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The Consolidation Project of Vicente Lampérez after the Demolition of the Archiepiscopal Palace of Burgos Cathedral

Konsolidacja projektu Vicente Lampéreza po wyburzeniu pałacu arcybiskupiego katedry w Burgos

Keywords: consolidation, restoration, reintegration, masonry

Słowa kluczowe: konsolidacja, rewaloryzacja, reintegracja, konstrukcje murowane

Introduction

Burgos Cathedral is a national Historic-Artistic Monument since 18851 and was declared a World Heritage Site in 1984 (Fig. 1). Being one of the most important Gothic works in Spain,² it has been collecting the different artistic trends throughout the centuries. Ever since Alfonso VI gave away his royal palace in 1075 for the construction of the Romanesque church, the subsequent construction of the cathedral began in 1221 by Bishop Don Mauricio following Gothic patterns. Even being this the predominant style (in two clearly identifiable phases: the classic Gothic style of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and a second flamboyant Gothic style starring the Colonia family), also has important Renaissance and Baroque elements.3 The Burgos Cathedral is the only Spanish cathedral that has the distinction of UNESCO independently, without being linked to a historic city centre or together with other buildings. The Archbishop's Palace might coincide with the former royal palace and was an important part of the cathedral complex, residence of bishops and the kings of Castilla, place of important historical events, and full of symbolism. The Burgos Cathedral is situated on a hillside that descends towards the south, and the palace is located on its western lower front (Fig. 2).

Architectural transformation of the Cathedral

For centuries, the transformations undertaken in the cathedral were aimed at the growth and expansion of the spaces. First, the cathedral was built in the thirteenth century according to the trends of the time, keeping in mind the aims of Bishop Don Mauricio. Then, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries it underwent major changes. During the second half of the nineteenth century important works of extension and improvement were undertaken in the southern part of the cathedral, within the archbishop's palace. At the end of that century and during the first years of the twentieth century, with the coming of Ricardo Velázquez Bosco as architect in charge of the cathedral and later with the designation of Vicente Lampérez y Romea, important restoration work was carried out in the cathedral. It is precisely at this time when, instead of adding new elements, the elimination of the accessory parts that were

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Fig. 1. South elevation of the Cathedral of Burgos from the Plaza Rey San Fernando; photo by I. Mora Moreno.

Ryc. 1. Południowa elewacja katedry w Burgos od strony Plaza Rey San Fernando; fot. I. Mora Moreno.

not necessary was sought in an ideal search for a unitary image of the monuments (Fig. 3).

The isolation of the monuments

The elimination of the constructions annexed to great churches was a current widespread throughout Europe and that in Spain especially affected the Gothic temples of León and Burgos. The search for a total vision of the monument was one of the main conditions of this movement. One of the voices that rose in Spain against this movement was that of Leopoldo Torres Balbás (continuing what was started years before by Gustavo Giovannoni),⁴ who in 1919 charged opposing the promoters of the idea in an article.⁵ For Torres Balbás, the search for the isolated monument had nothing to do with the context and the perception with which they were designed and built. But in the case of Burgos, this idea was unstoppable, and would be carried out from the last years of the nineteenth century until the 1920s.

Modifications in the Archbishop's Palace

Since the thirteenth century, prelates have been engaging in extension projects, by the purchase or transfer of buildings and lands, which turned the palace into an excessive and formless building. Bishop Luis de Acuña had already proposed to move the palace and wanted to proceed with its demolition in 1486, so that the church remained clear to the door of Sarmental. Subsequently, there were been numerous attempts to make the palace disappear completely. The difficulties encountered in carrying it this out were best summarized by Martínez Sanz:⁶

"But the project had no result, it is neither convenient nor possible to ever be carried out, since the link of that part of the cathedral has its connection with some places of the palace, and the irregular dependencies of the church that it conceals would present an unpleasant aspect, and undoubtedly after the demolition it would

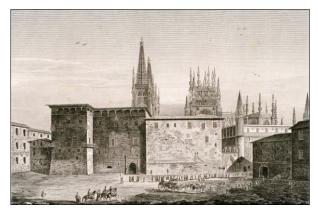


Fig. 2. View of the Cathedral of Burgos; engraving by Du Hamel; source: A. de Laborde, Voyage pittoresque et historique de l'Espagne, Paris 1820.

Ryc. 2. Widok katedry w Burgos, rycina autorstwa Du Hamel; źródło: A. de Laborde, *Voyage pittoresque et historique de l'Espagne*, Paris 1820.

be necessary to raise a wall that would cover what now conceals the archbishop's palace."

The restoration theories of Lampérez

Vicente Lampérez y Romea (1861–1923) was an architect, historian, and an expert and disseminator of Spanish architecture. Lampérez's attitude about architectural restoration, as a follower of the theories of Viollet-le-Duc, is clear throughout his career and remains almost immovable until this project, which makes him doubt and change, with an approach to theories of Camillo Boito. For Lampérez, restoring "means redoing a building or one of its parts, just as it was originally." Lampérez was the first in Spain to write down a range of criteria of the Restoration school, defending them and attacking the Anti-Restoration movement. His historicist character was reflected in his works and interventions.

Previous restoration work of Lampérez

He began in restoration (being still a student at the School of Architecture of Madrid) with Demetrio de los Ríos in 1886 in the cathedral of León, a violletian project initiated by Juan de Madrazo. His restoration practice extended to other monuments such as the cathedral of Cuenca, the Casa del Cordón (also in Burgos), the castle of Manzanares el Real (Madrid), and the church of Nuestra Señora de la Antigua (Valladolid).

With the resignation of Velázquez Bosco, he took the direction of the work of the cathedral of Burgos in 1891, carrying out numerous amounts of work in the cathedral before the demolition of the palace: restoration of the cloister, restoration of the towers, demolition of the houses next to the chapel Santísimo Cristo for its restoration and other minor works. In the 1899 project to reconstitute the cathedral of Burgos, he tried to repeat what was done in León. But neither the architecture nor the context was similar. These projects

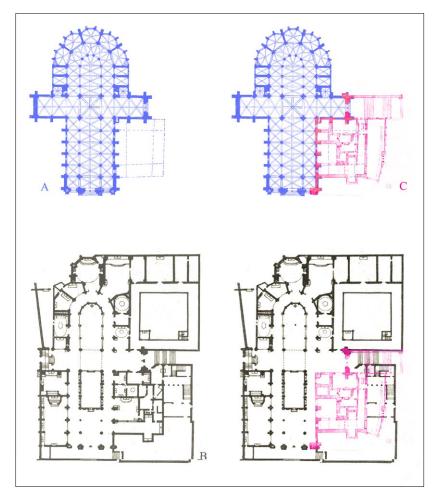


Fig. 3. Floor plans of the Cathedral of Burgos; sources: legend A—sketch of the supposed original plan of the Cathedral of Burgos, source: V. Lampérez y Romea, Historia de la arquitectura cristiana, Barcelona 1904, p. 44, B—plan of the cathedral with the palace, source: A. Ponz, Viage de España: en que se da noticia de las cosas mas apreciables y dignas de saberse que hay en ella, Madrid 1781, p. 26, C—plan after the demolition of the palace, source: V. Lampérez y Romea, La Catedral de Burgos (Obras últimamente ejecutadas), "Arquitectura y Construcción" 1918, p. 10; by I. Mora Moreno.

Ryc. 3. Rzuty katedry w Burgos: A – szkic domniemanego pierwotnego rzutu katedry w Burgos (źródło: V. Lampérez y Romea, *Historia de la arquitectura cristiana*, Barcelona 1904, s. 44), B – rzut katedry z pałacem (źródło: A. Ponz, *Viage de España: en que se da noticia de las cosas mas apreciables y dignas de saberse que hay en ella*, Madrid 1781, s. 26), C – rzut po wyburzeniu pałacu (źródło: V. Lampérez y Romea, *La Catedral de Burgos (Obras últimamente ejecutadas*), "Arquitectura y Construcción" 1918, s. 10); opr. I. Mora Moreno.

allowed him to gain the affection, love and respect of the authorities and the people of Burgos.

Vicente Lampérez in the Cathedral of Burgos

Lampérez's knowledge, not only of the cathedral of Burgos, but of the history of the architecture of numerous cathedrals is indisputable, it would be enough to review the general bibliography of the architect and the specific one dedicated to this cathedral. In these writings, referring to the cathedral of Burgos, he recognized the historical, documentary and artistic value not only of the church, but also of its modifications and additions. Lampérez also highlighted the strong transformation of the cathedral in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, when numerous works of artistic importance were carried out, including the construction of a new lantern after the previous one collapsed on March 4, 1539. The period covered until the end of the sixteenth century, up to a time that Lampérez con-

sidered the important works to have been finished (the following will be for him rather to regret).¹⁰

The work of Lampérez, although it was always supervised by the Academia de San Fernando,¹¹ which even rejected some of Lampérez's interventions, was strongly opposed by José María de Palacio y Abarzuza, Conde de las Almenas.¹² These were attacks that had more to do with taste and style than with the criteria of the practice of restoration (although at that time in discussion and unconsolidated) or with technical aspects. Yet again, history would repeat itself a century later with the proposal of the Cabildo de Burgos to replace the current Classical Revival wooden doors on the main facade of the cathedral with a new design proposed by the artist Antonio López (Fig. 4).

Attempts to demolish the Palace

In addition to the previous purposes of the late fifteenth century, in 1816 there was yet another attempt

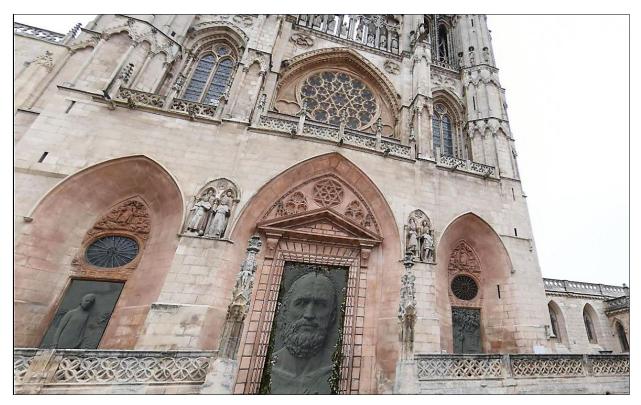


Fig. 4. Sketch of the design of the new doors by Antonio López, 2021; Cabildo de Burgos. Ryc. 4. Szkic projektu nowych drzwi wykonany przez Antonio Lópeza, 2021; Cabildo de Burgos.

to demolish the palace by the City Council. Various reports of architects, engineers, and academics of the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando supported or disapproved the elimination of the palace, with the state of ruin as justification, always counting on the bishop's opposition to its demolition. It was taken up in 1822 and 1849, but again without any success. In the second half of the nineteenth century, renovation works were carried out inside the palace by Archbishop Don Fernando de la Puente. In these works, he eliminated the chapel of San Pablo, and Romanesque remains continued to appear, attributed to the palace of Alfonso VI of the eleventh century.

In 1895, the town hall, with the support of writers and journalists, together with the people of Burgos, 13 took up the idea of demolition with the main purpose of isolating the temple. There was the idea of reconstruction of a new palace on the same site, but it was contrary to the general opinion. The pressure now on the bishop was so intense and unanimous, that he ended up giving in and accepted the isolation. To support the idea, they added the opinions of technicians. Velázquez Bosco was in favor of elimination for the beautification of the Cathedral,14 while Lampérez proposed some assumptions, among which the following stand out: not lowering the demolition to the level of the square to avoid any danger in the foundation of the monument; building a strong retaining wall; filling in the remains of the 'polygon' that was at the level of the pavement of the church with an atrium or elevated square. Although the demolition was finally approved in 1895, work did not begin until 1914.¹⁵

The initial restoration project: Lampérez's premises

Lampérez's position is ambiguous in relation to demolition. On the one hand he was in favor of the disappearance of the Palace in what corroborates his theories, but he also anticipated the problems that would occur because of the demolition. At no time he vetoes the elimination, but he is limited to give observations, highlighting the problems that would appear with the demolition, and that a valid solution cannot be given for everyone.

Although it was possible to consider the reconstruction of the palace, for Lampérez architecturally possible and limited by the economy and time, it was decided to consolidate and reintegrate that part after the demolition. For all these reasons, the demolition would involve different artistic and structural problems. From the structural point of view, as the cathedral is located halfway up a hill, there is a great difference between the level of the pavement of the cathedral and that of the square. The solution would be to build a strong retaining wall, with the perimeter marked by the staircase and the south facade of the cloister and forming an elevated platform (level with the cathedral) with access from the square. Regarding the artistic part, although in the upper part different elements would stand out and would be better shown ("torn windows, slender buttresses and openwork windows"), the lower part would bring to light chapels and sacristies never intended to be seen from the outside, "a heterogeneous whole, without unity or beauty."

He argued that it was possible to beautify all this (there are modern means for this), but that it could be a "palliative" solution to conserve the wall of the old claustra and restore it in the same way that he had already proposed for the chapel of the Santísimo Cristo. It was also possible to save a part (Lampérez mentioned everything) of the existing elements from the first three centuries after the construction of the cathedral. Lampérez, although not in favor, was not able to stop the demolition. At least, he gave guidance, volunteered, and took the initiative to save, as much as possible, the void that would remain, and above all, saved the static of the monument without forgetting the aesthetics.

Modification of the project after the demolition

Lampérez described the demolished parts and the actions to be carried out later in the report of the restoration project. He recognized, for the first time, both the importance of the Palace and the original condition of the cathedral. The idea of total isolation and complete demolition was a reality because he explained that he saved certain parts of the palace from demolition. As some areas had been revealed in the south wing of the cathedral (chapels and old claustra), work to reintegrate these parts was unavoidable. For this purpose, he determined a series of assumptions that can be divided into techniques, artistic and archeological, based on respect for the old, using sobriety, simplicity, and harmony as criteria.

Lampérez established respect for all the remaining parts: for their "archaeological value," for their "outstanding merit" and for their "historical and cult" meaning (the last one could be equated with use or functional value). The lower parts of the cathedral on the south side, acted as a bracket for the parts of the upper levels, as is the example of the tunnel, which Lampérez now dated to the end of the twelfth century. As it served to contain the land where the chapels settled, the elements to be conserved from a technical, archaeological, and economic point of view (Fig. 5).

The outer wall of the tunnel, which would remain visible, did not present a good state in the facing although the core presented a good quality. Lampérez proposed, introducing a major innovation in this regard, to improve solidity (consolidation) while recovering the image (reintegration). When the palace was demolished, inside a wall there appeared supposedly solid, twin arches of a Romanesque transitional style, dated by Lampérez to the time of Alfonso VIII in the Huelgas of Burgos (twelfth century). What Lampérez identified was that they were a facade, because of the walls in which they were found. Although the remains of the arches are insignificant, he devoted to them a great deal of historical and archaeological interest, and decided to subject them to conservation.

This led to another series of minor adjustments: conservation of certain parts of the wall of the old



Fig. 5. Exterior view of the Cathedral of Burgos with the Archbishop's Palace in demolition, from Archivo Municipal de Burgos FO-154; photo by Alfonso Vadillo, 1914.

Ryc. 5. Widok zewnętrzny katedry w Burgos z pałacem arcybiskupim w trakcie rozbiórki; materiały z Archivo Municipal de Burgos FO-154; fot. Alfonso Vadillo, 1914.

claustra by eliminating recently added modern brick walls; a lateral access to the lower part of the stairway of the Sarmental; resolving the southwest corner where the ovens are located and the replacement of the heating by removing the chimney; the reparation of the holes that were supporting the floors of wood and the roofs of the chapels of Lerma and Cartagena; different roof and parapet finishes. For all this, Lampérez already raised the future appearance of complementary projects. The platform over the tunnel, as it was intended to make it accessible and crossable, he proposed to protect it by copying the stone railing that terminated the cathedral's nave, keeping the old arches that appeared in the great hall. He also designed the placement of a stone slab in the basement to justify all of his interventions.

He consolidated, as he had proposed, the wall of the old claustra. When the plaster was removed, masonry was found up to a height of 5.50 m, which required preserving due to its age (demonstrated by irregular cutting and stonework marks). From the height of 5.50 m, the brick and rubble masonry continued, so he proposed its demolition and to have it rebuilt with stone courses, cutting similar to the lower ones and "to mark them with a sign or letter that indicates their modernity." To finish this wall, he designed a cornice and par-

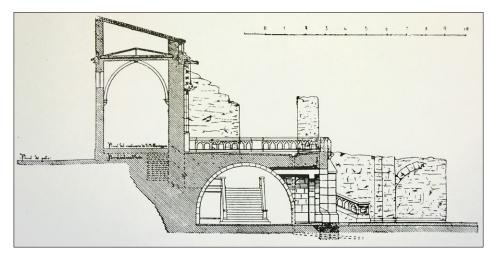


Fig. 6. Section of the intervention project of Vicente Lampérez after the demolition of the Archbishop's Palace; source: V. Lampérez y Romea, La Catedral de Burgos (Obras últimamente ejecutadas), "Arquitectura y Construcción" 1918, p. 9.

Ryc. 6. Przekrój projektu interwencyjnego Vicente Lampéreza, stan po wyburzeniu pałacu arcybiskupiego; źródło: V. Lampérez y Romea, La Catedral de Burgos (Obras últimamente ejecutadas), "Arquitectura y Construcción" 1918, s. 9.

apet similar to that of the other cloister. On this wall, Lampérez initially believed it was necessary to place two extreme buttresses as reinforcement, although he later recognized that they were not needed because the consolidation was successful (Fig. 6). Regarding the new roofs, he established as a premise to leave as much visibility as possible. To do this, he proposed a lowered iron truss, with brick boards and slate roof.

Final acknowledgments of Lampérez

Lampérez wrote a report justifying the demolition and subsequent intervention.¹⁶ His intention was to "historize" the works, to record what was found and what was left. He justified the demolition with the pursuit of displaying the cathedral isolated. He recognized that after the demolition there were amorphous parts (walls, roofs) as well as "artistic and valuable remains." Therefore, he not only organized this chaos but proposed a restoration project. He now recognized both the existence of the palace at least since the beginning of the thirteenth century (prior to the construction of the Gothic cathedral) and that the palace had been a habitual and frequent residence of the kings, at least until the fifteenth century. The demolition brought to light hidden elements, poorly known or underappreciated: the tunnel and a large hall on the upper floor. He therefore recognized the great importance of the remains found and their value as a historical and artistic document (Fig. 7).

For all these reasons, he embarked on a purely architectural work ("putting order and decorum in everything"), marking three principles (which will end up being four): paucity of interventions; respect for the existing; the harmony between parts; and ended by adding: inventing the absolutely indispensable. The shortage of decorations and additions had a more economical than technical justification. Respect for the existing, rather than as conservation, was motivated by the cathedral's stability. The solutions that he proposed

for the conservation of the existing and the repair of the damage repeated similar elements of the cathedral, but in many cases eliminated materiality. To improve the composition, he added ornamental elements to the new facades (pinnacles, statues).¹⁷ His initial idea of leaving the upper wall smooth, was modified by the appearance of a window with tracery and fence in a demolition. According to his new premises, it now had to be preserved. The impossibility of doing it in the same place forced him to replicate the window in the elevation, with compositional purposes.

By way of explanation of the intervention, he decided to leave in the same work (in the lower wall, under the double window) a plaque with the historical data (it is currently illegible). Lampérez proposes the following text: "Year of 1914. Being Archbishop Mr. José Cadena y Eleta, and Mayor of the City Mr. Manuel de la Cuesta, the Episcopal Palace, located here, was demolished. And having found architectural remains of the old building, they have been preserved in their place, as venerating historical and artistic memories of the building that housed the Kings of Castilla and the Prelates of Burgos." As he claimed, he did not perform a simple restoration, but an intervention that totally changed the perception of the monument. But also, its functionality, its use, and the elimination of one of its originally constituent elements.

Conclusions

With the removal of the palace, there is a clear search to isolate the cathedral and remove the buildings that "prevent" the vision of perspectives (that never existed). But for this reason, a building that originated with the cathedral, with found elements dating to the eleventh century, was destroyed. An important testimony of its history was destroyed, and urban environmental conditions were modified. Another reason given for the demolition of the palace was the search for a uni-



Fig. 7. Detailed image of the double window preserved by Lampérez; left—remains found in the demolition of 1914, in V. Lampérez y Romea, La Catedral de Burgos (Obras últimamente ejecutadas), "Arquitectura y Construcción" 1918, p. 14; right—current state of the double window and the stone slab; photo by I. Mora Moreno.

Ryc. 7. Szczegółowe przedstawienie podwójnego okna zachowanego przez Lampéreza; po lewej – pozostałości odnalezione po rozbiórce z roku 1914 (V. Lampérez y Romea, *La Catedral de Burgos (Obras últimamente ejecutadas*), "Arquitectura y Construcción" 1918, s. 14), po prawej – obecny stan podwójnego okna i płyty kamiennej; fot. I. Mora Moreno.

tary vision of the cathedral, given that the cathedral was contemplated in pieces, in fragments. It was not possible, contrary to what was intended at the end of the nineteenth century with the isolation of monuments, to understand a large space (such as a cathedral) as a whole. A cathedral is not only composed of a temple, but also surrounded by necessary elements. The spaces around the temple are related to it and have a mission and a functionality, including the palace. Therefore, the isolation implied the elimination of elements of the cathedral. The growth and expansion of these monuments was normally motivated by a political and power component, always dependent on economic cost. In addition, they have undergone multiple modifications over the centuries. For this reason, it is critical to contemplate and understand all these changes, as well as the reasons that caused them.

Values shown a posteriori should have served to preserve the palace and not tear it down. At least, to detect the parts of it to conserve, but never to completely demolish it. This search for the isolation of the monument leads to a pursuit of the enhancement of the values of artistry and unity, but in return erased those of historicity, documentation and structure. Once he had realized his initial mistake, Lampérez gave in and changed his initial design idea. He incorporated the remains found, placed an explanatory plate, and disseminated the intervention in articles and exhibitions. Despite maintaining a stylistic posture, there was a change in Lampérez's mindset, introducing innovative aspects in restoration. He sacrificed his design to record what he found, seeking harmony with the old, choosing consolidation over the idealization of the (supposed) past.

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- They exchanged harsh accusations in several articles in the "Diario de Burgos" in 1914 and the Count published a book in 1916 where he attacked the mistakes made by Lampérez in Burgos: J. M. de Palacio y Abarzuza, Conde de las Almenas, Demostración gráfica de los errores artísticos de Don Vicente Lampérez en Burgos, Madrid 1916.
- ¹³ A subscription is requested through the press to thank Mayor Manuel de la Cuesta and Archbishop José Cadena y Eleta ("Diario de Burgos", July 28, 1914).
- 14 For Velazquez Bosco, with the demolition of the palace, the cathedral would also gain a lot in solidity.
- ¹⁵ The demolition began on July 20, 1914, coinciding with the 693rd anniversary of the laying of the first stone of the cathedral.
- ¹⁶ V. Lampérez y Romea, La Catedral de Burgos (Obras últimamente ejecutadas), p. 5–20.
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Abstract

The 1914 demolition of the Archbishop's Palace, which was built in the thirteenth century, on the sets of Burgos Cathedral, a World Heritage Site, is currently a topical issue due to the cathedral's 800th anniversary being celebrated in 2021. In the light of the debate surrounding the proposal of a new door for the main facade by Antonio López, UNESCO has warned it may withdraw its protection. A similar controversy took place a century earlier, and it would be good to learn from Lampérez's consolidation. Chief Architect of the Cathedral Vicente Lampérez y Romea had to collect all attempts on the demolition that had taken place since the mid-nineteenth century, according to defenders, embellishing the Cathedral and getting new perspectives of the monument; joining the restoration criteria; dealing with major problems of the consolidation and the emergence of important elements that modified the project. It demonstrated how Lampérez avoided and corrected initial errors, introduced new criteria in the history of restoration, resulting in a better understanding of the behavior of the masonry.

Streszczenie

W roku 2021 obchodzono 800-rocznicę rozpoczęcia budowy katedry w Burgos, obiektu znajdującego się na Liście Światowego Dziedzictwa UNESCO. Przy tej okazji doszło do kontrowersji wokół wymiany drzwi w głównej elewacji. Projekt, który zaproponował Antonio López, spowodował pojawienie się groźby usunięcia zabytku z prestiżowej listy. Do sporu doszło również w 1914, kiedy Vicente Lampérez y Romea, kierujący restauracją katedry, zaproponował wyburzenie XIII-wiecznego pałacu arcybiskupiego, stojącego w jej sąsiedztwie. Według jego zwolenników, zabieg ten uczynił świątynię piękniejszą i umożliwił odsłonięcie jej monumentalnej bryły. Lampérez starał się łączyć kryteria konserwatorskie z potrzeba estetycznego i widokowego scalenia detali tak, by uzyskać ekspozycję dającą jednoznaczne przekonanie o znaczeniu i wartości katedry. Architekt musiał udokumentować wszelkie zmiany, jakie zaszły w otoczeniu, by przekonać oponentów o celowości swego pomysłu. Obecny spór o drzwi katedry jest reminiscencją tamtego, kolejną próbą określenia stopnia nasycenia obiektu zabytkowego nowymi elementami, które – choć śmiałe – mają za zadanie scalać, znajdując w kreacji uzupełnienie dla konserwacji.