

# Renewal and Continuity in the Façades of Spanish Cathedrals during the Baroque

*Javier Rivera Blanco*

The stylistic innovations emanating from the European Baroque, and the French, Italian and German Baroque in particular, arrived in Spain after a long influence of Herrerian or Escorial-style classicism in the Spanish architecture of the seventeenth century.

The usual methods of dissemination in the Early Modern era, such as exchanges of architects and patrons, treatises, books and engravings, imported works of art, etc. led to the gradual spread of variations involving the new tastes, initially in the form of simple decorations, and then subsequently in structural work, in plans and elevations. According to traditional theories, the various phases of the Spanish Baroque began with a post-classical period in the early seventeenth century, followed by phases which in various circles have been called pre-Churrigueresque and Churrigueresque. This was followed by two well-defined schools in the eighteenth century - a courtly Baroque and another much more traditional ("pure") school, which was contemporary to the Spanish high Baroque, with strong Italian, German and French influences. The century ended with a late Baroque associated with neoclassical trends.

During the medieval period and the Renaissance, Spain was in a special situation in terms of its socio-political circumstances. Unlike other countries, settlements and religious structures were still being consolidated in the southern territories that had been liberated from the Muslims only a few decades earlier, and in particular, significant cultural changes that had taken place with the expulsion of the Jews and the Moriscos. The Counter-Reformation was a key factor, with its requirements for the renewal of Catholicism, and this affected many of its important buildings, such as cathedrals (Fig. 1). It should also be remembered that during the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, many of Spain's cathedrals were not only in need of completion - which did not take place due to financial problems - but also refurbishment to suit new aesthetic tastes. Moreover, other types of stonework had become obsolete or had been damaged by the passage of time, or by problems in construction, or of a technical nature.

Other factors were common throughout Europe, and these included demographic changes and new functions and aesthetic trends, adaptations to the new liturgy, to new symbologies, financial and political situations, etc.

As is well-known, cathedrals in Europe and America are the major buildings on the urban and social landscape of early modern cities. Spanish Renaissance and Baroque architects, who had extensive technical knowledge and had received advanced



Fig. 1 - The Counter-Reformation spanish cathedral: Valladolid cathedral (Juan de Herrera) in the drawing by Chueca Goitia.

academic training in most cases, undertook these projects with the support of a robust financial situation, which was helped by the arrival of sources of funding from America and from the ecclesiastical dioceses. They were also supported by important patrons - namely bishops and chapters wishing to emphasize the power of the Church in their contemporary world.

These projects were usually carried out using more modern ideas, with a critical study of the buildings and an architectural analysis of the new features in order to make completely innovative additions which included the most advanced European influences. At other times, it was simply a question of refurbishing structures that had deteriorated or collapsed. Finally, but also significantly, it was very important to engage in an objective consideration of the past, seeking a relationship or a balance between it and the present, deliberately seeking a conformity of styles, and restoring ancient, medieval and Renaissance styles.

It is interesting to recall the controversy that had previously arisen about how to complete the cathedrals of Salamanca, Jaén, Granada, Guadix, Astorga and Plasencia, within a very interesting dialectic about the importance of the ancient and the modern. V. Tovar highlights the most frequently used and complete alternative in the search for modernity<sup>1</sup>. She bases her arguments on Gillo Dorfles, who had already emphasized the two possible options: work involving a new project, or restorations<sup>2</sup>.

However, the reality differs a great deal from this unified position. When we focus on the historical articulation of the operational forms of architectural projects in Spanish cathedrals during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it is possible to

distinguish three operating systems or models: (1) the commitment to modernity, (2) the defence of the unity of style or purity of forms, retaining previous styles, and (3) the development of eclecticism and stylistic symbiosis, mixing ancient and Baroque styles.

### *The commitment to modernity*

The arrival of the Renaissance in Spain in the sixteenth century was a gradual one, as the Gothic survived, particularly in religious architecture and especially in cathedrals like those in Segovia (Fig. 2), Astorga, Salamanca, Plasencia, etc.

During the late Middle Ages and the Early Modern period, when economic resources allowed, the standard response was the complete demolition of the old building and the construction of another one with a new layout (examples of this include numerous cathedrals, such as the Gothic cathedral in León<sup>3</sup> on top of two Romanesque cathedrals, the Gothic cathedral of Palencia on the Visigothic building, Andalusian cathedrals on top of mosques, etc.) or when this situation was only partially suitable, the standard procedure was juxtaposition or tentacular growth. The example of the cathedral of Burgo de Osma is paradigmatic<sup>4</sup>, and the same could be said of many other buildings, including the cathedrals in Burgos and Santo Domingo de la Calzada.

In the Early Modern period, a widespread need arose to confer “dignity” on the building, on the grounds that the old stonework was unhealthy, dark and lacking in functionality due to the changes in some liturgies as a result of the pomp of the Baroque and the new religious requirements stipulated at the Council of Trent. Narciso Tomé’s altarpiece of *El Transparente* in the cathedral of Toledo, the façade of the Obradoiro (Figs. 3, 4) in Santiago de Compostela, and countless other works are testimony to these Baroque tendencies towards forgetful modernity. Change in the eighteenth century also took place by means of the same method used by the architects in the first phase of the transition to neoclassicism, when they were faced with the issue of the completion of earlier buildings (e.g. how to destroy the church of Santo Domingo de Silos or how to work on the cathedral of Burgo de Osma, mentioned above).

Projects in the “*antica e buona maniera moderna*” (“old and good modern style”) had become well-established since the Renaissance. Meanwhile, in the Baroque there was a shift towards modernity, based on freedom and neglect of norms and order. One working method was already apparent in the Renaissance projects for the porches of the cathedrals in Murcia and Burgos, which place the new style within Gothic sections, such as the façade of the University of Salamanca.

These projects, which created some doubts among their contemporaries, had widespread popular support in the Baroque - for example in the case of the *El Transparente* altarpiece in the cathedral of Toledo, which caused excitement among the people of the city<sup>5</sup> - and the dome of the cathedral of León.

This was all justified by the treatises of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and their abandonment of order and regulation, from Juan Bautista de Villalpando and Jerónimo Prado, with their *In Ezechielem Explanationes et Apparatus Urbis ac Templi*

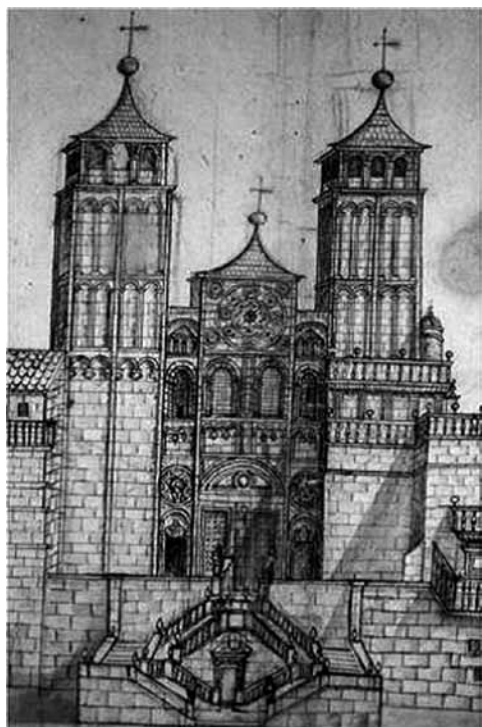


Fig. 2 - Segovia, cathedral (Rodrigo Gil de Hontañón, XVI century).

Fig. 3 - Santiago de Compostela, cathedral, Obradorio façade before the Baroque reconstruction of Casas and Novoa.

Fig. 4 - Santiago de Compostela, cathedral, Obradoiro façade.

Right

Fig. 5 - Granada, cathedral façade (Alonso Cano, 1667).





*Hierosolymitani* (Rome, 1596-1604), followed by Fray Lorenzo de San Nicolás *Arte y uso de la Arquitectura* (*Art and Use of Architecture*, Madrid, 1633) and the *Segunda Parte del Uso y Arte de la Arquitectura* (*Second Part of Art and Use of Architecture*, Madrid, 1665), a major manifesto for restoring Baroque architecture, and the texts by Fray Juan Ricci, *Breve tratado de Arquitectura acerca del orden salomónico entero* (*A brief treatise on architecture on the entire Solomonian order*, about 1663), Juan Caramuel Lobkowitz, *Arquitectura civil recta y oblicua* (*Straight and oblique civil architecture*, Vigevano, 1678), Simón García (Salamanca, 1681-3) and even Agustín Bruno Zaragoza y Ebrí, *Escuela de arquitectura civil* (*School of civil architecture*, Valencia, 1738), all of which were strongly supportive of innovation<sup>6</sup>.

Indeed, the influence of “alla Moderna” is evident in the most important projects to complete cathedrals throughout the Early Modern period. Those for Santiago de Compostela (the tabernacle, towers, several façades, some side chapels and especially the Obradoiro or main façade, etc.), with plans by the architects José de Vega y Verdugo (from 1658), Peña de Toro, Domingo de Andrade, Pedro de Monteagudo, Fernando Casas y Novoa, Fray Gabriel de las Casas and Domingo Lois Monteagudo, who created the prime example of the Galician Baroque, were among the most notable on the Iberian Peninsula<sup>7</sup>.

In southern Spain, in Andalusia, Murcia, or further east (Valencia) some projects for the completion of façades involved the same modernizing result and the introduction of more modern aesthetic trends. They were closely related to the European



Fig. 6 - Jaén, cathedral façade (Eufrasio López de Rojas, 1667).



Fig. 15 - Lugo, cathedral façade (Julián Sánchez Bort, 1769).

Baroque and had no consideration for the older parts of the buildings, i.e. were not historicist. These include the work on the main façade of the cathedral of Granada (Fig. 5) by the painter, sculptor and architect Alonso Cano, planned in 1667 and executed by José Granados de la Barrera, Melchor de Aguirre and the sculptor Risueño, which produced a new vision of the triumphal arches framing scenographic urban spaces with a strong personality and striking perspective<sup>8</sup>. The façade of the cathedral of Jaen (Fig. 6), which was built by the master Eufrasio López de Rojas (1667), shows a close relationship with the Roman world, and suggests a more civil alternative with balconies and the mastery of the front space. The cathedral of Guadix takes us into the eighteenth century, with a design by the architect Vicente Acero (1714), involving considerable horizontality, and the exceptional façade of the cathedral of Murcia (1741, architect Jaime Bort), which takes control of the space (Fig. 7) and urban landscape, and dominates the front area with its highly modern curvilinear shapes (Fig. 8). Farther east is another renowned work dating from this era with a major commitment to the “modern”, the façade of the cathedral of Valencia, which is clearly influenced by the Central European Baroque at its most Hispanic (Fig. 9). The architect Conrad Rudolf was the author of the plan, which was executed by the masters F. Stolf and Francisco Vergara (102-1740), and Ignacio Vergara (sculptor). The mastery of the curve and the countercurve, of the concave and convex, the effects of light, symbolism, etc. is displayed in a great and completely Baroque lesson.

Several important “*alla Moderna*” refurbishment projects took place in various cathedrals in the north of the Iberian peninsula, involving interiors as well as façades,



Figs. 7-8 - Murcia, cathedral façade (Jaime Bort, 1736-1753); square in front of the façade from the tower (XVIII century).





towers, chapels, etc. These included Gerona, Santa María La Redonda in Logroño, Santo Domingo de Silos, Lugo, León (Figs. 10-11) with its new Escorial-style dome (Juan de Naveda) and its Baroque crowns (the Churriguera family), etc. However, perhaps the most significant project was undertaken by the court architect Ventura Rodríguez on the façade of the cathedral of Pamplona (1783). This was a late Baroque “alla romana” work, with two large towers framing an entrance with four giant columns (Figs. 12-13) inspired by Borromini and Bernini, which very astutely resolved the link between the interior and exterior<sup>9</sup>. The architect thought of the project using an academic-Baroque classical perspective, which placed the exaltation of the temple towards the town, giving it a new visual magnificence and renewing it visually and formally in accordance with the modern world. Rodríguez told the architect in Pamplona to execute the plan and the elevation of the Gothic building with absolute accuracy in order to study the assembly of its backdrop. In

the filters obtained on the well-proportioned façade, the interior is preserved and revealed to the exterior by the preservation and clear exposition of two Gothic rose windows in the side naves and another one in the central nave. However, the association between the new and old work went further, as when he created the link between the façade and the fourteenth century building, Ochandátegui, following the master’s orders, designed the first section with an exact replica imitating the Gothic 14th-century section, thus achieving a relatively smooth transition between two worlds, two cultures and two eras.

A somewhat similar though more recessive experiment took place east of Pamplona, in the unrealized project by the same architect for the façade of the Atonement for the cathedral of Toledo<sup>10</sup>, where the disparity was resolved with a greater overall prevalence of the contemporary, although the large rose window of the nave was preserved and enhanced behind the clear and transparent main façade.

This project was interesting in the same way as can be seen in the work by various architects mentioned above in the second half of the eighteenth century for the expansion and refurbishment of the cathedral of El Burgo de Osma (Soria). Ventura

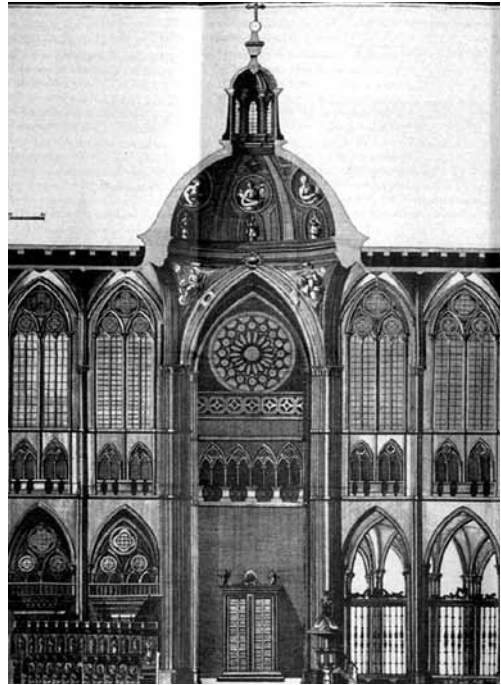


Fig. 10 - León, cathedral dome (Juan de Naveda, XVII century).

Left

Fig. 9 - Valencia, cathedral facade (Conrad Rudolf, 1703).

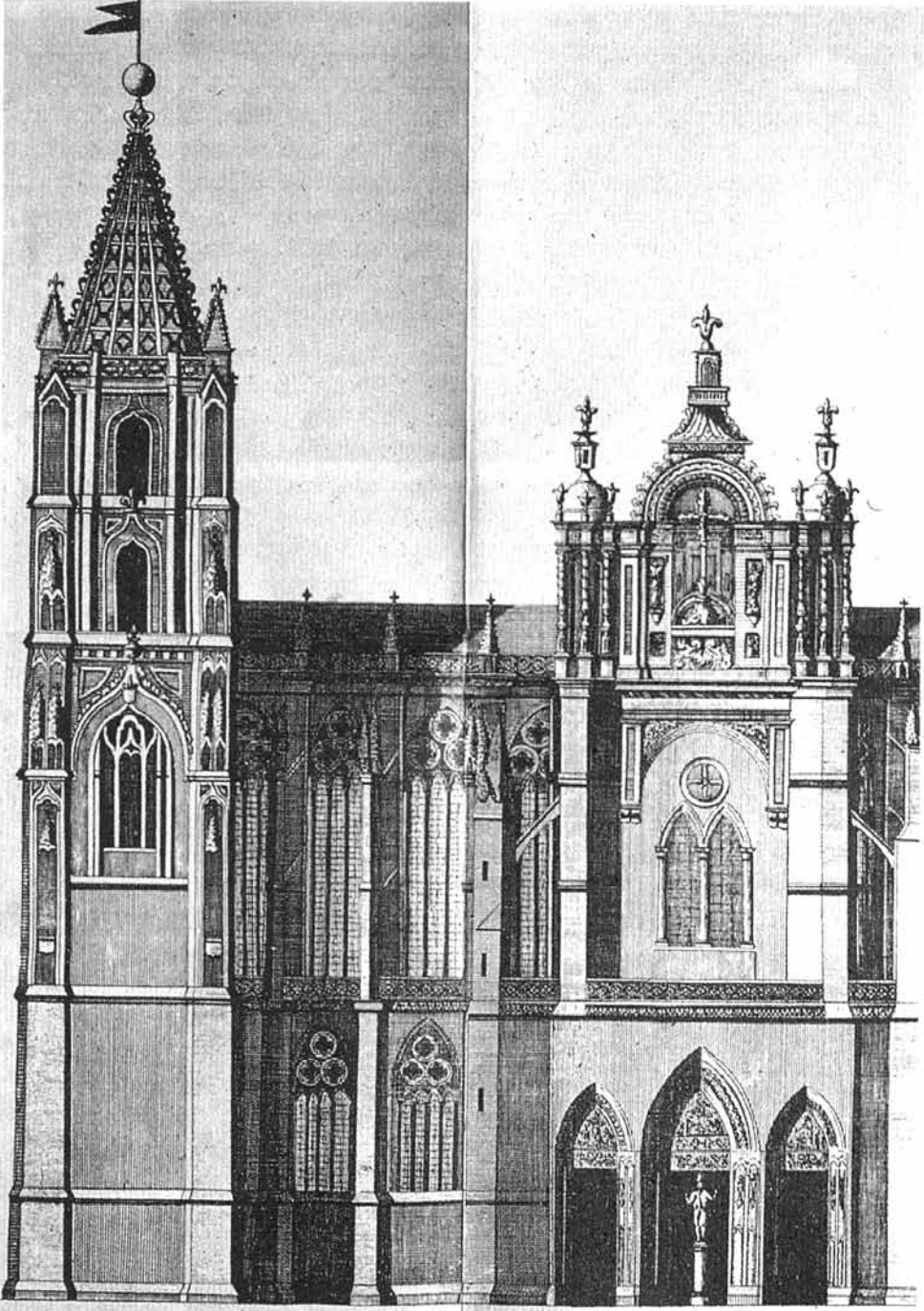


Fig. 11- León, cathedral, M. Navarro engraving showing part of the south side with the *remate* designed in 1694 (Risco, 1792); from J. Rivera Blanco, *History of restorations ...*, cit.

Rodríguez had previously produced a plan to replace the building which was rejected. José de Herosilla presented another plan in 1758 which was accepted. Juan de Villanueva and Francisco Sabatini supervised the works, which involved building the sacristy and the Palafox chapel in new spaces which were admirably coordinated with the Gothic stonework. The ambulatory became a hinge for the convergence between the two architectural styles, as many scholars have pointed out<sup>11</sup>.

Ventura Rodríguez is a paradigm in the development of attitudes which began to consider the issue of restoration in architecture. His work on pre-existing buildings shows conflicting approaches in his working methods, ranging from the façade of the cathedral of Pamplona, to his ideas for the monastery of Silos and cathedral of El Burgo de Osma, and his work on the cathedral and the Santa Cruz palace in Valladolid. The first three of these works involved comprehensive plans geared towards modernity, with new works on the façade in Pamplona and a complete construction project in Silos, Burgo de Osma and Valladolid. In contrast, there is an interesting transition in the Colegio Mayor de Santa Cruz in Valladolid, as he thought of the alteration and decoration of the holes in an “*alla Moderna*” classical tone. However, he rethinks the cornices, cresting and fleurons within their original formula, by reconstructing the damaged parts, copying and placing the damaged parts in a profound reflection on architecture, which is literally embodied in the use in the drawings and in the records of the word “*restore*” with its contemporary meaning, before the Italian and French theorists did so. His conception of the restoration of the ruined tower of the church of the Iglesia Mayor in Valladolid represents a step forward - a radical change - as in 1761 his proposal involved consolidation rather than new work, by the application of new technologies, i.e. reinforcements with iron chains, avoiding “*work*” on its architectural elements. A similar break with the previous era took place with the «Informe» of 1768, which contained proposals for the completion of the cathedral of Valladolid in purely conservationist tones of “*interest and respect for history*”, with an uncompromising and unchanged preservation of the plan by Juan de Herrera, which fits into a new concept of positive historicist criticism<sup>12</sup>.

Rodríguez, an architect of the Baroque-classicist school, presents two key points in how monuments are considered in Spain. The first is linked to the tradition of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries of absolute contempt for the building as it was encountered, which championed innovation. The second is influenced by the criticism of young academics, is rejected (1760) and accepts rationalist opinions, and is once again accepted among those who study history. His concept of “*historicism*” is based on a formal and linguistic analysis, and his models are taken from the immediate roman (Baroque-classicist) and spanish (Escorialian) past. His attitude when changing methods during his work on Herrera’s cathedral is indicative of a reflection on a new way of working on the completion of a building, involving modern criteria for restoration, and discussion of the historical reference.

These same currents during this period contain many projects by architects who were particularly interested in preserving the buildings on which they were working, such as the interesting project by Silvestre Pérez to renovate the church of San Francis-



Fig. 12 - Pamplona, cathedral façade.

Right

Fig. 13- Pamplona, cathedral façade, Ventura Rodríguez, 1783 (enciclopedianavarra.com).

co el Grande in Madrid and make it into the palacio de las Cortes, with its semicircle, while retaining the enclosure clearly show the new direction taken.

Another interesting procedure involved using covering the interior of the building in order to completely modernize it, and originated in the Renaissance.

The aim was to conceal the primitive parts, making them disappear, but not to destroy them. These operations were conceived at the time, with no thought of reversibility or returning at some point in the future, and were only intended to make the new work predominate on a permanent basis. However, they were carried out with such subtlety and respect for the original building that in subsequent eras, when desired, it was possible to go back and restore the original appearance.

Earlier Italian examples include Alberti and his “modernization” of the Tempio Malatestiano in Rimini, Palladio in Vicenza and later, Borromini and St. John Lateran in Rome. The Baroque façade of the Obradoiro of Santiago de Compostela could be considered as a modernization involving concealment.

This method was extensively used in Spain during the Baroque and Rococo, and would continue to be so for the next century. These projects obviously aimed at an aesthetic modernization, but at a cost that was less prohibitive than rebuilding the entire building.

Professor Joaquín Bérchez has studied the cases of the East of Spain and the cathedral of Valencia in particular<sup>15</sup>. This system of giving the entire cathedral a new appearance by means of walls of brick, stone, jasper, stucco, half-barrel vaults, reformulating the pillars around it, etc. had already been used in Valencia in the seventeenth century, and was generally applied to Gothic churches. Precedents for this process include the Gothic church of the convent of the Trinity in the same city, which was covered in around 1685-1686, the church of St. Martin in the same place, the cathedral of Ibiza, the presbytery and glass-roofed altarpiece in Concentaina (1705 -1706), the church of Santos Juanes in Valencia, inside and out (late seventeenth century), Pedralba (h. 1750), which were all cases in which this covering was applied. During the era of academic art, it was applied to the cathedral of Valencia, to the cathedral of Segovia, in the Valencia churches of Portaceli and San Anton, in Almansa, etc.

Another alternative consisted in leaving the structures unchanged, but applying new decorative elements to them, such as the Rococo refurbishment of the church of San Juan de la Cruz (h. 1750). Architects working in this area of eastern Spain, such

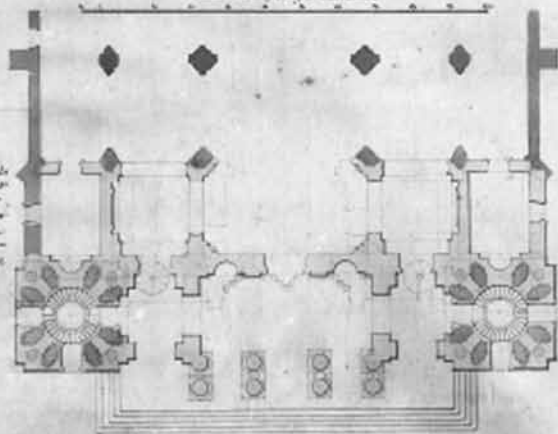
*Dibuxo que representa la Fachada que se hà de construir en la S<sup>ta</sup> Iglesia Cathedral de Pamplona, encargada por comision de su M<sup>ta</sup> Cabildo. Madrid, y Agosto 5 de 1763.*



*Plano de la Iglesia y de su Capilla.*

*Juan Rodríguez*

*Nota. El altar mayor debe de ser de forma oval, y el altar de la capilla de forma cuadrada, y el altar de la capilla de la izquierda de forma octagonal, y el altar de la capilla de la derecha de forma octagonal.*





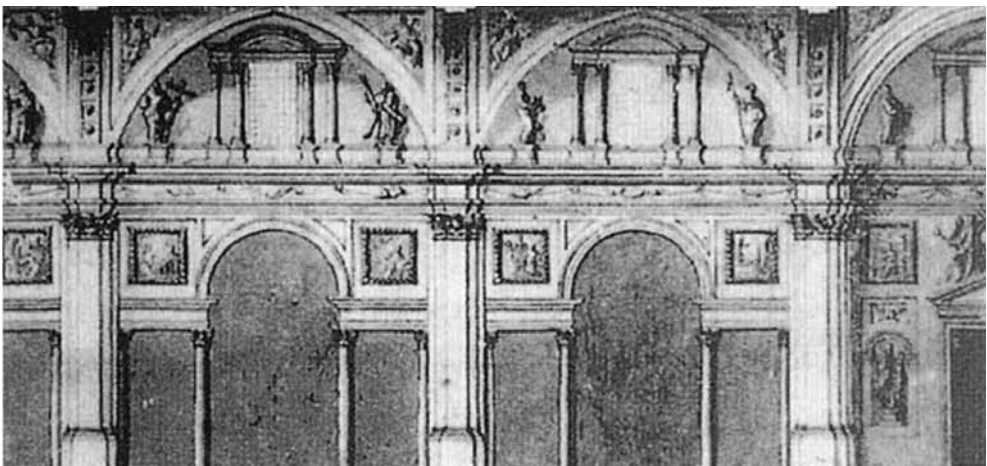


Fig. 14 - Valencia, cathedral, inner view before the restoration of 1943 (“Valencia Historia Grafica” in [juanansoler.blogspot.it](http://juanansoler.blogspot.it)).

Fig. 15 - Valencia, cathedral: project by V. Gascó, 1773 (J. Rivera Blanco, *De Varia Restauratione...*, cit.

as Aliprandi, Bertesi and Rudolf, took the model into Catalonia when they moved to Barcelona in 1700 in support of the Archduke Charles, and in the presbytery of the cathedral of Gerona (1750). The model spread throughout Spanish America, where the search for a new identity after independence led to many colonial buildings being aesthetically renovated, with the addition of eclectic ornaments in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, creating the styles known there as “Republican”, which are highly visible in old Hispanic buildings in Colombia, Venezuela, Mexico, etc.

All these projects radically changed the buildings, with a complete operation that produced a new unity of style. The most significant case of all is the cathedral of Valencia, above mentioned. The chapter wanted a total refurbishment of the interior during the last quarter of the eighteenth century, which would have transformed its Gothic forms into academic art forms, according to the reports by the Academy of San Carlos (Fig. 14). Previously, between 1674 and 1682, Juan Pérez Castiel had covered the presbytery in a Baroque style, in works that continued in the following years.

The chapter convened a tender process for proposals in 1773, which was entered by Vicente Gascó and Antonio Gilabert, and won by the latter (fig. 15). The former's project was based on the use of classical language in a Palladian or Serlian style by means of the reiteration of its compositional gaps in the triumphal arch and a Corinthian arch on the ground floor, Corinthian pilasters covering the pillars, the lunettes covered by windows with ternary spaces and the same order of columns and the reliefs in the spandrels of the scallops, vaults and arches adorned in the same way.

Gilabert's plan, which was executed between 1774 and 1792, was much more austere and sober; the Serlian-Palladiano gaps were repeated, and the pillars were also covered with Corinthian pilasters, the windows and the vault were highlighted simply and the transverse arches were decorated with simple fillets - although in the end the Gothic ones were left - and it was all done in brick, stone, jasper and flecked stucco. The end result was quite unrelated as the complete covering did not take place, and the contrast between the new academic art forms and the visible Gothic structures was emphasized too greatly<sup>14</sup>.

In our opinion, the aim was for a similar project for the cathedral of Valencia as Borromini had undertaken in St. John Lateran, with the goal of aesthetically renewing the building using the simplest and most economical formula. Changes of this type were also made in the interior of the Iberian peninsula. In the city of Valladolid in 1766, the old church of the Confraternity of Our Lady of Mercy attached to the church of San Blas was converted into a Gothic building, when Rococo decoration was attached to all its structures and architectural elements which affected the base and the floor, to the new pilasters with lights and mirrors and the Ionic capitals, to the entire entablature which would run along the entire nave and the chancel, to the windows decorated with pebbles rocks like the panels on the walls, all the vaults, transverse arches and the highly ornate dome with plasterwork in relief, moulds, fleurons and Evangelists in its scallops. The plan for the Rococo transformations was signed by Antolín Rodríguez on that date. The church has since disappeared<sup>15</sup>. The same system for covering with decorative elements in line with the new aesthetic tastes was applied

in many civil, noble and municipal buildings, etc., which used this simple operation to redefine their appearance, and adapted to the fashions of each era<sup>16</sup>.

As a result of the destruction of the main façade of the cathedral of Lugo<sup>17</sup> Julian Sánchez Bort produced a Baroque-classicist plan in 1769 which involved the destruction of the old one; the construction undertaken by other masters refined his plan, but in both cases it was a radical break with the medieval temple (Fig. 15). Some projects were also undertaken in the interior and in the second half of the century, on the presbytery and the chapel of San Froilan, which was modernized with a neoclassical altarpiece and built “ex novo” in 1780, also within the aesthetic of this style, as well as some neoclassical altarpieces in the temple. This led to tension with the Academy of San Fernando, as the members were not asked to approve the plans beforehand.

At this time, work was also done on the cathedral of Burgos, which led to the disappearance of the Gothic reliefs on the porches of its western façade. They were replaced by three poorly executed classicist doors which were the subject of protests, even by the followers of this aesthetic such as Ponz and Bosarte. They are attributed to Juan de Sagarvinaga although we suspect they are by González de Lara, who at that time attempted to undertake a radical project on the entire façade, which he was unable to carry out because he was prevented by the Academy of San Fernando. Ignacio Haan and his Level Portal of the cathedral of Toledo is another similar work, as is the refurbishment of the altarpiece of Riofrío for the retrochoir of the cathedral of Segovia, the new sacristy of Astorga and many other works<sup>18</sup> all over Spain.

#### “Purity of forms” and “unity of style”

“Unity of style” seeking purity of forms and consistency of the entire building - internal and external - was advocated and theorized mainly by Alberti and some Renaissance architects, obviously when undertaking classical works, but it was also included in the Baroque to combine styles. Its reception in Spain was swift, and it was implemented by the purely modern architects of Philip II, such as Juan Bautista de Toledo and Juan de Herrera, who achieved this *concinnitas* using various alternatives in their work on royal buildings. However, its introduction was slow and it never became widespread. Juan Bautista de Toledo was also a pioneer of how to restore a building to its original condition, as in the palace in the Casa de Campo in Madrid<sup>19</sup>.

An important book by the humanist Cristóbal de Villalón was published in Valladolid in 1539, and was significantly entitled *Ingeniosa comparación entre lo antiguo y lo presente* [A clever comparison between the past and the present] which included the other major option for the century’s Spanish architecture. Villalón was also a firm advocate of the new Renaissance modernity, but left the door open for appreciation and respect for the progress that had been established during the Gothic. By doing so, he thereby created another possible trend for modernity, as he admitted that if “those ancient sages” were alive, they would admire the incomparable Spanish Gothic and Plateresque buildings such as the College of San Pablo in Valladolid, the College of Cardinal

Mendoza and the palaces of the Count of Benavente and Don Francisco de los Cobos in the same city, the hospital of the Catholic Monarchs in Santiago de Compostela, the cathedrals of Toledo, Seville, León and Salamanca, etc., in a highly eclectic mixture<sup>20</sup>. This would provide a justification for the restoration from the Gothic style of certain types of buildings, mainly religious in nature (cathedrals, temples, hospitals), without this implying a rejection of modernity and progress. It was like a declaration of the value of the character and functionality of the building as related to the method used in the work.

Herein lies the appearance in Spain of a rational and critical concept of work on buildings, which we will define as the “unity of style” corresponding to the *conformità* in the whole as defined by Vitruvius and Alberti. In addition to the treatises translated in Spain, in 1582 Lozano published *Los diez libros de arquitectura*<sup>21</sup>, which gave our architects Alberti’s philosophy. The *concinnitas* is mentioned here, but it also explains that in his tenth book, Alberti presents two chapters on how to carry out maintenance and conservation work on buildings over time in order to avoid or overcome different kinds of deterioration. These chapters are entitled: «... del reformar y emendar los vicios de las mismas paredes»<sup>22</sup> and «De aquellas cosas que no se pueden proueer sino despues de hechas emendar quales son de henchiduras, los cimientos, columnas, los huesos de los templecillos, los trastornamientos, las paredes y suelos»<sup>23</sup> (fols. 338-343).

Also noteworthy is the interesting manuscript by Simón García, *Compendio de Architectura y Simetría de los templos conforme a la Medida del Cuerpo Humano con algunas Demostraciones de Geometría*, dated to 1681-3<sup>24</sup>. What is most interesting today is that the Salamanca Baroque architect includes another text in his work (the first six chapters) that belonged to Juan (died 1526) and Rodrigo Gil de Hontañón (1500-1577). They deal with the composition and measures of temples based on «two in principle disparate concepts of proportion: anthropomorphic and geometric basic arithmetic thus combining the classic Vitruvian method of the human body and the medieval method of Villard d’Honnencourt, Matthäus Roritzer and Cesariano’s geometrical method»<sup>5</sup>. It is significant that these two masters of the Gothic, and Cesariano in the transition to the Renaissance, had a personal methodology which involved working on existing elements and choosing a specific style to tackle the problem. For example, they chose the Gothic when considering the beginning and after the conclusion of some cathedrals like those in Salamanca and Segovia. This was first due to the character of the building, because they believed that the type of cathedral had to be taken into consideration based on the foundations of the role and simbology that had been successful and fully defined in the Middle Ages, meaning that it would be absurd to alter the language and the syntax when building other new works or finishing those already begun. Furthermore, this position was endorsed by the same classicism that meant it was necessary to continue with the Albertian *conformità* in the building and the coherence between the parts that had already been completed and the new ones to be added. For example, it is interesting to recall that in 1521 Cesariano published his edition of Vitruvius in Como, which significantly expands on the discussion that took place in 1386 on the cathedral of Milan. Cesariano includes illustrations of the floor

plan and cross-section along geometric Gothic lines and believes that through them it is possible to fully achieve “harmony”. This same method and concepts appear in the text by Gil de Hontañón, and even in the treatises by Colmenares and Arfe (fol. 12 v.).

This treatise consequently proclaims the “unity of style” and the “corresponding magnificence” as a method when working. When discussing the composition of temples (fol. 1) also states that this is a «proportion... comodulation of the parts of all the members, from which the ratio of all the measures is taken». Simón García, the compiler and a practical man of the Baroque, was aware - well into the seventeenth century - that works begun in the Gothic era must be completed using the same formal construction system. He specifically mentions this in chapter XII, when he describes the cathedral of Salamanca: «... they distributed, approved, selected and built half of what can be seen as completed today, and with the same intent orders have been given to continue the other half of the transept above, and our Lord God willing, he will grant it the means sufficient for its continuation» (fol. 52).

Like Alberti, the *Compendium* emphasizes methods for the conservation and maintenance of buildings, and the title of chapter 75 is even entitled as follows: «In which they place general conditions to continue a ruined building» (fols. 135-137). It takes as an example the restoration of the then controversial tower of the cathedral of Salamanca and insists that it must be «decent, strong, useful and spectacular, and should have the decorum and symmetry appropriate to the body of the temple». He suggests demolishing the ruined building and rebuilding it «in one single material and form, composed and manufactured for the purpose, of the measure and proportion of the body of the temple» as shown in the «plan, and this plan, its members, and moulds must be measured and proportioned according to their type, as in Vitruvius, and Philander, in Book 3 and 4 and Pliny in book 36 chap. 23». In other words, García advocates the “unity of style” but by means of a balanced agreement between the Gothic and his own era, in a method that was finally applied in 1705 by the architect Pantaleón Pontón de Setién, who built it as an octagon, with spires and a hemispherical dome<sup>26</sup>.

This treatise shows that this method of projection accounts for the survival of medieval languages in Spanish cathedrals during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and is not, as has been suggested, simply due to the conservative attitude of the chapters and architects. Attempts were made to complete cathedrals such as those in Salamanca, Segovia, Plasencia, Astorga and many religious buildings all over Spain based on the “consistency” between what had been completed and what had yet to be completed<sup>27</sup>.

Indeed, in the cathedrals of Salamanca and Astorga, to cite just two examples, they are significant because they focus on this subject between the sixteenth century and the late eighteenth century. The cathedral of Salamanca was commissioned with the approval of the Catholic Monarchs. However, the initial project did not begin to take shape until 1509, with the participation of the masters of Seville and Toledo Alonso Rodríguez and Antón Egas, and the foundation stone was laid in 1513 by the chief architect Juan Gil de Hontañón. Numerous architects were in charge of the project during a first stage which continued until 1560, and there was a constant debate on



Fig. 16-Astorga, cathedral façade, XVIII century restorations; towers' *remates* from XIX and XX century.

the problem of whether or not the work should be carried out based on the “unity of style”. Another phase began in 1589, when the building reached the level of the transept, and debate over how to continue began once again. The classicist Juan del Ribero Rada was commissioned to continue in the Gothic style (he altered the ambulatory by making the chancel straight while maintaining the medieval building systems)<sup>28</sup>. Another phase ran from 1668 until the mid-eighteenth century, during which masters of works such as Juan de Setién, Pantaleón de Pontón, Joaquín de Churriguera and others once again participated in the ongoing debate and the continuing struggle to complete the cathedral, following its original style in most cases. However, there was some concern that it should be completed with a commitment to modernity, such as the dome designed by Fray Pedro Martínez which was inspired by the dome of the cathedral of Burgos. In the end a Gothic result was achieved, in which the “purity of style” evidently could not be absolute as it had experienced so many changes over so many years.

The cathedral of Astorga (Fig. 16) underwent a similar process, although it has more impurities. However, on its eighteenth century façade it is surprising to note - imitating the façade of the cathedral of León (with the exposed flying buttresses between the towers as in Saint-Séverin in Paris) - its trumpet-shaped porch with Leonese



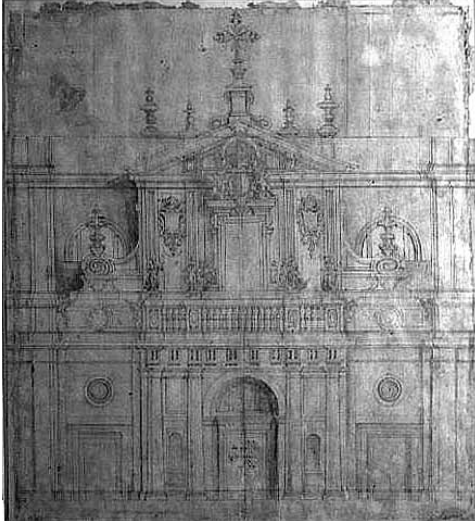


Fig. 17 - Drawing by Alberto de Churriguera (1676-1740) for the main façade of the Valladolid Cathedral (Archivo Diocesano y Catedralicio de Valladolid; [www.copia-di-arte.com](http://www.copia-di-arte.com)).



Fig. 18 - Valladolid, cathedral, the façade after Churriguera design.

Baroque columns imitating the Gothic expansions, and many other details which very clearly express the search for unity by means of a compromise and balance between medieval and contemporary art<sup>29</sup>. The Renaissance expansion of the cathedral of Tarazona is another accurate reflection of a surprising formal analogy which did not reject its own era. The building of San Marcos de León, which was begun in the early sixteenth century and was completed well into the eighteenth century is another large chapter house like many others all over Spain.

The “unity of style” was also respected by leading architects of the Baroque. A good example is Alberto de Churriguera, who in 1729 was commissioned to undertake the ornamental top of the main façade of the cathedral of Valladolid, according to the original plan preserved in the archives of the temple (Figs. 17-18). However, his proposal was clumsily implemented by his nephew Manuel de Larra Churriguera and by the Valladolid masters who put it into practice (the works were completed on 13 January, 1733). Some historians have considered this project as an attempt to undermine Herrera’s plan. From the specific standpoint of the metamorphosis of buildings, from the Baroque criteria for intervention in pre-existing constructions, and even using the Herrerian framework, Alberto de Churriguera was extremely cautious and respectful, even to the extent of adopting a strong degree of compromise between what had been completed and his proposals. While remaining within his own time, because his profound personality demanded it, he was able to understand Herrera’s plan and take it to its logical conclusion. With wise restraint, he limited himself to a measured weight-

less and ethereal decoration of the surfaces of the walls. However, he did not penetrate the upper sections, maintained the proportions, retained the classic element of the pediment and repeated the joining wingwalls, albeit with the softness and fluidity of his style, while clearly maintaining the «main lines of Herrera's plan», as noted by García y Bellido, and Chueca and Martín González. He attempted to go further than Herrera by taking the inspiration for his "idea" from the basic design of the façade of the church at El Escorial, with the intention of placing four Evangelists on it, although they were later replaced by Fathers of the Church<sup>30</sup>.

However, we must also note that at the same time as the two movements mentioned above, the movement of unity of style - in whatsoever form this took - and the search for new modernities at the expense of what was already in existence, other phenomena took place. These in many ways rejected and denied those advocated by the theories mentioned above, and were unrelated to both them and to the modernity that was produced in each period of our architecture. These consist of what we will call "diachronic recurrences to the Middle Ages". For some time they were reproduced in the Renaissance and Baroque eras of the Modern Age by means of unique aesthetic expressions: as "Romanesque" revivals, "Gothicisms" and "mudejarismos" which have been considered archaic from various standpoints, but which in many cases can be considered as active reflections of recurring cultural debates. Tradition and modernity, two constants, opposed to each other in some cases and interrelated in others; in short, the eternal struggle between uncertainty and stylistic resolution, in an era full of contradictions that was characterized primarily by art's depiction of the heterogeneity of the socio-cultural components of a nation of countries - Spain - with incredible differences in their origins and development, their populations and cultural patterns and therefore an accurate reflection of their realities.

Obviously, this alternative involves an attempt to integrate and restore outmoded elements belonging to coordinates that had technically disappeared, but is not necessarily based on denial and rejection of novelty and progress, and as such the results are eclectic. In addition, however, the opposite process may take place based on identical assumptions - the integration or rejection by the modern work of earlier work, causing a change in the earlier work due to the creation of the later work. A good example of the latter would be the conversion of the Mosque of Cordoba into a Christian cathedral, by embedding a Baroque nave within it, and other similar projects. In general, the work that was done on the Islamic building between the Catholic Monarchs and the Baroque aimed not to cause destruction, denial or complete alteration, as might have been imagined due to its change of role. Instead they aimed to take advantage of its generous aesthetic and compositional qualities to obtain the new result. They not only respected most of the Muslim elements and forms through their preservation and similarity, but also took the decision not to destroy all the architectural composition of the Mosque, so that despite becoming a Christian tower, the minaret remained as it was, and the courtyard was not converted into a cloister, and the axes of the entrances and walkways and the façades retained their original condition<sup>31</sup>.

*The adoption of the “primitive style”: pre-Romantic attitudes*

In another large group of buildings dating from the era, and related to what we had seen in the past, projects were undertaken that were concerned with performing the refurbishments and completions in accordance with the primitive and dominant style of the building with the evident intention of achieving the “formal unity of styles”. In most cases, it is therefore difficult to believe that these are the “resistant”, “archaic”, “traditionalist” and/or “conservative attitudes”, in stark contrast to the idea of progress in the arts, influenced in our opinion by sociological assumptions, since in many cases these passages were more closely related to the debates taking place on the sublimity of the work to be completed than to the philological differences in styles. As a result, when continuity was adopted in eras that clearly favoured modernizing styles, those responsible were fully aware that they were seeking “perfection” and they achieved it in many cases.

In the neoclassical era, a theoretician like Isidoro Bosarte wondered whether it was possible to continue an old building in the primitive style, and said that it was fully justified. However, he ultimately rejected the position that Classicism is always superior to any other style. In the second half of the eighteenth century, this debate doubtless took place in some depth, as it did at every stage in the Renaissance and the Baroque. Now we can see that the defence of achieving the “unity of style” was particularly significant in some places, of which we will only mention a few here.

In the city of Salamanca, the debate on how to continue the new cathedral persisted for over two hundred years. For now, it is only interesting to emphasize how during this period, the sacristy of the building was constructed in the original Gothic style, with some Baroque details, but seeking “consistency” with the forms adopted in most of the stonework. A uniformity that still surprises us today was thereby achieved. Various vaults were also completed with the same identity, with Gothic tracery.

In the cathedral of Toledo, the intention was to modernize the main façade, which had already been subject to some alterations in the early seventeenth century, especially in the upper part. In 1773 cardinal Lorenzana and Ventura Rodríguez proposed the façade discussed above, but in a close vote the cathedral chapter voted twelve against eight to reject the plan because «we would like to retain the façade in the Gothic style». Professor Marias has interpreted this opposition to mean that what the Toledo canons wanted was for nothing more to be done out of «the most sentimental rather than the strictly historicist traditionalism»<sup>32</sup> and although this may have been true, it is difficult to understand their ability to reject the wishes of the cardinal if there were no other sufficient and historicist arguments. The financial arguments could not have applied, as the project was guaranteed by the munificence of the Primatial cathedral and its prelate. Today, we fortunately have the façade of Toledo and the project conceived by Ventura Rodríguez.

At the end of his life, this master, some of whose projects we have already mentioned, moved towards a historicist position. Now we will consider his work on the cathedral of Valladolid once again.

The preservation of the western tower using the most modern technologies of the time can be considered a minimal intervention, or even a consolidation rather than

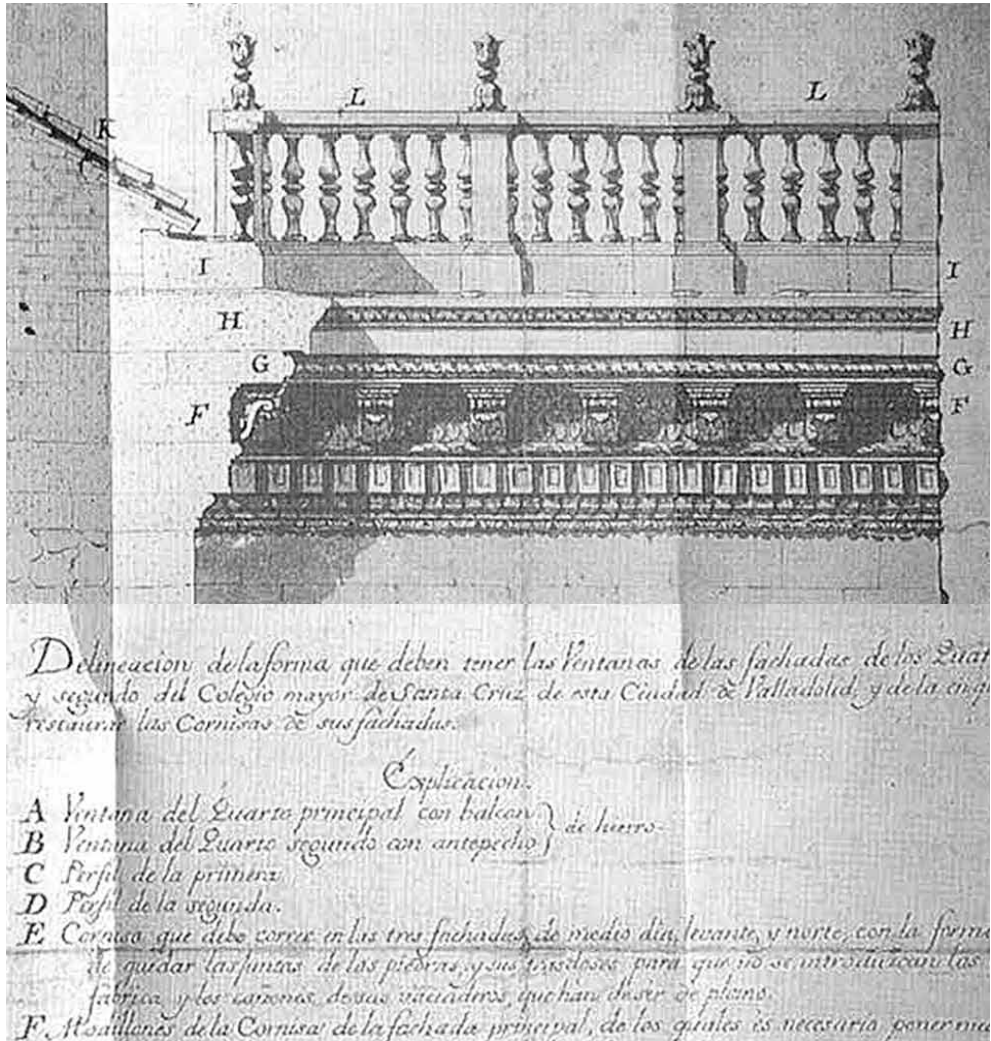


Fig. 19 - Ventura Rodríguez, project for restoration of the façade of Santa Cruz College at Valladolid (1760), in Rivera, *Algunos conceptos sobre restauración*, cit.

an intervention. Another revealing project was his report to conclude the cathedral of Valladolid, in which he advocated continuing his own essentialized projects as a tribute to Herrera, as part of a process that would take place in Europe in the nineteenth century. The third plan for the Santa Cruz Palace, also in Valladolid, with records and plans that use the word “restore” with its modern meaning, represents another type of modernity that emerged at this time, an awareness of history and the preservation of monuments (Fig. 19). This project aimed to restore the ruined Gothic elements, reconstructing them in addition to the inclusion of “alla Moderna” by altering the windows and applying the new classical language<sup>33</sup>.

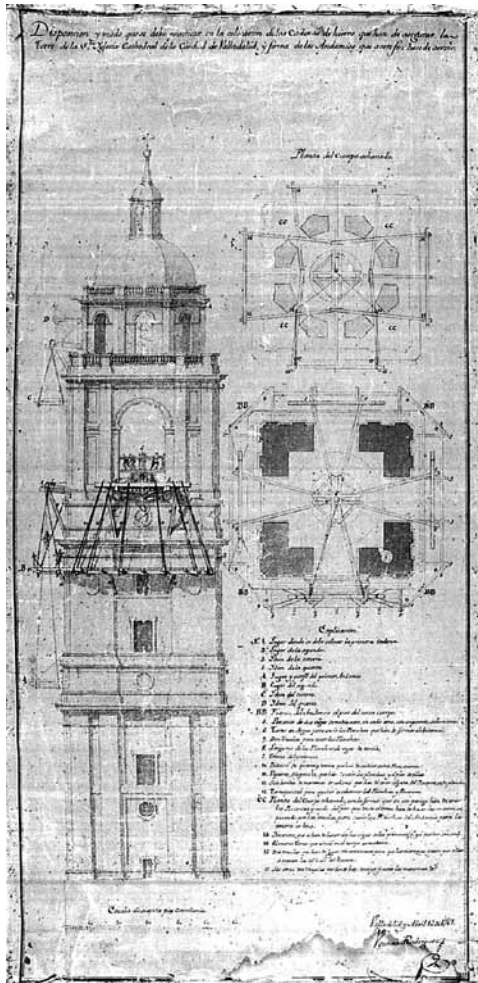


Fig. 20- Ventura Rodríguez, project to consolidate the west tower of Valladolid Cathedral (1761) in Rivera, *Algunos conceptos sobre restauración*, cit.

carefully studied the problems in the south-west tower, and believed that they could only be resolved archaeologically by reinforcing the tower with four thick chains that would be raised by two ingenious scaffolds around platforms that would be placed in the third and fourth sections. He drafted an elaborate elevation of the entire tower dated April 12 of that year, in which he explained the «Layout and manner for the placing of the iron chains that must ensure the Tower of the Holy cathedral church of the City Valladolid, and the form of the scaffolds to be used for that purpose». The first and second chains would embrace the pedestal and talus of the capitals, respectively, of the second section. The third would reinforce the talus of the third section,

When considering the first project, involving the repairs to the ruined cathedral tower, it should be remembered that prior to Rodríguez, Fray Pedro Martínez and Matías Machuca had attempted to deal with the problem by working on the hemispherical dome at the top of it (Fig. 20). This achieved absolutely nothing, and in 1755 the building suffered the tremors of the famous Lisbon earthquake. As a result, the cracks that had appeared all over the tower became so widespread and alarming by 1761 that the collapse of the last three sections appeared imminent. The situation was so serious that the chapter, fearing what might happen, was forced to seek the opinion of two experts in the field; they called on Father Antonio de San José Pontones and one of the most renowned architects of the court, Ventura Rodríguez, who was then in exile in Valladolid and engaged on works for the Philippine Fathers, for the Royal Palace in Valladolid and for the Colegio Mayor de Santa Cruz. The latter was truly exemplary from the point of view of “historical-archaeological restoration” according to the concepts developed based on this discipline in Europe one hundred years later, and it is therefore a natural pioneer in this field which deserves recognition as such.

The two masters submitted their reports, and the chapter chose the solution proposed by Ventura Rodríguez. He had

and the fourth would reinforce the next and last floor. This was all with a level of technological ingenuity that was astonishing for the time, for which we know of no precedent, and it subsequently led to the tower of the cathedral of Salamanca.

The reinforcement was performed by Manuel Godoy, an architect who had worked with Rodríguez on the works in Valladolid, and the project lasted from April 1761 until October 1764; its cost amounted to 4,852,261 maravedis.

Despite this spectacular chain mechanism, the solution to counteract the weak foundations and the radiant cables of the loads was only a temporary one, as two stones fell from the ledge on which the clock rested on 11 March 1788. These broke part of the next ledge and the tower

was once again visited by expert architects who examined it, including the master builder Francisco Javier de la Rodera, the architect and scholar Francisco Álvarez Benavides and the professor of Architecture Juan de Urrechaga, who concluded that the damage had been due to natural causes and said that they had found no structural problems, and as such there was no danger of subsidence as the reinforcements were in good condition.

The chapter accepted this, but subsequently became alarmed once again and 1806 requested the Prior of the Monastery of El Escorial to send them the Hieronymite and royal architect Fray Cristóbal Tejada «to examine and repair the tower, since one of its sides is in a poor condition and may collapse». After his visit to the tower in the company of the architect Ventura González Sanz, neither of the two men found any cause for concern, although they did warn of some unevenness on the outer layers. However, although the beams of the upper floor of the tower had split in 1812, it was not cause for concern. The solution seemed to involve a simple small vault slab constructed beneath the cracks, which was also insisted on in 1820 by Pedro García González, the architect and renowned scholar of the Royal Academy of San Fernando and of the Immaculate Conception of Valladolid. As it had threatened to do for years, the 270-foot high tower collapsed at five in the afternoon on 31 May 1841, after a violent storm, creating a noise that was heard throughout the city. Its condition can be seen in an engraving published in the *Semanario Pintoresco Español*<sup>34</sup>. Worship resumed in the cathedral in January 1842 (Fig. 21).

Regardless of the outcome of the reinforcement work performed by Ventura Rodríguez, and the technical assessment that its solution warrants, it seems particularly important to emphasize the concept that this master used in his approach to a project to consolidate the tower. According to contemporary concepts it established a genuine



Fig. 21- Valladolid cathedral, engraving by Fournier (XIX century).



restoration, consisting of safeguarding the value of a work of architecture without altering its existential and historical condition, without creating any interventions that transform its essence, and simply using the advanced technology of the era, which at least saved the monument for nearly a century. One wonders whether in the century that had passed since then, science had not make sufficient progress to restore the tower by technical means, so that the chains project, which was fully reversible, could be replaced by other means without having to demolish it - a solution that Rodríguez avoided with his inventiveness.

Moreover, the court architect's attitude of complete respect for historical constructions reveals an awareness of history that was truly revolutionary in Spain and ran in parallel to the most advanced trends of the Enlightenment and the Academy in Europe. It differed a great deal from the position maintained by the same architect a few years earlier, when based on his Baroque criteria he only wanted to destroy in order to rebuild, as he said with regard to Santo Domingo de Silos or the cathedral of El Burgo de Osma, in the cases referred to above.

Another document of great importance in this process is the «Informe que á instancia del Cabildo de esta Santa Iglesia de Valladolid, hizo el famoso Arquitecto de S.M. Don Ventura Rodríguez, en el año de 1768. En que reconoció el estado en que se hallaba la fabrica de este Templo» - the «Report at the request of the Chapter of this Holy Church of Valladolid, made by the famous architect of His Majesty, Don Ventura Rodríguez, in the year 1768, when he examined the condition of the stonework of this Temple»<sup>35</sup>. It was produced at the request of the chapter, in order to assess the costs that completing the cathedral would entail, and to find out his opinion on what criteria to proceed with completion. Apart from the estimated two million ducats for the project - a sum that upset the hopes of the canons who decided never to finish it - it is interesting to study the terms on which the Madrid architect wrote his report.

Rodríguez, within his attitude of profound classicism, first compares the cathedral of Valladolid with the great ancient temples built by the pagans to their gods. He says that in a similar way, «a house with the most beautiful embellishments was erected to our God, which would act as a model to the broad chest of the Catholic», adding that it should be «not only admired among the majestic, who worship in Spain; but instead must be renowned worldwide». He then proposed that the work be continued as planned by the “renowned” Juan de Herrera, and by tracing the original plans he shows the completed work and the foundations laid on the copy in black, and what has yet to be done in red, because as a whole it is a «beautiful idea or desired machine».

He argues that Herrera, with this work, banished barbarism from Gothic buildings and says that if it was finished it would only be surpassed by St. Peter's in Rome, and argued that such quality is proved «by two already completed parts of this building. One is the main façade, which must be admired in this Body, of such elevation and grandeur». He considers it more perfect than the façade of the Kings at El Escorial, extolling the Doric order and describing it in detail, emphasizing that the triumphal entrance arch exceeds all those «erected by the vanity of the Roman Emperors». When considering the second section, which had been built according to a plan by Alberto Churriguera

in the eighteenth century, he considers the Herrerian plans as follows: «following the same contexture of the Doric order, it differs from the first, with a very meticulous style, maintaining the sections, and observing the profiles and diminutions, which the plan sees in accordance with art with distributed pilasters, and striking retropilasters», and continues describing it in a similar fashion, mentioning the statues of the Doctors (he does not mention the Evangelists) about which he says that «for their construction, many cartloads of stones were necessary to supplement with greatness what could diminish the view». This detail, together with others, proves that he had a positive opinion of Churriguera's interpretation of the Herrerian plan. He also once again emphasizes the «eminent frontispiece» which is accompanied by the two towers that make the entire façade majestic, and notes that one is «perfectly finished, and the other built up to the first Body», and then asks for it to be completed, but interestingly (because it is a definite defence of the historical contributions to the project), with «the same embellishment» as when he discusses the one that has been completed, he says that it is perfectly laid out and decorated, despite being a Baroque work<sup>36</sup>.

Thus the Spanish architect summarized two centuries of architecture and extolled “alla Moderna” building, and paved the way for the new awareness of history preserving pre-existing buildings, which would become more widespread from the nineteenth century onwards.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> V. Tovar, *La catedral como experiencia singular del barroco hispánico: El valor de una arquitectura sobrepuesta*, in V. Tovar, J.J. Martín González (eds.), *El arte del Barroco. I. Arquitectura y escultura. Conceptos fundamentales en la Historia del Arte español*, Madrid 1990, pp. 110 ff. On the great Spanish cathedrals, and specifically on the working methods in the cathedral architecture of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, see: J. Rivera Blanco, *Teoría e historia de la intervención en monumentos españoles hasta el Romanticismo. Discurso del Académico electo en la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de la Purísima Concepción de Valladolid*, Valladolid 1989; G. Ramallo Asensio, *El rostro barroco de las catedrales españolas*, in “Cuadernos dieciochistas”, 1 (2000), pp. 313-347; M.A. Castillo Oreja (ed.), *Las catedrales españolas en la Edad Moderna. Aproximación a un nuevo concepto del espacio sagrado*, Madrid 2001; G. Ramallo Asensio (ed.), *Las catedrales españolas del Barroco a los Historicismos*,

Murcia 2003; Id. (ed.), *El comportamiento de las catedrales españolas del Barroco a los Historicismos*, Murcia 2003; M.P. Díaz Muñoz, *Catedrales en el Barroco*, Madrid 2003; J.R. Soraluze Blond, *Historia de la arquitectura restaurada de la Antigüedad al Renacimiento*, A Coruña 2008; G. Ramallo Asensio, *Ascenso, caída y destrucción de las actuaciones barrocas en las catedrales españolas*, in “Semata, Ciencias Sociais e Humanidades”, 22 (2010), pp. 19-44; J.R. Soraluze Blond, *Arquitectura restaurada de Galicia*, Santiago de Compostela 2014, and the extensive bibliography included in all these.

<sup>2</sup> G. Dorfles, *Memoria histórico-artística e hitos monumentales*, Valencia 1983, p. 14.

<sup>3</sup> The case of the Renaissance and Baroque interventions in León Cathedral is very significant: see J. Rivera Blanco, *Historia de las restauraciones de la catedral de León*, Valladolid 1995.

<sup>4</sup> F. Chueca Goitia, *Juan de Villanueva en la capilla del Venerable Palafox y la sacristía de la Cate-*

dral del Burgo de Osma, in "Arquitectura. Revista del Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Madrid", 244 (1983), p. 35 ff.; A. Capitel, *Metamorfosis de monumentos y teorías de la restauración*, Madrid 1988, p. 131 ff.

<sup>5</sup> F. Chueca Goitia, Narciso Tomé, *Una incógnita del barroco español*, in "Goya. Revista de arte", 49 (1962), pp. 12-22; J.M. Prados, *Las trazas del Transparente y otros dibujos de Narciso Tomé para la catedral de Toledo*, in "Archivo Español de Arte", 49, 196 (1976), pp. 387-416; J.J. Martín González, *Escultura barroca en España (1600-1770)*, Madrid 1971.

<sup>6</sup> D. Wiebenson (ed.), *Los tratados de arquitectura: de Alberti a Ledoux*, Madrid 1988 (English edition 1982).

<sup>7</sup> J.M. García Iglesias, *A catedral de Santiago e o Barroco*, 1990.

<sup>8</sup> D. Sánchez Mesa, *La portada principal de la catedral de Granada como el gran retablo barroco de Alonso Cano*, in N. Marín, A. Gallego Morell, A. Soria Olmedo (ed.), *Estudios sobre la literatura y el arte dedicados al profesor Emilio Orozco Díaz*, vol. 3, Granada 1999, pp. 307-322; E.A. Villanueva Muñoz, *La fachada de la Catedral de Granada: consideraciones simbólicas*, in "Cuadernos de Arte de la Universidad de Granada", 32 (2001), pp. 139-157; Id., *El proyecto de Alonso Cano para la fachada de la catedral*, in F. J. Martínez Medina, M. Serrano Ruiz, E. Carro Rodríguez (eds.), *Alonso Cano y la catedral de Granada. Homenaje del Cabildo de la Catedral de Granada a Alonso Cano, en la conmemoración del IV Centenario de su nacimiento*, Granada 2002, pp. 139-168; L. Gila Medina, *La última etapa constructiva de 1650 a 1704*, in L. Gila Medina (ed.), *El libro de la catedral de Granada*, Granada 2005, pp. 171-208; and J.C. Madero López, *En torno a los dibujos canescos del "Instituto Gómez Moreno" de la Fundación Rodríguez Acosta y la fachada de la catedral*, *ibidem*, pp. 1019-1080.

<sup>9</sup> J. Yarnoz, *Ventura Rodríguez y su obra en Navarra*, Madrid 1944; F. Chueca Goitia, *Ventura Rodríguez y la escuela barroca romana*, in "Archivo Español de Arte", 52 (1942), pp. 185-210, published again in *El arquitecto D. Ventura Rodríguez (1717-1765)*, exhibition catalog, Museo Municipal de Madrid, Madrid 1983, pp. 11-31; J. Goñi Gaztambide, *La fachada neoclásica de la catedral de Pamplona*, in "Príncipe de Viana", 31, 118-119 (1970), pp. 5-64; T. Reese, *The Architecture of Ventura Rodríguez*, New York 1976; J.E. García Me-

lero, *Espiritualidad y estética: las transformaciones en los exteriores de las catedrales góticas españolas en el siglo XVIII*, in "Hispania Sacra. Revista de Historia eclesiástica", 41, 84 (1989), pp. 612-613; Id., *Realizaciones arquitectónicas de la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII en los interiores de las catedrales góticas españolas*, in "Espacio, tiempo y forma", Serie VII - Historia del arte, 2 (1989), pp. 223-286; A. Ustarroz, *La fachada de la catedral de Pamplona. Del pensamiento romano en la obra de Ventura Rodríguez*, in J. Cenicacelaya, I. Saloña (eds.), *Arquitectura Neoclásica en el País Vasco*, Bilbao 1990, p. 167 ff.

<sup>10</sup> Reese, *The architecture of Ventura Rodríguez*, cit.; F. Marías, *Ventura Rodríguez en Toledo (1772-1785)*, in *Estudios sobre Ventura Rodríguez (1717-1785)*, Madrid 1985, pp. 61-95; García Melero, *Espiritualidad*, cit., p. 611.

<sup>11</sup> F. Chueca Goitia, *La arquitectura religiosa en el siglo XVIII y las obras del Burgo de Osma*, in "Archivo Español de Arte", 22, 88 (1949), pp. 287-315; Chueca Goitia, *Juan de Villanueva*, cit., pp. 35-37; P. Moelón Gavilanes, *La arquitectura de Juan de Villanueva. El proceso del proyecto*, Madrid 1988, pp. 326-327; Capitel, *Metamorfosis*, cit., pp. 131-144; I. Jiménez Huertas, C. Montes Serrano, *Francisco Sabatini y las obras de El Burgo de Osma. La ampliación de la Catedral de El Burgo de Osma*, in "Anales de Arquitectura", 3 (1991), pp. 50-63.

<sup>12</sup> J. Rivera, *Algunos conceptos*, cit.; Id., *Las restauraciones de la catedral de Valladolid*, Valladolid 1992.

<sup>13</sup> J. Berchez, *Los comienzos de la arquitectura académica en Valencia: Antonio Gilabert*, Valencia 1987; Id., lecture given at the "XIV Curset sobre la intervenció en el Patrimoni Arquitectònic", Col·legi d'Arquitectes de Catalunya, Barcelona 1991 (unpublished). On the architect cited, see also S. Aldana, *Antonio Gilabert, arquitecto neoclásico*, Valencia 1955.

<sup>14</sup> In the twentieth century, Alejandro Ferrant and Fernando Chueca Goitia carried out a partial restoration, removing these neoclassical additions, and they are preserved today only in some chapels.

<sup>15</sup> J. Rivera et al., *Tesoros de la Real Chancillería de Valladolid. Planos y dibujos de arquitectura*, Exhibition Catalogue, Dirección General de Bellas Artes y Archivos del Ministerio de Cultura, Valladolid 1988, pp. 11 and 44.

<sup>16</sup> V. Tovar Martín, *Criterios de intervención en edificios del barroco madrileño en el reinado de Carlos III*, in *El arte en el tiempo de Carlos III*, Madrid 1989, pp. 233-244. Full and most recent bibli-

ography in G. Ramallo Asensio (ed.), *El comportamiento de las Catedrales*, cit.

<sup>17</sup> L. Vázquez Saco, *La catedral de Lugo*, Santiago 1953; P. Navascues Palacio, C. Sarthou Careres, *Catedrales de España*, Madrid 1983, p. 374; J. García Alcañiz Yuste, *Arquitectura neoclásica en Galicia: siglos XVIII y XIX*, Madrid 1986, vol. II, p. 569; M.D. Vila Jato, *Notas sobre la construcción de la fachada principal de la catedral de Lugo*, in “Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología”, 54 (1988), pp. 454-465; García Melero, *Realizaciones arquitectónicas*, cit., p. 248.

<sup>18</sup> See the articles quoted above by García Melero for news and analysis of these issues.

<sup>19</sup> J. Rivera Blanco, *Juan Bautista de Toledo y la Casa de campo de Madrid*, in J. Fernández Pérez, I. González Tascón (eds.), *A propósito de la agricultura de jardines por Gregorio de los Ríos*, Madrid 1991, pp. 103-136.

<sup>20</sup> C. de Villalón, *Ingeniosa comparación entre lo antiguo y lo presente*, Valladolid 1539, edition by M. Serrano y Sanz, Madrid 1988, pp. 172-175.

<sup>21</sup> L.B. Alberti, *Los diez libros de arquitectura*, spanish translation by F. Lozano (facsimile edition Madrid, Alonso Gomez, 1582), Valencia 1977.

<sup>22</sup> “... on refurbishing and correcting the defects of the walls themselves”.

<sup>23</sup> “On those things that cannot be provided for except subsequently, correcting items such as swellings, foundations, columns, the bones of the shrines, disturbances, the walls and floors”.

<sup>24</sup> S. García, *Compendio de Arquitectura y Simetría de los templos conforme a la Medida del Cuerpo Humano con algunas Demostraciones de Geometría* (*Compendium of Architecture & Symmetry of the temples according to the Measure of the Human Body with some demonstrations of Geometry*), in Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, Ms. 8884; 1866, 1941, 1951 and 1979 editions: see now facsimile edition supervised by J. Rivera, in “Colección de Tratadistas Castellano-leoneses”, Valladolid College of Architects, Valladolid 1991, vol. IV, , with introductory studies by A. Bonet Correa and C. Chanfon Olmos and paleographic transcription by C. Rodicio.

<sup>25</sup> A. Bonet Correa in D. Wiebenson (ed.), *Los tratados de arquitectura: de Alberti a Ledoux*, Madrid 1988 (english edition 1982), pp. 115-116: “Simón García”.

<sup>26</sup> F. Chueca, *La catedral nueva de Salamanca*, Salamanca, 1951; A. Rodríguez G. De Ceballos, *La torre de la catedral nueva de Salamanca*, in

“Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología”, XLIV (1978), pp. 245-256.

<sup>27</sup> A. Rodríguez G. De Ceballos, *Gótico versus Clásico: el principio de uniformidad de estilo en la construcción de la Catedral Nueva de Salamanca*, in G. Ramallo Asensio (ed.), *El comportamiento de las catedrales*, cit., pp. 15-16. E. Morais Vallejo, *Pervivencia de formas góticas en la arquitectura del Barroco. El caso de León*, in “Boletín del Museo e Instituto Camón Aznar”, 108 (2011), pp. 195-242; Id. *Formas góticas en la arquitectura del barroco de la provincia de Burgos*, in “BSAA Arte. Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte”, LXXIX (2013), pp. 117-142.

<sup>28</sup> J. Rivera Blanco, *De Varia Restauratione. Teoría e historia de la restauración arquitectónica*, Madrid 2008, p. 54.

<sup>29</sup> E. Morais Vallejo, *La fachada occidental de la Catedral de Astorga*, in “Astórica: revista de estudios”, 22, n. 24 (2005), pp. 247-282.

<sup>30</sup> Rivera, *Las restauraciones de la Catedral de Valladolid*, cit.

<sup>31</sup> Capitel, *Metamorfosis*, cit., p. 53 ff.

<sup>32</sup> Mariás, *Ventura Rodríguez*, cit., p. 69.

<sup>33</sup> On the three projects, C. Sambricio, *Ventura Rodríguez en Valladolid: El informe de la Catedral y la transformación radical de su pensamiento historicista*, pp. 17-21; G. Roldan, *La torre de la S.I. Catedral de Valladolid y la intervención del arquitecto D. Ventura Rodríguez*, pp. 23-35; D. Villalobos Alonso, *El proyecto de Ventura Rodríguez para la reforma del Colegio Mayor de Santa Cruz en Valladolid: el inicio de un debate*, pp. 37-45 and J. Rivera, *Algunos conceptos sobre restauración e intervención en monumentos aplicados en Castilla y León (siglos XVI-XIX)*, pp. 47-55; all articles in *Informe que hizo el Arquitecto de S.M. D. Ventura Rodríguez, en el año de 1768, de la Santa Iglesia de Valladolid*, in “Colección de Tratadistas Castellano-leoneses”, Valladolid College of Architects, vol. II, Valladolid 1987. On the cathedral projects, see: J. Rivera, *Las restauraciones de la Catedral de Valladolid...*, cit..

<sup>34</sup> *La catedral de Valladolid*, en “Semanao Pintoresco Español”, 1 (1842), pp. 4-5.

<sup>35</sup> Sambricio, *Ventura Rodríguez en Valladolid...*, cit..

<sup>36</sup> See part of the text in E. Llaguno y Amiro-la, J.A. Ceán Bermúdez, *Noticias de los arquitectos y arquitectura de España desde su restauración*, vol. II, p. 320; part is also in *La catedral de Valladolid*, cit. The complete version was published in *Informe que hizo*, cit., mentioned above.