JOINING THE CLUB: A SPANISH HISTORIC TOWNS ATLAS?

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ABSTRACT

The background to the historic towns atlas project of the International Commission for the History of Towns is explained briefly. Variations from the standard model laid down in the 1960s are discussed and components of a recommended methodology are suggested. Spain has long been represented on the commission, yet no historic town atlases have been published to date. The country has a distinguished urban past, rich archival resources and well-preserved townscapes. Spanish scholars are urged to re-engage with this international programme in a proactive way. In particular Spain's medieval past provides a spectacular example, spanning both Atlantic Europe and Mediterranean Europe, of the importance of map making and map usage.

KEY WORDS

Atlases, Comparative urban history, Maps, Topographical information, Urban form.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Atlantes, Historia urbana Collana, Geographicae tabulae, Res topographicae, Ratio urbium.

Spanish (and Portuguese) readers may be familiar with the volume published in 1994 entitled *Atlas histórico de ciudades europeas*.[1] This atlas came about as an initiative of the Centre de Cultura Contemporània de Barcelona, in collaboration with the Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya. It contains essays by various authors, and combinations of authors, and it deals with eleven large towns and cities, two of them in Portugal (Lisbon and Oporto) and the others in Spain, including Madrid.[2] The essays are built round major themes, presented in broadly chronological order, and they are sumptuously illustrated by means of numerous maps, photographs and graphs, as well as plans of parts of these places, historical prospects, architectural profiles and other types of image. This is a high-quality publication in largebook format. Two years later a similar work was published on a comparable range of French towns and cities.[3] The main difference between this and its Iberian predecessor is that the French atlas devotes more space to the distribution of social groups, particularly in an 'epilogue' equipped with special maps and population statistics.[4] A third volume, this time for Britain, was prepared but never published and the series appears to have come to a standstill.

The organizers of the *Atlas histórico de ciudades europeas* were fully aware of the existence of another international atlas of historic towns —the one issued under the academic umbrella of the International Commission for the History of Towns (ICHT), which had commenced publication in 1969.[5] In their introduction, the editors made a number of criticisms of the ICHT's project. One was the alleged emphasis on the historical period before *c.* 1800, in other words, on the pre-industrial town. Another was the slow pace of publication, this being a legitimate criticism in the case of some of the participating countries, though by no means all of them. Thirdly, differences in approach between one country and another were cited as another weakness, again with a good deal of justification and giving rise to a legitimate concern about the utility of these town atlases for strictly comparative purposes. Fourthly, it was implied that, in practice if not in principle, the large towns or cities had for the most part been ignored or at least had not then (*c.* 1994) seen the light of day.[6] Finally it

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1. *Atlas histórico de ciudades europeas. 1. Península Ibérica*, Manuel Guàrdia, Francisco J. Monclús, José L. Oyón, eds. Barcelona: Salvat, 1994.

2. The Spanish towns and cities, in alphabetical order, are as follows: Barcelona, Bilbao, Granada, Madrid, Málaga, Seville, Valencia, Valladolid and Zaragoza.

3. *Atlas historique des villes de France*, Jean-Luc Pinol, ed. Paris: Hachette, 1996. The selection, again in alphabetical order, is as follows: Bordeaux, Lille, Lyon, Marseille, Montpellier, Nantes, Paris, Rouen, Strasbourg and Toulouse.

4. *Atlas historique des villes de France...*: 310-318.

5. In those days the chairman of the ICHT was Philippe Wolff of the University of Toulouse. Amongst other things, he was acutely aware of linguistic nuances of the full range of European languages, as is evidenced by his book Wolff, Philippe. *Western Languages AD 100–1500*, trans. Frances Partridge. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971. In the ICHT atlas project, various solutions have been adopted in relation to this phenomenon.

6. By that date, atlases of Cologne, London (down to *c.* 1520) and Vienna had been published; also two parts of an atlas of the city of Rome, in a scheme that bears little relationship to the ICHT's recommended methodology.

was claimed that the ICHT's atlas expressed little interest in the 'hidden dimension' (*dimensión oculta*) of the urban form, that is to say, the socio-functional one.[7]

It has to be admitted that there are substantial grounds for at least some of these criticisms. Qualifications, however, are also necessary. The accusation of comparative neglect of the period after *c.* 1800 may have been influenced to a large extent by the nature of the British atlas itself (the first to be published) and by a review of the ICHT's project that appeared in 1981.[8] The essays in the British atlas do indeed take the story down to the end of the eighteenth century and the principal reconstruction map in each case shows the town *c.* 1800 together with major features present in the late medieval period. On the other hand, the historical information that is a normal feature of the Rhenish atlas takes in the nineteenth century as a matter of course and continues down to the late twentieth century under some headings.[9] The Irish atlas brings its topographical information down to *c.* 1900 in all 22 sections and for important features even down to the present day.[10] In the special case of the Croatian atlas, which admittedly is one of the late starters, a considered decision was made to record each town's history down to the present for two reasons: first, the radical transformations that took place in many Croatian towns during the socialist period and, secondly, the destruction brought about in the course of the 'Fatherland War' of the late twentieth century.[11] It is generally true that the 'hidden dimension' of socio-functional analysis has not received much emphasis, though a

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7. These criticisms occur in Spanish and in French respectively at p. xii.

8. *Historic Towns: Maps and Plans of Towns and Cities in the British Isles, with Historical Commentaries, from Earliest Times to 1800,* Mary D. Lobel, ed. Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, no date [1969]: vol. I; Borg Wik, Lempi; Hall, Thomas. "Urban history atlases: a survey of recent publications." *Urban History Yearbook,* 8 (1981): 66-75, note 6. The towns in the first volume of the British atlas are as follows: Banbury, Caernarvon (in Wales), Glasgow (in Scotland), Gloucester, Hereford, Nottingham, Reading and Salisbury.

9. Rheinischer Städteatlas (Bonn), seventeen parts (*Lieferungen*) to date, starting in 1972. This is especially true of section V, dealing with the economic and social structure of the town in question. There are now in effect five German atlas projects that come under the embrace of the ICHT. Second off the mark was the Deutscher Städteatlas (Münster), starting in 1973 and comprising five completed parts (*Lieferungen*) and one incomplete one published in the year 2000. Altogether fifty-one towns were included in this series, a few of which were places that are now situated in Lithuania, Poland and Russia: for example, Breslau (= Wrocław), Königsberg (= Kaliningrad) and Memel (= Klaipèda). Next came the Westfälischer Städteatlas (Münster), nine parts (*Lieferungen*) to date, starting in 1975, followed much later by the Hessischer Städteatlas (Marburg), two completed parts (*Lieferungen*) plus two individual towns to date, starting in 2005. Most recently of all, a successor to the Deutscher Städteatlas called the Deutscher historischer Städteatlas was begun by the Institut für vergleichende Städtegeschichte (Institute for Comparative Urban History) in Münster, starting with Quedlinburg in 2006.

10. Irish Historic Towns Atlas, twenty fascicles to date, starting in 1986. In addition, ancillary publications are issued from time to time. To date there have been three large-scale historical maps (of Belfast, Dublin and New Ross) and two books, the one dealing with a unique set of annotated plans of Georgian Belfast and the other being a catalogue of maps and views of Derry/Londonderry.

11. Povijesni atlas gradova, four volumes to date, starting in 2003. Thus, for example, Bjelovar was attacked and partly destroyed on 29 September 1991: Slukan Altič, Mirela. *Bjevolar. Povijesni atlas gradova. I.* Zagreb: Hrvatski državni arhiv, 2003: 204.

conspicuous exception is the Scandinavian atlas, which usually contains impressive numbers of socio-topographical maps and sometimes statistical data as well.[12]

1. The Stoob model

By now it will have become apparent to all readers that considerable variations do exist as between the various national atlases in the ICHT's project. In practice, and for a wide variety of reasons, many atlases depart from the original model, at least to some degree. Accordingly it will next be necessary to review the basic methodology, a brief outline of which is given in a listing of all ICHT atlas publications issued in 1998.[13] This in turn was based on a reaffirmation, by a working group meeting in Münster in 1995, of the original guidelines agreed back in 1968. These guidelines were explained in English quite fully and very clearly by their principal author, Heinz Stoob, in a volume of conference proceedings published over twenty years ago.[14] Four key maps were identified as the essential core of the towns atlas project:

1. Map 1, a cadastral map (German *Katasterkarte*) reproduced in colour at the scale of 1:2,500 and showing the pre-industrial town. Stoob's ideal date for such a map was *c.* 1830, though he recognized that some (German) towns, such as Freiburg im Breisgau, do not possess a cadastral map dating from the first half of the nineteenth century. These maps are to some degree constructed by the superimposition of a standard system of colours (generally four) to indicate different categories of building. Stoob further recommended that (modern) contour lines be superimposed on this map.

2. Map 2, a regional map (German *Umlandkarte*) reproduced at the scale of 1:25,000 or smaller (down to 1:100,000). These maps date generally from the first half of the nineteenth century and are printed more or less as in the original.

3. Map 3, a modern town plan (German *Stadtkarte*) reproduced at the scale of 1:5,000. Again this is a given product provided by the official mapping agency in each country.

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12. Scandinavian Atlas of Historic Towns, ten fascicles to date, starting in 1977. The three Scandinavian countries (Denmark, Norway and Sweden), along with Finland and Iceland, decided to form themselves into a Nordic union for town atlas purposes. So far, four Danish towns, three Finnish towns, three Swedish towns and Reykjavík in Iceland have been published and work is well advanced on an atlas of Helsinki.

13. Simms, Anngret; Opll, Ferdinand. *List of the European Atlases of Historic Towns*. Brussels: Archief- en Bibliotheekwezen in België/Archives et Bibliothèques de Belgique, 1998: 7. Nowadays an up-to-date internet site is maintained by Ferdinand Opll in Vienna: http://www.wien.gv.at/kultur/archiv/koopera-tionen/lbi/staedteatlas/bibliographie, which is accessible also in French and in German.

14. Stoob, Heinz. "The historic town atlas: problems and working methods", *The Comparative History of Urban Origins in Non-Roman Europe: Ireland, Wales, Denmark, Germany, Poland and Russia from the Ninth to the Thirteenth Century*, Howard B. Clarke, Anngret Simms, eds. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports (International Series, no. 255), 1985: II, 583-615.

4. An interpretative map showing phases of growth (German *Wachstumsphasenkarte*). This should preferably be based on map 1 and be reproduced either at the same scale or at that of map 3 (i.e. 1:2,500 or 1:5,000). These maps are prepared by the author from a wide variety of sources and are most relevant for medium-sized and large towns. This type of map is particularly helpful as a companion to the interpretative essay that Stoob also prescribed as an essential component.

In addition Stoob referred to supplementary maps (German *Beikarten*) together with various types of illustration to complete the predetermined sequence of primary materials. These include socio-topographical maps, distribution maps, period (early) maps, prospects and aerial photographs. Near the beginning of his essay, Stoob says: 'After [Hektor] Ammann's death a generally acceptable cartographic scheme for the Historic Town Atlas, *produced by myself*, was discussed at the 1967 meeting in Switzerland and was finally accepted, *following my own report*, in 1968 at Oxford'.[15] In the light of this statement it is perhaps reasonable to refer to the standard methodology as the Stoob model. Since then, over 400 town atlases have been published in a large number of European countries (Fig. 1). Across the continent the rate of publication has averaged around ten per annum, a not inconsiderable achievement. Stoob himself identified a number of problems, such as how to handle very large towns (cities), how to compensate for gaps in the primary sources, and the length of the interpretative essay. Other difficulties relate to the financial cost of preparing and publishing town atlases, the relatively low sales figures, and the failure of some countries to produce any atlases at all in the ICHT programme. Here we shall ask a different question: how well has the Stoob model stood the test of time?

2. Variations on a theme

One weakness in the Stoob model is his apparent belief that the cadastral map represents, almost as a matter of course, a pristine, pre-industrial picture. At one point in his 1985 essay he says: '... we insist on emphasizing the importance of original source material, which is normally provided by the *undisturbed urban pattern* prior to the first exact survey'.[16] Yet some towns and cities underwent significant remodelling before the 'ideal' date of *c.* 1830. One example is Novgorod in northern Russia, whose street pattern on both banks of the River Volkhov was radically changed in the late eighteenth century, hence the physical survival of large numbers of medieval streets. Another example is Dublin in Ireland, where a body known as the Wide Streets Commission began quite an extensive programme of

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15. Stoob, Heinz. "Historic town atlas"...: 584 (italics mine). Hektor Ammann was one of the founding fathers of the ICHT atlas project and the second president of the commission.
16. Stoob, Heinz. "Historic town atlas"...: 602 (italics mine).

street widening *c.* 1760. In cases such as these, therefore, a *c.* 1830 cadastral map does not represent an 'undisturbed urban pattern'.

A second weakness is the shortness of the interpretative essay, especially in the case of the larger towns. Stoob was very prescriptive about the length of the essay, limiting it to not more than two pages of print on a standard, large-format map sheet or, as he put it for a pre-computer readership, twelve pages of typescript. An experimental comparison of four cities treated in four different national atlases is summarized in the accompanying table[17]. A meaningful comparative treatment of these cities as they developed in the medieval period, based solely on the ICHT resource, proved to be extremely difficult. One of the main reasons for this was that some of the essays were much too short; the atlas resource was inadequate for this purpose[18].

Table summarizing the contents of four city atlases

Attributes	Cologne (Köln)	Dublin	London	Vienna (Wien)
Date of publication	Deutscher Städte-atlas, part 2, no. 6 (1979)	No. 11 (2002)	Vol. 3 (1989; 2nd edn, 1991)	Part 1, no. 3 (1982)
Text/essay (medieval)	3,600+ (1,600+) words; 4pp.	13,000 (11,000) words; 36 pp.	56,000 (28,000) words; 56 pp.	4,300+ (2,200+) words; 4 pp.
Text maps	None	6	None	None
Map 1, 1:2,500	1836-7 and later	1846-7	*c.* 1270 at 1:5,000; *c.* 1520 at 1:2,500 (4 parts)	1829
Map 2, 1:25,000	*c.* 1840	1860 (1:50,000)	Reconstruction	1809-19
Map 3, 1:5,000	1975	2000	None	1975-9

17. In the second row of the table, the plus signs in the columns for Cologne and Vienna indicate that the compound noun system that is such a strong feature of the German language tends to produce an underestimate of the number of words when compared with a text in English. The figures in brackets in all four columns relate to the medieval part of the essay in each case. All word counts here are rough estimates.

18. For the Irish atlas the length of the essay varies between 8.000 and 12.000 words, depending on the size of the town and a consideration of the available space.

Other maps	Growth map with dates; 2 thematic (1 medieval); map with key, 1752	Medieval map at 1:2500; growth map; period map, 1610; municipal map, 1837; plans	London area in pre-Roman times; Roman London; medieval wards; parishes	Growth map with dates; cadastral plan at 1:10,000, 1818-29; boundary changes
Other illustrations	1 prospect	2 reconstructions; vignettes; aerial photograph	None	3 prospects
Referenced topographical information	None	22 sections	Gazetteer in a single alphabetical list	None
Bibliography	General + footnotes	General and specific + footnotes	Footnotes + list of abbreviations	Footnotes
Ancillary publications	None	Medieval map with introduction and site list	None	Historical atlas (11 parts); commentaries (5 volumes)

In addition to the problems highlighted by Stoob himself and the two weaknesses in the model that he prescribed for Europe outlined above, there have in practice been many departures from the original formula.[19] One of these relates to the basic format, for some atlases have been published in book format from the start and with a far smaller print area, thereby effectively precluding the possibility of producing maps at the recommended scales. This applies to the Belgian[20] and Croatian atlases, neither of which includes the standard map sequence. Other national atlases that have been issued in the larger format nevertheless lack one or more of the essential cartographical core as envisaged by Stoob. A conspicuous example here is the French atlas, which contains only an historical reconstruction map at the scale of 1:2,500.[21] The British atlas is rather similar, for its regional maps are also reconstructions showing the general location and main roads to c. 1800. Neither of these atlases has a modern town plan, this also being an omission from both of the Italian atlases.[22] None of the atlases mentioned thus far in this paragraph provides a

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19. As noted over a quarter of a century ago by the reviewers cited above, n. 8.

20. Historische stedenatlas van België/Atlas historique des villes de Belgique, three volumes to date, starting in 1990.

21. Atlas historique des villes de France, ten parts to date each containing a number of towns plus six individual towns, starting in 1982.

22. The Atlante storico delle città italiane has been published in two schemes, the one based at Bologna and dealing with northern Italy together with Sardinia, the other based at Rome and dealing with central and southern Italy. In both schemes, which began publication in 1986, towns are grouped by regions such as Emilia-Romagna and Tuscany. The cities of Bologna and Rome are treated in several volumes arranged by period.

growth map. The Czech and Dutch atlases do have growth maps, but lack an up-to-date town plan.[23] One of the late starters, the Swiss atlas, lacks a classic growth map and its cadastral plan is not (thus far) in full colour.[24]

What all this means is that only a small number of the national atlases conform sufficiently closely to the Stoob model for meaningful comparisons to be made without the aid of other materials. The most perfect examples from this point of view are the Austrian,[25] all five German and the Irish atlases. The Czech, Dutch, Polish,[26] Romanian,[27] and Swiss atlases come near to the ideal, whereas the Belgian, British, Croatian, French, Italian and Scandinavian productions depart furthest from the model and are the least valuable for strictly comparative purposes across the continent of Europe. Even these, of course, contain a great deal of accurate information and create comparative possibilities *within* each of these countries. One other significant variation has already been alluded to, though it is one that does not in any way detract from the broader comparative dimension. This is the inclusion of detailed and fully referenced topographical information in the Irish and Rhenish atlases. The former was modelled on the latter to some degree and represents a significant improvement (Fig. 2). First, all sites in sections 11-22 are located by street, by position (in terms of compass direction) on the street where this is known, and by a grid reference if the site is not shown on one of the key maps. Secondly, the necessary abbreviations employed for reference purposes are relatively user-friendly and do not depend excessively on contracted forms. Thirdly, the topographical information is punctuated by black and white vignettes of particular buildings by way of illustration. On the other hand, the Rhenish atlas does not indicate in the topographical information section itself where each site is located, depends on severely contracted abbreviations, and contains no illustrations (Fig. 3). The style of presentation amounts essentially to a long series of historical notes in each of the

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23. Historický atlas měst České republiky, eighteen fascicles to date, starting in 1995; Historische stedenatlas van Nederland, seven fascicles to date, starting in 1982.

24. Historischer Städteatlas der Schweiz/Atlas historique des villes suisses/Atlante storico delle città svizzere, three fascicles to date, starting in 1997. Some technical improvements are planned for this atlas.

25. Österreichischer Städteatlas, ten parts (*Lieferungen*) to date, starting in 1982. Special provision has been made for the city of Vienna: Banik-Schweitzer, Renate; Czeike, Felix; Meißl, Gerhard; Opll, Ferdinand,.eds. *Historischer Atlas von Wien.* 11 parts. Vienna and Munich: Jugend und Volk Verlagsgesellschaft mbH and Jugend und Volk, 1981-2002 (Edition Wien: Verlags GmbH, 2003-2007), issued in a large format and using the cartographic conventions of the Österreichischer Städteatlas itself. In addition five volumes of commentary in normal book format have been published. Together these resources make Vienna by far the most comprehensively mapped city, to this exceptionally high standard, in the whole of Europe.

26. Atlas historyczny miast polskich/Historischer Atlas polnischer Städte, thirteen fascicles to date, starting in 1993. In 2001 an atlas of Wroclaw (= Breslau) was published for the second time, the first constituting part 4, no. 5 of the Deutsche Städteatlas in 1989.

27. Atlas istoric al oraşelor din România, five fascicles to date, starting in 2000. Like the Italian atlas, this one is arranged by regions, including the Romanian part of Moldova.

five main sections and their subdivisions.[28] In theory it would be possible to take a selection of Irish and Rhenish towns and to produce an in-depth comparative study, but such an undertaking might well prove to be fairly arduous in practice. An additional reason for so thinking is that, by an extraordinary omission, there is no interpretative essay in the Rhenish atlas; the story has to be pieced together from the topographical information and from the maps and other illustrative material.

3. An agenda for Spain

If Spanish scholars are to join the club in a serious manner, they should give the matter a great deal of serious thought beforehand. The ICHT's atlas project is impressive in many ways, not least in the willingness of representatives of so many European countries to come together in a co-operative spirit. Indeed, from time to time a Spanish representative has appeared on the scene, but without any tangible results[29]. This great international programme needs reinforcement on the right lines. In particular the Mediterranean part of the continent —the *mare nostrum* of the ancient Romans— is unevenly represented at the moment, for the Italian atlas is seriously out of step with the Stoob model, the French have neglected totally the south-eastern part of their country and barely adhere to the model in any case, while the Greeks have published nothing so far. We can at least look forward in due course to one or two Croatian town atlases for the northern part of the Adriatic region.

It is obviously desirable that a Spanish historic towns atlas should conform to best practice.[30] What that amounts to is, to some extent, a matter of personal opinion; on the other hand, the crucial prospects for genuine comparative research should be borne constantly in mind as a means of assessing the correct criteria for a satisfactory methodology. In other words, the best models to follow belong to the first grouping mentioned above (Austria, Germany and Ireland). If that is agreed, a number of technical aspects need to be considered before final decisions are made. The following points are made without any specific knowledge of the precise circumstances in Spain itself.

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28. The five main sections relate to settlement; topography; lordship and community; churches, schools, hospitals and cultural groups; and the economic and social structure of each town. The Hessischer Städteatlas contains much smaller amounts of referenced material. By way of exception in the British atlas, medieval London was provided with a gazetteer of the principal sites, arranged in alphabetical order. To treat London, or any other city of comparable size, on either the Irish model or the Rhenish model would amount to a gargantuan task.

29. This is not to say that excellent atlases have not been produced in Spain in recent times. See, for example, Centro de Documentación y Estudios para la Historia de Madrid. *Madrid, atlas histórico de la cuidad: siglos IX-XIX.* Barcelona: Lunwerg, 1995; *Madrid, atlas histórico de la ciudad: 1850-1939.* Barcelona: Lunwerg, 2001; Arizaga, Beatriz. *Atlas de villas medievales de Vasconia: Bizcaia.* Donostia, 2006.

30. Stoob alluded briefly to a pioneering attempt by the German author Jürgens, Oskar. *Spanische Städte: ihre bauliche Entwicklung und Ausgestaltung,* ed. Wilhelm Giese. Hamburg: Kommissions-verlag L. Friederichsen & Co. (Historic town atlas), 1926: 583.

The essential cartographical core has to be based on the Stoob model, including the map scales and the colour coding for map 1. These maps are the most instantly recognizable tools for a comparative study of urban form since the first half of the nineteenth century, though bearing in mind the possibility of major or even minor remodelling of a townscape before that time. The growth map relates everything back to earlier periods and can be drawn up in a number of different ways. The Austrian and German atlases use a sophisticated combination of lines and shading (sometimes in black and white, sometimes in colour), together with key dates and other textual information. It is important not to make these maps too crowded or complicated, for otherwise they tend to lose some of their potential impact. The Irish growth maps use a system of basic colour shading only, since all of the specific details are embedded in the topographical information section. Another indispensable component is an interpretative essay, preferably written by one person in the case of atlases that have more than one author. The essay should be long enough to deal adequately with each town's historical development, the prime focus being on morphological evolution. In other words, the aim should not be to write a conventional history of a town, but to concentrate on an interpretation of the cartographical and other illustrative material, together with any detailed topographical information that may also be included. Finally there should be a bibliography of the primary and secondary sources for the town, presented either separately or in a single alphabetical sequence.

As Stoob himself observed and as other compilers of town atlases have provided, a range of supplementary illustrations can be added to these minimum requirements for a successful programme. Town prospects, some dating from quite an early period, lend character to a town atlas and provide useful details about defensive works and building profiles with varying degrees of verisimilitude. Maps dating from before the exact surveys that began to be made in many European countries in the first half of the nineteenth century contain invaluable information of many different kinds, sometimes in large amounts, despite the lack of planimetric accuracy. They often have a high aesthetic quality, too, and attract prospective buyers. Socio-topographical maps can be constructed from historical data, mainly for the modern period but sometimes for the late Middle Ages. Stoob's advocacy of distribution maps (German *Verbreitungskarten*) has rarely been implemented, despite the utility of the example that he cited.[31] A recent aerial photograph can reveal early features in a modern context; the choice here is whether to use a vertical or an oblique image, for both have particular advantages. Carefully selected photographs from up to a century ago can illustrate the earlier character of a town centre, or of individual buildings of special significance. An inexpensive yet highly effective technique is to embed black and white text figures in the interpretative essay. These can clarify difficult topographical issues or even illustrate the stages of growth of the town, or of parts

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31. Stoob, Heinz. "Historic town atlas"...: 610 and plate 22. XIII, showing the linen-weaving district of Isny in Baden-Württemberg. As it happens, some of this small town's products were being exported as far as Spain in the late Middle Ages.

thereof, at separate points in a long historical progression through time. Finally a reproduction of the town seal has been a standard feature of the published atlases.

Beyond these additions there is the whole question of whether a towns atlas programme should itself provide substantial amounts of purely historical information. Stoob himself envisaged a later, separate edition of textual material for the Deutscher Städteatlas, though this has not so far been realized. Long ago, the ICHT began to sponsor a parallel project, aimed at publishing limited selections of important original documents dating from the beginning of the Middle Ages down to *c.* 1250. In practice this scheme has had a chequered history and remains substantially incomplete.[32] As part of its non-standard programme, the Belgian atlas has included one volume of 'typological dossiers'.[33] The last publication in the Deutscher Städteatlas series, dealing with Weimar, contains maps of five satellite towns or settlements, with historical details in the accompanying texts.[34] Some fascicles in the Irish atlas make use of the backs of period maps showing property divisions by listing the details of ownership. The two Italian atlases include a generous selection of extracts from documents in Latin and in Italian, as well as notes on individual buildings and an outline chronology of the principal historical developments. Equally elaborate is the Romanian atlas, where (to cite the example of Suceava/Suczawa published in 2005) the essay is followed by a lengthy outline chronology in both working languages —Romanian and German— together with textual matter dealing with demographic development, morphology, building history and historical monuments; extracts from original documents translated into Romanian and German; a map of archaeological sites with a basic description of the discoveries, again in both languages; and finally a list of street names, tabulated at various dates. Most fundamental of all is the question of whether or not to attempt a fully referenced topographical record of the Irish type.

Other practical decisions will have to be made about the format to be adopted for a Spanish towns atlas. To cater for maps of medium-sized and big towns (cities), large-format, loose-leaf fascicles are best. The textual matter can be printed using a smaller format, as in the case of the Hessischer Städteatlas; the disadvantage of so doing is the virtual impossibility of binding groups of town atlases into volumes with hard covers, suitable for library conservation in particular. The question of binding in this sense raises other technical issues. For a successful binding operation it is essential to provide, alongside the loose-leaf format, an adequate 'tongue' for stitching purposes, as well as a 'gutter' in the centre of double-sheet maps. Any maps that are larger still have to be folded into the bound volume and this has to be

32. *Elenchus fontium historiae urbanae*, vol. II, part 2, Susan Reynolds, Wietse de Boer, Gearóid Mac Niocaill, eds. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1988: v-vi. A valuable feature of this work is the index of words at pages 176-194.

33. Debaere, Olivier. *Vlaanderen – Maaseik. Historische stedenatlas van België: typologische dossiers/Atlas historique des villes de Belgique: dossiers typologiques*, vol. I. Brussels: Gemeentekrediet van België/Crédit Communal de Belgique, 1997.

34. Ehbrecht, Wilfried; Johanek, Peter; Lafrenz, Jürgen. *Weimar*. Deutscher Städteatlas, part 6, no. 1. Altenbeken: GSV Städteatlas Verlag, 2000.

foreseen from the beginning. A combination of loose-leaf fascicles and bound volumes suits both the individual purchaser interested in a single town and the serious collector or library that wishes to have a full set of atlases of this type.

A related question is whether or not to group towns within a particular country. The two Italian and the Polish and Romanian atlases are arranged by region within the modern country, while the Scandinavian atlas is shared by the five Nordic countries. By European standards, Spain is a large country with strong regional identities and traditions. A case could be made for ordering a Spanish towns atlas in terms of the historic regions; no doubt this is a sensitive issue that would require very careful consideration.[35] A further dimension to this is the linguistic one. The Czech example might suit Spanish circumstances: here three working languages are used — Czech, German and English. Czech, appropriately enough, is the main language but the fascicles contain a summary essay is all three languages in addition to a longer essay in Czech. In a Spanish context, it might be deemed culturally desirable to include, for example, a summary essay in Spanish and in Basque or in Spanish and in Catalan, as the case may be, together with a full treatment in the national language. The answer to such an issue, of course, cannot be prescribed by outsiders and should be left to Spanish scholars to determine.

The last major policy issue is the question of financial sponsorship and of institutional affiliation. By their very nature, large-format atlases making extensive use of colour reproduction are not cheap to produce. Some of the existing programmes under the ICHT umbrella have experienced a rather chequered history in terms of funding, resulting in gaps of varying length in the production schedule. An institute of the kind that exists in Münster, devoted entirely to the promotion of comparative urban history, is a fairly rare phenomenon. Most European countries, however, possess some kind of national academy that is assured a permanent existence, is duty-bound to maintain the highest academic standards, and can seek funding for projects deemed to be of national and international importance. Ideally a Spanish historic towns atlas should be located within such a structure.[36] One moderately proportioned room normally suffices as the project headquarters and two or three permanent staff trained in cartography and related skills can act as the anchor of the entire scheme. Accustomed as they so often are to the life of the 'poor scholar', authors of fascicles and editors or board members do not need to be paid at all (though even token payment is obviously welcome if funding allows for such a luxury).[37]

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35. When completed, a region could be provided with an historical overview and bibliography.

36. To cite a practical example, I am writing as one of three joint-editors of the Irish Historic Towns Atlas and as the academic secretary of the Royal Irish Academy, which has been the principal sponsoring body of the Irish atlas from the beginning. In addition the editors seek extra funding for the publication of individual town atlases from town councils and from local industrial concerns.

37. In the case of the Irish atlas, the greatest cost is that of the time spent in compiling the topographical information. For this reason the authors have never been paid for their efforts, though small-scale funding has been obtained to enable postgraduates and others to conduct basic research on large collections of source materials such as directories, council minute-books and newspapers.

These, then, are the main challenges to the initiation and the implementation of an historic towns atlas. The philosophical attitude must be that only the best will do. Spanish scholars should now be in a position to choose the best elements of the best of the existing models. To that end, a small delegation should be sent to Münster in Germany, in order to inspect critically a more or less complete set of all existing atlases in the ICHT's programme. The core should conform to the Stoob model; beyond that Spaniards should be encouraged to play to their own scholarly strengths. The nature of the primary cartographical sources may place limits on what can be achieved, yet Spain has a reputation for a distinguished urban history, rich archival resources and, in many cases, spectacular architectural survivals. Moreover Spain has an undeniable tradition of map-making going back many centuries and relating to many parts of the world besides the homeland. The time has surely come for Spanish (and Portuguese) scholars to join the ICHT club as full and proactive members.
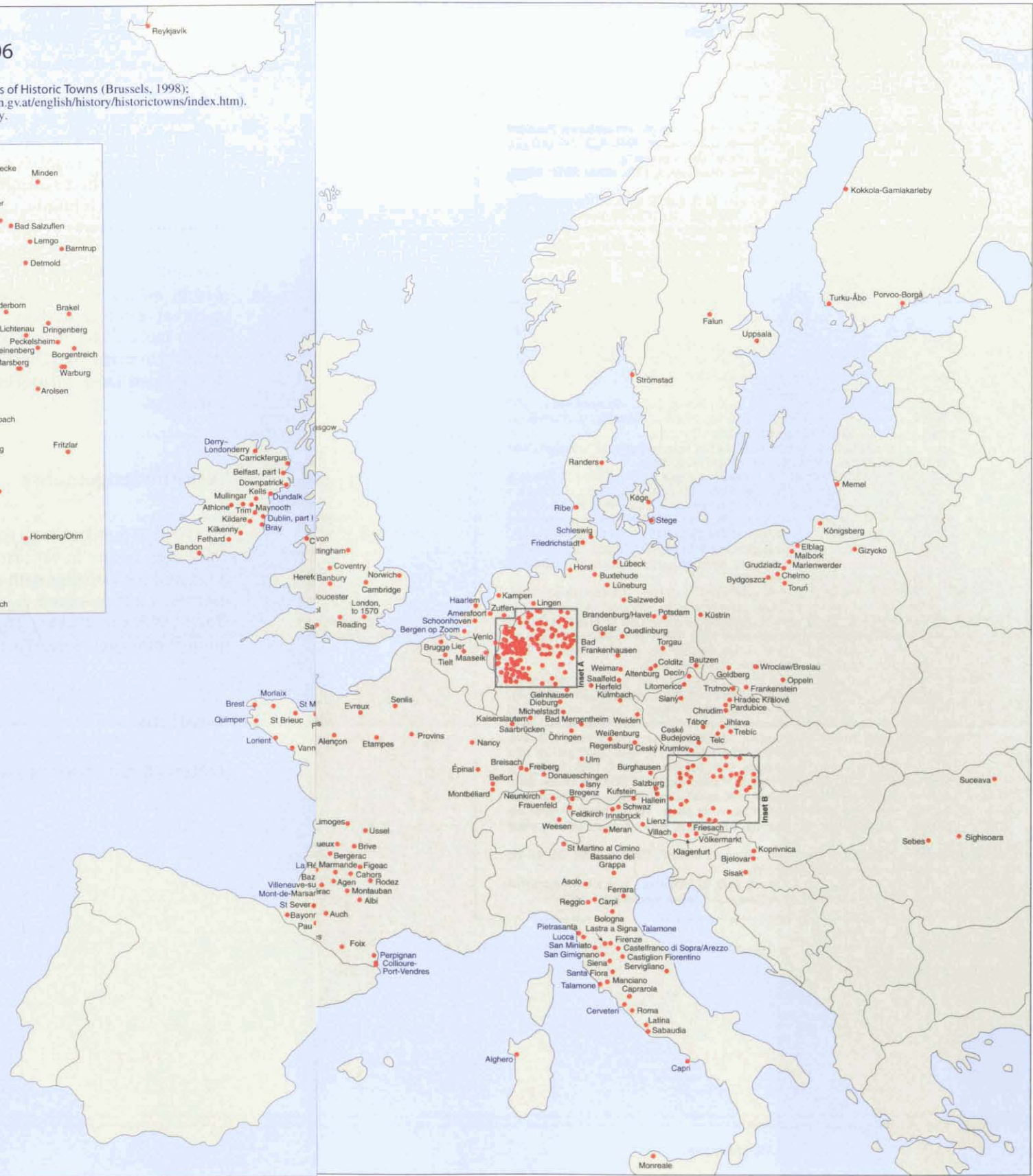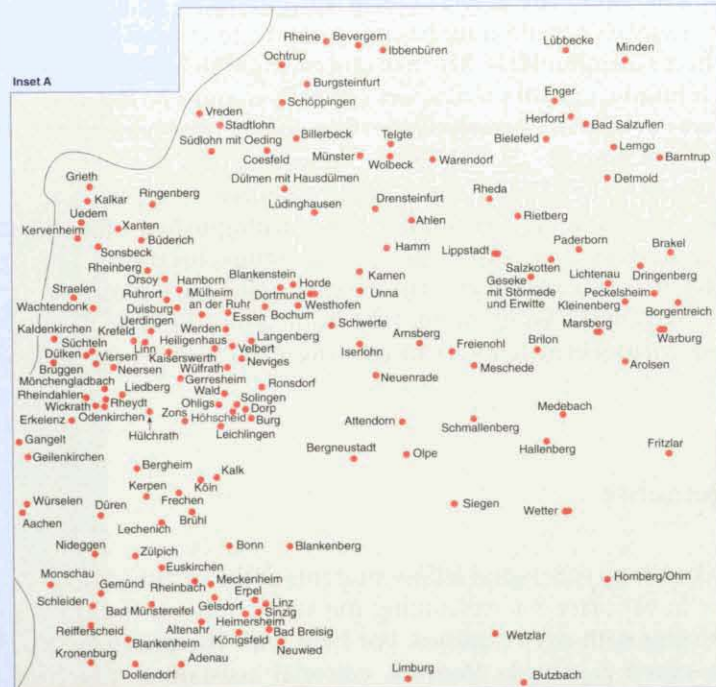
Acknowledgements

Captions

1. MAP OF EUROPE SHOWING THE DISTRIBUTION OF HISTORIC TOWNS ATLAS PUBLICATIONS TO 2006.

MAP OF EUROPEAN TOWNS ATLASES 2006

Based on Anngret Simms and Ferdinand Opll, List of the European Atlases of Historic Towns (Brussels, 1998);
with updates from web list maintained by Ferdinand Opll (http://www.wien.gv.at/english/history/historictowns/index.htm).
Drawn by Sarah Gearty, Irish Historic Towns Atlas © Royal Irish Academy.

Inset A

Inset B

0 miles 300
0 km 400

11 Religion

Early Christian monastery of Kilmainham, Kilmainham Lane N., site unknown. Founded by St Maignenn in early 7th cent. (Gwynn and Hadcock, 394); A.D. 787 (*AU* (1), 243). St Maignenn's Church 9th cent. (*Félire Óengusso*, 261).

Cemetery: high cross shaft possibly 9th cent. (Harbison, i, 377), extant 2002; Viking burials late 9th cent. (O'Brien, E., 1998).

Early Christian monastery of Dubhlinn, Aungier St E. and W. (55953575). Implied by abbot A.D. 650 (*AFM*, i, 265), A.D. 790 (*AU* (1), 247). Perhaps occupied by Vikings as part of encampment (see **12** Defence) in A.D. 841 (Clarke, H.B., 2000, 31). Possible W. ditch, aligned N.–S., excavated in 2002 (local information).

Cross: high cross shaft fragment 12th cent. (*Excavations 1991*, 14); stone cross c. 1267 (*Reg. All Saints*, 30).

Cathedrals and churches

St Bridget's Church (A 4), Bride St W. (52503710). Implicit in churchyard late 9th–10th cent. (see below). St Bride's Church *c.* 1121 (*Bk Uí Maine*). Granted by Asculf Mac Torcaill to Holy Trinity Priory (*q.v.*) in *c.* 1165 (*Alen's reg.*, 29); *c.* 1178, *c.* 1180 (*Christ Church deeds*, 364, 4). Granted to St Patrick's Church (*q.v.*) in 1191 (*Alen's reg.*, 19). St Brigid's Church *c.* 1215 (*Crede Mihi*, 134). St Brigid in the Pool, St Brigid of the Polle *c.* 1265, 1494 (*Christ Church deeds*, 88, 360); 1533 (*Rep. viride*, 181). St Brides Church 1610 (Speed). ⇒

Churchyard: 1 human burial late 9th–10th cent. (Gowen, 2001, 49); cemetery *c.* 1200 (*Chartul. St Mary's*, i, 216), *c.* 1256 (*Christ Church deeds*, 498), 1545 (*Ormond deeds*, iv, 278); boundary wall 1610 (Speed). ⇒ ·

St Moshamóc's Church, Islandbridge, N. of R. Liffey, near ford (see **17** Transport), site unknown. Church of Moshamóc A.D. 919 (*AFM*, ii, 593).

St Patrick's Church (A 15), Patrick St E., probably on part of site of later St Patrick's Cathedral (*q.v.*). Implicit in churchyard 10th–11th cent. (see below). St Patrick's Church *c.* 1121 (*Bk Uí Maine*); *c.* 1178 (*Christ Church deeds*, 364). Parish church, property of Holy Trinity Priory (*q.v.*) 1179. New collegiate church on same site endowed by Archbishop John Cumin of Dublin in 1191 (*Alen's reg.*, 3, 18–19). Consecrated in 1192 (Gwynn and Hadcock, 72). St Patrick's Church 1216 (Sheehy, i, 177, 189). Raised to cathedral status by Archbishop Henry Blund of Dublin in *c.* 1220 (see below, St Patrick's Cathedral).

Churchyard: 6 cross-slabs in St Patrick's Cathedral (*q.v.*) 10th–11th cent. (King, 75–8, 82–4); 8 houses for canons 'about the graveyard' to be built 1191 (*Alen's reg.*, 19).

St Columba's Church (A 3), Cornmarket N., probably on site of later St Audoen's Church (*q.v.*). Cross-slab late 10th–early 12th cent. (King, 77–8). St Columba's [Church] *c.* 1178 (*Christ Church deeds*, 364). Stone foundations, possible boundary wall excavated (Simpson, 2000, 37–8). Cross-slab extant 2002.

St Michael le Pole's Church (A 10), Ship St Great W. (53753750). Implicit in churchyard late 10th–early 11th cent. (see below). Built probably in early 12th cent. (Gowen, 2001, 36). St Michael's Church *c.* 1121 (*Bk Uí Maine*). Granted by Bastolian Gormelach to 'Holy Trinity' before 1170; *c.* 1178 (*Christ Church deeds*, 364). Property of Holy Trinity Priory (*q.v.*) *c.* 1179 (*Alen's reg.*, 29, 7); early 13th cent. (*Chartul. St Mary's*, i, 468), *c.* 1215 (*Crede Mihi*, 135). 'Not worth service of a chaplain' *c.* 1294 (*Christ Church deeds*, 150). St Michael de Poll 1357 (Smyly (2), 28), 1428 (*Christ Church deeds*, 904). St Michael de Polla 1533 (*Rep. viride*, 182). Parish depopulated and impoverished, to be annexed to St Werburgh's Church (*q.v.*) mid 16th cent. (*Reg. diocesis*, 6). 'Church on Pauls' 1610 (Speed). Paving tile fragments extant (Eames and Fanning, 65); part of W. wall extant below ground level 2002. ⇒

Churchyard: 92 burials late 10th–early 11th cent. onwards (Gowen, 2001, 36, 41–2); cemetery *c.* 1230 (*Reg. All Saints*, 34).

Round tower (K 4), in W. end of church: built in 12th cent.; square base excavated (Gowen, 2001, 39–40, 50). Foundations extant below ground level 2002. ⇒

2. EXTRACT FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE RELIGION SECTION OF THE TOPOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION FOR MEDIEVAL DUBLIN.

IV Kirche, Schule, Kultur- und Gesundheitspflege

1   691/92 *basilica sanctorum Cassii et Florentii sociorum (que) eorum sub oppido castro B constructa* (RhUB I 46) = Cassiuskirche über Totenmemorie des IV. Jh. (I 2)

       795   Ackerl. *de uno latere s(anctum) Petr(um)* (RhUB I 50), (1014/21) *ecclesia sancti Petri, que est in Thiedenkireca* (REK I 665) = St. Peter in Dietkirchen; im Liber valoris gen.; zur legendär überlieferten Weihe der Kirche durch den 1. bezeugten Kölner Bischof Maternus (313/14) vgl. REK I 1,7; in jüngster Zeit durch Grabungen Saalbau des IV. Jh. (murus Africanus) unter der Krypta ermittelt (BJb 173, 1973, S. 352)

       795   *ecclesia sancti Remidii, quae est constructa in vico Bunnense* (RhUB I 50) = St. Remigius; im Liber valoris gen.

       804   *basilica, quae constructa est in honorem s. Martini* (ebda. 57) = St. Martin; im Liber valoris gen.

  1167/91 Eb Philipp v Heinsberg soll in B eine Kirche zu Ehren des hl. Gangolf geweiht haben (REK II 1398), 1254 *de sancto Gyngolpho* (UB Dt. Orden II 101) = St. Gangolf, im Liber valoris gen.

2 St. Cassius

  691/92 Cassius und Florentius (IV 1)

  1166   Cassius, Florentius und Mallusius (REK II 835; vgl. hierzu VI 3, 45 S. 200 ff)

           Nebenaltäre und Kapellen

  1139   BMV in crypta, Petrus, Hl. Kreuz, Hl. Grab (CDRhM I 124)

  1280   Lambertus (HSTAD Cassius 54)

  1281   BMV in pasculo (ebda. Akt 18)

  1290   Aegidius (ebda. Dietkirchen 20)

  1293   Trinitas (ebda. Cassius 71)

 (1320)   Maria Magdalena (Festschrift IV, S. 26)

  1323   Ursula (UB Heisterbach 267)

  1324   Agatha, Stephan (REK IV 1467)

  1327   Jakob, Urban (Sauerland II 1151, 1317)

  1329   Barbara (REK IV 1661)

 (1342)   Dreikönige, Clemens (HSTAD Cassius Akt 80)

  1344   Cyriakus (ebda. Cassius 132)

  1361   Blasius, Catharina, Helena, Joh. Ev., Michael, Nikolaus (ebda. 169)

  1393   Allerheiligen (AHVN 105, 1921, S. 125)

  1509   Servatius (HSTAD Minoriten Bonn 26; vgl. hierzu insges. VI 3,45 S. 105 und 295 ff sowie Topographie, S. 110 ff)

3. EXTRACT FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE CHURCH SECTION OF THE TOPO-GRAPHICAL INFORMATION FOR BONN.