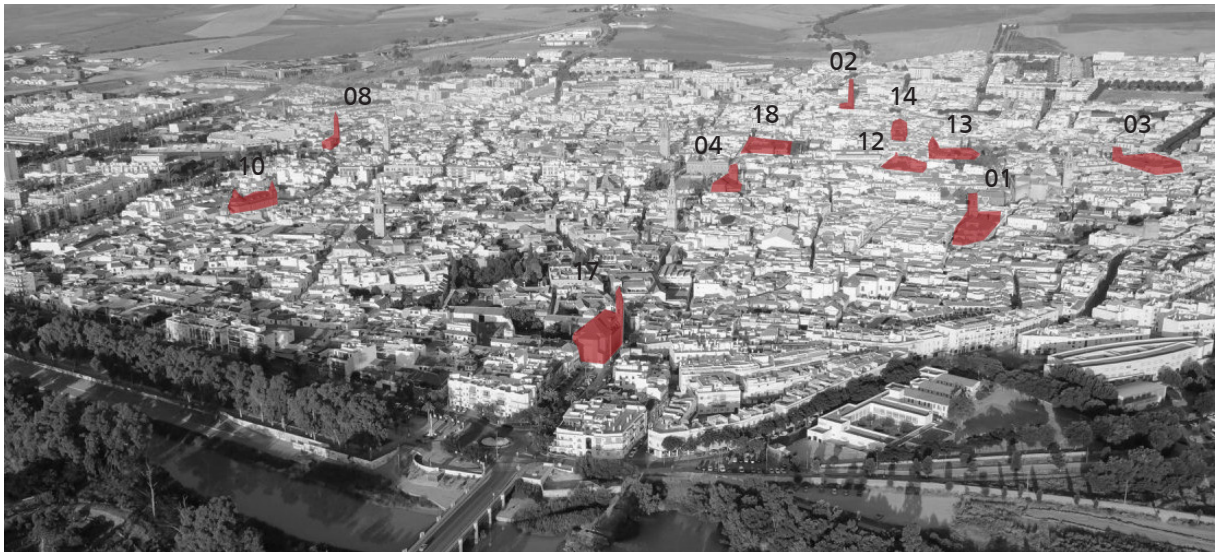
Figure 325. (down) Location of monasteries and convents in Aachen. Merian, 1647. Own elaboration.



ches such as San Agustín or Espíritu Santo. On the other hand, in Aachen it meant the suppression of most of the religious orders, together with the demolition of numerous churches. Nevertheless, it was the war in the middle of the 20th century that marked the disappearance of the towers and spires in Aachen. The Allied bombing destroyed important church spires such as the Augustinerkloster or Franziskanerkloster, which were never rebuilt. This caused the loss of most of the vertical elements that made up the monastic landscape of the city. This landscape is hardly recognisable today in Aachen (Figure 326), in comparison with Écija (Figure 327). In Ecija, a large part of the towers rebuilt after the earthquake have been preserved and continue to mark the city landscape. In contrast, these elements are imperceptible in Aachen, with exceptions such as the Salvatorberg, due to its location on a hill, or the neo-gothic tower of the Heilig Kreuz. In fact, this distinction lies in the number of vertical elements, since in terms of the number of buildings, almost the same number of vertical elements have been preserved. The great difference in the construction of the urban monastic landscape between the two cities lies in the degree of preservation and reconstruction of towers, spires and bell-glabes, which is greater in Écija than in Aachen.

Figure 326. (top) Location of monasteries and convents in aerial view, 2018. Legend on the right page. View from Club Paramotor Écija Vuela. Own elaboration.

Figure 327. (down) Location of monasteries and convents in aerial view, 2023. Legend on the right page. Fabio Bayro Kaiser, 2023.



An analysis of the current state of the towers, spires and bell-glabes of the monastic system in Aachen and Écija has been carried out in 2023. For this purpose, images of the vertical elements in the two cities were compared (Figure 329). In turn, these have been classified and arranged in a table according to their typological characteristics, i.e. tower, small bell tower, church spire and bell-glabe (Figure 328). Before a comparison, it should be remembered that two particularities are present in Aachen. The first is the size of the towers, some of which are taller and others shorter. There is a difference between slender and flattened towers, closer to a bell-glabe. The second is the appearance of small bell towers with a single bell that provide a solution to the lack of another of the three elements. In fact, it happens frequently, as up to four churches have been found where this phenomenon occurs.

Between Aachen and Écija there are a similar number of towers. In Aachen, however, there are four slender towers and three small ones. The big difference between them is the urban position of the towers. While in Écija they are closer together, enhancing the urban landscape, in Aachen they are widely dispersed, almost isolated from each other. Another major difference is the large number of bell-glabes used in Écija compared to Aachen. Moreover, these are built with a very elaborate and decorated architecture, and there is even a type of bell-glabe on the way to the church tower. Finally, the church spires are practically non-existent in both cases. Although they were a characteristic and widely used element in Aachen, they have almost completely disappeared. Undoubtedly, the urban monastic landscape is still present in both Écija and Aachen. However, in Aachen it has been losing the strength and power it had in Écija, which has managed to maintain it. The urban expansion and industrialisation of Aachen has worked against the conservation of this heritage landscape in contrast to Écija, whose temporary stagnation in the 19th and 20th centuries has allowed it to maintain its urban image without being subjected to major changes.

Monasteries and convents in Écija

01 | San Pablo y Santo Domingo
02 | Nuestra Señora del Carmen
03 | Santa Florentina
04 | San Francisco
08 | Nuestra Señora de la Victoria
10 | Nuestra Señora de la Merced
12 | Las Recogidas
13 | Las Marroquíes
14 | Los Descalzos
17 | Santa Ana
18 | San José

Monasteries and convents in Aachen

01 | Salvatorberg
02 | St. Johannes Baptist
03 | Franziskanerkloster (St. Nikolaus)
06 | Cölestinnenkloster (Weißfrauen)
07 | Dominikanerkloster (St. Paul)
12 | Augustinerkloster (St. Katharina)
14 | Kreuzherrenkloster (Heilig Kreuz)
15 | Alexianerkloster
18 | Annakloster
19 | Jesuitenkloster
25 | Karmeliterinnenkloster
28 | Kloster der Schwestern vom armen Kinde Jesus
29 | Redemptoristenkloster

Figure 328. Towers and bell-glabes in 2023 monastic buildings in Écija (page 392) and Aachen (page 393). Own elaboration. Author, 2023.

Figure 329. Comparative table of the elements that make up the monastic urban landscape in Écija and Aachen. Own elaboration.

	Écija	Aachen
Towers	5	7*
Small belfries**	0	4
Spires	0	1
Bell-glabes	9	1

* The towers are of two sizes, four are large and three are small.

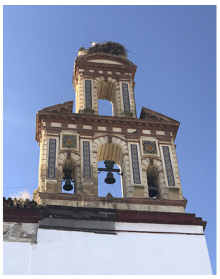
** This element only appears to place one bell.

-1383-
San Pablo y Santo Domingo

-1425-
Nuestra Señora del Carmen

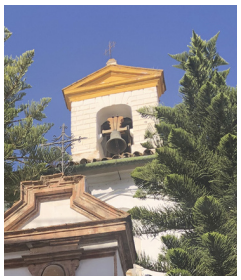
-1473-
San Francisco

-1505-
Nuestra Señora de la Victoria



-1509-
Nuestra Señora de la Merced

-1591-
Limpia Concepción de Nuestra Señora (Los Descalzos)



-1621-
Divina Pastora
(Capuchinos

-1626-
Santa Ana

-1639-
La Purísima Concepción
(Las Gemelas)

M
F

-1460-
Santa Florentina

-1487-
Santa Inés del Valle

-1570-
Visitación a Santa Isabel
(Las Recogidas)

-1587-
Santísima Trinidad y Purísima Concepción
de Nuestra Señora (Las Marroquíes)

-1626-
San José
(Las Teresas)

Écija

-997-
St. Johannes Baptist

-1234-
Franziskanerkloster
(St. Nikolaus)

-1294-
Dominikanerkloster
(St. Paul)

-1372-
Kreuzherrenkloster
(Heilig Kreuz)

-1391-
Alexianerkloster

-1600-
Jesuitenkloster
(St. Michael)

-1865-
Redemptoristenkloster

M
F

-997-
Salvatorberg

-1278
Cölestinnenkloster

-1513-
Annakloster
(St. Anna und Joachim)

-1616-
Klarissenkloster

-1662-
Karmeliterinnenkloster
(St. Theresia)

-1848-
Kloster der Schwestern vom
armen Kinde Jesus

Aachen

5.6 CURRENT STATE OF THE MONASTIC URBAN SYSTEM OF AACHEN AND ÉCIJA

The understanding of the current state of the urban monastic system has a temporal scope from the beginning of the 20th century to the present day, in the year 2023. The population of points 3.6 and 4.6 has been taken in this section and is added to that of the previous century, studied comparatively in point 5.4. Thus, a graph is produced which covers the first demographic data in each city up to the present day (Figure 330). However, as mentioned, the analysis in this section focuses on the period from 1900 onwards. At this time, the population between Écija and Aachen is very different. The former has a total of 23,128 inhabitants compared to a population of 160,508 in Aachen. The German city is seven times the demographic size of the Andalusian city. As can be seen in the graph, there are two peaks in Aachen. The first between 1914 and 1918, due to the First World War, there was a population reduction of -12%. The second, much larger, reaches lower levels than even Écija. This was due to the Second World War in 1944, when the population was reduced by -93%, reaching 11,139 inhabitants. However, this situation was reversed and in the following decades, the population grew rapidly, following the line marked since the beginning of the 19th century. On the other hand, the highest peak of growth in Écija took place in the 60's of the 20th century, much lower than in Aachen. The lack of industrialisation of the city, the absence of major facilities such as the university or the disappearance of infrastructures such as the railway, led to population stagnation in Écija from the beginning of the 19th century. At present, there are 39,838 inhabitants in Écija compared to 248,878 in 2022, practically six times more in the second city than in the first.

Urban evolution from the second half of the 20th century onwards is marked by aerial images. Since the American flights in the 1950s, the technological evolution and representation of images has developed exponentially up to the present

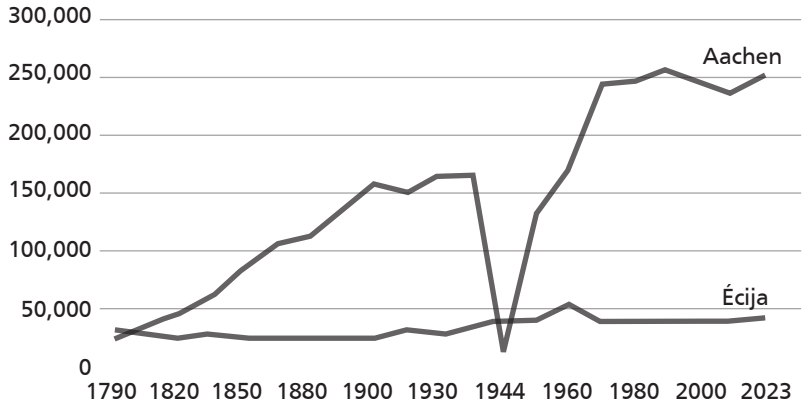


Figure 330. Comparative population graph of Écija and Aachen. Based on population data from the Instituto de Estadística y Cartografía de Andalucía and Statistischen Landesamt Nordrhein-Westfalen. Own elaboration.

day. As mentioned, both in Écija and Aachen, the first images were taken by American flights in 1956 and 1952 respectively (Figure 331). The differences are remarkable in these two images, not only from a demographic point of view, but also in terms of urban extension. Such is the difference achieved that, for example, in the frames taken for both cities, Aachen stands out from this completely in 2023, while in Écija a large part of the urban periphery can still be seen (Figure 332). In numerical terms the surface area of Écija is transferred to a total of about 4 km2 and the area of Aachen by 30 km2. Clearly, the second city far exceeds the first.

The development of the monastic institution was at its peak during the Middle Ages and the modern period. However, it can be seen that in the 19th century there was another phase of foundation of new orders. Obviously not as intensely as in the past, but it shows that it is a living institution. In the case of Écija, there are no orders founded in the city itself, but there are in nearby Seville. In 1875 the order of the Sisters of the Cross was founded by Sister Ángela de la Cruz. This order still has numerous foundations all over Andalusia, one of them in Écija. In Aachen, on the other hand, there were even two orders founded in the city itself. These are that of Clara Fey in 1844 and that of Franziska Schwervier in 1845. This shows the importance and strength of Aachen in the context of the mo-

Figure 331. Aerial views of Écija in 1956 (left) and 2022 (right). American flight and PNOA flight.

1956

2022

1952

2022

Figure 332. Aerial views of Aachen in 1952 (top) and 2022 (down). Katasterplankarte and Google Earth.

nastic institution. In this respect, it is important to note not only the appearance of new orders in each city, but also the foundation of new convents and monasteries in both cities. Although a new order did not appear in Écija, it did found one. On the other hand, many of these orders did not have the expansionist impulse of the past, remaining in many cases in the nearby territory. This explains why orders such as Fey or Schwervier have not been found in Andalusia, or De la Cruz in North Rhine-Westphalia.

In addition to the new foundations mentioned above, old monastic orders and buildings still survive in the 20th and 21st centuries. These were counted in each city according to two criteria. On the one hand, monastic buildings with or without orders, and on the other hand, monastic churches with or without religious use (Figure 333). The data shown in the table are quite similar in Écija and Aachen, almost identical. In both cases, a large number of monastic buildings with orders can be seen, 23% in Écija and 24% in Aachen, although their non-religious use is slightly higher. These buildings are San Pablo y Santo Domingo, Santa Florentina, Santa Inés del Valle, Las Marroquíes and Capuchinos in the Andalusian city, and Salvatorberg, Cölestinnenkloster, Dominikanerkloster / Franziskanerinnenkloster, Alexianerkloster, Klarissenkloster and Kloster der Schwestern vom armen Kinde Jesus in the German city. In contrast, in the churches, religious use predominates over non-religious use. While in Aachen the number of churches with religious use is very similar to those without, in Écija the difference is twice as great. This is largely due to a strong Catholic influence both politically and socially, resulting in the preservation of the use of churches.

Despite the monastic continuity in the two cities, this number has decreased during the 21st century. In both cases, different religious orders have progressively left each city. In Écija, the departure of three orders that had remained in their

Figure 333. Comparative table of building with or without monastic orders & religious use in Écija and Aachen. Own elaboration.

	Écija	Aachen
Buildings with monastic orders	5	6
Buildings without monastic orders	8	8
Monastic church with religious use	6	5
Monastic church without religious use	3	4

convents since their foundation can be noted. The convent buildings left without orders are Las Recogidas in 2013, Las Marroquíes in 2014 and Las Teresas in 2015. In Aachen, two orders left the city. Finally, after a re-foundation in another building, the Carmelite Sisters of the Karmeliterinnenkloster left in 2005. In the same year, the Jesuits who had returned to another monastic building also left the Redemptoristenkloster.

Regarding the monastic permanences at present, it is important to highlight the uses for which these buildings are employed today. In the urban transformations points 3.4 and 4.4, a list of uses for former monastic plots was drawn up, but not in relation to the current permanences. In this respect, a new table has been created which lists all the uses existing in 2023 in the monastic buildings in Écija and Aachen (Figure 334). The main difference that can be quickly detected is a greater diversity of uses in Aachen than in Écija. On the contrary, in the latter the uses are either non-existent in three buildings, or are transferred to the traditional religious one. In fact, this use is the most numerous and, again, identical in both cities. As is evident, as the monastic typology is designed for religious use, it is normal that this prevails over others, being the most abundant. In this sense, in Aachen, uses such as health

Figure 334. (top) Comparative table of uses in current monastic buildings in Écija and Aachen. Own elaboration.

Figure 335. (down) Comparative table of current monastic buildings and surface in Écija and Aachen. Own elaboration.

Uses in current monastic buildings	Écija	Aachen
Religious	11	10
Housing	2	1
Educational	2	0
Sanitary	-	1
Cultural	-	2
Social care	-	2
Offices	-	1
Archives	-	2
Storage	1	-
Without use	3	1

	Écija	Aachen
Current monasteries and convents	15	15
Surface of monasteries and convents (m2)	41,600	124,100

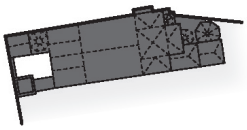
or social care are hybridised with religious and religious orders, recovering the initial and main function of the monasteries as urban facilities. Most of the uses found correspond to this category of facilities, with or without the complementary existence of a religious use. It seems evident that the design and versatility of the monastic typology allows for new uses as long as they are included in the category of facilities.

Concerning the aforementioned monastic remains, in both cities there is still an abundance of them both in number and in surface area. Although it may seem that the monastic system in the city belongs to other times, the graphic representation of its current state shows a completely opposite image. In most cases, the total conservation of the monastic building is difficult, and it is more common for the church to remain as an isolated piece. In Aachen and Écija, 15 monasteries and convents can still be found (Figure 335). Among these, in Aachen only 6 are churches, while in Écija there are 7, a number quite similar to each other. One of the main differences that can be detected between the two cities is the large size of the monastic plot in the last three buildings in Aachen compared to those in Écija. This is due to the fact that all three belong to 19th century foundations, occupying urban perimeter areas, having the possibility of occupying larger plots. The Alexianerkloster, which, due to its hospital use, has progressively increased its plot size, is also added to this number. This creates a disproportion in terms of plot size. Therefore, it has been counted in each case to get an approximate idea of the current total surface area (Figure 336). Even though the number of buildings is the same, Aachen has a surface area three times larger than Écija, mainly made up of open green space. As already mentioned, this difference in surface area belongs to the foundations of the last centuries and to the urban position.

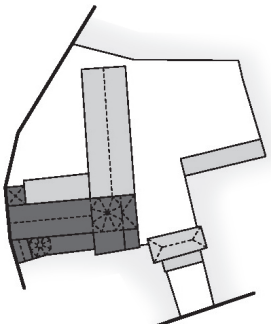
The conservation of the monastic system today is strongly linked to heritage protection. This protection differs between the two cities studied, but has two clearly established levels, city and building. For each case study, the heritage laws in each context have been analysed. In Écija, three legislations apply, depending on the scale. The first is a national law, the *Ley del Patrimonio Histórico Español 16/1985*, the second is at the Andalusian autonomous scale, the *Ley del Patrimonio Histórico Andaluz 14/2007*, and finally at the urban scale the special plan PEPRICCHA[7]. On the other hand, in the German case of Aachen, being Germany a federal state, the first law is that of the *Land*, the *Denkmalschutzgesetz (DSchG)* 1890, followed

Figure 336. Plan of monasteries and convents in 2023 in Écija (page 400) and Aachen (page 401). The church is highlighted in dark. Own elaboration.

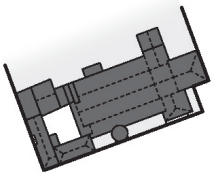
7 The translation of the title it is: Special Plan for the Protection, Interior Reform and Catalogue of the Historic and Artistic Site of Écija.



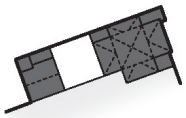
-1383-
San Pablo y Santo Domingo



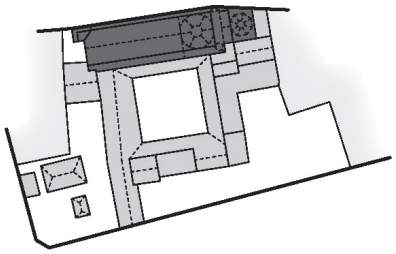
-1425-
Nuestra Señora del Carmen



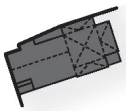
-1473-
San Francisco



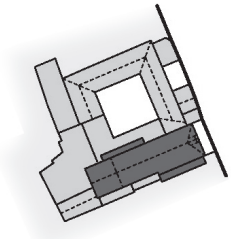
-1505-
Nuestra Señora de la Victoria



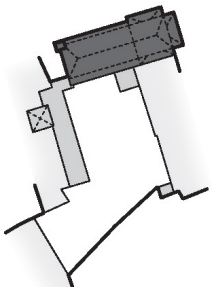
-1509-
Nuestra Señora de la Merced



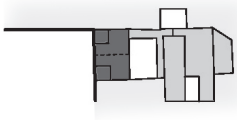
-1591-
Limpia Concepción de
Nuestra Señora



-1621-
Divina Pastora

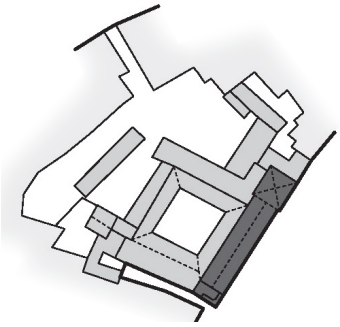


-1626-
Santa Ana

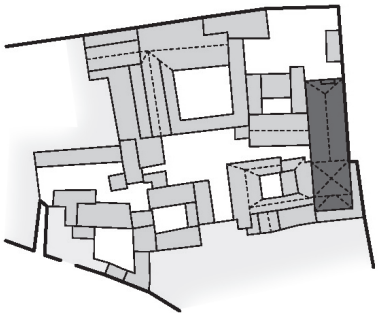


-1639-
La Purísima Concepción

M
F

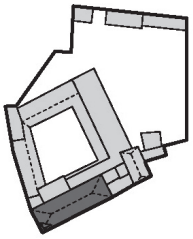


-1460-
Santa Florentina

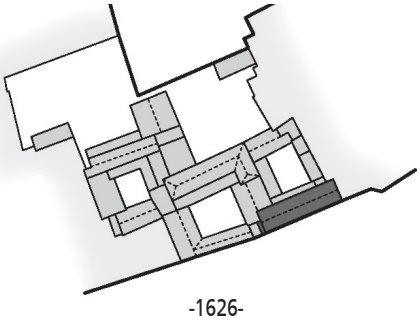


-1487-
Santa Inés del Valle

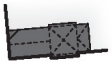
-1570-
Visitación a Santa Isabel



-1587-
Santísima Trinidad y Purísima
Concepción de Nuestra Señora

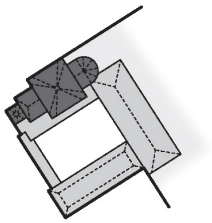


-1626-
San José

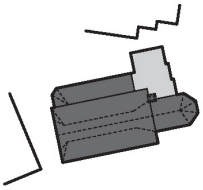


-1644-
Nuestra Señora de
la Encarnación

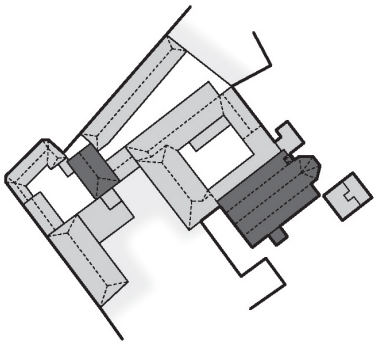
Écija



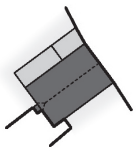
-997-
St. Johannes Baptist



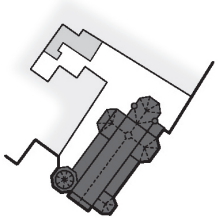
-1234-
Franziskanerkloster



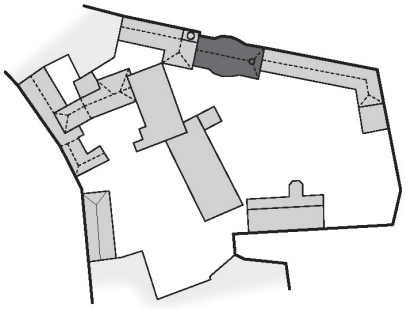
-1294-
Dominikanerkloster &
Franziskanerinnenkloster



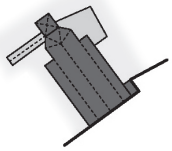
-1329-
Augustinerkloster



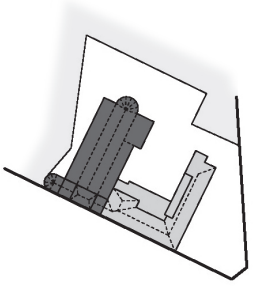
-1372-
Heiligen Kreuz



-1391-
Alexianerkloster

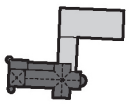


-1600-
Jesuitenkloster

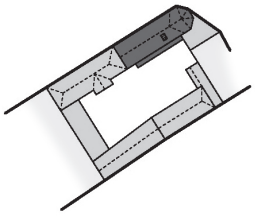


-1865-
Redemptoristenkloster

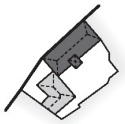
M
F



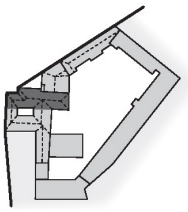
-997-
Salvatorberg



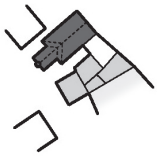
-1278-
Cölestinnenkloster



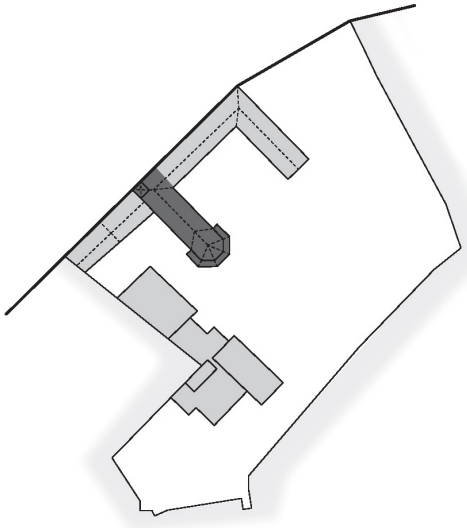
-1513-
Annakloster



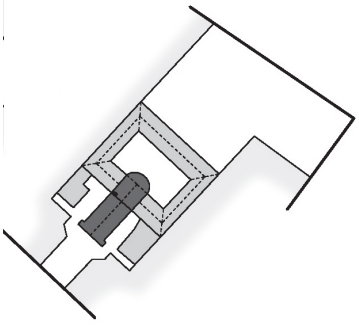
-1616-
Klarissenkloster



-1662-
Karmeliterinnenkloster



-1848-
Kloster der Schwestern von
armen Kinde Jesus



-1859-
Karmeliterinnenkloster

Aachen

by the city's heritage ordinance, *Satzung für die Erhaltung des Denkmalbereiches "Innenstadt" 2011*. In Aachen, on the other hand, an additional World Heritage protection has applied to the cathedral since 1978, with a corresponding buffer zone, which includes a large part of the monastic buildings.

Once the documents in the two cities have been analysed, it has been observed that the existing heritage protection is different. While the laws in Écija are based on a detailed categorisation into different types of protection, in Aachen this is more general (Figure 337). This difference is mainly to be found in the protection categories. In Écija, up to five different types of protection have been identified: *Bien de Interés Cultural (Conjunto Histórico)*, *Bien de Interés Cultural (Monumento)*, and protection according to the special plan with A, B and C levels. In Aachen, protection is divided into three types, *Denkmalbereich*, *Baudenkmal* and *Bodendenkmal*[8], in addition to World Heritage. However, there are also similarities, such as the protection of the historical area of the city. In both cases there is an area that protects and encompasses the historic centre, called *Conjunto Histórico* in Spain and *Denkmalbereich* in North Rhine-Westphalia[9]. This perimeter establishes special provisions in terms of construction and urban configuration similar in each case, in order to protect the most historic part. In addition, in Aachen, the buffer zone of the Cathedral has been made to coincide with the *Denkmalbereich*, further enhancing protection in the city from the World Heritage status.

Regarding the buildings, absolutely all the monasteries and convents are protected in both cases. In Écija, protection is more complex, as levels of protection are established between them, with a total of 20% BIC, 33% with A protection, 33% with B protection and 14% with C protection. In the case of Aachen, all are protected as *Baudenkmal*. In this sense, the level of protection of all buildings is homogenised and all buildings have the same degree of importance. Only the Klarissenkloster is protected under a different category, that of *Bodenkenkmal*, with more attention and importance being given to the monastic plot than to the building itself. Without any doubt, the plans on which the protection has been depicted show the importance of the monastic system in Aachen and Écija. The fact that all of the buildings are protected indicates the importance of these buildings for the city and the need for their preservation in the future.

8 Translated in point 3.6 as *Baudenkmäler* (Monuments), *Denkmalbereiche* (Historic Sites) and *Bodendenkmäler* (Archaeological Areas).

9 The translation of *Conjunto Histórico* and *Denkmalbereich* is Historic Sites, as they are taken as synonyms in both languages.

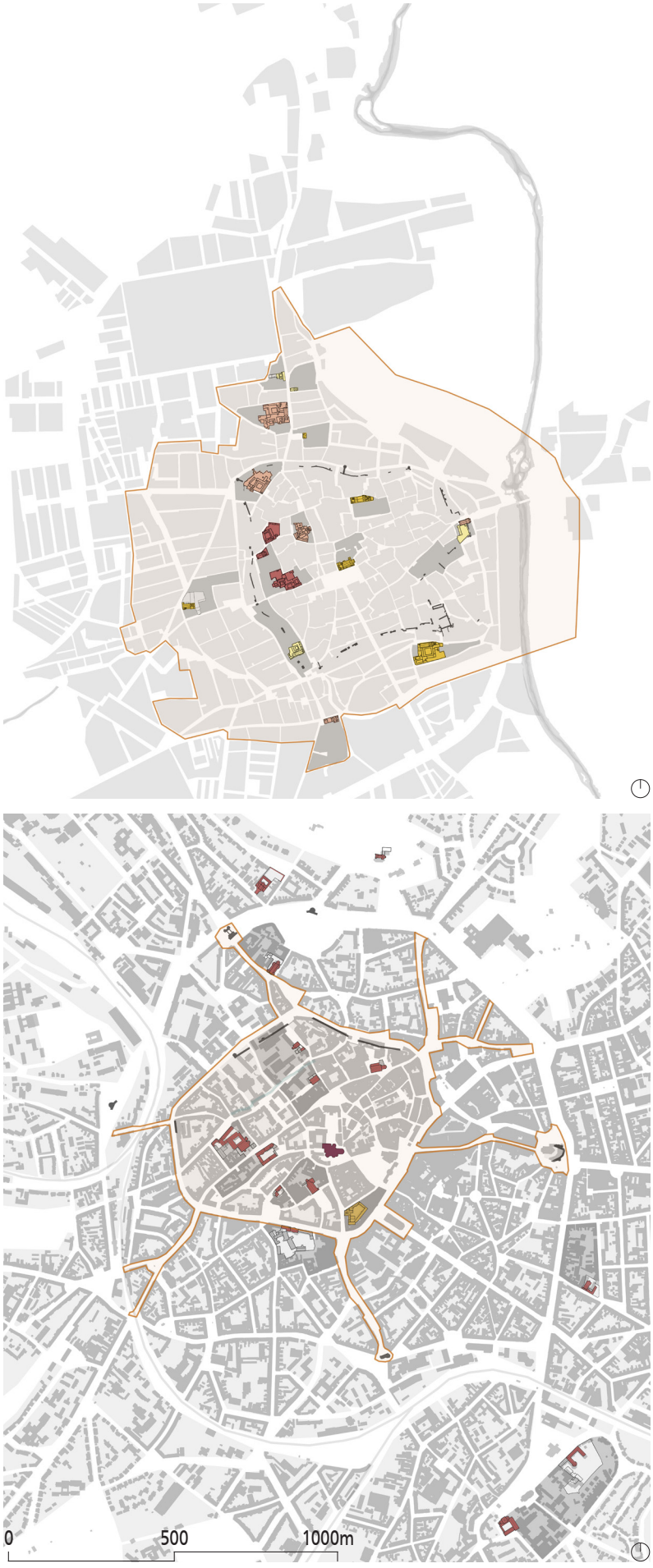


Figure 337. Monastic building protection in Écija (top) and Aachen (down). Same scale. Own elaboration.

Écija

- BIC
- A Protection
- B Protection
- C Protection
- Conjunto Histórico (Historic Site)

Aachen

- World Heritage
- Baudenkmal (Monument)
- Bodendenkmal (Archaeological area)
- Denkmalbereich (Historic Site)

6

CONCLUSIONS

6 CONCLUSIONS

The present research has generated conclusions that have been structured in five sections where different points are addressed. Firstly, the context, as well as the cities taken as case studies, Écija and Aachen, are discussed. The conclusions of the development of the research on these points are then elaborated. This is followed by the discussion of the results obtained in point 5, which are mainly based on the comparison between the two cities. The third section closes the thesis by returning to the first introductory chapter. In this chapter, the research questions are answered, and it is verified whether the stated objectives have been achieved and whether the methodology used has proved to be adequate. A fourth point is raised where the contributions and impact of this research are projected. These are related both to the urban planning and academic fields. Finally, a last section points out possible future research lines derived from the work presented in the doctoral thesis.

6.1 SYNTHESIS OF THE CASE STUDIES

The choice of two territorial areas for study was mainly supported by the data and parameters of monastic influence and average urban density. Within the European context, Andalusia and North Rhine-Westphalia are regions with different political, cultural, social and territorial contexts. The first one, Andalusia, is a strategic territory which is a determining factor for monastic foundation. For this study, a representative sample of cities has been selected, taking as a criterion the heritage protection category of *Conjunto Histórico*. Therefore, 77 cities have been taken. After the Christian conquest of the Muslim territory in the Iberian Peninsula during the 13th century, religious orders founded monasteries all over the territory. This period came to an end in the 18th century, the beginning of the French confiscations. 39 orders have been identified, among which the Franciscans and Dominicans have more than 30 and 50 foundations respectively. The overlapping of the layers of ecclesiastical provinces and the total number of monasteries and convents has established the criterion for the selection of Écija. After the bishop's capital, Seville, Écija stands out as the second in the territory under the headings of monastic city and medium-sized city.

Écija has been an important city since Roman times, being the capital of the *conventus* of the Roman province of Baetica. During the Middle Ages, it was an important centre of agricultural production, becoming part of the frontier between

the Christian and Muslim kingdoms. Its border position as an intermediate point between Seville and Cordoba enabled it to develop economically, becoming a centre of noble and clerical power. Later, in the Baroque period, it reached its peak of architectural and economic splendour. In fact, its population was 29,343 inhabitants in 1790, quite high for the time. However, its lack of industrialisation and new advances led to urban and population stagnation. From 29,343 inhabitants in 1790 it has grown to only 39,866 inhabitants in 2022.

As a reflection of its importance over the centuries, an urban monastic system was developed with a total of 21 monasteries and convents. In the geographical context, the city was positioned as the second in the Kingdom of Seville in the 16th century and the sixth in Andalusia in terms of number of monasteries and convents in the 18th century. In the monastic establishment in Écija, keys to its foundation have been detected linked to urban development, such as its position inside or outside the walls and its location on important roads and gateways. The monastic system was also relevant to new urban developments. In this sense, the appearance of monasteries motivated the urban extension into these areas, as these buildings occupied strategic urban positions. In contrast, the management of the city through the ecclesiastical division by parishes has not proved to be significant in urban construction.

Monastic toponymy has been highlighted by its permanence and high presence in the present-day city. Undoubtedly, this has represented a reflection of the strength of the union between monasticism and the city. In fact, one of the clearest immaterial links has been shown through Holy Week and monasticism. Religious processions were and continue to be of great importance in Écija, especially those linked to monastic buildings, which have generated important urban itineraries.

During the 19th and 20th centuries, the transformations produced in relation to the monastic plots were decisive. These marked both urban development through the creation of public spaces and new buildings. In the case of Écija, it was not new urban spaces but new facilities that were produced, reflecting the modernisation of the city. For example, buildings such as the market, the cinema, schools and old people's homes were built on former monastic plots. Furthermore, due to the confiscations, many of the monastic buildings in Écija were not preserved and are only known through written and graphic sources.

Historical iconography has played a fundamental role in studying the city at different stages of the past. The profile of the

urban monastic landscape created by towers and bell-glabes has also contributed to the construction of the monastic city. Its importance is not only historical, but this urban landscape has been maintained to the present day, constituting part of the identity of Écija.

This identity is mostly shaped by the monastic heritage, which maintains five active orders. The rest of the monastic buildings are used as religious facilities or for compatible uses such as education. Despite this, another large percentage of these buildings are in a state of abandonment, deterioration or even in danger of disappearing.

Heritage protection has become indispensable. By law, all buildings are protected by urban planning under the protection of the urban plan or as *Bien de Interés Cultural*, as well as the historic centre under the protection of *Conjunto Histórico.* However, it has been shown that in many cases, despite protection, it has not been possible to prevent the loss of part of the monastic heritage.

The second selected European area, North Rhine-Westphalia, is a strategically important territory for monastic foundation. A representative sample of cities has been selected for the study. Due to the lack of data to identify all cities protected as *Denkmalbereich*, another criterion has been chosen. Firstly, all cities with monastic foundations were located and then selected those with more than 2,000 inhabitants according to the first general census of 1816. This classification allows us to study 88 cities. Data on monastic foundations in the region have been obtained from the 7th century onward. The end of this period is the 18th century, the beginning of the French confiscations. 56 orders have been identified, where the Franciscans and Augustinians have more than 25 and 35 foundations respectively. The overlapping of the layers of ecclesiastical provinces and the total number of monasteries and convents has established the selection criterion of Aachen. After the bishop's capital of Cologne, Aachen ranks second in the territory under the headings of monastic city and medium-sized city.

The city of Aachen has been of outstanding territorial, political, social and economic importance throughout the timeline. During the Roman period it was conceived as a thermal city on the *limes germanicus*. In the Middle Ages it became the capital of the Frankish empire ruled by Charlemagne, when its cathedral was built. This made it the coronation place of the Holy Roman Emperors. In the modern age, it was the economic and political centre of the region. In the 19th century, industrialisation reached the city, increasing its population

growth exponentially and generating the appearance of new infrastructures and facilities, such as the railway and the university. From 23,413 inhabitants in 1790 it grew to a population of 249,070 in 2022.

Reflecting its importance, Aachen was one of the cities with the largest number of monasteries and convents in North Rhine-Westphalia. It had a total of 25 monastic buildings in the 18th century, making it the second city in the bishopric of Cologne in terms of the number of monasteries. The founding process of Aachen did not end in the 18th century, but was partially extended in the 19th century. However, this did not have a great impact, as practically all of the previous monastic buildings were confiscated.

The medieval monastic foundations followed a pattern of implantation that responded to strategic positions. They occupied sites within the first and second walls, trying to be close to the main gates and important roads. In addition, two urban monastic axes linked to the gates of the walls emerged. Indeed, one of them marked one of the major urban expansions outside the walls. The extension of this axis, together with the existence of a monastery in Burtscheid, generated one of the first urban developments of the 19th century. On the other hand, management through the parish division has not proved to be relevant in urban construction.

The monastic system in Aachen was characterised by a large number of facilities associated with the religious orders, not only of a religious point, but also of a sanitary and educational nature. In fact, thanks to the health care character of some orders, such as the Alexian order, they were excluded from the confiscations. On the other hand, other religious orders of an educational nature, such as the Ursulines, continued their educational work in the city until 2014.

Another aspect that shows the relationship between city and monastery has been found in its urban toponymy. This has a strong presence in streets, squares and buildings, maintaining the monastic traces even in the case of disappeared monasteries. There is no doubt that this is a clear proof of the importance of the monastic system in the city. However, despite this influence and a strong Catholic character in the city, marked by the cathedral itself, no religious cultural expressions of rites have been detected in the urban space. In this sense, it has not been possible to establish religious processions or festivities linked to the monastic buildings.

The confiscation of the monasteries led to major changes and transformations in the urban monastic system of Aachen. In

general, most of the monasteries disappeared, leaving only the church as a fragment. Many of the religious buildings were either renovated or even completely rebuilt at the beginning of the 20th century. Moreover, the modernisation of the city together with the confiscations led to the transformation of monastic spaces into public spaces. Squares, parks, streets and large avenues appeared in the city centre.

The monastic presence in historical iconography has been highly relevant. From the earliest 16th-century views, the cityscape of towers and church spires was maintained over time. However, this has now largely been lost as a result of the destruction caused by the Second World War. All of the monastic buildings were severely damaged, with almost all of their vertical elements such as towers and church spires being lost. Although some were rebuilt, this was not done in their entirety, with the church space often being recovered but not the tower. There has been a great loss of identity and historic urban landscape.

In the 21st century, the presence of monastic orders still continues in the city. The post-war reconstruction of the city's heritage made it possible to restore many of Aachen's monasteries and convents. Nevertheless, many of the monastic buildings or their churches have a different use than the religious one. There is a great variety and adaptability of these buildings in Aachen, with sanitary, cultural, office or archive use. As far as religious use is concerned, former monastic churches are now used for orthodox Christianity. They retain their religious use but within another branch of Christianity. In general, all buildings are reused except for one which remains unused and squatted since its abandonment by the religious community in 2005.

Finally, the monastic buildings in Aachen has a heritage protection. This protection is provided by regional and local legislation, but also worldwide. The cathedral is a Unesco World Heritage Site and in addition to the protection of the building itself, it has a buffer zone that affects the historic centre. The protection that comes from heritage legislation and municipal by-laws again covers the area of the centre, as well as all the city's monasteries and convents. It is a unique and equal protection for all without distinction of levels. Only one building is protected as an archaeological site instead of a monument, probably because of the characteristics of the building. Moreover, not all buildings are located in the historic centre, so that many of them are excluded from the protection of this area in Aachen.

6.2 DISCUSSION OF THE RESULTS

Fundamental to the understanding of the urban monastic development of Écija and Aachen is their contextualisation in the territory of Andalusia and North Rhine-Westphalia. When compared, these are very different from each other, both in terms of surface area and population in 2022. Andalusia, with 87,598 km2, is three times larger than the region of North Rhine-Westphalia. By contrast, North Rhine-Westphalia has 18 million inhabitants, which is twice as many as Andalusia. Twice as many people live in a territory three times smaller than the other.

These previous data are added to the number of towns analysed, 77 in Andalusia and 88 in North Rhine-Westphalia, as well as the number of monasteries and convents at the end of the 18th century, 552 and 432 monastic buildings respectively. Dividing the number of these religious buildings by the surface area gives a monastic ratio of 0.63 in Andalusia compared to 1.26 in North Rhine-Westphalia. This new comparison indicates that if we consider the territorial surface area, the German territory once again stands out over Andalusia, with twice as many foundations, due to its central position in Europe.

Monastic foundations were made by a wide variety of male and female orders. A total of 39 in Andalusia, 15 for women and 24 for men, and 56 in North Rhine-Westphalia, 29 for women and 27 for men, have been counted. The number of orders, as well as the number of buildings founded, have confirmed that the Franciscan and Poor Clare orders are the most abundant, as well as being common in both territories. On the other hand, the greater or lesser development of the other orders is due to the political and social situations specific to each territory. Finally, the foundations of the four most representative orders of the European city according to Le Goff have been placed. Their graphic representation has made it possible to characterise and select urban ensembles that respond to monastic and urban characteristics. Thus, after the bishop's capitals of Cologne and Seville, Aachen and Écija were ranked second in terms of the number of monasteries and similar characteristics.

The analysis of the urban monastic system between the cities of Écija and Aachen has generated interesting results. These have been both at a graphic level and at a quantitative level, in cartography and data collected. Firstly, these are two cities whose urban sizes in the 18th century were practically equal, Écija 0.82km2 and Aachen 1.01km2. From the 19th century onwards, the industrial and economic development of Aachen led to strong population and urban growth. The cities

began to drift apart in both parameters and are nowadays totally different from each other.

The number of monastic buildings is quite similar in the two selected case studies. There are 21 in Écija and 25 in Aachen. Furthermore, a similar monastic surface area of 0.82 and 1.01 has been counted, together with the calculation of a monastic index of 10% and 7.6% respectively. However, not all data have been equal, as is the case for the chronological lines. Due to the different socio-political, cultural and territorial contexts, notable changes in the processes and number of foundations have been observed. The phases, centuries, or periods of implantation are not coinciding. On the other hand, there is a similarity between religious orders in the two cities, although in Aachen there was a greater variety and difference compared to Écija.

The strategies of monastic implantation generated quite similar processes in both cities. As a result, a search by the religious orders for strategic urban positions has been detected. The percentages obtained show no more than a 10% difference between one city and the other. In the urban fabric, the creation of at least one monastic axis in each city has been highlighted. The positions within the city walls exceed 50%, and the proximity to the city gates is greater than 60%. Only 4% involve buildings on the outskirts of the city, but which are detached from the urban context.

On a territorial scale, the foundations in these cities turned out to be the prelude to others in different towns. The process of monastic expansion did not begin at a single point, but through the creation of new ones. Thus, in both cases, three levels of circumference have been located according to distances in kilometres. Even on a territorial scale, the foundational strategy has again proved to be very similar to each other.

The study of the buildings of the monastic system in Écija and Aachen has generated similarities between the data on the position of churches and open spaces. In both examples, in addition to a similar number of buildings, the data on corner position, orientation and atrium construction were once again very similar. For this purpose, these data have been obtained thanks to the elaboration of hypotheses of the original plot and position of churches. In the case of open spaces, in Écija it has not been possible to define those in disappeared buildings as insufficient data has been obtained. For this reason, the number contrasts at 12 monasteries for Écija, instead of 21, while in Aachen, all 25 monastic buildings are studied. On the other hand, the diversity of monasteries and convents

used as urban facilities is greater in Aachen than in Écija. In the latter, religious use predominates over educational and health uses in Aachen.

The urban changes of the 19th century have been a determining factor in understanding the transformation of the monastic system in the two case studies. The number of plots affected is very high, and again similar in the two cities, with 10 and 11 monastic plots in each case. As a consequence, the use of the plots changes completely in many cases. In Aachen, a greater diversity of new uses was found again than in Écija, where residential use prevails over former monastic plots.

Regarding the data on the transformed surface, the two cities have a similar starting point of originally monastic surface with 143,730 m2 in Écija and 155,340 m2 in Aachen. After a comparison with the current surface area, a monastic transformation index of 0.29 in Écija and 0.45 in Aachen was obtained. In contrast to the initial data, this time there are differences that indicate a greater transformation in the first city than in the second one.

The urban landscape generated by monasticism in the city is characteristic and representative in both cases. Historically, vertical elements such as towers, bell-glabes and church spires shaped the profile of both cities. The only difference detected was the permanence of this urban outline in Écija as opposed to Aachen. A large part of the monastic towers and church spires were lost during the bombing raids of the Second World War. Although most of the churches were rebuilt, this was not the case for many of the towers or church spires.

Monasticism is still present today. As a result, 5 orders have been found in Écija and 6 in Aachen. The monastic buildings without orders are dedicated to religious use or uses compatible with it. In Aachen, a greater variety of uses, such as cultural or sanitary among others, has again been detected. Finally, the total number of monastic buildings in 2023 in the two cities is 15, the same in both cases. However, there are differences regarding the monastic surface area data. In Aachen there is a total of 124,100m2, much larger than in Écija with 41,600m2.

Lastly, the two case studies have significant heritage protection for the monastic complexes at the urban level. Regardless of the legislative and town planning differences between the two contexts, the existence of protection of the historic urban part is the same in both cities. The figure of *Conjunto Histórico* in Spain and *Denkmalbereich* in North Rhine-Westphalia are used. Subsequently, all of the monastic buildings

are protected by one or other of the two heritage categories in each case. One of the main differences found in the comparison is the diversity of levels of protection in Écija compared to Aachen, where only one type of protection applies to all buildings. This makes it possible to homogenise heritage conservation, as well as to facilitate the understanding of urban protection. In Écija, on the other hand, up to four types of protection have been identified, making the process of protection even more complex.

6.3 CHECKING THE STARTING POINT

The introductory section at the beginning of the thesis has been elaborated following the scientific structure composed of research questions, objectives, methodology and the state of the art. In this sense, the questions that marked the beginning of the doctoral thesis established objectives that, jointly, have been answered and achieved along the work. In addition, the development of a methodology that had to be applied to the case studies, but also contrasted and verified throughout the development of the research, stands out.

The questions have been divided into a main question relating to the whole of the doctoral thesis and, from this, into other secondary questions that are linked to the subject of the study. In order to answer the main question, it is worth recalling its wording: How do the convents and monasteries influence the urban development of the medium-sized city? The answer is by no means simple, but rather complex, which has been argued throughout the research. However, it can be summarised in the affirmative that the monasteries had a decisive influence on urban development, building the city. Through this typology, the city creates new urban facilities and establishes new nodes of importance, which are used in future urban developments.

From the main question, multiple secondary questions appeared, related to the different topics and scales dealt with in the doctoral thesis. In general, all of them could be answered without encountering any difficulties beyond those of the research process itself. The question of whether monasticism is a European urban phenomenon or whether there are similarities between cities could not be contrasted at the urban scale. It has been possible to verify it on a continental scale by taking the cities of implantation of relevant religious orders such as Dominicans or Franciscans. On the other hand, an affirmative answer can be considered in relation to the similarities found in the case studies, although it would be

necessary to study more case studies in order to make a clear affirmation on the city scale.

On the urban scale it has been possible to answer each of the questions. The strong impact of the monastic buildings on the city, their trajectory, development and influence has been verified. In addition, it has been possible to analyse their functioning and the urban transformations generated by them. On the other hand, the current existence and importance of religious orders in the city has been confirmed. Nowadays, the monasteries and convents are part of the cultural heritage of the city, with heritage protection and are mostly used as urban facilities. Finally, regarding the question of their possibilities for a new use, these are partially raised in the comparison of the current state of the case studies, as well as in the conclusions. For this, it would be necessary to go deeper into this line of research and propose it as future research.

The objectives are divided into four main objectives, further subdivided into specific ones. In this sense, it can be affirmed that all the objectives have been fulfilled. It has been possible to determine the importance and transcendence of the monastic system on the urban scale thanks to the cities of Écija and Aachen. Relationships and comparisons have also been established between the two cities, related to the second objective. The third objective was to obtain adequate tools and foundations, which could be achieved thanks to the selected case studies. These had numerous sources of information and previous work carried out, which have been used as an essential basis for the preparation of the doctoral thesis. In the fourth of the main objectives, it has been possible to generate a specific methodology for the analysis of the urban monastic system, which can be extended to other case studies. In fact, this has been corroborated through two cities with similarities and differences between them, verifying the effectiveness of the method used. Finally, the specific objectives have been fulfilled during the course of the research, and it is generally commented that they have not presented any major problems or difficulties in their realisation.

As mentioned above, the methodology has been tested in Écija and Aachen and its suitability and usefulness have been proven. However, some relevant points should be highlighted during the implementation of the methodology. Firstly, it requires exhaustive and in-depth work on the information of the case studies. This has involved not only digital searches through internet, but also visits to local and provincial archives in different geographical locations, such as Spain and Germany. The selection of case studies so far apart creates the need for mobility to these locations, as well as the difficulty of

locating the information as it is scattered between different places. Furthermore, taking the European context and different countries implies the use of different languages. Apart from the use of English as the common language, the original documents in the archives have only been found in the local language, i.e. Spanish and German. On the other hand, the writing of the work in English implies the use of terms such as 'monastery' and 'convent', which differ from the Spanish and German terms used in the case studies. These differences are discussed in the introduction.

The methodology has proved to be effective as long as data and information can be obtained on monastic buildings both at the territorial and city level. Otherwise, it would be difficult to apply it, as it requires a previous existing base from which to extract this information. Although the methodology proposes the production and collection of new information, its basis is focused on the collection of data for subsequent analysis and comparison. Even though in some cases new data has been obtained, the study of a city completely from scratch, without any reference has not been the objective of the research. The absence of information would imply rethinking not only the methodology, but also the objectives and questions of the research, completely changing the whole structure. For this reason, the selection of case studies has proved to be a fundamental and important part of the research. These allow the validity of the methodology to be tested, as well as fulfilling the research objectives and answering the questions posed.

6.4 RESEARCH CONTRIBUTION AND IMPACT

During the development of the work, the importance of the subject, the object of study, its contribution and its impact have become clear. The monastic phenomenon is a fairly up-to-date phenomenon, highly present in our cities. Moreover, it has been the subject of numerous publications, research works and doctoral theses. One of the main contributions of this work has been the development of a methodology for studying the urban monastic system of the medium-sized city. In fact, it has been approached in a generic way, being applied to the cities of Écija and Aachen as case studies. This offers the advantage that it can be extracted and used for any other city. Thanks to these two examples, it has been possible to confirm the effectiveness and usefulness of the methodology on urban monasteries and convents. In this sense, another of the contributions and importance raised in this work is its urban planning approach. In contrast to other traditional visions such as architectural, artistic or religious, the

focus has been placed on the urban and territorial perspective, giving the research a different dimension.

In many of the above-mentioned approaches, monastic buildings are often studied as isolated elements with no connection beyond the surrounding environment. They are usually analysed individually without being inserted into the monastic system of which they are part. In this sense, the thesis has used the totality of this monastic system in order to understand not only the monasteries and convents as a whole, but also their relationship with the city as a unique system. In contrast, the individualised vision has often resulted in the selection of a single building over others. This possible omission does not only occur at the academic level, but also has repercussions on their inclusion as part of strategic plans or possible financial aid for their intervention. Therefore, many monasteries and convents can be found in a state of abandonment and ruin, despite the existence of heritage protection. Thus, since it is clear that the monasteries are part of a system, they are all taken into account equally. In addition, this strategy seeks to encourage dissemination actions for their recognition.

One of the most outstanding aspects to which this research has contributed has been the development and deepening of the monastic study of the cities of Écija and Aachen. This has been carried out on a territorial and urban scale. In the former, both cities have been placed in their respective contexts and their inter-urban relations have been studied. In the second, the production of numerous unpublished plans and data collection, together with the creation of tables and graphs, should be highlighted. This section is very representative as a large part of the research is based on the use of planimetry and graphic material. As it is unpublished, it is proposed that it can be used as a basis and foundation for future research. The depth of the study of the urban monastic system carried out in each city is also highlighted. Finally, the cities mentioned are placed not only on a local but also on an international territorial scale. The comparison between the two and their situation in the territorial context of Europe places them on a continental scale, highlighting their political, social and cultural role.

Interesting results have been obtained on the monastic buildings in both cities, in addition to their analysis and study. These show important keys to urban development, as well as revealing their strength as a typology of urban facilities. These buildings have built cities in the past and present, and will continue to do so in the future. It is by no means an obsolete typology. The monastic heritage continues to have a strong presence in the city, which should be used to contribute to

urban development. In this sense, it is a building type with a high potential to be reused in urban and territorial planning today.

6.5 FUTURE RESEARCH LINES

The study of the urban monastic system proposed in this doctoral thesis is a subject of great breadth and relevance nowadays. In this research, due to time and resource constraints, the scope has been limited to that developed throughout the work, as well as to the proposed case studies. This delimitation should not be confused with a completion of the study in its entirety, without the possibility of extending and prolonging it, quite the contrary. This research proposes other fields related to the object of study which it has not been possible to analyse in this work. For this reason, these are proposed as possible future lines of research, the aim of which is to continue the development of the work beyond the thesis itself through three large blocks.

The first of these proposes a line on the carrying out of new studies in other cities. Two case studies have been selected in the doctoral thesis, and this spectrum could be extended to other possible cities. As the monastic field covers the entire European context, it would be interesting to be able to analyse and compare new cases in other contexts in order to continue to corroborate that the monastic institution constitutes a common European phenomenon. One possibility is the selection of cities in other countries or characteristic regions. The development of the methodology in this thesis would allow it to be directly applied to other case studies, in addition to incorporating Écija and Aachen in the comparison. On the other hand, it is interesting to test the suitability of this method for small towns or large cities. So far, the cities analysed have been medium-sized cities.

The second section deals with cultural heritage from the territorial to the urban component. In this sense, from a territorial point of view, the possible construction of a system of monastic cities for its visit is proposed. This would allow the creation of new networks and nodes that would help to boost these cities economically, with the appearance of new infrastructures, services and facilities. In fact, this has occurred to a certain extent in the territorial scope of the Way of St. James, which is also considered a World Heritage site by UNESCO. On the other hand, from the urban point of view, monasticism can generate new visits and cultural itineraries within the city itself. The enhancement of the monastic system contributes to the construction of a social and urban identity that can also

be used for tourism purposes. Moreover, the attraction of tourism can be key in some cities. However, the trivialisation and mass touristification of urban centres must be avoided.

Finally, urban development and territorial planning constitute the subject of the third block proposed as a future research line. In territorial planning, the monastic city can be another key to be incorporated into the understanding of territorial structure. It can become a support for other territorial characteristics. Therefore, they can form part of the planning of communication infrastructures, sectorial economic planning, strategic planning for the development of cities, heritage and culture, plans for public facilities and services, and even the urban and rural environment. Their valuation as part of the whole system of cities can contribute to territorial cohesion and balance.

In urban planning, thanks to the urban monastic system, new development proposals can be put forward in the city. In this sense, urban areas where monastic buildings are located can be regenerated. This would require their insertion as part of special planning or the creation of master plans in line with the urban monastic system. On the other hand, their use as city facilities can promote heritage protection, prevent their abandonment and loss, and contribute in a sustainable way to urban development. As the thesis has shown, in the past, these constituted the urban facilities. Thus, through these uses, new possibilities are sought, as is currently the case with cultural, health or school uses. In fact, in Aachen, the reuse of monastic buildings for new compatible uses has been detected as a common practice.

6

ABSCHLÜSSE

6 ABSCHLÜSSE

Die vorliegende Untersuchung hat zu Schlussfolgerungen geführt, die in fünf Abschnitte gegliedert sind. Zunächst wird der Kontext sowie die als Fallstudien herangezogenen Städte Écija und Aachen erörtert. Anschließend werden die Schlussfolgerungen aus der Entwicklung der Forschung zu diesen Punkten dargelegt. Es folgt die Diskussion der in Punkt 5 erzielten Ergebnisse, die sich hauptsächlich auf den Vergleich zwischen den beiden Städten stützen. Der dritte Abschnitt schließt die Arbeit ab, indem er zum ersten einleitenden Kapitel zurückkehrt. In diesem Kapitel werden die Forschungsfragen beantwortet und es wird überprüft, ob die gesetzten Ziele erreicht wurden und ob sich die verwendete Methodik als angemessen erwiesen hat. In einem vierten Punkt werden die Beiträge und Auswirkungen dieser Forschungsarbeit projiziert. Diese beziehen sich sowohl auf den Bereich der Stadtplanung als auch auf den akademischen Bereich. Schließlich werden in einem letzten Abschnitt mögliche zukünftige Forschungslinien aufgezeigt, die sich aus der in der Dissertation vorgestellten Arbeit ergeben.

6.1 ZUSAMMENFASSUNG DER FALLSTUDIEN

Die Wahl von zwei Untersuchungsgebieten wurde hauptsächlich durch die Daten und Parameter des klösterlichen Einflusses und der durchschnittlichen städtischen Dichte unterstützt. Im europäischen Kontext sind Andalusien und Nordrhein-Westfalen Gebiete mit unterschiedlichen politischen, kulturellen, sozialen und territorialen Kontexten. Andalusien ist ein strategisches Gebiet, das ein entscheidender Faktor für Klostergründungen ist. Für diese Studie wurde eine repräsentative Stichprobe von Städten ausgewählt, wobei als Kriterium der Schutz des historischen Erbes herangezogen wurde. Daher wurden 77 Städte ausgewählt. Nach der christlichen Eroberung der muslimischen Gebiete auf der Iberischen Halbinsel im 13. Jahrhundert gründeten religiöse Orden überall auf dem Gebiet Klöster. Diese Periode endete im 18. Jahrhundert mit dem Beginn der französischen Beschlagnahmungen. Es wurden 39 Orden identifiziert, von denen die Franziskaner und die Dominikaner mehr als 30 bzw. 50 Gründungen aufweisen. Die Überschneidung der Ebenen der kirchlichen Provinzen und die Gesamtzahl der Klöster waren das Kriterium für die Auswahl von Écija. Nach der Bischofsstadt Sevilla ist Écija die zweitgrößte Stadt in der Region in den Kategorien Klosterstadt und mittelgroße Stadt.

Écija ist seit der Römerzeit eine bedeutende Stadt, denn sie war die Hauptstadt des *Conventus* der römischen Provinz Baetica. Im Mittelalter war sie ein wichtiges Zentrum der landwirtschaftlichen Produktion und wurde Teil der Grenze zwis-

chen den christlichen und muslimischen Königreichen. Die Grenzlage zwischen Sevilla und Córdoba ermöglichte es der Stadt, sich wirtschaftlich zu entwickeln und ein Zentrum adliger und kirchlicher Macht zu werden. Während des Barocks erlebte die Stadt ihre größte architektonische und wirtschaftliche Blütezeit. Im Jahr 1790 zählte die Stadt 29.343 Einwohner, was für die damalige Zeit recht hoch war. Das Ausbleiben der Industrialisierung und neuer Errungenschaften führte jedoch zu einer Stagnation der Stadt und ihrer Bevölkerung. Von 29.343 Einwohnern im Jahr 1790 wuchs die Stadt auf nur 39.866 Einwohner im Jahr 2022.

Aufgrund ihrer Bedeutung entwickelte sich im Laufe der Jahrhunderte ein städtisches Klostersystem mit insgesamt 21 Klöstern. Écija war im 17. Jahrhundert die zweitgrößte Stadt des Königreichs Sevilla und im 18. Jahrhundert die sechstgrößte Stadt Andalusiens, was die Anzahl der Klöster angeht. In den klösterischen Einrichtung in Écija wurden Schlüssel zu ihrer Gründung in Verbindung mit der städtischen Entwicklung entdeckt, wie z. B. ihre Lage innerhalb oder außerhalb der Stadtmauern und ihre Lage an wichtigen Straßen und Toren. Das Klostersystem war auch für neue städtische Entwicklungen von Bedeutung. In diesem Sinne motivierte das Auftreten von Klöstern die städtische Ausdehnung in diese Gebiete, da diese Gebäude strategische städtische Positionen einnahmen. Im Gegensatz dazu hat sich die Verbreitung der Stadt durch die kirchliche Aufteilung in Pfarreien nicht als bedeutsam für den Städtebau erwiesen.

Die klösterliche Toponymie zeichnet sich durch ihre Beständigkeit und hohe Präsenz in der heutigen Stadt aus. Darin spiegelt sich zweifelsohne die Stärke der Verbindung zwischen dem Mönchtum und der Stadt wieder. Eine der deutlichsten immateriellen Verbindungen wurde durch die Karwoche und das Mönchtum hergestellt. Religiöse Prozessionen waren und sind in Écija von großer Bedeutung, insbesondere im Zusammenhang mit den Klostergebäuden, die wichtige städtische Wege geschaffen haben.

Im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert waren die Veränderungen, die im Zusammenhang mit den Klostergrundstücken entstanden, entscheidend. Sie prägten sowohl die Stadtentwicklung durch die Schaffung öffentlicher Räume als auch durch neue Gebäude. Im Fall von Écija wurden keine neuen städtischen Räume sondern neue Einrichtungen geschaffen, die die Modernisierung der Stadt widerspiegeln. So wurden beispielsweise Gebäude wie der Markt, das Kino, Schulen und Altenheime auf den ehemaligen Klostergrundstücken errichtet. Außerdem sind viele der Klostergebäude in Écija aufgrund der Beschlagnahmungen nicht erhalten geblieben. Daher sind diese

nur aus schriftlichen Quellen und Darstellungen bekannt.
Die historische Ikonographie hat eine grundlegende Rolle bei der Untersuchung der Stadt in verschiedenen Phasen der Vergangenheit gespielt. Das Profil der städtischen Klosterlandschaft, das durch Türme und Glockenstühle geschaffen wurde, hat ebenfalls zum Aufbau der Klosterstadt beigetragen. Diese urbane Landschaft ist nicht nur von historischer Bedeutung, sondern hat sich auch bis heute erhalten und ist ein Teil der Identität von Écija.

Diese Identität wird vor allem durch das klösterliche Erbe geprägt, das sich aus fünf aktiven Orden zusammensetzt. Der Rest der Klostergebäude werden als religiöse Einrichtungen oder für kompatible Zwecke wie Bildung genutzt. Dennoch befindet sich ein weiterer großer Teil dieser Gebäude in einem Zustand der Verlassenheit, des Verfalls oder ist sogar vom Verschwinden bedroht.

Der Schutz des kulturellen Erbes ist unverzichtbar geworden. Per Gesetz sind alle Gebäude durch die Stadtplanung unter dem Schutz des Stadtplans oder als *Bien de Interés Cultural* geschützt, ebenso wie das historische Zentrum. Dieses steht unter dem Schutz des *Conjunto Histórico*. Es hat sich jedoch gezeigt, dass es in vielen Fällen trotz des Schutzes nicht möglich war, den Verlust eines Teils des klösterlichen Erbes zu verhindern.

Das zweite ausgewählte europäische Gebiet, Nordrhein-Westfalen, ist ein strategisch wichtiges Gebiet für Klostergründungen. Für die Studie wurde eine repräsentative Stichprobe von Städten ausgewählt. Da es nicht möglich ist, alle Städte, die unter Denkmalbereich stehen, zu berücksichtigen, wurde ein anderes Kriterium gewählt. Zunächst wurden alle Städte mit Klostergründungen ermittelt und dann diejenigen mit mehr als 2.000 Einwohnern nach der ersten allgemeinen Volkszählung von 1816 ausgewählt. Diese Klassifizierung ermöglicht es uns, 88 Städte zu untersuchen. Die Daten über Klostergründungen in der Region reichen vom 7. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert, wobei der Beginn der französischen Beschlagnahmungen das Ende dieses Zeitraums markiert. Es wurden 56 Orden ermittelt, wobei die Franziskaner und Augustiner mehr als 25 bzw. 35 Gründungen aufweisen. Die Überschneidung der kirchlichen Provinzen und die Gesamtzahl der Klöster haben Aachen als Auswahlkriterium festgelegt. Nach der Bischofshauptstadt Köln ist Aachen die zweitgrößte Stadt im Territorium in den Kategorien “Klosterstadt” und “mittelgroße Stadt”.

Die Stadt Aachen ist seit jeher von herausragender territorialer, politischer, sozialer und wirtschaftlicher Bedeutung. In

der Römerzeit war sie als Thermenstadt am *Limes Germanicus* konzipiert. Im Mittelalter wurde sie zur Hauptstadt des fränkischen Reiches unter Karl dem Großen, als der Dom gebaut wurde. Dies machte sie zum Krönungsort der Heiligen Römischen Kaiser. In der Neuzeit war die Stadt das wirtschaftliche und politische Zentrum der Region. Im 19. Jahrhundert erreichte die Industrialisierung die Stadt, was zu einem exponentiellen Bevölkerungswachstum führte und neue Infrastrukturen und Einrichtungen wie die Eisenbahn und die Universität hervorbrachte. Von 23.413 Einwohnern im Jahr 1790 wuchs sie auf 249.070 Einwohner im Jahr 2022.

Entsprechend seiner Bedeutung war Aachen eine der Städte mit den meisten Klöstern in Nordrhein-Westfalen. Mit insgesamt 25 Klostergebäuden war sie im 18. Jahrhundert die zweitgrößte Stadt im Bistum Köln, was die Anzahl der Klöster betrifft. Der Gründungsprozess Aachens endete nicht im 18. Jahrhundert, sondern wurde im 19. Jahrhundert teilweise erweitert. Dies hatte jedoch keine großen Auswirkungen, da praktisch alle früheren Klostergebäude beschlagnahmt wurden.

Die mittelalterlichen Klostergründungen folgten einem Muster der Ansiedlung, das sich an strategischen Positionen orientierte. Sie nahmen Standorte innerhalb der ersten und zweiten Stadtmauer ein und versuchten, in der Nähe der Haupttore und wichtiger Straßen zu liegen. Darüber hinaus entstanden zwei städtische Klosterachsen, die mit den Toren der Stadtmauern verbunden waren. Eine von ihnen markierte sogar eine der größten Stadterweiterungen außerhalb der Mauern. Die Ausdehnung dieser Achse in Verbindung mit der Existenz eines Klosters in Burtscheid führte zu einer der ersten städtischen Entwicklungen des 19. Jahrhunderts. Andererseits hat sich die Verwaltung durch die Teilung der Pfarrei nicht als relevant für den Städtebau erwiesen.

Das klösterliche System in Aachen zeichnete sich durch eine Vielzahl von Einrichtungen aus, die mit den Orden verbunden waren, und zwar nicht nur religiöser, sondern auch sanitärer und pädagogischer Natur. Einige Orden, wie z. B. der Alexianer-Orden, waren aufgrund ihres Engagements im Gesundheitsbereich von den Beschlagnahmungen ausgenommen. Andere religiöse Orden mit erzieherischem Schwerpunkt, wie die Ursulinen, setzten dagegen ihre erzieherische Arbeit in der Stadt bis 2014 fort.

Ein weiterer Aspekt, der die Beziehung zwischen Stadt und Kloster zeigt, ist in der städtischen Toponymie zu finden. Diese ist in Straßen, Plätzen und Gebäuden sehr präsent und

bewahrt die klösterlichen Spuren selbst im Fall von verschwundenen Klöstern. Dies ist zweifelsohne ein klarer Beweis für die Bedeutung des Klostersystems in der Stadt. Trotz dieses Einflusses und des starken katholischen Charakters der Stadt, der durch die Kathedrale selbst gekennzeichnet ist, konnten jedoch keine religiösen kulturellen Ausdrucksformen oder Riten im städtischen Raum festgestellt werden. In diesem Sinne war es nicht möglich, religiöse Prozessionen oder Feste im Zusammenhang mit den Klostergebäuden festzustellen.

Die Beschlagnahme der Klöster führte zu großen Veränderungen und Umgestaltungen im städtischen Klostersystem von Aachen. Im Allgemeinen verschwanden die meisten Klöster und hinterließen nur noch die Kirchen als Fragmente. Darüber hinaus wurden viele der Klostergebäude zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts entweder renoviert oder sogar vollständig neu gebaut. Außerdem führte die Modernisierung der Stadt zusammen mit den Beschlagnahmungen zur Umwandlung der klösterlichen Räume in öffentliche Räume. Im Stadtzentrum entstanden Plätze, Parks, Straßen und große Alleen.

Die Präsenz der Klöster in der historischen Ikonographie spielte eine wichtige Rolle. Von den frühesten Ansichten aus dem 16. Jahrhundert an wurde das Stadtbild mit seinen Türmen und Kirchtürmen im Laufe der Zeit beibehalten. Dieses Bild ist jedoch durch die Zerstörungen des Zweiten Weltkriegs weitgehend verloren gegangen. Alle Klostergebäude wurden schwer beschädigt, wobei fast alle vertikalen Elemente wie Türme und Kirchturmspitzen verloren gingen. Einige wurden zwar wiederaufgebaut, aber nicht in ihrer Gesamtheit, da oft nur der Kirchenraum, nicht aber der Turm wiederhergestellt wurde. Es kam zu einem großen Verlust an Identität und historischem Stadtbild.

Im 21. Jahrhundert ist die klösterliche Präsenz der Mönchsorden in der Stadt noch immer präsent. Der Wiederaufbau des städtischen Erbes in der Nachkriegszeit ermöglichte die Restaurierung vieler Aachener Klöster. Jedoch werden viele Kloster oder deren Kirchen heutzutage nicht mehr für religiöse Anlässe genutzt. Es gibt eine große Vielfalt und Anpassungsfähigkeit dieser Gebäude in Aachen, mit sanitärer, kultureller, Büro- oder Archivnutzung. Was die religiöse Nutzung anbelangt, so werden die ehemaligen Klosterkirchen heute für das orthodoxe Christentum genutzt. Sie behalten ihre religiöse Nutzung, aber innerhalb eines anderen Zweiges des Christentums. Im Allgemeinen werden alle Gebäude wieder genutzt, mit Ausnahme eines Gebäudes, das seit seiner Aufgabe durch die Ordensgemeinschaft im Jahr 2005 ungenutzt und besetzt ist.

Schließlich steht die klösterliche Präsenz in Aachen unter Denkmalschutz. Dieser Schutz wird durch regionale und lokale Gesetze, aber auch weltweit gewährt. Der Dom gehört zum UNESCO-Welterbe und ist nicht nur durch das Gebäude selbst geschützt, sondern auch durch eine *Bufferzone*, die das historische Zentrum betrifft. Der Schutz, der sich aus der Gesetzgebung zum Kulturerbe und den städtischen Verordnungen ergibt, erstreckt sich ebenfalls auf alle Klöster der Stadt sowie auf den Bereich des Zentrums. Es handelt sich um einen einzigartigen und gleichen Schutz für alle, ohne Unterscheidung der Ebenen. Nur ein Gebäude ist nicht als Denkmal, sondern als archäologische Stätte geschützt, was wahrscheinlich auf die Merkmale des Gebäudes zurückzuführen ist. Außerdem befinden sich nicht alle Gebäude im historischen Zentrum, so dass viele von ihnen vom Schutz dieses Bereichs in Aachen ausgeschlossen sind.

6.2 DISKUSSION DER ERGEBNISSE

Grundlegend für das Verständnis der klösterlichen Stadtentwicklung von Écija und Aachen ist ihre Einordnung in den Kontext der Regionen Andalusien und Nordrhein-Westfalen. Diese unterscheiden sich sowohl in Bezug auf die Fläche als auch auf die Einwohnerzahl im Jahr 2022 stark voneinander. Andalusien ist mit 87.598 km2 dreimal so groß wie die Region Nordrhein-Westfalen. Dagegen hat Nordrhein-Westfalen mit 18 Millionen Einwohnern doppelt so viele Einwohner wie Andalusien. Doppelt so viele Menschen leben in einem Gebiet, das dreimal kleiner ist als das andere.

Zu diesen Daten kommen die Zahl der untersuchten Städte (77 in Andalusien und 88 in Nordrhein-Westfalen) sowie die Zahl der Klöster am Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts (552 bzw. 432 Klostergebäude) hinzu. Teilt man die Zahl dieser religiösen Gebäude durch die Fläche, so ergibt sich ein Verhältnis von 0,63 in Andalusien gegenüber 1,26 in Nordrhein-Westfalen. Dieser neue Vergleich zeigt, dass das deutsche Territorium, wenn man die territoriale Fläche betrachtet, mit doppelt so vielen Gründungen dem Gebiet Andalusien weit voraus ist. Dies ist vor allem auf seine zentrale Lage in Europa zurückzuführen.

Klosterstiftungen wurden von einer Vielzahl von Männer- und Frauenorden vorgenommen. Insgesamt wurden 39 in Andalusien, 15 für Frauen und 24 für Männer, und 56 in Nordrhein-Westfalen, 29 für Frauen und 27 für Männer, gezählt. Die Anzahl der Orden und der gegründeten Gebäude bestätigt, dass der Franziskaner- und der Klarissenorden am häufigs-

ten vertreten und verbreitet sind. Die mehr oder weniger ausgeprägte Entwicklung der anderen Orden ist hingegen auf die politischen und sozialen Gegebenheiten in den einzelnen Gebieten zurückzuführen. Schließlich wurden die Grundlagen der vier repräsentativsten Ordnungen der europäischen Stadt nach Le Goff gelegt. Ihre grafische Darstellung ermöglichte es, städtische Ensembles zu charakterisieren und auszuwählen, die den klösterischen und städtischen Merkmalen entsprechen. So wurden nach den Bischofshauptstädten Köln und Sevilla die Städte Aachen und Écija hinsichtlich der Anzahl der Klöster und ähnlicher Merkmale an die zweite Stelle gesetzt.
Die Analyse des städtischen Klostersystems zwischen den Städten Écija und Aachen hat interessante Ergebnisse erbracht. Diese wurden sowohl auf graphischer als auch auf quantitativer Ebene, in der Kartographie und in den gesammelten Daten erzielt. Erstens handelt es sich um zwei Städte, deren Stadtgröße im 18. Jahrhundert praktisch gleich war: Écija 0,82 km2 und Aachen 1,01 km2. Ab dem 19. Jahrhundert führte die industrielle und wirtschaftliche Entwicklung Aachens zu einem starken Bevölkerungs- und Stadtwachstum. Die Städte begannen, sich in beiden Parametern auseinander zu entwickeln und sind heute völlig verschieden voneinander.

Die Zahl der Klostergebäude ist in den beiden ausgewählten Fallstudien recht ähnlich. Es gibt 21 in Écija und 25 in Aachen. Außerdem wurde eine ähnliche Klosterfläche von 0,82 bzw. 1,01 gezählt und ein Klosterindex von 10 % bzw. 7,6 % errechnet. Allerdings sind nicht alle Daten gleich, was auch für die chronologischen Linien gilt. Aufgrund der unterschiedlichen sozio-politischen, kulturellen und territorialen Kontexte wurden bemerkenswerte Veränderungen bei den Prozessen und der Anzahl der Gründungen beobachtet. Die Phasen, Jahrhunderte oder Zeiträume der Ansiedlung sind nicht deckungsgleich. Andererseits gibt es eine Ähnlichkeit zwischen den religiösen Orden in den beiden Städten, obwohl es in Aachen eine größere Vielfalt und Unterschiede im Vergleich zu Écija gab.

Die Strategien der klösterlichen Einpflanzung führten in beiden Städten zu ganz ähnlichen Prozessen. Infolgedessen wurde eine Suche nach strategischen städtischen Positionen durch die religiösen Orden festgestellt. Die ermittelten Prozentsätze zeigen nicht mehr als einen Unterschied von 10 % zwischen den beiden Städten auf. Im Stadtgefüge wurde in jeder Stadt mindestens eine klösterliche Achse geschaffen. Die Lage innerhalb der Stadtmauern liegt bei über 50 %, die Nähe zu den Stadttoren bei über 60 %. Nur 4% betreffen Gebäude am Rande der Stadt, die jedoch aus dem städtischen Kontext herausgelöst sind.

In territorialer Hinsicht erwiesen sich die Gründungen in diesen Städten als Auftakt für weitere Gründungen in anderen Städten. Der Prozess der klösterlichen Expansion begann nicht an einem einzigen Punkt, sondern durch die Schaffung neuer Niederlassungen. So wurden in beiden Fällen drei Umfangsebenen nach Entfernungen in Kilometern festgelegt. Auch auf territorialer Ebene hat sich die Gründungsstrategie als sehr ähnlich erwiesen.

Die Untersuchung der Gebäude des Klostersystems in Écija und Aachen hat Ähnlichkeiten zwischen den Angaben zur Lage der Kirchen und der Freiflächen ergeben. In beiden Beispielen waren, abgesehen von einer ähnlichen Anzahl von Gebäuden, die Daten zur Eckposition, zur Ausrichtung und zur Atriumkonstruktion wiederum sehr ähnlich. Zu diesem Zweck wurden diese Daten dank der Ausarbeitung von Hypothesen über die ursprüngliche Parzelle und die Lage der Kirchen gewonnen. Was die Freiflächen betrifft, so war es in Écija nicht möglich, die Freiflächen der verschwundenen Gebäude zu bestimmen, da nicht genügend Daten zur Verfügung standen. Aus diesem Grund liegt die Zahl der Klöster in Écija bei 12 statt bei 21, während in Aachen alle 25 Klosterbauten untersucht wurden. Andererseits ist die Vielfalt der als städtische Einrichtungen genutzten Klöster in Aachen größer als die in Écija. In Écija überwiegt die religiöse Nutzung gegenüber der Nutzung im Bildungs- und Gesundheitswesen in Aachen.

Die städtebaulichen Veränderungen des 19. Jahrhunderts waren ein entscheidender Faktor für das Verständnis des Wandels des Klostersystems in den beiden Fallstudien. Die Zahl der betroffenen Grundstücke ist sehr hoch und in beiden Städten mit jeweils 10 und 11 Klostergrundstücken ähnlich. Dies hat zur Folge, dass sich die Nutzung der Grundstücke in vielen Fällen völlig verändert. In Aachen wurde wiederum eine größere Vielfalt an neuen Nutzungen festgestellt als in Écija, wo die Wohnnutzung gegenüber den ehemaligen Klostergrundstücken überwiegt.

Was die Daten zur umgewandelten Fläche betrifft, so haben die beiden Städte einen ähnlichen Ausgangspunkt im Hinblick auf die ursprüngliche Klosterfläche mit 143.730 m2 in Écija und 155.340 m2 in Aachen. Nach einem Vergleich mit der aktuellen Fläche ergab sich ein klösterlicher Umwandlungsindex von 0,29 in Écija und 0,45 in Aachen. Im Gegensatz zu den ursprünglichen Daten gibt es diesmal Unterschiede, die auf eine stärkere Umwandlung in der ersten Stadt hinweisen als in der zweiten.

Die durch das Mönchtum in der Stadt entstandene Stadtlandschaft ist in beiden Fällen charakteristisch und repräsen-

tativ. Historisch gesehen prägten vertikale Elemente wie Türme, Glockenstühle und Kirchtürme das Profil beider Städte. Der einzige Unterschied, der festgestellt wurde, war die Beständigkeit dieses Stadtbildes in Écija im Gegensatz zu Aachen. Ein großer Teil der Klostertürme und Kirchtürme ging bei den Bombenangriffen des Zweiten Weltkriegs verloren. Obwohl die meisten Kirchen wieder aufgebaut wurden, galt dies nicht für viele der Türme und Kirchtürme.

Das Mönchtum ist auch heute noch präsent. So wurden 5 Orden in Écija und 6 in Aachen gefunden. Die Klostergebäude ohne Orden sind religiösen oder damit kompatiblen Zwecken gewidmet. In Aachen wurde wiederum eine größere Vielfalt von Nutzungen festgestellt, unter anderem kulturelle oder sanitäre. Schließlich beträgt die Gesamtzahl der Klostergebäude im Jahr 2023 in beiden Städten 15. Somit weisen beide Städte die selbe Anzahl an Klöster auf. Allerdings gibt es Unterschiede bei den Angaben zur Klosterfläche. In Aachen sind es insgesamt 124.100 m2, viel mehr als in Écija mit 41.600 m2.

Schließlich gibt es in beiden Fallstudien einen bedeutenden Denkmalschutz für die Klosterkomplexe auf städtischer Ebene. Ungeachtet der rechtlichen und städtebaulichen Unterschiede zwischen den beiden Kontexten ist der Schutz des historischen Stadtkerns in beiden Städten ähnlich. Es werden die Zahlen des *Conjunto Histórico* in Spanien und des Denkmalbereichs in Nordrhein-Westfalen verwendet. Anschließend werden alle Klostergebäude durch die eine oder andere der beiden Denkmalkategorien geschützt. Einer der Hauptunterschiede bei diesem Vergleich ist die Vielfalt der Schutzniveaus in Écija im Vergleich zu Aachen, wo nur eine Art von Schutz für alle Gebäude gilt. Dies ermöglicht eine Homogenisierung des Denkmalschutzes und erleichtert das Verständnis des städtischen Schutzes. In Écija hingegen wurden bis zu vier Schutzarten ermittelt, was den Schutzprozess noch schwieriger und komplexer macht.

6.3 ÜBERPRÜFUNG DES STARTPUNKTS

Der einleitende Abschnitt zu Beginn der Dissertation wurde in Anlehnung an die wissenschaftliche Struktur erarbeitet, die aus Forschungsfragen, Zielen, Methodik und dem Stand der Technik besteht. In diesem Sinne wurden zu Beginn der Dissertation Fragen formuliert, die Ziele festlegten, welche im Laufe der Arbeit gemeinsam beantwortet und erreicht wurden. Darüber hinaus sticht die Entwicklung einer Methodik hervor, die auf die Fallstudien angewandt wurde, aber auch kontrastiert und während der Forschungsentwicklung überprüft werden musste.

Die Fragen wurden in eine Hauptfrage, die sich auf die gesamte Dissertation bezieht, und in weitere Nebenfragen, die mit dem Thema der Studie zusammenhängen, unterteilt. Für die Beantwortung der Hauptfrage lohnt es sich, ihren Wortlaut in Erinnerung zu rufen: Wie beeinflussen die Klöster und die Stadtentwicklung der Mittelstadt? Die Antwort ist keineswegs einfach, sondern eher komplex, wie im Laufe der Untersuchung dargelegt wurde. Es kann jedoch zusammenfassend bejaht werden, dass die Klöster einen entscheidenden Einfluss auf die Stadtentwicklung hatten, indem sie die Stadt mitprägten. Durch diese Interaktion entstehen neue städtische Einrichtungen und es werden wichtige Knotenpunkte etabliert, die für die zukünftige Stadtentwicklung von Bedeutung sind. Ausgehend von der Hauptfrage ergaben sich mehrere Nebenfragen, die sich auf die verschiedenen in der Dissertation behandelten Themen und Skalen bezogen. Im Allgemeinen konnten alle diese Fragen beantwortet werden, ohne auf Schwierigkeiten zu stoßen, die über die des Forschungsprozesses selbst hinausgingen. Die Frage, ob das Mönchtum ein europäisches Stadtphänomen ist oder ob es Gemeinsamkeiten zwischen den Städten gibt, konnte auf städtischer Ebene nicht kontrastiert werden. Es war möglich, dies auf kontinentaler Ebene zu überprüfen, indem man die Niederlassungsstädte einschlägiger Orden wie der Dominikaner oder der Franziskaner heranzog. Andererseits kann eine positive Antwort in Bezug auf die in den Fallstudien gefundenen Ähnlichkeiten in Betracht gezogen werden, obwohl es notwendig wäre, mehr Fallstudien zu untersuchen, um eine klare Aussage auf Stadtebene zu treffen.

Auf städtischer Ebene konnten alle Fragen beantwortet werden. Der starke Einfluss der Klostergebäude auf die Stadt, ihr Werdegang, ihre Entwicklung und ihr Einfluss konnten nachgewiesen werden. Darüber hinaus wurden ihre Funktionsweise und die durch sie hervorgerufenen städtischen Veränderungen analysiert. Andererseits wurde die aktuelle Existenz und Bedeutung der religiösen Orden in der Stadt bestätigt. Heutzutage sind die Klöster Teil des kulturellen Erbes der Stadt, stehen unter Denkmalschutz und werden meist als städtische Einrichtungen genutzt. Was schließlich die Frage nach ihren Möglichkeiten für eine neue Nutzung betrifft, so werden diese teilweise im Vergleich des jetzigen Zustandes der Fallstudien sowie in den Schlussfolgerungen angesprochen. Hierzu wäre es notwendig, diesen Forschungszweig zu vertiefen und als zukünftige Forschung vorzuschlagen.

Die Ziele sind in vier Hauptziele unterteilt, die wiederum in spezifische Ziele untergliedert sind. In diesem Sinne kann man sagen, dass alle Ziele erfüllt wurden. Es war möglich, die Bedeutung und die Tragweite des Klostersystems auf städtischer

Ebene anhand der Städte Écija und Aachen zu bestimmen. Im Zusammenhang mit dem zweiten Ziel wurden auch Beziehungen und Vergleiche zwischen den beiden Städten hergestellt. Das dritte Ziel bestand darin, angemessene Instrumente und Grundlagen zu erhalten, was dank der ausgewählten Fallstudien erreicht werden konnte. Diese verfügten über zahlreiche Informationsquellen und bereits durchgeführte Arbeiten, die als wesentliche Grundlage für die Erstellung der Doktorarbeit verwendet wurden.

Im Rahmen des vierten Hauptziels war es möglich, eine spezifische Methodik für die Analyse des städtischen Klostersystems zu entwickeln, die auf andere Fallstudien ausgeweitet werden kann. Tatsächlich wurde dies anhand von zwei Städten mit Ähnlichkeiten und Unterschieden zwischen ihnen bestätigt, was die Wirksamkeit der verwendeten Methode hervorhebt. Schließlich wurden die spezifischen Ziele im Laufe der Forschung erfüllt, und es wird allgemein kommentiert, dass sie keine größeren Probleme oder Schwierigkeiten bei ihrer Verwirklichung aufgeworfen haben.

Wie bereits erwähnt, wurde die Methodik in Écija und Aachen getestet und ihre Eignung und Nützlichkeit nachgewiesen. Bei der Anwendung der Methodik sollten jedoch einige wichtige Punkte hervorgehoben werden. Erstens erfordert sie eine besonders ausführliche und gründliche Aufarbeitung der Informationen aus den Fallstudien. Dazu gehören nicht nur digitale Recherchen im Internet, sondern auch Besuche in Kommunal- und Provinzarchiven an verschiedenen geografischen Standorten, wie etwa in Spanien und Deutschland.

Die Auswahl von Fallstudien, die so weit voneinander entfernt sind, macht Mobilität zu diesen Orten erforderlich und erschwert das Auffinden der Informationen, da sie über verschiedene Orte verstreut sind. Die Betrachtung des europäischen Kontexts und der verschiedenen Länder impliziert außerdem die Verwendung verschiedener Sprachen. Abgesehen von der Verwendung des Englischen als gemeinsamer Sprache wurden die Originaldokumente in den Archiven nur in der jeweiligen Landessprache, d. h. in Spanisch und Deutsch, gefunden. Andererseits bringt die Abfassung der Arbeit in englischer Sprache die Verwendung von Begriffen wie “Monastery” und “Convent” mit sich, die sich von den in den Fallstudien verwendeten spanischen und deutschen Begriffen unterscheiden. Auf diese Unterschiede wird in der Einleitung eingegangen.

Die Methodik hat sich als wirksam erwiesen, solange Daten und Informationen über Klostergebäude sowohl auf territorialer als auch auf städtischer Ebene verfügbar sind. Andern-

falls wäre es schwierig, sie anzuwenden, da sie eine bereits vorhandene Basis voraussetzt, aus der diese Informationen gewonnen werden können. Obwohl die Methodik die Erstellung und Sammlung neuer Informationen vorschlägt, konzentriert sich ihre Grundlage auf die Sammlung von Daten für die anschließende Analyse und den Vergleich. Auch wenn in einigen Fällen neue Daten gewonnen wurden, war es nicht das Ziel der Forschung, eine Stadt von Grund auf und ohne jegliche Referenz zu untersuchen. Das Fehlen von Informationen würde bedeuten, dass nicht nur die Methodik, sondern auch die Ziele und Fragen der Untersuchung überdacht werden müssten, was die gesamte Struktur völlig verändern würde. Aus diesem Grund hat sich die Auswahl von Fallstudien als ein grundlegender und wichtiger Teil der Forschung erwiesen. Sie ermöglichen es, die Gültigkeit der Methodik zu testen, die Forschungsziele zu erfüllen und die gestellten Fragen zu beantworten.

6.4 FORSCHUNGSBEITRAG UND AUSWIRKUNGEN

Im Laufe der Arbeit wurde die Bedeutung des Themas, des Studienobjektes, seines Beitrages und seiner Auswirkungen deutlich. Das klösterische Phänomen ist ein sehr aktuelles Phänomen, das in unseren Städten durchaus präsent ist. Außerdem war es Gegenstand zahlreicher Veröffentlichungen, Forschungsarbeiten und Dissertationen. Einer der wichtigsten Beiträge dieser Arbeit war die Entwicklung einer Methodik zur Untersuchung des städtischen Klostersystems in einer mittelgroßen Stadt. Dabei wurde ein generischer Ansatz gewählt, der auf die Städte Écija und Aachen als Fallstudien angewandt wurde. Dies hat den Vorteil, dass er auf jede andere Stadt übertragen und angewendet werden kann. Dank dieser beiden Beispiele konnte die Wirksamkeit und Nützlichkeit der Methodik für städtische Klöster bestätigt werden. In diesem Sinne ist ein weiterer wichtiger Beitrag in dieser Arbeit der städtebauliche Ansatz. Im Gegensatz zu anderen traditionellen Sichtweisen, wie der architektonischen, künstlerischen oder religiösen, wurde der Schwerpunkt auf die städtische und territoriale Perspektive gelegt, was der Forschung eine andere Dimension verleiht.

In vielen der oben genannten Ansätze werden Klostergebäude oft als isolierte Elemente untersucht, die keine Verbindung zur Umgebung haben. Sie werden in der Regel einzeln analysiert, ohne in das klösterliche System eingefügt zu werden, dessen Teil sie sind. In dieser Arbeit wurde jedoch die Gesamtheit des Klostersystems herangezogen, um nicht nur die Klös-

ter als Ganzes zu betrachten, sondern auch ihre einzigartige Beziehung zur Stadt zu verstehen. Im Gegensatz dazu hat die individualisierte Sichtweise oft dazu geführt, dass ein einzelnes Gebäude gegenüber anderen ausgewählt wurde. Diese mögliche Auslassung findet nicht nur auf akademischer Ebene statt, sondern hat auch Auswirkungen auf ihre Einbeziehung in strategische Pläne oder mögliche finanzielle Unterstützung für ihre Erhaltung. Daher befinden sich viele Klöster in einem Zustand der Verlassenheit und des Verfalls, obwohl sie unter Denkmalschutz stehen. Da die Klöster eindeutig Teil eines Systems sind, werden sie alle gleichermaßen berücksichtigt. Darüber hinaus sollen mit dieser Strategie Maßnahmen gefördert werde die zu ihrer Anerkennung und Wertschätzung beitragen.

Einer der herausragendsten Aspekte, zu dem diese Forschung beigetragen hat, war die Entwicklung und Vertiefung der monastischen Studie der Städte Écija und Aachen. Dies geschah auf territorialer und städtischer Ebene. Im ersten Fall wurden beide Städte in ihren jeweiligen Kontext gestellt und ihre interurbanen Beziehungen untersucht. Im zweiten Bereich sind die Erstellung zahlreicher unveröffentlichter Pläne sowie die Sammlung von Daten und die Erstellung von Tabellen und Grafiken hervorzuheben. Dieser Abschnitt ist sehr repräsentativ, da ein großer Teil der Forschung auf der Verwendung von Planimetrie und grafischem Material basiert. Da er unveröffentlicht ist, kann er als Grundlage und Fundament für künftige Forschungen genutzt werden. Die Tiefe der in jeder Stadt durchgeführten Studie über das städtische Klostersystem wird ebenfalls hervorgehoben. Schließlich werden die genannten Städte nicht nur auf lokaler, sondern auch auf internationaler territorialer Ebene betrachtet. Der Vergleich zwischen den beiden Städten und ihre Einordnung in den territorialen Kontext Europas stellt sie auf eine kontinentale Ebene und unterstreicht ihre politische, soziale und kulturelle Rolle.

Neben der Analyse und Untersuchung der Klostergebäude in beiden Städten wurden auch interessante Ergebnisse erzielt. Diese zeigen wichtige Schlüssel für die Stadtentwicklung auf und verdeutlichen ihre Stärke als eine Typologie städtischer Einrichtungen. Diese Gebäude haben in der Vergangenheit und in der Gegenwart Städte geprägt und werden dies auch in der Zukunft tun. Es handelt sich keineswegs um eine überholte Typologie. Das klösterliche Erbe ist nach wie vor stark in der Stadt präsent und sollte als Beitrag zur Stadtentwicklung genutzt werden. In diesem Sinne handelt es sich um einen Gebäudetyp, der ein hohes Potenzial für die Wiederverwendung in der heutigen Stadt- und Raumplanung aufweist.

6.5 ZUKÜNFTIGE FORSCHUNGSLINIEN

Die in dieser Dissertation vorgeschlagene Untersuchung des städtischen Klostersystems ist ein Thema von großer Breite und Relevanz in der heutigen Zeit. In dieser Forschung wurde der Umfang aufgrund von Zeit- und Ressourcenbeschränkungen auf das in der Arbeit entwickelte Thema sowie auf die vorgeschlagenen Fallstudien beschränkt. Diese Begrenzung sollte nicht mit einem Abschluss der Studie in ihrer Gesamtheit verwechselt werden, sondern als eine Möglichkeit gesehen, sie zu erweitern und fortzusetzen. Im Rahmen dieser Untersuchung werden weitere Forschungsfelder vorgeschlagen, die mit dem Untersuchungsgegenstand zusammenhängen und in dieser Arbeit nicht analysiert werden konnten. Aus diesem Grund werden diese als mögliche zukünftige Forschungslinien vorgeschlagen, die das Ziel haben, die Entwicklung der Arbeit über die eigentliche Dissertation hinaus fortzusetzen und zu erweitern.

Der erste Abschnitt schlägt eine Linie für die Durchführung neuer Studien in anderen Städten vor. In der Dissertation wurden zwei Fallstudien ausgewählt, und dieses Spektrum könnte auf andere mögliche Städte ausgeweitet werden. Da der klösterische Bereich den gesamten europäischen Kontext abdeckt, wäre es interessant, neue Fälle in anderen Kontexten zu analysieren und zu vergleichen, um weiterhin zu untermauern, dass die klösterliche Institution ein gemeinsames europäisches Phänomen darstellt. Eine Möglichkeit wäre die Auswahl von Städten in anderen Ländern oder charakteristischen Regionen. Die Entwicklung der Methodik in dieser Arbeit würde es erlauben, sie direkt auf andere Fallstudien anzuwenden und zusätzlich Écija und Aachen in den Vergleich einzubeziehen. Andererseits ist es interessant, die Eignung dieser Methode für kleinere oder größere Städte zu testen. Bisher waren die untersuchten Städte mittelgroße Städte.

Der zweite Abschnitt befasst sich mit dem kulturellen Erbe von der territorialen zur städtischen Komponente. In diesem Sinne wird vom territorialen Standpunkt aus der mögliche Aufbau eines Systems von Klosterstädten vorgeschlagen, um den Besuch zu fördern. Dies würde die Schaffung neuer Netze und Knotenpunkte ermöglichen, die dazu beitragen würden, diese Städte durch die Schaffung neuer Infrastrukturen, Dienstleistungen und Einrichtungen wirtschaftlich zu stärken. Ein ähnlicher Ansatz wurde bereits im Gebiet des Jakobswegs umgesetzt, der von der UNESCO zum Weltkulturerbe erklärt wurde. Andererseits kann das Mönchtum aus städtischer Sicht neue Besuchs- und kulturelle Routen in der Stadt selbst schaffen. Die Aufwertung des Klostersystems trägt zum Aufbau einer sozialen und städtischen Identität bei, die auch für tou-

ristische Zwecke genutzt werden kann. Die Anziehungskraft des Tourismus kann in einigen Städten von entscheidender Bedeutung sein. Allerdings muss eine Banalisierung und ein Massentourismus der städtischen Zentren vermieden werden. Schließlich sind Stadtentwicklung und Raumplanung Gegenstand des dritten Blocks, der als künftige Forschungslinie vorgeschlagen wird. In der Raumplanung kann die Klosterstadt ein weiterer Schlüssel sein, der in das Verständnis der territorialen Struktur einbezogen werden muss. Sie kann zu einer Stütze für andere territoriale Merkmale werden und Teil der Planung von Kommunikationsinfrastrukturen, der sektoralen Wirtschaftsplanung, der strategischen Planung für die Entwicklung der Städte, des Kulturerbes und der Kultur, der Pläne für öffentliche Einrichtungen und Dienstleistungen sowie der städtischen und ländlichen Umwelt sein. Ihre Bewertung als Teil des Gesamtsystems der Städte kann zum territorialen Zusammenhalt und Gleichgewicht beitragen.

In der Stadtplanung können dank des städtischen Klostersystems neue Entwicklungsvorschläge für die Stadt eingesetzt werden. In diesem Sinne können städtische Gebiete, in denen sich Klostergebäude befinden, wiederbelebt werden. Dies würde ihre Einbeziehung in eine spezielle Planung oder die Erstellung von Masterplänen im Einklang mit dem städtischen Klostersystem erfordern. Andererseits kann ihre Nutzung als städtische Einrichtungen den Schutz des kulturellen Erbes fördern, ihre Aufgabe und ihren Verlust verhindern und auf nachhaltige Weise zur Stadtentwicklung beitragen. Wie die Arbeit gezeigt hat, bildeten sie in der Vergangenheit die städtischen Einrichtungen. So werden durch diese Nutzungen neue Möglichkeiten gesucht, wie es derzeit bei kulturellen, gesundheitlichen oder schulischen Nutzungen der Fall ist. In Aachen ist die Umnutzung von Klostergebäuden für neue, verträgliche Nutzungen sogar eine gängige Praxis.

6

CONCLUSIONES

6 CONCLUSIONES

La presente investigación ha generado conclusiones que han sido estructuradas en cinco apartados donde se abordan diferentes puntos de ellas. En primer lugar, se comienza con el contexto, así como con las ciudades tomadas como casos de estudio, Écija y Aquisgrán. Por tanto, se elaboran las conclusiones del desarrollo de la investigación en estos puntos. Posteriormente, se encuentra la discusión de los resultados obtenidos en el punto 5, obtenidos a partir de la comparativa entre las dos ciudades. En el tercer apartado se cierra la tesis retornando al primer capítulo de introducción. En este son respondidas las preguntas de la investigación planteadas, comprobados si los objetivos enunciados han sido alcanzados y si la metodología empleada ha resultado ser la adecuada. Se plantea un cuarto punto donde se proyectan las contribuciones e impacto de esta investigación. Estas son relativas tanto al campo urbanístico como al ámbito científico. Finalmente, un último apartado señala posibles líneas futuras de investigación derivadas a partir del trabajo presentado en la tesis doctoral.

6.1 SÍNTESIS DE LOS CASOS DE ESTUDIO

La elección de dos áreas territoriales para su estudio ha estado apoyada principalmente por los datos y parámetros de influencia monástica y densidad media urbana. Dentro del contexto europeo, Andalucía y Renania del Norte-Westfalia son áreas en contextos políticos, culturales, sociales y territoriales diferentes. La primera de ellas, Andalucía, se trata de un territorio estratégico determinante para la fundación monástica. Para su estudio, se ha seleccionado una muestra representativa de ciudades tomando como criterio la protección patrimonial de Conjunto Histórico. Por tanto, se han tomado 77 ciudades. Tras la conquista cristiana del territorio musulmán en el siglo XIII, las órdenes religiosas realizaron fundaciones por todo el territorio, tomándose como final de esta etapa el siglo XVIII, inicio de las desamortizaciones francesas. Se han identificado 39 órdenes entre las cuales, franciscanos y dominicos tienen más de 30 y 50 fundaciones respectivamente. La superposición de las capas de provincias eclesiásticas y número total de monasterios y conventos ha establecido el criterio de selección de Écija. Después de la capital obispal, Sevilla, sobresale Écija como la segunda en el territorio bajo los epígrafes de ciudad conventual y ciudad media.

La ciudad de Écija ha destacado en importancia desde época romana, siendo capital de *conventus* de la provincia romana de la Bética. Posteriormente durante el medievo fue un im-

portante centro de producción agrícola, pasando a formar parte de la frontera entre los reinos cristiano y musulmán. Su posición fronteriza como punto intermedio entre Sevilla y Córdoba posibilitó su desarrollo económico, llegando a ser un centro de poder nobiliario y clerical. Más tarde, durante el barroco, alcanzó su época de mayor esplendor arquitectónico y económico. De hecho su población fue de 29.343 habitantes en 1790, bastante elevada para la época. Sin embargo, su falta de industrialización y nuevos avances produjo un estancamiento urbano y poblacional. De 29.343 habitantes en 1790 ha pasado a solo 39.866 habitantes en 2022.

Como reflejo de su importancia a través de los siglos se desarrolló un sistema monástico urbano con un total de 21 edificaciones conventuales. En el contexto territorial, la ciudad se posicionó como la segunda ciudad del Reino de Sevilla en el siglo XVI y la sexta en Andalucía en número de conventos durante el siglo XVIII. En la implantación monástica en Écija se han detectado claves de su fundación unidas al desarrollo urbano como, la posición intramuros o extramuros y la situación en vías importantes y puertas. El sistema monástico también resultó relevante para los nuevos desarrollos urbanos. En este sentido, la aparición de conventos motivó la extensión urbana hacia dichas áreas, ya que estos edificios ocuparon posiciones estratégicas urbanas. Por el contrario, la gestión de la ciudad a través de la división eclesiástica por parroquias no ha mostrado ser relevante en la construcción urbana.

La toponimia conventual ha sido destacada por su permanencia y elevada presencia en la ciudad actual. Sin duda, esto ha representado el reflejo de la fortaleza entre la unión del monacato y la ciudad. De hecho uno de los vínculos inmateriales más claros ha podido mostrarse a través de la Semana Santa y el monacato. En Écija fueron y continúan siendo de gran importancia las procesiones religiosas, sobre todo las vinculadas a los edificios monásticos, las cuales han generado relevantes recorridos urbanos.

Durante los siglos XIX y XX, las transformaciones producidas en relación a las parcelas conventuales fueron determinantes. Estas marcaron tanto el desarrollo urbano a través de la creación de espacios públicos o nuevas edificaciones. En el caso de Écija no se produjeron nuevos espacios urbanos sino nuevos equipamientos, reflejo de la modernización de la ciudad. Por ejemplo, sobre antiguas parcelas conventuales fueron construidos edificios como el mercado, el cine, escuelas o residencias de ancianos. Además, debido a las desamortizaciones, gran parte de los edificios conventuales en Écija no lograron conservarse, conociéndose solo a través de fuentes escritas y gráficas.

La iconografía histórica ha desempeñado un papel fundamental para estudiar la ciudad en diferentes etapas del pasado. El perfil del paisaje monástico urbano creado por torres y espadañas también ha contribuido en la construcción de la ciudad monástica. Su importancia no solo es histórica, sino que este paisaje urbano se ha mantenido en la actualidad, constituyendo parte de la identidad de Écija.

Dicha identidad es conformada en su mayoría por el patrimonio monástico, el cual mantiene cinco órdenes en activo. El resto de edificios conventuales son empleados como equipamientos religiosos o con usos compatibles como el educativo. A pesar de ello, otro gran porcentaje de estas edificaciones se encuentra en un estado de abandono, deterioro o en peligro de incluso desaparición.

La protección patrimonial ha resultado indispensable. A través de la ley los planes urbanísticos están protegidos todos los edificios con la protección del plan urbano o la figura de Bien de Interés Cultural, así como el centro histórico con la protección de Conjunto Histórico. Sin embargo, se ha demostrado que en muchos casos, a pesar de la protección, no se ha podido evitar la pérdida de parte del patrimonio monástico.

La segunda de las áreas europeas seleccionadas, Renania del Norte-Westfalia, se trata de un territorio estratégico determinante para la fundación monástica. Para su estudio, se ha seleccionado una muestra representativa de ciudades. Ante la falta de datos para conocer todas las ciudades protegidas patrimonialmente como *Denkmalbereich*, se ha seleccionado otro criterio. Se han localizado todas las ciudades con fundaciones monásticas y posteriormente, seleccionado aquellas con más de 2.000 habitantes según el primer censo general de 1816. Esta selección permite el estudio de 88 ciudades. Desde el siglo VII, se han obtenido datos de fundaciones monásticas en la región, tomándose como final de esta etapa el siglo XVIII, inicio de las desamortizaciones francesas. Se han identificado 56 órdenes entre las cuales, franciscanos y agustinos tienen más de 25 y 35 fundaciones respectivamente. La superposición de las capas de provincias eclesiásticas y número total de monasterios y conventos ha establecido el criterio de selección de Aquisgrán. Después de la capital obispal, Colonia, sobresale Aquisgrán como la segunda en el territorio bajo los epígrafes de ciudad conventual y ciudad media.

La ciudad de Aquisgrán ha destacado por su importancia territorial, política, social y económica a lo largo de la línea temporal. Durante el periodo romano fue concebida como una ciudad termal en el *limes germanicus*. En la edad media pasó a ser la capital del imperio franco bajo el reinado de Carlo-

magno, época en la cual su catedral fue construida. Esto la convirtió en el lugar de coronación de los emperadores del Sacro Imperio Romano Germánico. En la edad moderna destacó como centro económico y político en la región. En el siglo XIX, la industrialización llegó a la ciudad aumentando su crecimiento poblacional exponencialmente y generó la aparición de nuevas infraestructuras y equipamientos, como el ferrocarril o la universidad. De 23.413 habitantes en 1790 pasó a una población de 249.070 en 2022.

Como reflejo de su importancia, Aquisgrán fue una de las ciudades con mayor número de conventos en Renania del Norte-Westfalia. En concreto, llegó a alcanzar un total de 25 edificaciones monásticas en el siglo XVIII, convirtiéndose además en la segunda ciudad del obispado de Colonia en número de conventos. El proceso fundacional de Aquisgrán no finalizó en el siglo XVIII, sino que se extendió parcialmente en el XIX. Sin embargo, este no tuvo un gran impacto ya que prácticamente todos los edificios monásticos previos fueron desamortizados.

Las fundaciones monásticas medievales siguieron un patrón de implantación que responde a posiciones estratégicas. Estas ocuparon lugares dentro de la primera y segunda muralla, procurando estar cercanas a las puertas principales y a los caminos importantes. Además, surgieron dos ejes monásticos urbanos vinculados con las puertas de las murallas. De hecho, uno de ellos marcó una de las principales expansiones urbanas extramuros. La prolongación de este eje, unido a la existencia de un monasterio en Burtscheid generó una de las primeras expansiones urbanas del siglo XIX. Por otro lado, la gestión a través de la división parroquial no ha resultado ser relevante en la construcción urbana.

El sistema monástico de Aquisgrán estaba caracterizado por una elevada presencia de equipamientos asociado a las órdenes no solo de carácter religioso, sino también sanitario y educativo. De hecho, gracias al carácter hospitalario de algunas órdenes como la de alexianos, estas fueron excluidas de las desamortizaciones. Por otro lado, otras órdenes con carácter pedagógico como las ursulinas han continuado su labor educativa en la ciudad hasta el 2014.

Otro de los aspectos que muestra la relación entre ciudad y monasterio ha sido observado en su toponimia urbana. Esta tiene una elevada presencia en calles, plazas y edificios manteniéndose la huella monástica incluso de conventos desaparecidos. Sin duda representa una prueba fehaciente de la importancia del sistema monástico en la ciudad. No obstante, a pesar de esta influencia y un fuerte carácter católico en la

ciudad, marcado por la propia catedral, no se han detectado expresiones culturales religiosas de ritos en el espacio urbano. En este sentido, no ha sido posible establecer procesiones o festividades religiosas vinculadas a los edificios monásticos.

La llegada de las desamortizaciones tuvo importantes cambios y transformaciones en el sistema monástico urbano de Aquisgrán. Por lo general, la mayor parte de los conventos desaparecieron quedando solo la iglesia como fragmento. A este hecho se sumó que mucho de los edificios fueran bien renovados o bien incluso reconstruidos totalmente a principios del siglo XX. Por otro lado, la modernización de la ciudad unida a las desamortizaciones generó la transformación de espacios monásticos a espacios públicos. Aparecen plazas, parques, calles y grandes avenidas en el centro de la ciudad.

La presencia monástica en la iconografía histórica ha sido muy relevante. Desde las primeras vistas del siglo XVI, el paisaje urbano formado por torres y agujas se mantuvo a lo largo del tiempo. Sin embargo, en la actualidad este se ha perdido en gran parte como resultado de la destrucción ocasionada por la Segunda Guerra Mundial. Todos los edificios monásticos fueron gravemente dañados, perdiéndose prácticamente todos sus elementos verticales como torres y agujas. Aunque algunos fueron reconstruidos, no se hizo en su totalidad, recuperándose en muchas ocasiones el espacio de la iglesia pero no su torre. Se ha producido una gran pérdida de la identidad y el paisaje histórico urbano.

En el siglo XXI, la presencia monástica de órdenes aún continúa siendo relevante en la ciudad. La reconstrucción patrimonial tras la guerra posibilitó la recuperación de muchos de los conventos de Aquisgrán. Sin embargo, muchos de los edificios conventuales o sus iglesias tienen un uso diferente al religioso. Destaca una gran variedad y adaptabilidad de estos edificios en Aquisgrán, con uso sanitario, cultural, oficinas o archivo. Respecto al uso religioso, antiguas iglesias conventuales son utilizadas actualmente por el cristianismo ortodoxo. Conservan su uso religioso pero dentro de otra rama del cristianismo. En general, todos los edificios son reutilizados salvo uno que continúa sin uso y okupado desde el abandono por la comunidad religiosa en 2005.

Por último, la presencia monástica en Aquisgrán tiene una protección patrimonial. Esta está marcada a través de la legislación regional y local, pero también mundial. La catedral está declarada Patrimonio Mundial por la Unesco y además de la protección del propio edificio, cuenta con una *buffer-zone* que afecta al centro histórico. La protección que proviene de la legislación patrimonial y las ordenanzas municipales

abarcan nuevamente el ámbito del centro, como a todos los conventos de la ciudad. Se trata de una protección única e igualitaria para todos sin distinción de niveles. Tan solo un edificio tiene una protección de zona arqueológica en lugar de monumental, probablemente por las características del edificio. Además, no todos los edificios se encuentran en el centro histórico, por lo que muchos de ellos están excluidos de la protección de esta área en Aquisgrán.

6.2 DISCUSIÓN DE RESULTADOS

Esencial para la comprensión del desarrollo monástico urbano de Écija y Aquisgrán es su contextualización en el territorio de Andalucía y Renania del Norte-Westfalia. Si se comparan, estos son muy diferentes entre sí, tanto en superficie como en población en 2022. Andalucía, con 87.598 km2 es tres veces mayor que la región de Renania del Norte-Westfalia. Pero por el contrario, esta última cuenta con 18 millones de habitantes, lo que supone el doble que Andalucía. En un territorio tres veces menor al otro, viven el doble de personas.

A estos datos se le suman el número de ciudades analizadas, 77 en Andalucía y 88 en Renania del Norte-Westfalia, así como el número de monasterios y conventos a finales del siglo XVIII, 552 y 432 conventos respectivamente. La división del dato de edificios monásticos entre la superficie genera un ratio monástico de 0,63 en Andalucía frente a 1,26 en Renania del Norte-Westfalia. Esta nueva comparativa indica que si se considera la superficie territorial, vuelve a destacar el territorio alemán sobre el andaluz con el doble de fundaciones. Esto se debe en gran medida a su posición central en Europa.

Las fundaciones monásticas fueron realizadas por una gran variedad de órdenes masculinas y femeninas. En total se han contabilizado 39 en Andalucía, 15 femeninas y 24 masculinas, y 56 en Renania del Norte-Westfalia, 29 femeninas y 27 masculinas. Los números de órdenes, así como la cantidad de edificios fundados han permitido corroborar que las órdenes de franciscanos y clarisas son las más abundantes, además de común en ambos territorios. Por el contrario el desarrollo mayor o menor del resto de órdenes se debe a situaciones político-sociales propias de cada territorio. Finalmente, se han situado las fundaciones de las cuatro órdenes más representativas de la ciudad europea según Le Goff. Su representación gráfica ha permitido caracterizar y seleccionar conjuntos urbanos que respondiesen a características monásticas y urbanas. Por tanto, tras las capitales obispales de Colonia y Sevilla, han destacado Aquisgrán y Écija como segundas en número de conventos y características similares.

El análisis del sistema monástico urbano entre las ciudades de Écija y Aquisgrán ha generado resultados interesantes. Estos han sido tanto a nivel gráfico como a nivel cuantitativo, en cartografía y datos recopilados. En primer lugar, son dos ciudades cuyos tamaños urbanos en el siglo XVIII fueron prácticamente iguales, Écija 0,82km2 y Aquisgrán 1,01km2. A partir del siglo XIX, el desarrollo industrial y económico de Aquisgrán propició un fuerte crecimiento poblacional y urbano. Las ciudades comenzaron a distanciarse en ambos parámetros siendo en la actualidad totalmente diferentes entre sí.

El dato del número de edificios conventuales es muy similar en los dos casos de estudio seleccionados. Se han localizado 21 en Écija y 25 en Aquisgrán. Además se ha contabilizado una superficie conventual similar, de 0,82 y 1,01, junto al cálculo de un índice monástico en 10% y 7,6% respectivamente. No obstante, no todos los datos han tenido un carácter igualitario, como ocurre en las líneas cronológicas. Debido a la diferencia del contexto socio-político, cultural y territorial se han observado notables cambios en los procesos y número de fundaciones. Las fases, siglos, o periodos de implantación no son coincidentes. Por otro lado, además de una semejanza entre la presencia de ciertas órdenes, en Aquisgrán existió una mayor variedad y diferencia respecto a Écija.

Las estrategias de implantación monástica generaron procesos bastante similares en ambas ciudades. Como resultado se ha detectado una búsqueda por parte de las órdenes en posiciones urbanas estratégicas. Los porcentajes obtenidos no muestran más de un 10% de diferencia entre una ciudad y otra. En el entramado urbano se ha podido destacar la creación de al menos un eje conventual en cada ciudad. Las posiciones intramuros superan el 50%, así como la cercanía a puertas de la ciudad es mayor a un 60%. Tan solo un 4% afecta a edificios en la periferia próxima, pero desvinculados del contexto urbano.

A escala territorial, las fundaciones en estas ciudades resultaron ser la antesala de otras en diferentes ciudades. El proceso de expansión monástica no tuvo un inicio en un único punto, sino a través de la creación de otros nuevos. Así, en ambos casos se han localizado tres niveles de circunferencia según las distancias en kilómetros. Nuevamente, incluso a escala territorial, la estrategia fundacional ha vuelto a resultar muy similar entre sí.

El estudio de los edificios del sistema monástico en Écija y Aquisgrán ha generado similitudes entre los datos de posición de iglesias y espacios libres. En los dos ejemplos, además de existir un número similar de edificios, los datos de posición en

esquina, orientación o construcción de atrios han vuelto a ser muy parecidos. Para ello, estos datos han sido obtenidos gracias a la elaboración de hipótesis de la parcela y posición de iglesias originales. En el caso de los espacios abiertos, en Écija no se han podido definir aquellos en edificios desaparecidos al no obtenerse datos suficientes. Por eso contrasta el número en 12 conventos para Écija, en lugar de 21, mientras que en Aquisgrán se estudian los 25 edificios monásticos. Por otro lado, la diversidad de conventos con usos como equipamientos urbanos es en Aquisgrán superior en cantidad a Écija. En esta última predomina el uso religioso frente al educativo y sanitario en Aquisgrán.

Los cambios urbanos del siglo XIX ha sido determinante para comprender la transformación del sistema monástico en los dos casos de estudio. El número de parcelas afectadas es muy elevado, y nuevamente similar en las dos ciudades siendo 10 y 11 parcelas monásticas en cada caso. Como consecuencia, el uso de las parcelas cambia en muchos casos por completo. En Aquisgrán se ha encontrado nuevamente una mayor diversidad de nuevos usos que en Écija, donde prima el uso residencial sobre antiguas parcelas monásticas.

Respecto a los datos de la superficie transformada, las dos ciudades tienen un arranque similar de superficie originalmente monástica con 143.730 m2 en Écija y 155.340 m2 en Aquisgrán. Tras una comparativa con la superficie actual, se ha obtenido el índice de transformación monástica de 0,29 en Écija y 0,45 en Aquisgrán. En contraposición a los datos iniciales, esta vez sí hay diferencias que han señalado una mayor transformación en la primera ciudad que en la segunda.

El paisaje urbano generado por el monacato en la ciudad es característico y representativo en los dos casos. Históricamente, los elementos verticales como torres, espadañas y agujas marcaron el perfil de las dos ciudades. La única diferencia detectada ha sido la permanencia de este contorno urbano en Écija frente a Aquisgrán. En este caso se perdió gran parte de las torres y agujas conventuales durante los bombardeos de la Segunda Guerra Mundial. Aunque la mayoría de iglesias fueron reconstruidas, esto no ocurrió con muchas de las torres o agujas.

El monacato aún tiene presencia en la actualidad. Como resultado han podido localizarse 5 órdenes en Écija y 6 en Aquisgrán. Los edificios conventuales sin órdenes se dedican a un uso religioso o usos compatibles a este. En Aquisgrán se ha vuelto a detectar una mayor variedad de usos, como el cultural o sanitario entre otros. Finalmente, el número total de edificios monásticos en 2023 en las dos ciudades es 15, el mismo

en ambos casos. Sin embargo, existen diferencias respecto a los datos de superficie monástica. En Aquisgrán hay un total de 124.100m2, mucho mayor que en Écija con 41.600m2.

Por último, los dos casos de estudio cuentan con una importante protección patrimonial de los conjuntos monásticos a nivel urbano. Con independencia de las diferencias legislativas y urbanísticas entre ambos contextos, la existencia de una protección de la parte histórica urbana es coincidente en las dos ciudades. Se emplean la figura de Conjunto Histórico en España y *Denkmalbereich* en Renania del Norte-Westfalia. Posteriormente, la totalidad de los edificios conventuales se encuentran protegidos por alguna de las figuras patrimoniales en cada caso. Una de las principales diferencias localizadas en la comparativa es la diversidad de niveles de protección en Écija frente a Aquisgrán con un solo tipo de protección para todos los edificios. Esto permite homogeneizar la conservación patrimonial, así como facilitar la comprensión de la protección urbana. Por el contrario, en Écija se han localizado hasta cuatro tipos de protecciones, complejizando aún más el proceso de tutela.

6.3 COMPROBACIÓN DEL PUNTO DE PARTIDA

El apartado de introducción al comienzo de la tesis se ha elaborado siguiendo la estructura científica compuesta por preguntas de investigación, objetivos, metodología y estado del arte. En este sentido, las preguntas que marcaron el inicio de la tesis doctoral establecieron objetivos que, de manera conjunta, se han ido respondiendo y alcanzando a lo largo del trabajo. Además, destaca la elaboración de una metodología que debía ser aplicada a los casos de estudio, pero también contrastada y verificada durante todo el desarrollo de la investigación.

Las preguntas realizadas fueron divididas en una principal relativa a la totalidad de la tesis doctoral y, a partir de esta, en otras secundarias que están relacionadas con el tema de estudio. Con el fin de responder a la pregunta principal, cabría recordar su enunciado: ¿Qué influencia tuvo la estructura conventual en el desarrollo urbano de la ciudad media? La respuesta resulta en absoluto simple, sino más bien compleja, la cual se ha ido argumentando a lo largo del trabajo. No obstante, podría resumirse afirmativamente que los conventos influyeron de manera determinante en el desarrollo urbano, construyendo ciudad. A través de esta tipología la ciudad crea nuevos equipamientos urbanos y establece nuevos nodos de importancia, que son empleados en los futuros desarrollos urbanos.

A partir de la pregunta principal aparecieron múltiples preguntas secundarias relativas a los diferentes temas y escalas tratados en la tesis doctoral. En general, todas ellas han podido responderse sin encontrar dificultades más allá que las del propio proceso de investigación. La pregunta de si el monacato constituye un fenómeno urbano europeo o si existen similitudes entre ciudades, no ha podido contrasterse a escala urbana. Se ha podido verificar a escala continental tomando las ciudades de implantación de órdenes religiosas relevantes como dominicos o franciscanos. Por otro lado, puede considerarse una respuesta afirmativa en relación a las similitudes halladas en los casos de estudio, aunque sería necesario profundizar en más casos de estudios para realizar una afirmación rotunda en la escala ciudad.

Sobre la escala urbana se ha podido responder a cada una de las preguntas. Se ha verifica el fuerte impacto de los edificios monásticos en la ciudad, su trayectoria, desarrollo e influencia. Además, se ha podido analizar su funcionamiento y las transformaciones urbanas generadas por estos. Por otro lado, se constata la existencia e importancia actuales de órdenes religiosas en la ciudad. Hoy día los conventos forman parte del patrimonio cultural de la ciudad, con una protección patrimonial siendo empleados en su mayoría como equipamientos urbanos. Por último, respecto a la pregunta sobre sus posibilidades para un nuevo uso, estas se plantean parcialmente en la comparativa del estado actual de los casos de estudio, así como en las conclusiones. Para ello, sería necesario profundizar en esta línea y plantearla como futura investigación.

Los objetivos planteados se distribuyen en cuatro principales, divididos en otros específicos. En este sentido, se puede afirmar que se han cumplido todos los objetivos planteados. Se ha podido determinar la importancia y trascendencia del sistema monástico en la escala urbana gracias a las ciudades de Écija y Aquisgrán. También se han establecido relaciones y comparativas entre ambas, relacionadas con el segundo de los objetivos. El tercero planteaba la obtención de herramientas y bases adecuadas, el cual ha podido lograrse gracias a los casos de estudio seleccionados. Estos disponían de numerosas fuentes de información y trabajos previos realizados, que han sido utilizados como base imprescindible para la elaboración de la tesis doctoral. En el cuarto de los objetivos principales se ha podido generar una metodología específica para el análisis del sistema conventual urbano, extensible a otros casos de estudio. De hecho, esta ha sido corroborada a través de dos ciudades con similitudes y diferencias entre sí, verificando la eficacia del método empleado. Finalmente, los objetivos específicos se han ido cumpliendo durante el desarrollo de la investigación, comentándose de modo genérico que estos

no han presentado grandes problemas o dificultades en su realización.

Como se ha comentado respecto a la metodología, esta ha sido constatada a través de Écija y Aquisgrán comprobándose su idoneidad y utilidad. No obstante, han de destacarse algunos puntos relevantes durante la ejecución de la metodología. En primer lugar, esta requiere de un trabajo exhaustivo y profundo sobre la información de los casos de estudio. Esto ha implicado no solo búsquedas digitales a través de la red, sino también la visita a archivos locales y provinciales en distintos puntos geográficos, como España y Alemania. La selección de casos de estudios tan distantes entre sí genera la necesidad de movilidad a estas localizaciones, así como la dificultad de localizar la información al encontrarse dispersa entre diferentes lugares. Además, al tomarse el contexto europeo y países diferentes implica la utilización de diferentes idiomas. Más allá del empleo del inglés como lengua común, los documentos originales en los archivos solo se han encontrado en el idioma local, esto es, español y alemán. Por otra parte, la redacción del trabajo en lengua inglesa implica la utilización de términos como '*monastery*' y '*convent*', que difiere de términos españoles y alemanes, pertenecientes a los casos de estudio. En la introducción se comentan estas diferencias.

La metodología ha resultado ser eficaz siempre y cuando puedan obtenerse datos e información de los edificios monásticos tanto a nivel territorial como de la propia ciudad. En caso contrario, resultaría difícil su aplicación ya que se precisa de una base previa existente de la que poder extraer dicha información. Aunque en la metodología se propone la producción y recopilación de nueva información, su base está enfocada a la toma de datos para su posterior análisis y comparación. Aunque en algunos casos se ha obtenido nuevos datos, el estudio de una ciudad totalmente desde cero, sin referente alguno no ha sido el objetivo de la tesis. La ausencia de información implicaría replantear no solo la metodología, sino también los objetivos y preguntas de la investigación, cambiando por completo toda la estructura planteada. Por ello, la selección de casos de estudio ha resultado ser una parte fundamental e importante. Estos permiten comprobar la validez de la metodología, así como cumplir los objetivos de la investigación y dar respuesta a las preguntas planteadas.

6.4 CONTRIBUCIÓN E IMPACTO DE LA INVESTIGACIÓN

Durante el desarrollo del trabajo se ha puesto de manifiesto la importancia del tema, el objeto de estudio, su contribución e impacto. El fenómeno monástico se trata de un hecho

de bastante actualidad, muy presente en nuestras ciudades. Además, este ha sido objeto de numerosas publicaciones, trabajos de investigación y tesis doctorales. Una de las contribuciones principales de este trabajo ha sido el desarrollo de una metodología desde la que poder estudiar el sistema monástico urbano de la ciudad media. De hecho, esta se ha planteado de manera genérica siendo aplicada a las ciudades de Écija y Aquisgrán como casos de estudio. Esto ofrece la ventaja de que puede ser extraída y empleada para cualquier otra ciudad. Gracias a estos dos ejemplos se ha podido constatar la eficacia y utilidad de la metodología sobre los conventos urbanos. En este sentido, otra de las contribuciones e importancia planteada en este trabajo es su enfoque urbanístico. Frente a otras visiones tradicionales como la arquitectónica, la artística o la religiosa, se ha puesto el foco en la perspectiva urbana y territorial, adquiriendo la investigación una dimensión diferente.

En muchos de los enfoques mencionados, los edificios conventuales son estudiados con frecuencia como elementos aislados sin conexión más allá del entorno que les rodea. Normalmente son analizados individualmente sin insertarse dentro del sistema monástico del que forman parte. En este sentido, en la tesis se ha utilizado la totalidad de este sistema monástico para poder comprender no solo los conventos como un todo, sino también entender sus relaciones con la ciudad de manera conjunta. En contraposición, la visión individualizada ha derivado que en muchas ocasiones se seleccione un único edificio frente a otros. Este posible olvido no solo se produce a nivel académico, sino que revierte en su inclusión como parte de planes estratégicos o posibles ayudas económicas para su intervención. Por tanto, se pueden encontrar muchos conventos en estado de abandono y ruina, a pesar de existir una protección patrimonial. Por ello, al ponerse de manifiesto que los conventos forman parte de un sistema, se toman todos por igual. Además, con esta estrategia se busca incentivar acciones de difusión para su reconocimiento.

Uno de los aspectos más destacados a los que ha contribuido esta investigación ha sido al desarrollo y profundización en el estudio monástico de las ciudades de Écija y Aquisgrán. Este se ha realizado desde una escala territorial y urbana. En la primera, se han situado ambas ciudades en sus respectivos contextos y estudiado sus relaciones interurbanas. En la segunda, hay que destacar la producción de numerosa cartografía inédita, así como recopilación de datos, junto a la creación de tablas y gráficos. Este apartado es muy representativo ya que gran parte de la investigación está argumentada en el empleo de planimetría y material gráfico. Al tener un carácter inédito, se plantea que este pueda ser utilizado como base y funda-

mentación en próximas investigaciones. También se pone en valor la profundidad del estudio del sistema monástico urbano realizado en cada ciudad. Finalmente, a las ciudades mencionadas se las sitúa no solo en una escala territorial local, sino también internacional. La comparación entre ambas y su situación en el contexto territorial de Europa las posiciona en la escala continental, destacando su papel político, social y cultural.

Sobre los edificios monásticos en ambas ciudades, además de su análisis y estudio, se han obtenido interesantes resultados. Estos muestran importantes claves para el desarrollo urbano, además de desvelar su fortaleza como tipología de equipamiento urbano. Estos edificios han construido ciudad tanto en el pasado, como el presente, además de continuar haciéndolo en el futuro. Para nada se trata de una tipología obsoleta. El patrimonio monástico continúa con una gran presencia en la ciudad, la cual debe ser empleada para contribuir al desarrollo urbano. En este sentido, se trata de un tipo de edificio con un alto potencial para ser reutilizado en la elaboración del planeamiento urbano y territorial en la actualidad.

6.5 FUTURAS LÍNEAS DE INVESTIGACIÓN

El estudio del sistema monástico urbano planteado en esta tesis doctoral se trata de un tema con una gran amplitud y relevancia en la actualidad. En esta investigación, por razones temporales y de recursos, se ha acotado el ámbito al desarrollado a lo largo del trabajo, así como a los casos de estudio propuestos. Esta delimitación no debe confundirse con una finalización del estudio en su totalidad, sin que pueda ampliar y prolongar, más bien al contrario. Desde esta investigación se proponen otros campos relacionados con el objeto de estudio que no ha sido posible su análisis en este trabajo. Por ello, estos se plantean como posibles futuras líneas de investigación, cuya finalidad propone continuar el desarrollo del trabajo más allá de la propia tesis a través de tres grandes bloques.

El primero de ellos plantea una línea sobre la realización de nuevos estudios en otras ciudades. En la tesis doctoral se han seleccionado dos casos de estudio, pudiendo ampliarse este espectro hacia otras posibles ciudades. Como el ámbito monástico abarca todo el contexto europeo sería interesante poder analizar y comparar nuevos casos en otros contextos con los que seguir corroborando que la institución monástica constituye un fenómeno común europeo. Una posibilidad es la selección de ciudades en otros países o regiones características. El desarrollo de la metodología en esta tesis permitiría que esta fuese directamente aplicada sobre otros casos de

estudio, además de incorporar Écija y Aquisgrán en la comparativa. Por otro lado, resulta interesante comprobar la idoneidad de este método para poblaciones pequeñas o grandes ciudades. Hasta ahora, las ciudades analizadas se tratan de ciudades medias.

Un segundo bloque abarca como tema el patrimonio cultural desde la componente territorial a la urbana. En este sentido, desde un punto de vista territorial se plantea la posible construcción de un sistema de ciudades monásticas para su visita. Esto permitiría la creación de nuevas redes y nodos que ayuden a potenciar estas ciudades económicamente, con la aparición de nuevas infraestructuras, servicios y equipamientos. De hecho, esto se ha producido en cierto modo en el ámbito territorial del Camino de Santiago, el cual es además considerado como bien de Patrimonio Mundial por la Unesco. Por otro lado, desde el punto de vista urbano, el monacato puede generar nuevas visitas e itinerarios culturales dentro de la propia ciudad. La puesta en valor del sistema monástico contribuye a la construcción de la identidad social y urbana que también pueda ser empleada con fines turísticos. Además, la atracción del turismo puede ser clave en algunas ciudades. No obstante hay que evitar caer en la banalización y la turistificación masiva de los centros urbanos.

Por último, el desarrollo urbano y la planificación territorial constituyen la temática del tercer bloque planteado como futura línea de investigación. En la planificación del territorio, la ciudad monástica puede ser una clave más a incorporar en la comprensión de la estructura territorial. Esta puede llegar a ser soporte y apoyo de otras características territoriales. Por tanto pueden formar parte de la planificación de infraestructuras de comunicación, económica sectorial, estratégica del desarrollo de ciudades, del patrimonio y cultura, planes de equipamientos y servicios públicos e incluso el medio ambiente urbano y rural. Su valoración como parte del conjunto del sistema de ciudades puede contribuir a la cohesión y equilibrio territorial.

En la planificación urbana, gracias al sistema monástico urbano se pueden plantear nuevas propuestas de desarrollo en la ciudad. En este sentido, se pueden regenerar áreas urbanas donde se encuentren localizados edificios conventuales. Para ello sería necesario su inserción como parte del planeamiento especial o la creación de planes directores en línea con el sistema monástico urbano. Por otro lado, a través del uso como equipamientos para la ciudad se puede promover la protección patrimonial, evitar su abandono y pérdida, y contribuir de manera sostenible al desarrollo urbano. Como se ha comprobado en la tesis, en el pasado, estos constituían los equipa-

mientos urbanos. Por tanto, a través de estos usos se buscan nuevas posibilidades como se hace actualmente con los usos cultural, sanitario o escolar. De hecho, en Aquisgrán se ha detectado como práctica común la reutilización de edificios monásticos con nuevos usos compatibles.

7

APPENDICES

GLOSSARY

The purpose of creating a glossary of terms is due to the particularity of some words in relation to the field of study and research. These are either specific concepts or words used in the original language for which it has been impossible to find an English translation. For this reason, it has been decided to use the original word and define its meaning here. As the work is carried out in three languages, all definitions have been taken from the Oxford Dictionary (OD), the Diccionario de la Real Academia Española (DRAE) and the Digital Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache (DWDS). For Latin terms, a Diccionario de Expresiones y Frases Latinas (DEFL) has been used, as well as definitions from the Spanish Heritage Law (LPHE85) and North Rhine-Westphalia (DSchG). Definitions that are not in the OD have been translated into English by the author. The dictionary of reference is indicated in brackets. Words in square brackets are contributions by the author.

Abbey | A large church together with a group of buildings in which monks or nuns live or lived in the past. (OD)

***Alameda* |** Walkway with poplars. (DRAE)

***Alcázar* |** Fortress, fortified enclosure. (DRAE)

Astigi | Astigi, a city of Baetica, today Écija. (DRAE)

Atrium | An open space in the centre of a building. [In churches, the courtyard before the main entrance]. (OD)

***Barrera* |** [Word used in Écija to name small squares.]

***Baudenkmal* |** Structural plant of such historical, art-historical or architectural significance that it is classified as a monument. (DWDS)

Bell-gable or Bell-wall | An element crowning the upper end of the wall of a church and in which a bell is hung, usually in lieu of a campanile or bell tower. (OD)

Buffer Zone | An important tool for conservation of properties inscribed on the World Heritage List, meaning the protection of the "surroundings" of the inscribed properties. Definition from (Turner, 2008, p.9)

***Bundesland* or *Land* |** Sub-state in a federal state. (DWDS)

***Cardus Maximus* |** Name of the north-south axis in Roman cities. (DEFL)

Chapel | A small building or room where Christians go to pray, attend religious services, etc. in a school, prison, large private house, etc. (OD)

Church spire | A tall pointed structure on the top of a building, especially a church. (OD)

Cloister | A covered passage with arches around a square garden, usually forming part of a cathedral, convent or monastery. (OD)

***Collación* |** District of a city, equivalent to a neighbourhood or parish. (DRAE)

***Conjunto Histórico* |** Grouping within the category of BIC of the Spanish heritage legislation that protects cities. (LPHE85)

Convent | A building in which a Christian community of nuns (= members of a female religious community) live together. (OD)

***Conventus* |** Judicial district established in Hispania and other provinces, to whose capitals the governor and his council went to administer justice. (DRAE)

***Cora* |** In Muslim Spain, not very extensive territorial division. (DRAE)

***Decumanus Maximus* |** Name of the east-west axis in Roman cities. (DEFL)

***Denkmalbereich* |** Category of heritage protection under North Rhine-Westphalian law that protects large areas, such as historic city centres. (DSchG)

Kingdom of Seville | Each of the territories of a State that formerly constituted a kingdom. [In this case it refers to the ancient denomination of the province of Seville.] (DRAE)

***Kulturkampf* |** Conflict between the Prussian state and the Catholic Church at the end of the 19th century. (DWDS)

***Limes* |** Border of the Roman Empire. The borders of Germania or Britannia are well known. (DEFL)

***Medina* |** Old quarter of an Arab city. [Also used to refer to the Muslim city] (DRAE)

Monastery | A building in which monks (= members of a male religious community) live together. (OD)

Mendicant | A member of a religious group who lives by asking people for money and food. [Mendicant orders are characterised by their location in urban areas]. (OD)

Monastic | Connected with monks or monasteries. Simple and quiet and possibly celibate. (OD)

***Pfarrbezirk* |** District of a parish. (DWDS)

Polizeibezirk **|** Civil district. (DWDS)

Refectory | A large room in which meals are served, especially in a religious institution and in some schools and colleges in the UK. (OD)

Reichskirche **|** Term used to designate the ecclesiastical infrastructure of the Imperial Church of the Holy Roman Empire. (Wilson, 2020, p.86)

Rekatholisierung **|** Proceso de la contrarreforma que representó un intento en el siglo 16 de devolver los territorios protestantes al catolicismo. (DWDS)

Acronyms

BIC (Bien de Interés Cultural) | Asset of Cultural Interest

DSchG (Gesetz zum Schutz und zur Pflege der Denkmäler im Lande Nordrhein-Westfalen) | Law on the Protection and Care of Monuments in the State of North Rhine-Westphalia

LPHA07 (Ley del Patrimonio Histórico Andaluz 14/2007) | Andalusian Historical Heritage Law 14/2007

LPHE85 (Ley del Patrimonio Histórico Español 16/1985) | Spanish Historical Heritage Law 16/1985

NRW (Nordrhein Westfalen) | North Rhine-Westphalia

PEPRICCHA (Plan Especial de Protección, Reforma Interior y Catálogo del Conjunto Histórico Artístico de Écija) | Special Plan for the Protection, Interior Reform and Catalogue of the Historic and Artistic Site of Écija.

PGOU (Plan General de Ordenación Urbana) | General Urban Development Plan

PNOA (Plan Nacional de Ortofotografía Aérea) | National Aerial Orthophotography Plan

POTA (Plan de Ordenación del Territorio de Andalucía) | The Andalusian Spatial Development Plan

ANNEXES

The tables discussed in 2.4.3 and 2.5.3 are attached as annexes. These are for Andalusia and North Rhine-Westphalia, each indicated at the top. Due to the size of each table, each one has been divided into two parts. The first one concerns city-related data such as diocese, population and coordinates. In the second part it can be found the total number of religious orders founded before the 19th century and the foundation date of each one. In turn, each table has been subdivided into two halves, because of the large number of cities studied. The cities are arranged in alphabetical order. The division into colours is made to help relate and distinguish the type of religious order according to whether it is masculine or feminine. Male orders are shown in red and female orders in blue.

ANDALUSIA

Ecclesiastical province 16th century	Diocese 16th century	Ecclesiastical province 2022	Diocese 2022	City	Coor. X	Coor. Y	Pop. 16th cent.	Pop. 1850	Pop. 1900	Pop. 2022	City Foundations	Total mon. & conv.	Male	Female
Toledo	Córdoba	Sevilla	Córdoba	Aguilar de la Frontera	-4,650000	37,516667	1807	11836	13311	13318	0	3	1	2
Sevilla	Cádiz	Sevilla	Cádiz	Alcalá de los Gazules	-5,72389	36,46188	724	6116	8799	5227	0	3	2	1
Toledo	Jaén	Granada	Jaén	Alcalá la Real	-3,922778	37,462500	2457	11521	15948	21556	0	7	5	2
Granada	Granada	Granada	Granada	Alhama de Granada	-3,988069	37,002555	862	6804	7683	5703	0	3	2	1
Granada	Almería	Granada	Almería	Almería	-2,450000	36,833333	966	17800	47202	199237	0	5	3	2
Granada	Almería	Granada	Almería	Almuñécar	-3,691111	36,733889	225	4578	8057	26748	0	1	1	0
Toledo	Jaén	Granada	Jaén	Andújar	-4,050560	38,039236	2900	9353	16411	36030	0	10	6	4
Sevilla	Sevilla	Sevilla	Málaga	Antequera	-4,559665	37,018365	4041	12064	31665	41184	0	19	12	7
Sevilla	Sevilla	Sevilla	Huelva	Aracena	-6,561111	37,891111	2583	4370	6288	8240	0	4	2	2
Sevilla	Sevilla	Sevilla	Málaga	Archidona	-4,390629	37,095403	1384	7846	8894	8024	0	3	2	1
Sevilla	Sevilla	Sevilla	Jerez de la Frontera	Arcos de la Frontera	-5,806313	36,748290	1231	11272	14393	30953	0	6	5	1
Toledo	Jaén	Granada	Jaén	Baeza	-3,466667	37,983333	5172	10851	13629	15773	0	17	12	5
Granada	Granada	Granada	Guadix	Baza	-2,770981	37,488864	1537	10433	12749	20376	0	7	5	2
Sevilla	Sevilla	Sevilla	Jerez de la Frontera	Bornos	-5,743491	36,821234	502	4826	6356	7607	0	3	2	1
Toledo	Córdoba	Sevilla	Córdoba	Bujalance	-4,378669	37,893961	2255	8936	11245	7257	0	5	3	2
Sevilla	Cádiz	Sevilla	Cádiz	Cádiz	-6,283333	36,516667	612	16000	69191	113066	0	15	10	5
Sevilla	Sevilla	Sevilla	Sevilla	Carmona	-5,642222	37,471111	1933	15121	16338	29279	0	10	5	5
Sevilla	Cádiz	Sevilla	Cádiz	Casares	-5,272778	36,444444	429	3804	6024	7700	0	1	1	0
Sevilla	Sevilla	Sevilla	Sevilla	Cazalla de la Sierra	-5,759627	37,932017	1273	6552	7748	4700	0	5	3	2
Sevilla	Cádiz	Sevilla	Cádiz	Chiclana de la Frontera	-6,150000	36,416667	639	9144	10768	87493	1303	2	1	1
Sevilla	Cádiz	Sevilla	Cádiz	Conil de la Frontera	-6,087702	36,275587	331	3542	5624	23497	0	1	1	0
Sevilla	Sevilla	Sevilla	Sevilla	Constantina	-5,621850	37,877570	1047	6983	9687	5779	0	5	3	2
Toledo	Córdoba	Sevilla	Córdoba	Córdoba	-4,766667	37,883333	6257	41976	56097	319515	0	37	18	19
Toledo	Córdoba	Sevilla	Córdoba	Dos Torres	-4,895783	38,444206	648	3008	4387	2402	1300	1	0	1
Sevilla	Sevilla	Sevilla	Sevilla	Écija	-5,079167	37,541111	5078	23722	23128	39743	0	21	13	8
Sevilla	Sevilla	Sevilla	Sevilla	El Arahal	-5,545278	37,262500	1109	6987	8126	19476	0	3	2	1
Sevilla	Sevilla	Sevilla	Sevilla	Estepa	-4,879167	37,291667	2420	7339	8773	12390	0	4	3	1
Sevilla	Sevilla	Sevilla	Sevilla	Fuentes de Andalucía	-5,344444	37,463333	481	5915	6863	7173	0	2	1	1
Granada	Granada	Granada	Granada	Granada	-3,600833	37,178056	13757	61610	75570	228682	0	42	22	20
Sevilla	Cádiz	Sevilla	Cádiz	Grazalema	-5,369242	36,758644	258	8888	6652	2005	0	1	1	0
Sevilla	Sevilla	Sevilla	Sevilla	Guadalcanal	-5,821111	38,091944	1213	5446	5702	2589	0	3	1	2
Granada	Almería	Granada	Guadix	Guadix	-3,137125	37,299552	1786	10129	12616	18493	0	6	4	2
Toledo	Córdoba	Granada	Córdoba	Huelma	-3,456002	37,648085	706	2973	4566	5615	0	2	2	0
Sevilla	Sevilla	Sevilla	Huelva	Huelva	-6,950000	37,250000	1090	7173	20927	141854	0	4	3	1
Toledo	Jaén	Granada	Jaén	Iznatoraf	-3,032021	38,157691	960	2101	4066	905	0	1	1	0
Toledo	Jaén	Granada	Jaén	Jaén	-3,788889	37,769722	5595	17387	25566	111669	0	16	9	7
Sevilla	Sevilla	Sevilla	Jerez de la Frontera	Jerez de la Frontera	-6,116667	36,700000	6816	33104	60846	212730	0	22	14	8
Sevilla	Málaga	Sevilla	Málaga	Jimena de la Frontera	-5,450000	36,433333	1216	5818	7485	6681	0	2	2	0
Toledo	Jaén	Granada	Jaén	La Carolina	-3.615270	38.274248	-	1739	9192	14960	1767	1	1	0

Ecclesiastical province 16th century	Diocese 16th century	Ecclesiastical province 2022	Diocese 2022	City	Coor. X	Coor. Y	Pop. 16th cent.	Pop. 1850	Pop. 1900	Pop. 2022	City Foundations	Total mon. & conv.	Male	Female
Toledo	Jaén	Granada	Jaén	La Guardia de Jaén	-3,692500	37,741944	361	1443	2091	5151	0	1	1	0
Sevilla	Sevilla	Sevilla	Sevilla	Lebrija	-6,078056	36,919444	726	6270	11127	27665	0	3	2	1
Granada	Granada	Granada	Granada	Loja	-4,150000	37,166667	1643	14957	19143	20555	0	5	4	1
Toledo	Córdoba	Sevilla	Córdoba	Lucena	-4,486013	37,409133	4481	16652	21294	42645	0	10	6	4
Sevilla	Málaga	Sevilla	Málaga	Málaga	-4,416667	36,716667	3357	27520	131063	579076	0	27	15	12
Sevilla	Sevilla	Sevilla	Sevilla	Marchena	-5,416389	37,329722	2170	11620	12255	19264	0	8	6	2
Toledo	Jaén	Granada	Jaén	Martos	-3,965833	37,722778	2183	11092	16682	24329	0	4	2	2
Sevilla	Cádiz	Sevilla	Cádiz	Medina Sidonia	-5,927273	36,457671	1433	10534	11003	11739	0	6	4	2
Sevilla	Málaga	Sevilla	Málaga	Mijas	-4,637222	36,595556	500	4033	5702	89502	0	1	1	0
Sevilla	Sevilla	Sevilla	Huelva	Moguer	-6,838611	37,274722	989	5477	8523	22643	0	2	1	1
Granada	Granada	Granada	Granada	Montefrío	-4,011111	37,321111	345	7903	10743	5406	0	1	1	0
Toledo	Córdoba	Sevilla	Córdoba	Montoro	-4,382812	38,021674	1075	10732	11376	9203	0	1	1	0
Sevilla	Sevilla	Sevilla	Huelva	Niebla	-6,677870	37,361439	1192	581	1457	4196	0	1	1	0
Sevilla	Sevilla	Sevilla	Sevilla	Osuna	-5,103056	37,237222	2460	15508	17826	17442	0	16	11	5
Toledo	Córdoba	Sevilla	Córdoba	Palma del Río	-5,280426	37,694960	1345	2736	7892	20810	0	4	3	1
Sevilla	Sevilla	Sevilla	Huelva	Palos de la Frontera	-6,893226	37,227770	220	843	1619	12483	1379	1	1	0
Toledo	Córdoba	Sevilla	Córdoba	Priego de Córdoba	-4,198042	37,438430	2000	13464	16745	22092	0	5	4	1
Sevilla	Cádiz	Sevilla	Jerez de la Frontera	Puerto de Santa María	-6,238149	36,601470	1069	17930	19373	89435	0	9	6	3
Sevilla	Cádiz	Sevilla	Cádiz	Puerto Real	-6,191944	36,529167	380	3881	9683	41963	1483	2	2	0
Sevilla	Málaga	Sevilla	Málaga	Ronda	-5,164722	36,737222	2097	13643	20822	33401	0	11	8	3
Sevilla	Cádiz	Sevilla	Cádiz	Rota	-6,359960	36,622864	550	7927	7412	29491	0	1	1	0
Toledo	Jaén	Granada	Jaén	Sabiote	-3,311411	38,068900	546	3051	4730	3863	0	1	1	0
Sevilla	Cádiz	Sevilla	Cádiz	San Fernando	-6,200967	36,466610	-	9792	29802	94120	1766	3	2	1
Sevilla	Cádiz	Sevilla	Cádiz	San Roque	-5,384444	36,209722	-	5693	8722	33018	1706	2	2	0
Sevilla	Sevilla	Sevilla	Jerez de la Frontera	Sanlúcar de Barrameda	-6,353889	36,778889	968	16861	23747	69727	0	15	12	3
Sevilla	Sevilla	Sevilla	Sevilla	Sanlúcar la Mayor	-6,201667	37,385833	802	2245	4367	14120	0	4	3	1
Granada	Granada	Granada	Granada	Santa Fe	-3,718056	37,189444	1273	4172	6424	15042	1491	1	1	0
Toledo	Jaén	Granada	Jaén	Santisteban del Puerto	-3,204957	38,249001	620	2903	6126	4434	0	1	1	0
Sevilla	Sevilla	Sevilla	Sevilla	Sevilla	-5,983333	37,383333	18000	100498	147271	681998	0	76	44	32
Sevilla	Cádiz	Sevilla	Cádiz	Tarifa	-5,605667	36,015310	863	8116	11730	18564	0	2	2	0
Toledo	Jaén	Granada	Jaén	Torredonjimeno	-3,950995	37,761422	1536	5787	10044	13467	0	2	1	1
Toledo	Jaén	Granada	Jaén	Úbeda	-3,371667	38,011667	4672	13086	19395	34062	0	12	9	3
Sevilla	Cádiz	Sevilla	Cádiz	Ubrique	-5,445195	36,679747	287	5439	7036	16383	0	1	1	0
Sevilla	Sevilla	Sevilla	Sevilla	Utrera	-5,781751	37,182465	2687	12864	14318	51402	0	9	6	3
Sevilla	Cádiz	Sevilla	Cádiz	Vejer de la Fontera	-5,963333	36,252222	1500	8360	11309	12656	0	3	2	1
Granada	Almería	Granada	Almería	Vélez Blanco	-2,095296	37,692542	315	7000	6838	1925	0	1	1	0
Granada	Almería	Granada	Almería	Vélez Rubio	-2,076406	37,648959	200	11300	10181	6528	0	2	1	1
Sevilla	Málaga	Sevilla	Málaga	Vélez-Málaga	-4,099254	36,782137	1399	14396	23492	83899	0	6	4	2

ANDALUSIA

Ecclesiastical province 16th century	City	Total mon. & conv.	Male	Female	Augustians	Basilians	Capuchins	Carmelites	Carthusians	Dominicans	Discalced Carmelites	Discalced Franciscans	Discalced Mercedarians	Discalced Trinitarians	Franciscans	Hieronymites	Hospitaller Order of St. John of God	Jesuits
Toledo	Aguilar de la Frontera	3	1	2							1590							
Sevilla	Alcalá de los Gazules	3	2	1						1506								
Toledo	Alcalá la Real	7	5	2			1631			1590					1545			1591
Granada	Alhama de Granada	3	2	1				1579				1695						
Granada	Almería	5	3	2						1489					1502			
Granada	Almuñécar	1	1	0														
Toledo	Andújar	10	6	4			1645				1590				1514			1623
Sevilla	Antequera	19	12	7	1513		1612	1513		1586	1617			1637	1500 1686		1696	
Sevilla	Aracena	4	2	2				1557		1568								
Sevilla	Archidona	3	2	1						1531								
Sevilla	Arcos de la Frontera	6	5	1	1586							1603			1510			1653
Toledo	Baeza	17	12	5						1529	1579			1606	1227 1350 1493			1570 1596
Granada	Baza	7	5	2						1553		1609	1507		1491	1502		
Sevilla	Bornos	3	2	1								1592				1493		
Toledo	Bujalance	5	3	2				1587							1530		1542	
Sevilla	Cádiz	15	10	5	1593		1639			1635	1737	1608	1629		1566		1613	1566
Sevilla	Carmona	10	5	5						1590	1687				1530	1477		1619
Sevilla	Casares	1	1	0			1630											
Sevilla	Cazalla de la Sierra	5	3	2	1588				1476						1493			
Sevilla	Chiclana de la Frontera	2	1	1	1577													
Sevilla	Conil de la Frontera	1	1	0														
Sevilla	Constantina	5	3	2		1667									1406		1511	
Toledo	Córdoba	37	18	19	1241	1590	1655	1510		1241 1531	1586 1613	1682		1608	1240			1343 1553
Toledo	Dos Torres	1	0	1														
Sevilla	Écija	21	13	8	1491		1621	1425		1383	1591		1639		1473	1486	1655	1598
Sevilla	El Arahal	3	2	1											1624			
Sevilla	Estepa	4	3	1											1603			
Sevilla	Fuentes de Andalucía	2	1	1									1617					
Granada	Granada	42	22	20	1513	1616	1615	1572	1513	1492	1573	1633	1615	1610	1492 1507	1492	1550	1554
Sevilla	Grazalema	1	1	0							1604							
Sevilla	Guadalcanal	3	1	2											1495			
Granada	Guadix	6	4	2	1594					1495		1648			1490			
Toledo	Huelma	2	2	0	1573	1577												
Sevilla	Huelva	4	3	1									1605		1588			
Toledo	Iznatoraf	1	1	0						1540								
Toledo	Jaén	16	9	7	1587			1511		1382					1354	1575	1619	1611
Sevilla	Jerez de la Frontera	22	14	8	1509		1661	1587	1453	1264		1603	1644		1267		1573	1603
Sevilla	Jimena de la Frontera	2	2	0											1530			
Toledo	La Carolina	1	1	0				1573										

Mercedarians	Oratorians	Order of Calatrava	Order of Minims	Order of Saint Mary of Spain	Order of Santiago	Recollects Franciscans	Sancti Spiritu	Third Order of Saint Francis	Trinitarians	Augustinians	Capuchins	Carmelites	Conceptionists	Discalced Agustinians	Discalced Carmelites	Discalced Mercedarians	Dominicans	Hieronymites	Order of the Holy Spirit	Order of Minims	Poor Clares	Recollects Agustinians	Third Order of Saint Francis	Third Order of Trinitarians
															1671						1566			
			1577	1279																	1629			
								1506									1580							1528
													1612											
									1584												1515 1590			
			1582																					
			1650						1244		1682		1587							1495			1225	
			1585					1519 1527		1520		1536		1745	1635		1636			1601	1628			
												1536					1662							
			1556																	1551				
1785																1650								
1280	1660		1551						1502	1568					1599		1533			1561	1583			
																	1529				1491			
																					1571			
															1708						1596			
	1671									1567 1587			1527 1606 1648											
													1510	1629			1515 1532				1460			
										1550											1569			
														1666										
			1567																					
																		1951			1571			
1250	1696		1509					1602	1241	1532	1655				1589		1475 1499 1580 1606	1459		1538	1262 1459 1475 1491			
													1517											
1509			1505					1626				1509	1587		1634	1644	1460 1508			1570	1487			
			1546														1608							
			1562		1267																1599			
																1620								
1492	1671		1510					1534	1517	1771	1587	1508 1683	1626	1655	1582		1514 1520 1520 1589	1500			1500 1507 1524	1630	1523 1538	
													1641						1511					
													1561								1538			
			1582							1510														
1288									1249			1550	1618		1615		1475 1562				1246 1584			
1377			1543	1270				1559	1570	1543 1526			1517				1324 1799			1524	1504 1635			
			1598																					

ANDALUSIA

Ecclesiastical province 16th century	City	Total mon. & conv.	Male	Female	Augustians	Basilians	Capuchins	Carmelites	Carthusians	Dominicans	Discalced Carmelites	Discalced Franciscans	Discalced Mercedarians	Discalced Trinitarians	Franciscans	Hieronymites	Hospitaller Order of St. John of God	Jesuits
Toledo	La Guardia de Jaén	1	1	0						1530								
Sevilla	Lebrija	3	2	1											1570			
Granada	Loja	5	4	1								1607			1490			1729
Toledo	Lucena	10	6	4						1563	1600	1713			1600		1565	
Sevilla	Málaga	27	15	12	1575		1658			1494	1584	1682		1654	1489		1680	1572
Sevilla	Marchena	8	6	2	1649		1651			1520					1530			1567
Toledo	Martos	4	2	2											1573		1650	
Sevilla	Medina Sidonia	6	4	2	1575						1715						1579	
Sevilla	Mijas	1	1	0							1682							
Sevilla	Moguer	2	1	1											1482			
Granada	Montefrío	1	1	0											1774			
Toledo	Montoro	1	1	0							1682							
Sevilla	Niebla	1	1	0						1579								
Sevilla	Osuna	16	11	5	1582			1557		1531			1607		1531		1591	1615
Toledo	Palma del Río	4	3	1		1667				1501					1518			
Sevilla	Palos de la Frontera	1	1	0											1412			
Toledo	Priego de Córdoba	5	4	1								1662			1515		1637	
Sevilla	Puerto de Santa María	9	6	3	1521					1657		1620			1516		1661	
Sevilla	Puerto Real	2	2	0								1620						
Sevilla	Ronda	11	8	3						1485	1587			1608	1485		1550	
Sevilla	Rota	1	1	0									1604					
Toledo	Sabiote	1	1	0				1584										
Sevilla	San Fernando	3	2	1							1682				1744			
Sevilla	San Roque	2	2	0											1765			
Sevilla	Sanlúcar de Barrameda	15	12	3	1573		1634	1640		1528	1640	1640	1615		1443	1440	1526	1620
Sevilla	Sanlúcar la Mayor	4	3	1		1634					1688					1477		
Granada	Santa Fe	1	1	0	1617													
Toledo	Santisteban del Puerto	1	1	0											1406			
Sevilla	Sevilla	76	44	32	1292 1593	1593	1627	1358	1602	1400 1248 1450 1516 1553 1559 1607	1580 1588 1642	1580 1596 1600 1649	1611	1610	1249 1567	1414 1431	1574	1557 1580 1594 1599 1619
Sevilla	Tarifa	2	2	0								1728						
Toledo	Torredonjimeno	2	1	1														
Toledo	Úbeda	12	9	3						1516	1587	1606		1250	1233		1061	1593
Sevilla	Ubrique	1	1	0			1660											
Sevilla	Utrera	9	6	3				1558		1542					1431		1567	1625
Sevilla	Vejer de la Fontera	3	2	1									1620		1552			
Granada	Vélez Blanco	1	1	0														
Granada	Vélez Rubio	2	1	1											1685			
Sevilla	Vélez-Málaga	6	4	2			1649				1591				1498		1487	

Mercedarians	Oratorians	Order of Calatrava	Order of Minims	Order of Saint Mary of Spain	Order of Santiago	Recollects Franciscans	Sancti Spiritu	Third Order of Saint Francis	Trinitarians	Augustinians	Capuchins	Carmelites	Conceptionists	Discalced Agustinians	Discalced Carmelites	Discalced Mercedarians	Dominicans	Hieronymites	Order of the Holy Spirit	Order of Minims	Poor Clares	Recollects Agustinians	Third Order of Saint Francis	Third Order of Trinitarians
								1510					1519											
			1487																		1528			
			1680												1612		1585				1608	1639		
1499	1739		1493			1590			1494	1575	1698			1628	1584 1891	1893	1728				1495 1517			
						1366										1637					1624			
		1228																			1409			1595
			1650		1279					1519												1687		
																					1337			
		1264	1549			1536	1595					1558	1556			1626	1558				1550			
																					1498			
		1246																			1617			
			1517		1264						1730		1518						1490					
			1639																					
1551								1542	1593								1525				1542 1664			
											1865													
1765																								
			1590												1644		1506				1488			
															1530									
1250 1601	1698	1250	1512 1589	1250	1250		1545	1602 1755	1249	1260 1540 1571 1591	1700	1513 1550 1564	1475 1522 1531 1587			1625	1403 1403 1475 1521 1522 1585	1473	1538	1563 1602 1837	1289 1374 1520		1688	1720
									1536															
			1604														1540							
1234			1557												1608		1570				1290			
			1561									1577					1530				1506 1515			
													1584											
						1602																		
																					1703			
															1699						1503			

NORTH-RHINE WESTPHALIA

Region	Ecclesiastical province 16th cent.	Diocese 16th cent.	Ecclesiastical province 2022	Diocese 2022	City	Coor. X	Coor. Y	Pop. 1816	Pop. 1852	Pop. 1939	Pop. 2022	Total mon. & conv.	Male	Female
Nordrhein	Köln	Köln	Aachen	Köln	Aachen	6,084	50,7762	32015	54949	198070	248878	24	11	13
Westfalen	Münster	Köln	Münster	Köln	Ahlen	7,891	51,763	2319	3131	30406	52036	1	1	0
Nordrhein	Köln	Köln	Aachen	Köln	Aldenhoven	6,283	50,896	2520	2866	6011	13787	2	2	0
Westfalen	Köln	Köln	Essen	Köln	Altena	7,667	51,300	3362	5206	22571	18079	1	1	0
Westfalen	Köln	Köln	Paderborn	Köln	Arnsberg	8,064	51,397	2642	4651	50167	73487	3	3	0
Nordrhein	Köln	Köln	Köln	Köln	Bedburg	6,563	51,0000	2300	2748	13864	23743	3	1	2
Nordrhein	Münster	Köln	Münster	Köln	Bedburg-Hau	6,183	51,7667	2300	2748	9828	12973	1	0	1
Nordrhein	Köln	Köln	Köln	Köln	Bergisch Gladbach	7,137	50,992	3368	4620	37550	109026	1	1	0
Westfalen	Paderborn	Mainz	Paderborn	Paderborn	Bielefeld	8,533	52,0167	6074	10637	200544	333509	3	3	0
Westfalen	Münster	Köln	Münster	Köln	Bocholt	6,617	51,8333	3849	4981	44783	71061	4	3	1
Westfalen	Köln	Köln	Essen	Köln	Bochum	7,217	51,483	2107	5825	366934	362585	1	1	0
Nordrhein	Köln	Köln	Köln	Köln	Bonn	7,100	50,7339	10046	19541	166480	330579	19	10	9
Westfalen	Münster	Köln	Münster	Köln	Borken	6,858	51,844	2169	2971	18123	42650	5	5	0
Westfalen	Köln	Köln	Paderborn	Köln	Brilon	8,568	51,396	2768	3857	14438	25336	2	2	0
Westfalen	Münster	Köln	Münster	Köln	Coesfeld	7,168	51,9458	2879	3011	19320	36182	11	10	1
Westfalen	Paderborn	Mainz	Paderborn	Paderborn	Detmold	8,869	51,938	2742	5177	41917	74097	2	2	0
Westfalen	Köln	Köln	Münster	Köln	Dorsten	6,964	51,6600	2304	3112	33622	74515	3	2	1
Westfalen	Köln	Köln	Paderborn	Köln	Dortmund	7,465	51,5139	4289	16646	545424	587696	5	5	0
Nordrhein	Köln	Köln	Essen	Köln	Duisburg	6,761	51,4322	5364	9567	529696	495885	11	6	5
Westfalen	Münster	Köln	Münster	Köln	Dülmen	7,278	51,831	2098	3521	19544	46178	1	1	0
Nordrhein	Köln	Köln	Aachen	Köln	Düren	6,483	50,8000	4978	8249	69946	91272	11	6	5
Nordrhein	Köln	Köln	Köln	Köln	Düsseldorf	6,772	51,2311	22538	42733	524056	620523	14	8	6
Westfalen	Köln	Köln	Köln	Köln	Eckenhagen	7,694	50,988	3348	3640	9724	1932	1	1	0
Nordrhein	Köln	Köln	Köln	Köln	Eitorf	7,452	50,770	2797	4057	9282	18750	1	0	1
Nordrhein	Köln	Köln	Köln	Köln	Elberfeld	7,183	51,2667	21676	40569	406114	355004	2	2	0
Nordrhein	Münster	Köln	Münster	Köln	Emmerich	6,245	51,8350	4442	6901	20572	30869	10	5	5
Nordrhein	Köln	Köln	Aachen	Köln	Erkelenz	6,316	51,0800	3372	4273	21253	43275	2	2	0
Nordrhein	Köln	Köln	Aachen	Köln	Eschweiler	6,263	50,8107	4147	9150	41499	56172	3	1	2
Nordrhein	Köln	Köln	Essen	Köln	Essen	7,0131	51,4508	4496	10475	681867	582415	6	4	2
Nordrhein	Köln	Köln	Köln	Köln	Frechen	6,817	50,9167	2312	3426	20408	51947	2	0	2
Nordrhein	Münster	Köln	Münster	Köln	Geldern	6,333	51,520	3233	4420	14843	33760	5	2	3
Westfalen	Köln	Köln	Paderborn	Köln	Geseke	8,517	51,650	2741	3735	10666	21422	2	2	0
Nordrhein	Münster	Köln	Münster	Köln	Goch	6,162	51,684	3061	3910	21333	34531	3	1	2
Westfalen	Münster	Köln	Münster	Köln	Greven	7,608	52,092	3537	4374	15798	34710	1	0	1
Westfalen	Köln	Köln	Paderborn	Köln	Hamm	7,8167	51,6667	4688	6320	122564	178967	4	4	0
Westfalen	Münster	Köln	Münster	Köln	Havixbeck	7,466	51,995	2163	2641	3256	700	2	2	0
Nordrhein	Köln	Köln	Aachen	Köln	Hellenthal	6,433	50,483	2488	2815	8619	8207	1	0	1
Nordrhein	Köln	Köln	Köln	Köln	Hennef	7,283	50,783	3445	4650	13673	47544	2	1	1
Westfalen	Paderborn	Mainz	Paderborn	Paderborn	Herford	8,673	52,1146	5832	9904	51414	66495	7	7	0
Westfalen	Osnabrück	Köln	Paderborn	Paderborn	Herzebrock	8,233	51,883	2416	2539	6691	15815	1	1	0
Westfalen	Paderborn	Mainz	Paderborn	Paderborn	Höxter	9,367	51,7667	2858	3806	21411	28509	5	5	0
Nordrhein	Köln	Köln	Aachen	Köln	Jülich	6,358	50,922	2520	3110	20284	32336	6	4	2
Westfalen	Köln	Köln	Essen	Köln	Kirchhellen	6,921	51,602	2089	2426	3400	20607	1	1	0
Nordrhein	Köln	Köln	Köln	Köln	Köln	6,958	50,9422	49276	96576	810138	1083498	65	22	43

Region	Ecclesiastical province 16th cent.	Diocese 16th cent.	Ecclesiastical province 2022	Diocese 2022	City	Coor. X	Coor. Y	Pop. 1816	Pop. 1852	Pop. 1939	Pop. 2022	Total mon. & conv.	Male	Female
Nordrhein	Köln	Köln	Köln	Köln	Lechenich	6,767	50,817	2114	2909	5000	11503	2	1	1
Westfalen	Minden	Köln	Paderborn	Paderborn	Lemgo	8,904	52,0277	3903	4033	23287	40456	4	4	0
Westfalen	Münster	Köln	Münster	Köln	Liesborn	8,256	51,710	2069	2520	3213	3720	1	1	0
Westfalen	Köln	Köln	Paderborn	Köln	Lippstadt	8,350	51,667	3075	5202	35635	67793	6	6	0
Nordrhein	Köln	Köln	Aachen	Köln	Lobberich	6,267	51,300	2358	3038	7000	13916	1	0	1
Westfalen	Paderborn	Mainz	Paderborn	Paderborn	Lügde	9,250	51,9500	2023	252	6848	9235	2	0	0
Nordrhein	Köln	Köln	Köln	Köln	Marienheide	7,533	51,083	2294	2841	5283	13666	1	1	0
Westfalen	Minden	Köln	Paderborn	Köln	Minden	8,895	52,2965	6775	11844	50290	81592	7	7	0
Nordrhein	Köln	Köln	Aachen	Köln	Mönchengladbach	6,433	51,2000	5098	9978	214059	259665	6	3	3
Nordrhein	Köln	Köln	Aachen	Köln	Monschau	6,250	50,5500	3282	3284	8772	11686	3	2	1
Nordrhein	Köln	Köln	Essen	Köln	Mülheim	6,883	51,428	4009	7020	137953	166804	1	0	1
Westfalen	Münster	Köln	Münster	Köln	Münster	7,626	51,9625	15088	18605	164577	316403	25	25	0
Nordrhein	Köln	Köln	Köln	Köln	Neuss	6,694	51,2003	6249	10185	69211	153109	14	6	8
Nordrhein	Köln	Köln	Köln	Köln	Odenthal	7,117	51,0333	6644	4647	3187	15063	1	1	0
Nordrhein	Köln	Köln	Köln	Köln	Overath	7,284	50,933	3253	5111	7542	26788	1	1	0
Westfalen	Paderborn	Mainz	Paderborn	Paderborn	Paderborn	8,767	51,7167	5846	10768	60029	151864	10	10	0
Nordrhein	Köln	Köln	Köln	Köln	Ratingen	6,850	51,300	3189	4648	28791	86882	1	1	0
Westfalen	Köln	Köln	Köln	Köln	Recklinghausen	7,200	51,617	2577	4031	86313	110705	3	3	0
Nordrhein	Münster	Köln	Münster	Köln	Rees	6,400	51,767	2436	3555	12800	21030	2	0	2
Nordrhein	Köln	Köln	Köln	Köln	Remscheid	7,187	51,1802	7948	13232	105016	110132	1	1	0
Nordrhein	Münster	Köln	Münster	Köln	Rheinberg	6,601	51,5467	2061	2708	12067	30933	3	2	1
Westfalen	Münster	Köln	Münster	Köln	Rheine	7,433	52,283	2421	2487	44315	72942	2	2	0
Nordrhein	Köln	Köln	Köln	Köln	Rosbach	7,611	50,796	2140	2642	3200	4009	1	0	1
Nordrhein	Köln	Köln	Köln	Köln	Rösrath	7,183	50,900	2538	3616	6184	27446	1	1	0
Westfalen	Mainz	Mainz	Paderborn	Köln	Siegen	8,017	50,8756	3904	6917	82660	51896	5	4	1
Westfalen	Köln	Köln	Paderborn	Köln	Soest	8,109	51,5711	5126	9907	29328	47206	5	5	0
Nordrhein	Köln	Köln	Köln	Köln	Solingen	7,083	51,1667	3548	7938	141882	159193	4	3	1
Westfalen	Münster	Köln	Münster	Köln	Steinfurt	7,337	52,150	2184	2874	19668	33376	1	1	0
Nordrhein	Köln	Köln	Aachen	Köln	Stolberg	6,233	50,767	2659	4880	41046	56044	1	1	0
Nordrhein	Münster	Köln	Münster	Köln	Straelen	6,267	51,4500	4249	5169	8281	16248	2	1	1
Westfalen	Köln	Köln	Köln	Köln	Unna	7,689	51,535	3490	5789	31303	59145	1	1	0
Nordrhein	Köln	Köln	Köln	Köln	Velbert	7,0416	51,3400	4645	8065	54368	81192	1	1	0
Nordrhein	Köln	Köln	Aachen	Köln	Viersen	6,392	51,2556	6816	12209	62857	77376	2	1	1
Westfalen	Münster	Köln	Münster	Köln	Vreden	6,833	52,033	2201	2620	10567	22676	3	3	0
Westfalen	Paderborn	Mainz	Paderborn	Paderborn	Warburg	9,140	51,488	2171	3862	17285	22928	3	3	0
Westfalen	Münster	Köln	Münster	Köln	Warendorf	7,993	51,9539	3818	4544	17507	37173	5	5	0
Nordrhein	Münster	Köln	Münster	Köln	Weeze	6,197	51,627	2280	2572	5562	10138	1	1	0
Nordrhein	Köln	Köln	Aachen	Köln	Wegberg	6,267	51,133	2814	3981	12953	27813	1	1	0
Westfalen	Köln	Köln	Paderborn	Köln	Werl	7,914	51,553	2444	4109	16112	30702	2	2	0
Nordrhein	Münster	Köln	Münster	Köln	Wesel	6,618	51,6586	9463	12289	34925	60329	12	9	3
Nordrhein	Köln	Köln	Köln	Köln	Wiehl	7,533	50,950	2191	2715	9750	25307	1	1	0
Nordrhein	Köln	Köln	Aachen	Köln	Willich	6,549	51,263	2253	3694	21137	50676	1	1	0
Nordrhein	Köln	Köln	Köln	Köln	Wipperfürth	7,394	51,116	2855	4688	12376	21563	1	1	0
Nordrhein	Münster	Köln	Münster	Köln	Xanten	6,454	51,662	2577	3666	10346	21521	7	4	3

NORTH-RHINE WESTPHALIA

City	Total mon. & conv.	Male	Female	Alexians	Antonines	Augustinians	Benedictines	Canons Regular of the Holy Cross	Brethren of the Common Life	Capuchins	Carmelites	Carthusians	Congregation of Windesheimer	Cistercians	Discalced Carmelites	Discalced Franciscans	Dominicans	Franciscans	Holy Sepulchre	Jesuits	Oratorians	Order of Minims	Order of Saint John	Premonstratensians	Recollects Franciscans	Servite Order	Teutonic order	Third Order of Saint Francis	Trappists	Williamites
Aachen	24	11	13	1391		1329	997	1372			1353						1294	1234	1486	1600			1313				1320	1315		
Ahlen	1	1	0																											1467
Aldenhoven	2	2	0							1661																	1250			
Altena	1	1	0																								1220			
Arnsberg	3	3	0							1652							1691										1185			
Bedburg	3	1	2			1280																								
Bedburg-Hau	1	0	1		1426																									
Bergisch Gladbach	1	1	0																				1250							
Bielefeld	3	3	0			1353	1501																							1491
Bocholt	4	3	1												1628			1309												1455
Bochum	1	1	0															1322												
Bonn	19	10	9				690 1149			1618	1688							1274		1590					1624	1637	1220 1281				
Borken	5	5	0			1629	1253				1265							1397												1472
Brilon	2	2	0												1653			1310												
Coesfeld	11	10	1			1175 1652	1750			1627						1658		1288 1293 1358						1230						1431
Detmold	2	2	0																1446											1478
Dorsten	3	2	1				1493											1300												
Dortmund	5	5	0		1290		1345					1288						1280	1340										1245	
Duisburg	11	6	5					1454										1265					1153 1281	1136			1252			
Dülmen	1	1	0	1480																										1471
Düren	11	6	5							1635	1338							1450		1628			1290							1252
Düsseldorf	14	8	6				695	1443		1617 1682 1657										1619					1651				1701	
Eckenhagen	1	1	0							1680																				
Eitorf	1	0	1																											
Elberfeld	2	2	0					1296												1658										
Emmerich	10	5	5					1482	1467							1672		1463		1592										
Erkelenz	2	2	0					1302																	1645					
Eschweiler	3	1	2																						1785					
Essen	6	4	2				790			1613 1613										1666										
Frechen	2	0	2																											
Geldern	5	2	3							1619	1306																			
Geseke	2	2	0				1651										1513													
Goch	3	1	2						1365																					
Greven	1	0	1																											
Hamm	4	4	0				1455									1572								1272						1323
Havixbeck	2	2	0			1142																		1243						
Hellenthal	1	0	1																											
Hennef	2	1	1										1424																	
Herford	7	7	0			1288				1434	1285	1286						1288	1412											1449
Herzebrock	1	1	0					1286																						
Höxter	5	5	0			823 1128						1261						1303						1198						
Jülich	6	4	2							1622		1478								1648			1300							
Kirchhellen	1	1	0																					1240						
Köln	65	22	43	1306	1260	1180 1180 1264 1420	955 986 1002	1307	1417	1611	1256	1334	1426		1614		1221	1291			1645	1222	1250	1144			1218 1573			

Augustinians	Annonciades	Begines	Benedictines	Bridgettines	Capuchin Tertiaries	Carmelites	Celitine Sisters	Celestines	Christenserines	Cistercians	Congregation of Notre Dame	Congregation of Windesheimer	Devotessen	Discalced Carmelites	Dominicans	Holy Sepulchre	Klausnerinnen	Loreto Sisters	Poor Clares	Premonstratensians	Recollects Franciscans	Servite Order	Sisters of St Elizabeth	Sisters of the Common Life	St. Mary Magdalene	Third Order of Dominicans	Third Order of Saint Francis	Ursulines
	1646	1262 1275	1513						1310	997				1662					1616		1645		1626		1278	1695		1651
										1496																	1452	
																				1138								
1313																												
1293 1323 1228		1338	1015		1629					1230	1664						1300											
1417																												
1699																												
		1454								1234																	1289 1494 1472	
	1628							1521															1650				1470	1681
								1650	1639					1641													1450 1347	1677
1170																												
1419 1427		1475											1625															1735
										1274 1274																		
											1652									1170								
			1136							1222																		
		1432				1400						1418																
										1250																	1414	
1633																												
			1121																									
										1245																		
																1644							1678					
1186 1198 1200		1267 1284 1291 1296 1302 1312 1316	950 1144			1565								1630	1257				1304 1484								1452 1452 1452	
1313 1433		1334 1341 1365 1452 1468 1474	1178 1239			1565				1220 1246				1637	1519			1621	1578				1640		1468		1430 1450 1476	1639

NORTH-RHINE WESTPHALIA

City	Total mon. & conv.	Male	Female	Alexians	Antonines	Augustinians	Benedictines	Canons Regular of the Holy Cross	Brethren of the Common Life	Capuchins	Carmelites	Carthusians	Congregation of Windesheimer	Cisterciens	Discalced Carmelites	Discalced Franciscans	Dominicans	Franciscans	Holy Sepulchre	Jesuits	Oratorians	Order of Minims	Order of Saint John	Premonstratensians	Recollects Franciscans	Servite Order	Teutonic order	Third Order of Saint Francis	Trappists	Williamites
Lechenich	2	1	1																					1649						
Lemgo	4	4	0				1463											1306									1308			1459
Liesborn	1	1	0			1019																								
Lippstadt	6	6	0			1281				1618								1316						1240					1153	1434
Lobberich	1	0	1																											
Lügde	2	0	0				1735										1483													
Marienheide	1	1	0														1420													
Minden	7	7	0			1042	1265 1634	1216		1630		1202												1640						
Mönchengladbach	6	3	3				974	1491		1655																				
Monschau	3	2	1															1712						1131						
Mülheim	1	0	1		1284																									
Münster	25	25	0		1245	1620	1641 1613	1040	1320	1416 1732 1593 1460	1538	1332						1248 1280 1326 1344	1628	1314		1332 1332	1332 1332	1184		1773		1689		1458
Neuss	14	6	8	1451		1181												1234		1615					1624 1624			1427		
Odenthal	1	1	0											1133																
Overath	1	1	0				1256																							
Paderborn	10	10	0			1039 1612	1661	1631		1584		1238					1652	1235 1409						1229						
Ratingen	1	1	0							1651																				
Recklinghausen	3	3	0				1665										1532	1300												
Rees	2	0	2																											
Remscheid	1	1	0							1642																				
Rheinberg	3	2	1							1631																	1317			
Rheine	2	2	0										1648														1458			
Rosbach	1	0	1																											
Rösrath	1	1	0			1672																								
Siegen	5	4	1				1486			1626								1248									1288			
Soest	5	5	0				1230					1233					1166	1293									1366			
Solingen	4	3	1																	1658		1782	1187							
Steinfurt	1	1	0							1222																				
Stolberg	1	1	0							1737																				
Straelen	2	1	1										1469																	
Unna	1	1	0																											1468
Velbert	1	1	0																						1676					
Viersen	2	1	1					1479																						
Vreden	3	3	0				1647					1654							1651											
Warburg	3	3	0				1282											1357 1474												
Warendorf	5	5	0			1256	1631											1321	1644					1247						
Weeze	1	1	0																									1461		
Wegberg	1	1	0					1639																						
Werl	2	2	0			1645												1429												
Wesel	12	9	3			1256 1351			1436	1625		1418					1291			1627			1297	1626						
Wiehl	1	1	0																				1300							
Willich	1	1	0																			1658								
Wipperfürth	1	1	0																						1639					
Xanten	7	4	3				1117			1629		1419								1609										

Augustinians	Annonciades	Begines	Benedictines	Bridgettines	Capuchin Tertiaries	Carmelites	Celitine Sisters	Celestines	Christenserines	Cistercians	Congregation of Notre Dame	Congregation of Windesheimer	Devotessen	Discalced Carmelites	Dominicans	Holy Sepulchre	Klausnerinnen	Loreto Sisters	Poor Clares	Premonstratensians	Recollects Franciscans	Servite Order	Sisters of St Elizabeth	Sisters of the Common Life	St. Mary Magdalene	Third Order of Dominicans	Third Order of Saint Francis	Ursulines
										1220																		
				1625																								
			1135																1433								1434	
										1214																		1710
1432		1320	950 1252							1231		1432				1654			1283									
										1240														1436				
																											1421	
										1247																		
1739																												
1185																												
		1420																										
		1424																										
		1429																	1290					1461				
			1156	1457																				1402				

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"Don't adventures ever have an end? I suppose not. Someone else always has to carry on the story"

(Tolkien, 1954, p.224)