DEVELOPMENTS IN CATHOLIC CHURCHBUILDING IN THE BRITISH ISLES 1945-1980

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The Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
The Department of Architecture
November 1985

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The period covered by this study has been one of the most intensive in the history of churchbuilding in the three Catholic territories of England and Wales, Scotland, and Ireland. The developments which have occurred have been many and varied, reflecting changes both inside and outside the Church.

Many factors have caused and affected the changes and developments, but none have been more significant than those to be identified with the wider dissemination of Modernist thought and practice in the fields of art and architecture in the British Isles; and with the implementation of the magisterium of the Second Vatican Council which took place half way through the period.

So this study takes a close look at what it considers to be the salient features of these developments, and at their causes and agents, before it surveys the actual developments in churchbuilding themselves.

In the first of the three Sections the nature of churchbuilding is considered within a discussion of the nature of 'cultus', and of Catholic worship in the twentieth century. In particular, the repristination of Catholic liturgy by the Liturgical Movement is looked at, with reference to some of its pre- and post-Conciliar effects.

In the second Section the character and purpose of post-war churchbuilding is seen as being very much affected by radical issues arising from cultural, social and ecumenical factors. To assist an assessment of design rationales which took account of these issues, the discussion examines certain influential commentaries and cases.

In the third and final Section a brief consideration of developments in Catholic churchbuilding taking place in the 1930s precedes a closer consideration of those during the period from the end of World War II upto the Second Vatican Council. A consideration of developments during the period upto the end of the 1960s then precedes a look at what has been happening during the 1970s and early 1980s.

Altogether, some five hundred examples of Catholic churchbuilding in the British Isles are referred to in varying degrees of detail in order to examine, and form a profile of, post-war developments. These examples are augmented by a much longer list of building projects in the Appendix, together with a list of architectural practises and other information.

Paul D Walker

Preface

My awareness of places of worship began at an early age. Churches that can be remembered from my boyhood had names like 'The Good Intent Mission', 'Union Hall' and 'The Tabernacle'. They all belonged to one or other of the evangalical non-conformist Churches. Only the dark interior of the Victorian church which dominated one side of the school playground, now provides a memory of a place of worship which was not non-conformist and evangelical. Of Roman Catholic church interiors, I was innocently unaware.

Bannister Fletcher primed my teenage mind with a history of architecture on the comparative method, which was complemented by countless names, dates, periods, plans, elevations, mouldings and monuments supplied by Arthur Stratton, Frederick Gibberd and the Batsfords. Church architecture then seemed to be solely and conveniently a matter of styles beginning with Anglo-Saxon and ending with Perpendicular - with Wren as a sort of seventeenth century appendix. Cecil Stewart had yet to reveal the riches of the Victorian stones of my native Manchester.

A critical appreciation of modern church architecture was first fostered, not by the utilitarian structures on a post-war housing estate, but by four buildings (all Anglican) erected in suburban developments of the thirties, viz: St Christopher, Withington (1933) by B Millar; St Nicholas, Burnage (1932) by Welch, Cachmaille-Day and Lander; St Michael and All Saints, Lawton Moor (1937) by N F Cachmaille-Day (with its star-shaped plan); and St Luke, Benchill (1939) by Taylor & Young.

The only post-war church in the area which eventually attracted my interest was that of St Francis, Newall Green (1961) by Basil Spence & Partners, who were responsible for Coventry Cathedral (consecrated a year later).

The sense of cultural focus provided by the Cathedral and by the debates that surrounded its design seemed to be doubly endorsed in 1960 when the design for the new Metropolitan Cathedral of Christ the King, Liverpool, by Frederick Gibberd & Partners was announced.

In 1958, a visit to Florence and Venice, and another to the World's Fair at Brussels, opened up a European dimension and a perception of the Catholic Church's historical and contemporary significance. What emerged from this experience was a deeper aesthetic and socio-cultural sense of religion. In the sixties that sense was particularly related to Germany, and in 1970 it culminated in a British Council award to visit many of the new and rebuilt churches of Cologne.

The sixties also marked an introduction to the work and writings of the New Churches Research Group and of the Institute for the Study of Worship and Religious Architecture in the University of Birmingham. The names of Peter Hammond, Gilbert Cope, Professor Davies and Maguire and Murray became influentially familiar through their books, bulletins and buildings.

In the sixties, too, Ireland first revealed its distinct and already mature examples of modern liturgical design. Preconceived notions of a land full of 'Simpering Madonnas' and other pious kitsch had to give way to actualities of work produced by architects and artists committed to a liturgical and cultural renewal in Ireland. An influence from the Catholic Continent seemed to be much more in evidence here.

Towards the end of the sixties, an invitation was received to form an advisory body for matters of liturgical design, by the diocese of Leeds. Considerations given to a number of buildings in the diocese, and to other design aspects, provided an invaluable engagement at first hand with many of the problems at local level. This experience stood in good stead when, in 1977, a further invitation was received: to form the third consultative

body (for art & architecture) of the Bishops' Conference of England and Wales.

It was perhaps ironic that a national advisory body for liturgical art and architecture should have been formed in the late seventies. By that time, a steep decline in new churchbuilding activity was already plainly evident, but the Department of Art and Architecture did succeed in making a positive mark both in the work of its parent body (the Liturgy Commission) and in a number of the Catholic diocese in England and Wales. Before the demise of all the Commissions in December 1983 (in order to make way for a new consultative structure) the Department managed to complete the third of the Liturgy Commission's guideline documents: The Parish Church.

The introduction of a new consultative structure in 1984 is the outome of two major events in the life of the Catholic Church in England and Wales: the National Pastoral Congress held in Liverpool in 1980, and the Papal Visit in 1982, which also included Scotland. Three years earlier there was the Papal Visit to Ireland, which was so short in its notice that it could almost be described as a surprise visit. Indeed, the pontificate of John Paul II has been very much characterised by his many pastoral visits.

The remarkable election of the first non-Italian Pope for four hundred years has had world-wide ramifications. And it is not unremarkable that during the preparation of this study, there have been the deaths of two other Popes (Paul VI and John Paul I). To Paul VI had fallen the task of implementing the various decrees of the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965) which his predecessor Pope John XXIII had called but had died before its completion. Together with the latter half of the pontificate of Pius XII, the whole of this period under review from 1945-1980 represents one of the most challenging periods of change in the history of the papacy and of the Church.

Of more direct consequence to the preparation of this study there have been the deaths of some of those with whom it was hoped to have corresponded, or corresponded more fully. In particular, there were the deaths of Archbishop Beck of Liverpool (1979) who wrote more often than any other English or Welsh prelate on churchbuilding matters in the late fifties and early sixties; of Canon J B O'Connell (1978), liturgical scholar and the only English representative on the pre-conciliar commission on liturgy in 1960; Canon J G McGarry (1977), Chairman of the Advisory Committee on Sacred Art and Architecture of the Episcopal Liturgical Commission of Ireland; Fr Clifford Howell SJ (1981), eminent liturgical scholar; Sir Frederick Gibberd (1984), architect of Liverpool Metropolitan Cathedral; Michael Gillet, an authority on Marian shrines; Lawrence Shattock, architect; and J J Frame, church decorator and restorer.

Deaths of correspondents is one of the more tragic consequences of a protracted period of study. Less tragic, but nonetheless consequential, is the demanding problem of trying to sustain the original intention and maintain cohesion. During the eight years or so since this study was first registered, there have been developments in the whole area of churchbuilding, and in my own awareness and understanding of the issues involved. Of necessity therefore, because the situation was currently changing, 1980 was decided on as the cut-off date. As it transpired, 1981 was the last year for the publication of the Catholic Building Review which has been so invaluable to this study.

Archival sources have not always been as accessible as one would have hoped: much work needs to be done on diocesan archives. But there have been a few notable successes: gaining access to the minute books of Southwark Cathedral for the war years, and obtaining copies of the report on Church Building for Roman Catholics in New and Expanded Towns (the 'Grant and

Grasar Report') are but two instances where I am most grateful to the authorities concerned. As much as possible, documentary and published references have been consulted in their original form, but where this was not possible the the Catholic Central Library, London, and the Faculty of Art and Design Library of Sheffield City Polytechnic, have been most helpful in providing and obtaining copies.

Such an undertaking could not have been carried out without the help and support of many people. A fuller list of acknowledgments is given separately; here I would like simply to record my special thanks to a selected few. At the outset there was Dr David Chappell, whose MA and PhD theses greatly inspired me to attempt something similar; and Mr Wilfrid Cantwell, whose work to inform and document modern work in Ireland also greatly inspired me and provided an initial framework of reference. But even before the outset, there was the Bishop of Leeds, the Rt Rev William Gordon Wheeler, who, by involving me in his diocesan liturgy commission, set me on a course which was to teach me so much about Catholic liturgy and churchbuilding.

At Sheffield City Polytechnic the support given to my original application to pursue a higher degree, by the then Dean Mr James Townely, was invaluable, as was the support given by the subsequent Dean, Dr Trevor Brighton, and my current Acting Head of Department, Dr Theo Cowdell.

And throughout, the percipient comments and continual optimism of my tutor Dr Peter F Smith have been both challenging and sustaining.

During the early stages, much valuable work in preparing correspondence was done with the help of Mrs Rita O'Sullivan; and during the middle and latter stages a great deal of valuable work in typing drafts and completed sections has been done by Mrs Irene Ashton, whose considerable experience has been particularly fortifying and helpful.

But above all, my greatest gratitude is owed to my wife Madeline and to my children, Siobhan, Shelagh and Brendan. They have been closest to me during the difficulties and demands of thinking through and carrying out this work. My disappearing into the outer reaches of the British Isles or the upper recesses of the house is now part of their indelible memory of 'Dad doing his thesis'.

Paul D Walker

April 1984

In December 1984 Mrs Ashton was unable to continue with the typing because of serious illness. Mrs Christine Watt of the Department of Historical and Critical Studies of Sheffield City Polytechnic kindly agreed to complete it. Though the final Section had already been partially finished, the use of a different type-face required it to be completely re-done.

Paul D Walker

June 1985

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

For a work which has been so long in preparation as this, there are a great many persons and practises, agencies and resources deserving of acknowledgement - but it is just not feasible to list everyone. Without the help of so many, though, the work could not have proceeded, and I am immensely grateful to all who have taken the time and trouble to assist in such a variety of ways, from the inspirational and supportive to the critical and informative.

In the Preface several are mentioned whose assistance I would very much have wished to obtain, but was prevented from doing so by their untimely death. Since writing that, the death has occurred of the Rev Dr Gilbert Cope co-founder of the Institute for the Study of Worship and Religious Architecture in the University of Birmingham. For many years Dr Cope was Deputy Director of the Institute, and through its journals, his books and private correspondence with him, he was an undoubted major source of influence upon my understanding of this whole church-building matter - though we did not always share the same perceptions. But more importantly, he was a major source of influence upon a whole generation of architects, clerics and academics engaged in the fields of liturgical development and planning for churchbuilding.

So to the rest of the acknowledgements: of the many clergy who have assisted by making available records or their personal knowledge, or by allowing me access to their buildings, or by commenting on what I had written and providing additional information, I would particularly like to thank:

the Most Rev John A Murphy, Archbishop of Cardiff; the Most Rev Dermot Ryan, the late Archbishop of Dublin; the Most Rev Derek Worlock, Archbishop of Liverpool; the Rt Rev Aelred Sillem, Abbot of Quarr Abbey; the Most Rev Cahal B Daly, Bishop of Down & Connor (formerly of Ardagh & Clonmacnois); the Rt Rev Joseph Devine, Bishop of Motherwell

(formerly Auxiliary in Glasgow); the Rt Rev Mario Conti, Bishop of Aberdeen; the Rt Rev Hugh Lindsay, Bishop of Hexham & Newcastle; the Rt Rev William Gordon Wheeler, Bishop of Leeds; the Rt Rev Joseph Gray, Bishop of Shrewsbury; the Rt Rev Kevin O'Brien, Auxiliary Bishop of Middlesborough; Mgr George Bradley, Leeds Dicosan Archivist; Mgr J D Crichton, liturgist; the late Canon J B O'Connell, liturgist; the late Rev Clifford Howell OP, liturgist; the Very Rev Canon Joseph Callanan, Finance Officer Archdiocese of Southwark; the Very Rev Noel Burditt, Officer for Areas of Expansion Diocese of Northampton; the Very Rev Charles C McGregor, Administrator Aberdeen Cathedral; the Rt Rev Mgr James Horan, Administrator National Shrine of Our Lady of Knock, Ireland; the Rev Clive Birch, Administrator National Shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham; Rev Sean Swayne, Director of the National Institute for Pastoral Liturgy, Ireland; Rev E Matthews, Secretary of the Liturgy Office Bishops' Conference of England & Wales; Rev Kenneth Nugent SJ, Architectural Editor Clergy Review; Rev Bryan Nicholson, Secretary to the Bishop of Middlesborough; Rev Ralph Woodhall SJ and Rev Ronald Darwen SJ of St Francis Xavier's church, Liverpool; Rev Michael Gaines, Director Liverpool Institute of Socio-Religious Studies; Rev Conrad Peppler OP, ex-Warden of Spode House, Rugeley; Rev John Dewis; Rev John Redford; Rev Paddy Jones; Rev Christopher Walsh, St Cuthbert's College, Ushaw; Rev Peter McGuire; Rev Donald Stoker; Rev Basil Amey, Secretary British Council of Churches; Rev Peter Hammond; and all diocesan and cathedral administrators, parish priests, curates and chaplains contacted.

Of the many architects and architectural practises contacted, I would

particularly like to thank:

the late Sir Frederick Gibberd of Sir Frederick Gibberd & Ptnrs; Patrick Bishop of Patrick J Bishop & Ptnrs; John Black of John Black & Ptnrs; Wilfrid Cantwell; Dr David Chappell; Gordon Cook of the Churches Community Development Consultancy; G P O'Brien of Ivor Day & O'Brien; J Timpson of the Falconer Partnership; Jerszy Faczynski; Peter Gilby of P S Gilby & Assocs; J Cowell of Gillespie, Kidd & Coia; Gerard Goalen; Remo Granelli; Professor Denis Hinton of Hinton Brown Langstone; Simon Kelly of Simon J Kelly & Ptnrs; J H Langtry Langton and Peter Langtry Langton of J H Langtry Langton & Ptnrs; W Richards of Lanner Ltd; Percy Le Clerc; Robert Maguire of Maguire & Murray; George Mathers of George Mathers Assocs; Gerald Murphy of Gerald Murphy Burles Newton & Ptnrs; John Newton of Burles Newton & Ptnrs; Nigel Melhuish of Melhuish & Anderson; Richard O'Mahony of Richard O'Mahony & Ptnrs; F L Prichard of L A G Prichard; Corinne Bennett of Purcell Miller Tritton & Ptnrs; Mme J Moore-Rinvolucri widow of Giuseppe Rinvolucri; Andie Devane of Robinson Keefe & Devane; John Rochford of John Rochford & Ptnrs; Robert Rogerson of Rogerson & Spence; Brian Rush of Brian A Rush & Assocs; Robert Brandt of Gilbert Scott, Sir Giles Scott Son & Ptnr; Niall Scott and Ronald Tallon of Scott Tallon Walker; John Stark; Frank Swainston of Swainston Partnership; T G Price of F R Bates Son & Price; Geoffrey Robson of Sheppard Robson & Ptnrs; Thomas Sheahan of Patrick Sheahan & Ptnrs; B G Mackley of Tomei & Mackley; Frederick Jennett of Sir Percy Thomas Partnership; D Barry of John Thompson & Ptnrs; Richard Hurley of Tyndall Hogan & Hurley; David & Patricia Brown of Weightman & Bullen; Desmond Williams of Desmond Williams Assocs; Austin Winkley of Williams and Winkley; Lance Wright; Ian Caveen; and also the designer/artists Ray Carroll, David John and Adam Kossowski, and the silversmith Winefride Pruden.

In addition to clergy and architects, many other individuals and bodies gave valuable assistance. Of these I would particularly like to thank:

Sir Harold Hood, Director of the Catholic Herald; Charles Davis, Professor of Religion, Concordia University, Montreal; Dr Patrick Nuttgens, Director of Leeds Polytechnic (formerly a member of the New Churches Research Group); Dr Michael Hornsby-Smith, Dept of Sociology, University of Surrey; Anthony Spencer, Dept of Social Studies, Queen's University of Belfast; Byron Mikellides, School of Architecture, Oxford Polytechnic; Christopher Williams, St Martin's College, Lancaster; Anthony Cole, Secretary, Newman Association; Peter Brierley, Programme Director, Bible Society (formerly of the Central Statistical Office); Sandy Parnis, Secretary, Churches Main Committee; Peter Burman, Secretary, Council for the Care of Churches of the General Synod of the Church of England; Simon Ridley, Dept of the Environment; Alice Prochaska and Nicholas Cox, Public Record Office; R F Cunningham, Secretary, Catholic Education Council of England & Wales; John Tulley, Secretary, Catholic Education Commission, Scotland; Bro Declan Duffy, General Secretary, Secretariat of Secondary Schools, Ireland; Raymond Hogan, Secretary, Dublin Diocesan Commission for Sacred Art & Architecture; Richard Edge, Surveyor to the Archdiocese of Liverpool; Robert Stewart, Surveyor to the Archdiocese of Glasgow; Bernard Flood of Flood & Wilson, Chartered Quantity Surveyors; Peter Howell of the Victorian Society; Ken Powell of SAVE Britain's Heritage; the staff of the following libraries: the Faculty of Art & Design (now Cultural Studies), Sheffield City Polytechnic; the University of Sheffield; Sheffield City (Central); the British Library, London; the Royal Institute of British Architects; Ampleforth Abbey; Farnborough Abbey; Maria-Laach Abbey, Germany; St Vincent College, Latrobe, USA.

I would like to thank the Directorate of Sheffield City Polytechnic, also:

James Townley and Dr Trevor Brighton, Deans of the Faculty of Art & Design; Dr Theo Cowdell (when Acting Head of the Dept of History of Art); John Salt (my present Head of Department); and all those colleagues who have shown interest and offered support.

For the typing of the work my especial thanks is due to:

Mrs Rita O'Sullivan, for the preparation of the drafts; Mrs Irene Ashton, for the mammoth undertaking of the major portion; and Mrs Christine Watt, for the completion of the task after Mrs Ashton became too ill.

Lastly it remains for me to thank my father, Mr Donald Walker for his help with Scriptural references, my long-suffering family for their concern and support, and my supervisor, Dr Peter F Smith, for his percipient and sustaining help throughout.

Should there be any omissions or inaccuracies here or anywhere else in the work, the fault is entirely mine, and I accept full responsiblity.

Paul D Walker
June 1985

chaburah	a Jewish practise of forming a group for strictly religious purposes (eg strengthening ritual observances) and for holding regular sacred meals
Church	the divinely constituted, corporate and organic community of Christ - the universal Christian community, past and present - the whole of one Christian denomination - a national Christian community
church	a building erected or adapted and consecrated or dedicated for Christian worship and use (cf oratory) - a local Christian community
church building	a building erected or adapted for Christian worship and use
churchbuilding	the practise of erecting or adapting buildings for Christian worship and use
claustral	the strictly exclusive enclosure of part or all of a religious house (monastery, convent etc)
concelebration	the joint celebration of Mass by a number of priests with the principal celebrant - the notion of a priest or priests celebrating with the people joined in their common priesthood derived from baptism
diaconicon	a chamber in a Byzantine church to the South of the sanctuary corresponding with the sacristy in a Western church in which deacons store, clean and maintain liturgical vessesls, vestments, books etc
diakonia	service which flows from, and finds its fulfillment in, liturgy - service related to fellowship and mission
diaspora	the Dispersion of the Jews beginning in 722BC - the dispersal of members of any minority religious body
disciplina arcani	the early Christian practise of concealing certain doctrines and rites from pagans and those not yet fully initiated into the Church
Docetism	a notion in the early Church that regarded the humanity of Christ as apparent rather than real
Easter Triduum	the three concluding days of Holy Week
ecclesia	the assembled Church - those called out and made free by God
ecclesiola in ecclesia	little church within a church (as with a choir)
ecclesiology	theological understanding of the Church's nature - the study prevalent in the 19th century of the theory and practise of designing for Christian ceremonial, and of building, embellishing and furnishing churches
Eucharist	the thanksgiving instituted by Christ and the supreme act of Christian thanksgiving - an adaptation of the Jewish berakah
Eutychianism	4th century heresy that denied Christ's humanity as being consubstantial with ours

ex opere operato	inherent in the action performed - an expression of the essentially objective operation of the Sacraments (Baptism, Confirmation, Eucharist, Penance, Extreme Unction (Anointing of the Sick), Ordination) independent of the subjective attitudes of those administering or receiving
facie versus populum	facing towards the people - orientation of the priest towards the people during all or part of the Mass
fastigium	a raised arched and pedimented section of a colonnade under which a Roman Emperor revealed himself to his court and subjects
Galilee	the covered gathering place or chapel for penitents prior to their entry into a church proper in order to do penance (on Ash Wednesday) - medieval practise
gradine	a stepped shelf at the rear of an altar forming an integral part of the base of a reredos (cf)
heroa	tomb-temples commemorating a dead Roman Emperor raised to the gods and providing for divine honours
heroon-martyrium	Christian adaptation of centrally-planned heroa with martyria (commemorative structures built around or over the graves of martyrs) followed by their merger with basilican assembly halls
inculturation	the encouragement or tendency to characterise universal forms (eg the Roman rites) with local, regional or national cultural adaptations or embellishments
liminality	the threshold of consciousness - threshold of awareness between human and divine
liturgy	the summit and source of the work of the whole Church (priests and people together) - worship - the prime public work of the Christian community - the prescribed and ordered corporate worship of the Church - the rites and ceremonial
Mass	the central and most regularly celebrated form of worship in the Roman Catholic Church - since Vatican II more distinctively structured on the Liturgy of the Word and the Liturgy of the Eucharist with preparatory and concluding rites (including the dismissal 'Ite missa est' from which it derives its name)
mensa	cf altar
nominalism	medieval theory of knowledge which denied the use of universals in making sense of resemblances among individual things
nostrum	pet remedy for all ills

oratory	a place of worship particular to a specific group or community of Christians - a public oratory is in addition accessible to all the faithful (at least for public acts of worship); a semi-public oratory is accessible in more limited form; a private oratory is solely for convenience of an individual or a household - a church is accessible to all the faithful for all public acts of worship, as well as for private prayer and acts of devotion - there are also distinctions between metropolitan, cathedral, collegiate or conventual, parochial, and major and minor basilican churches, and chapels-of-ease
pyx	a small round metallic box gilded on the inside for carrying the consecrated elements of bread (the Blessed Sacrament) to the communion of the sick and dying - an earlier practise of suspending a pyx over an altar for safe-keeping of the Blessed Sacrament has been revived (cf tabernacle)
qahal	a Jewish term apparently for a community brought together as an expression of a longing for the 'end times', the 'coming of the kingdom' and the messiah
Pelagianism	5th century theology which held that salvation was attainable by man's own efforts without the assistance of divine grace
salutatorium	reception hall of a Roman Emperor often associated with a 'glorification facade' or fastigium (cf)
sanctuary	platform area of church traditionally at the East end (though with exceptions) in which the altar and other prime liturgical (and devotional) foci are located - usually of several stepped levels in order to facilitate visibility and the distribution of Communion along the enclosing walls or rails at which communicants kneel - historically variously enclosed by such walls, rails or screens though these are not canonically prescribed - enclosure traditionally exclusive to the orders of ministers - current practise to retain a distinctive area around the altar and the principal foci but to locate it integrally with the general dynamics of the design, to minimise the number of stepped levels (including the additional stepped platform (predella) on which the altar per se stood), and to have no enclosing walls, rails or screens so that the central area of celebration lies within the main assembly chamber and in the midst of the people and not removed from them and in a separate chamber (chancel)
soteriological	characterised by or related to the saving work of Christ as treated in branches of theology
stipes	cf altar

sub-specie aeternitatis — of the eternal unchanging kind

sub-specie mutabilitatis — of the temporal changing kind

synchronism — planned concurrence of events or processes

syncretism — practise of compromising with cultures (their mores, values, laws, principles, institutions etc) at variance with Christian thinking and practise without impairing its essential faith and morality

tabernacle — fixed, inviolable and embellished safe in which is kept the Blessed Sacrament (cf) - historically variously housed in a wall (aumbry) within the sanctuary (cf), on a free-standing pedestal (sacrament house or tower) or on a high altar in a central position either free-standing or integral to a reredos (often in which case with a shelf above (throne) on which was set a monstrance containing the Blessed Sacrament (cf) for its exposition and adoration

tegmen — one of the forms of canopy over an altar bearing a tabernacle when located adjacent to or against a wall and cantilevered from it

tester — another form of canopy over an altar and tabernacle either suspended from the ceiling above or cantilevered from the reredos (cf) or wall behind

theophagy — act of eating sacred food or partaking of a sacred meal in a consecrated place with a view to union with a deity or to participation in divine life

totum opus redemptionis — (Christ's) total work of redemption

Vatican II — the Second Ecumenical Council of the Vatican was the twenty-first General Council of the Church and met between 1962 and 1965 - its documents were officially published by the General Secretariat of the Second Vatican Council under the Latin title: _Sacrosanctum Oecumenicum Concilium Vaticanum II: Constitutiones, Decreta, Declarationes_ - several English translations have subsequently been published - liturgically the peak of the Council's work (and that of the Consilium which followed it to implement its decisions) was the restoration of the Roman Missal and its promulgation in 1970 by Pope Paul VI in the General Instruction: _Institutio Generalis Missalis Romani_ - this Missal replaced the Roman Missal of Pope St Pius V of 1570 and the so-called 'Tridentine Mass' which was promulgated following the nineteenth General Council of the Church, the Council of Trent (1542-63) - the First Vatican Council took place between 1869 and 1870.

DEVELOPMENTS IN CATHOLIC CHURCHBUILDING IN THE BRITISH ISLES 1945-1980

Introduction

In the period since the end of the Second World War, there has been a remarkable development in Catholic churchbuilding in the British Isles. From the early 1950s to the late 1970s, in particular, the three territories of England and Wales, Scotland and Ireland have built and altered many more churches than the one and a half thousand or so listed in the Appendix at the end of this study.

While the number of churches built and altered during the post-war period in the British Isles is only a fraction of the total for the rest of Europe, North and South America, Australia, and many parts of Africa, Asia and Polynesia, it is sufficient to offer perceptible evidence of factors characterising a development of churchbuilding in the Church universal. This is an important point to bear in mind: developments in Catholic churchbuilding are not an exclusively local phenomenon, they are part of developments taking place world-wide. So to the question: 'Why does this study deal with the whole of the British Isles?' the rebuttal has to be: 'Why does it only deal with the whole of the British Isles?'.

The decision to limit a study of post-war developments to Catholic churchbuilding in the British Isles was primarily (and rather obviously) taken because it was personally more relevant and practically more expedient. Churches throughout the United Kingdom and Ireland are relevant to me historically and culturally, and they are relevant to developments in the Catholic Church to which I belong and which I serve in an advisory capacity. They also have a relative geographical proximity.

Though the choice was motivated by proximity and relevance there was little initial certainty as to what form the task ahead was going to take. Because there was so little collated and published information available, it seemed as though it was simply and solely going to be a matter of discovering

what was built where, when, and by whom, with the likelihood that a profile of development in England and Wales would be the most pronounced.

For England and Wales, the annual Catholic Building Review was likely to be the most promising source to which to refer; Bryan Little had obviously made much use of its Northern and Southern editions for the two chapters on post-war activities in his Catholic Church Building Since 1623. However, despite Little's useful coverage of the post-war period up to the early sixties, some fifteen or more years had elapsed and needed to be taken account of. For Ireland, De Breffny and Mott's book on The Churches and Abbeys of Ireland, published in the same year as this study was started, took ten or more of those fifteen years into account - but in relation to contemporary Protestant churchbuilding, and a much deeper historical perspective. In effect, these were the only two published works on Catholic churchbuilding in the British Isles in the post-war period, of which any serious cognisance had to be taken. But as the historical survey of specific examples was hardly likely to exceed fifty years, and was not intended as a comparative analysis of either the Catholic churches of the three territories, or of the places of worship of other Christian denominations in the British Isles erected during the same period, there seemed little risk of identical repetition by this present study.

From the outset of this study, while it was recognised that much work had been done in developing a critique of churchbuilding that had ecumenical currency (especially the seminal work undertaken by Peter Hammond in the late fifties and early sixties[1]), it was felt that a study which was more specifically related to Catholic developments, would be more useful. That decision was difficult and ought not to be construed as representing a lack of open-mindedness. What it in the end favoured was a compilation of basic information related to post-war Catholic churchbuilding set within a consideration of certain developments in the Catholic Church itself. Inevit-

ably some account would have to be taken of ecumenical factors, especially when considering the period after the Sharing of Church Buildings Act (1969). But (it was justifiably believed) changes in the Catholic Church in the thirty-five years or so since 1945, had been sufficiently complex as to be in need of understanding, in order to make some sense of developments in Catholic churchbuilding during the same period. And as there was little evidence that any work of that kind had been done, it was felt that this study offered an opportunity to do it.

While it was not the prime intention, it was also thought that such a study might redress a critical balance more in favour of Catholic churchbuilding design in England and Wales - if not in the British Isles in general. The deprecating tone set by Peter Hammond in the late fifties apropos of post-war churchbuilding in general,[2] and by Nikolaus Pevsner in the late sixties apropos of post-war Catholic churchbuilding in particular,[3] needed revising. The view that nothing architecturally noteworthy was capable of being produced in these off-shore islands of Europe, had lingered too long. All three Catholic territories of the British Isles had produced developments in their churchbuilding which merited serious attention. Though some of these developments might show more influence from the European mainland than others, it was not to be the purpose of this study that it would search out exclusively Continental models set down in town or country, north or south of whichever border, east or west of the Irish Sea.

Developments in the recent history of Roman Catholicism have been most profoundly affected by the Second Vatican Council. The Council met from 1962 to 1965 and was the twenty-first General Council of the Church since the fourth century.[4] As it occurred mid-way during the period under review, it provides a most important watershed. It was a thorough-going review of the Church which undertook four main tasks, viz: to examine its

own nature; to renew itself; to work for the reunion of all Christians; and to bridge the gap between the Church and the modern world. The outcome of its deliberations effecting a major shift on all levels and in all aspects, was published in a series of Conciliar and post-Conciliar promulgations (Constitutions, Decrees, Declarations and Instructions). In turn, as these were applied to local Churches, initiatives of all sorts have been taken by the various territorial Conferences of Bishops, guidelines for the implementation of which have been produced and discussed in a variety of occasional Directories and Commentaries.

The programme instigated by the Council can best be summed up in the two slogans aggiornomento, or keeping abreast of the times, and approfondimento, or deepening of theological thought. Certainly they had become the slogans of progressives in churchbuilding matters by the time of the Council. The need for a radical renewal of Catholic worship, and a radical revision of contemporary cultural attitudes in the Church, had both become apparent as the influence of the liturgical movement and the modern movement had grown. After 1945 this need became much more pressing as post-war urban rebuilding and development got under-way. The Church responded in 1947 with Pius XII's important Encyclical Mediator Dei in which he sought to define the mutual dependency of a historical and theological depth, and a social and cultural contemporaneity, in Catholic worship. It was a task taken up by the Council fifteen years later, and separated out into two documents: Sacrosanctum Concilium : the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy (1963) and Gaudium et Spes : the Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World (1965) - especially the section on 'The Proper Development of Culture'.

In approaching a study of post-war developments in Catholic churchbuilding, it seemed useful, therefore, to presume that a substantial consideration of liturgical development and cultural influence would be of benefit. That is why the study has three main Sections: the first two dealing with 'Cult'

and 'Culture', and only the third actually dealing with 'Churches'.

In its essential cultus the Church assumes the prime model of itself and so discerns itself and is discerned. From the century following the Council of Trent (1542-63) a concern for liturgy as the essential cultus of the Church had sunk almost to the level of adiophora - which was exactly where many of the Protestant Reformers had said it ought to be. The liturgical conformism imposed by this Council reduced Catholic liturgy to what has been described as 'sacramental confection'. It was a regime preoccupied with rubrical formulae for the minimum correct conditions for saying a 'valid' Mass. Yet it took four hundred years for it to run its course. With the Second Vatican Council the renewal that had been sought for so long, was finally sanctioned. Progressives regarded it as 'the result of a long-term political process of recovery set in motion by many factors including the collapse of medieval Catholicism, the reforms of Trent, scholarly historiography, and three centuries of social revolution in the West'.[5]

For four centuries the emphasis in Catholic liturgy and in the theology which interpreted it, had been on the causality of the Sacraments. Since Trent the Church had been concerned to uphold the truth that the Sacraments really effected what they signified. After Vatican II the Church was equally concerned to ensure that they clearly signified what they effected.[6] The desire was that the intrinsic nature, purpose and structure of the liturgy could be perceived simply, and participated in, by all.

Yet the practice of greater simplicity and participation has produced its own set of problems. While the liturgy that followed Trent may be regarded as having become so intricate as to be arcane, that which followed Vatican II has been variously regarded as having become so simple as to be starkly banal rather than noble, and so participatory as to be provisional. Indeed,

it has been observed that an increase in subjective participation has tended to foster greater diversity and so has led to many examples of deviance.

The maintenance of a universal ritual system that binds together disparate entities and makes stable categories of meaning, while fostering active participation and accepting social and cultural diversity, has proved to be one of many problematic challenges arising from the liturgical renewal of Vatican II. Traditionally, architecture has provided a binding and stabilising environment of worship, but in the aftermath of the Council there are widespread signs that it is less so. Liturgical practice as the prime cultural model of the Church universal has been affected by a notion of liturgy as a practice carried out by a specific group of people in a specific place at a specific time. As such, it seems to be very much a part of a growing sense of the relativism of Western culture, which inevitably makes any claim for its universality suspect. And these doubts about universal claims between cultures have been reflected by similar doubts within particular societies - including those of the British Isles. Not surprisingly, therefore, its symptoms can be detected in uncertainties associated with the use, and significance of, church buildings as binding and stabilising agents.

Ironically, doubts concerning a universality of traditionally preferred cultural forms in the Church have been matched more recently by doubts concerning the universality of modernism arising from that growing sense of Western cultural relativism.

Architectural modernism was born out of the desire for an a-historical style that would be the environmental symbol of the 'new society' created by industrialisation. Though the origins of its ferment were in the nineteenth

century, acceptance of its Utopian ideology was not really effective until after World War II when it finally ousted a style-based view of architecture. The shift can be summed up in the rejection of Gilbert Scott's belief that architecture is the art of decorating structure, and the adoption of Sir Leslie Martin's belief that architecture is based on a 'complete and systematic re-examination of human needs' so as to 'change the total environment' for the future.[7] Belief in the new ideology was almost religiously eschatological. Any deviation from it was regarded as tantamount to being anti-social and immoral.

The moral rectitude implicit in this new ideology was particularly embodied in a strict adherence to the notion of the 'programme' obtained from an examination of 'need'. For Sir John Summerson it was a 'readiness to go back again and again to the programme and to wrestle with its implications' which was the hall-mark of serious modern architecture in post-war Britain. Once defined, the programme was sacrosanct. It was regarded as being the expression of a moral conviction that alone could hold together 'any number of formal and structural concepts on the basis of what Lethaby called 'nearness to need''.[8]

Not surprisingly, that dictum of 'nearness to need' became the slogan of a group of architects, academics and clergy in the British Isles. In the late fifties and throughout the sixties especially, they sought to marry the moralism of the modern movement in architecture to the theology of the liturgical movement in the Church. For more than a decade an impetus was given to churchbuilding by the New Churches Research Group and its lodestar Peter Hammond. The book he wrote and the set of papers which he edited are now standard works on churchbuilding: <u>Liturgy and Architecture</u> (1960) and <u>Towards a Church Architecture</u> (1962).

The work of other commentators and academics has also helped to shape the post-war developments in Catholic churchbuilding in the British Isles. Not all such people, by any means, have been Catholic. Of especial note are Professor J G Davies and Dr Gilbert Cope, the Director and ex-Director of the Institute for the Study of Worship and Religious Architecture in the University of Birmingham. A demystification and secularisation of church-building has characterised the developed thinking of the Institute. Initially concerned with stressing the function of a church as being that of a 'house of the people of God' (domus ecclesiae) rather than a 'house of God' (domus Dei), it fostered the concept of the 'multipurpose church', of which Davies' book on The Secular Use of Church Buildings (1968) is the standard defence, and is of particular interest here.

Of Catholic writers, the Belgian Benedictine Dom Frederic Debuyst has had a notable influence, especially through his editorship of the periodical on church architecture, Art d'Eglises which had an English circulation, and his book on Modern Architecture and Christian Celebration (1967). The architectural model which developed out of his thinking has been the multi-cell domestic scaled building that provides a sense of hospitality.

During the earlier years of the period under review, the less well-known Benedictine Dom Roulin and the ex-Anglican Benedictine Peter Anson, used stylistic critiques in their analyses of Catholic churchbuilding; while Geoffrey Webb and Canon O'Connell wrote their guideline commentaries for the help of altar societies and less well-read clergy, prior to Vatican II. But O'Connell was a doyen, as well as a populariser, of the liturgical movement in England and Wales. Other doyens have tended not to focus greatly on liturgical design. They have tended to restrict any observations to general commentaries, and to dwell more on liturgical principles than on design practice - as Mgr Crichton did in his commentary on The Dedication of a Church (1980).

The two Irish architects Wilfrid Cantwell and Richard Hurley have, on the other hand, derived their critiques from their design practices. Both have been members of the Committee for Sacred Art and Architecture of the Irish Episcopal Liturgical Commission; and both were associated with the annual Liturgical Congresses organised by the Benedictine Abbey at Glenstal, which from 1954 to 1975 did so much to promote an integrated sense of liturgy. From the outset, design was regarded as being an essential part of liturgical thinking and practice. These conferences and then the setting up of an Institute for Pastoral Liturgy, have done much to give liturgical design in Ireland a depth and a maturity. Yet the rationales of Cantwell and Hurley have developed in differing ways which, on occasions, have brought them into disagreement.

Cantwell's rationale has remained one that is very much derived from the magisterium; it places great emphasis on the official teaching of the Church and is characterised by a somewhat authoritarian Catholic certainty. Hurley's rationale, on the other hand, is characterised less by such certainty; instead it is influenced more by Debuyst's theory of hospitality and is characterised by an intimacy of scale and an informality of order. The dichotomy highlights well a conflict that can arise between rationales which believe themselves to be derived from original intentions, while varying in their interpretation.

Interpretive theories have greatly enriched and informed a critical approach to churchbuilding, but it is important to realise the limitations of official status that such works have. And it is also important to realise when even official pronouncements are being used selectively.

An attitude towards Church patrimony, especially since Vatican II, has had several indications of being selective. While the Council did urge a concern for the conservation of its heritage, there were those who readily believed that a radical cultural revolution was axiomatic with liturgical

renewal. The gutting of the Baroque Mexican cathedral of Cuernavaca was looked upon by those wishing to rid the Church of an over-binding monumental stability as the ideal approach to renewal. In the British Isles, Bishop Walsh in his gutting of his nineteenth century cathedral at Aberdeen in 1960, even before the Council had first met, raised the ire of many. Hurley's scheme at Longford Cathedral in Ireland in the mid seventies also caused deep divisions; while the proposal to demolish the church of St Francis Xavier, Liverpool, in 1982 raised the whole matter of 'Ecclesiastical Exemption' from listed building consent.

The redevelopment of inner urban areas, and other causes of social disruption and deprivation, have fostered a type of radial pastoral concern which at times seems to have little accommodation for high culture, amongst which, examples of churchbuilding traditionally may be found. Attitudes towards patrimony seem to come close to indifference, with any interest being confined to its potential as a disposable cash-value resource. But within a supposedly anti-materialistic pastoral concern, is not an interest in churches as 'property' somewhat ironic - as also is a mechanistic interest in churches as 'plant'?

A description of church buildings as 'property' and as 'plant' is perhaps only really symptomatic of an undue practical concern for them as physical structures. Because, in addition to whatever theological explanations are offered, or whatever aesthetic modes are applied, a church building as built and as used is subject to any number of practical contingencies. Having to deal with the Board of Trade for war damage compensation during and after World War II is an example which serves to bring home this mundanity only too well. The case of Southwark Cathedral, in particular, offers insights into the thinking and procedures that attempted to cope with it.

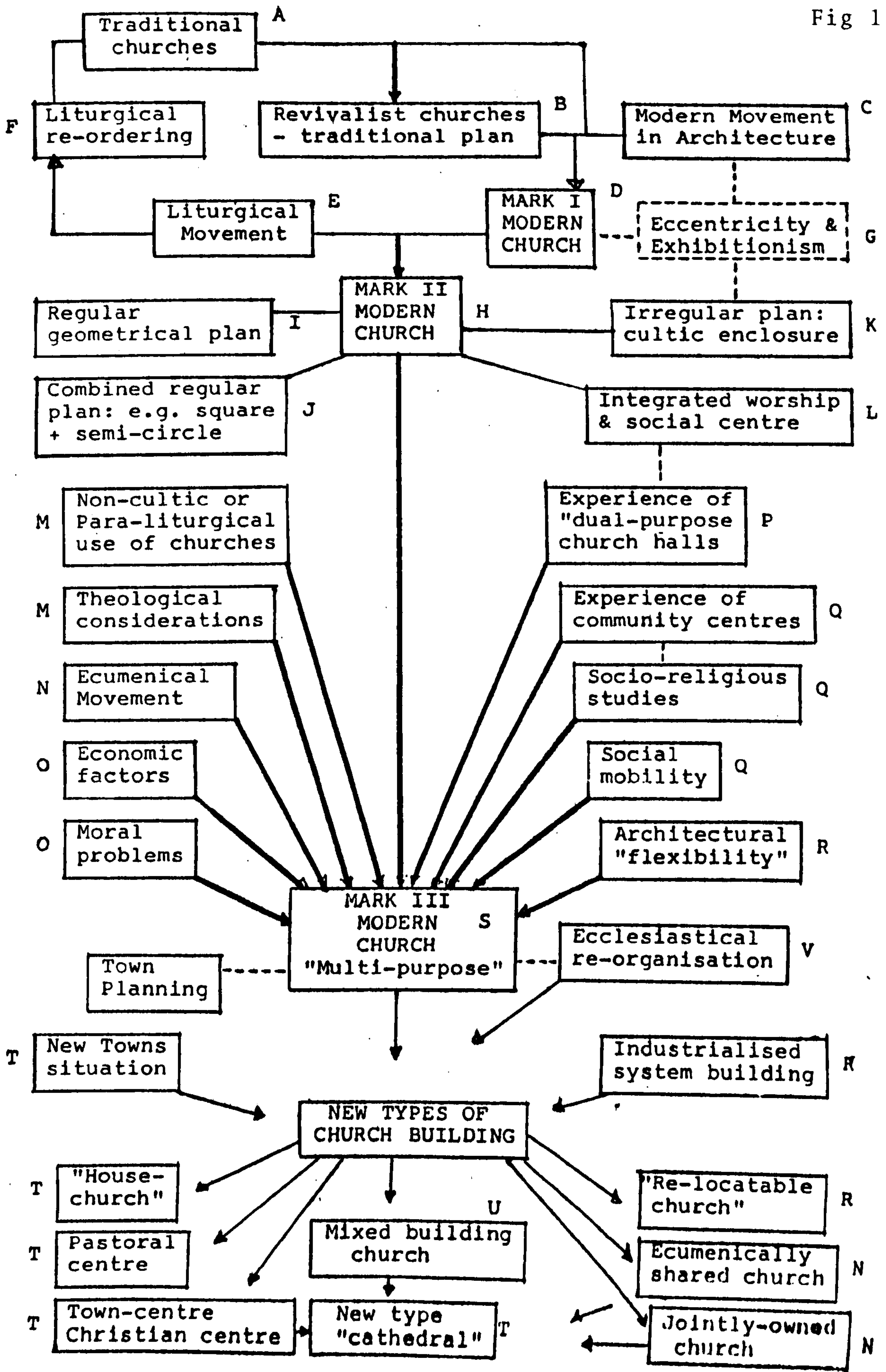
The immediate post-war period brought its difficulties in rebuilding and

redevelopment. Overspill housing areas required the Churches to redeploy their resources. For the Catholic Church this meant a heavy school-building programme, which commentators sometimes believed had priority over churches. Archbishop Beck of Liverpool was particularly vociferous in the pages of the Catholic Building Review in refuting that criticism. Apart from overspill areas, there have been some thirty-two new-town developments in the United Kingdom including Cumbernauld in Scotland, Craigavon in Northern Ireland, Milton Keynes in England and Cwmbran in Wales.

Not only has a post-war population shift required new churches, it has also developed new forms of pastoral ministry which are less territorially and denominationally based. Schemes of sharing with other Churches and with secular bodies, have been developed. Since the setting-up of the Churches Main Committee during the war, the Catholic Church in England and Wales, and in Scotland, has worked closely with other denominations in dealing with Government legislation affecting them all; and has cautiously participated in a number of Local Ecumenical Projects. But, following the Sharing of Churchbuildings Act (1969), the incidence of participation increased and the seventies saw the development of shared-use joint-ownership buildings.

Shared-use buildings have also been developed as the result of what is regarded as being responsible stewardship. In addition to being 'shared-use' many buildings have also been 'multi-purpose' and 'low cost'. The exercise initiated by the dioceses of Northampton and Shrewsbury that sought to formulate new forms of church design according to strict cost yardsticks became known as the 'Grant and Grasar Report' after the names of the two bishops involved. Ironically, the multipurpose design concept, as promoted by this exercise, has frequently been associated with 'low-cost' criteria, whereas the concept as promoted by the Birmingham Institute did not have such criteria uppermost in mind.

Fig 1



The Development of New Types of Church Building

Reproduced by kind permission of the executors of the Rev Dr Gilbert Cope from Church Architecture and Social Responsibility (1968) p. 67

In Ireland the fall-off in emigration and the industrial development of urban areas, has created first of all an influx of money that has produced some very fine churches, and then a more critical situation as finance has been stretched in order to keep pace with new housing developments. In 1977 the archdiocese of Dublin jointly promoted a competition for the designing of 'low-cost' churches, several of which have been built.

In 1968 Gilbert Cope published a diagram of developments in churchbuilding (Fig 1). The influential factors are seen as producing three distinct types of church building, which Cope labels Mark I, Mark II and Mark III, and as leading to further new types. No doubt the joint-ownership shared-use multi-purpose type (developed after the diagram's publication) would quality as Mark IV. If Cope's diagram were to be applied to post-war developments in Catholic churchbuilding in the British Isles, it would be interesting to see what the general trend of development was in each of the three territories.

In Ireland even the most perfunctory of surveys could not fail to recognise that the development of church art and architecture has been most distinctive. Like Scotland, and perhaps even more so, it gives an initial impression of being less influenced by English developments. It has an apparently greater reference to developments on the Continent, while at the same time, having its own Irish identity. Using Cope's categories, Irish churches of the period would be mainly of the Mark I and Mark II types. Examples of the Mark III (and any additional type) would seem more likely to be found in England. While Ireland is likely to possess many examples of a more mature and liturgically integrated development, England is likely to possess many examples of a more diverse but less well resolved kind.

In this survey a consideration of church buildings themselves begins with some of the more notable pre-war examples, because they indicate the stirrings of a new critique derived from Continental developments. How these might have

developed but for the intervention of World War II, is, of course, a matter of speculation. But it is of interest to see whether, when building was allowed to resume after the war, there was any sense of continuity.

Dealing with the exigencies of war and its immediate aftermath, produced its own set of problems and solutions. When building finally got underway in the mid-fifties, there was already an emerging change in architectural style and practice. And there was also evidence of change in liturgical practice. In the wake of Pius XII's qualified approval of the liturgical movement, certain design changes were already being implemented, some of which more than anticipated the sanctions of Vatican II.

Following the Council design changes accelerated, but not always in the most informed way. The rearguard actions fought in the fifties to preserve historical style with various 'planed-down' versions, succumbed in the early sixties to an almost bewildering profusion of modern designs. Some were simple and liturgically functional, stemming from 'programmes' derived from 'briefs'; others were structurally more complex and aesthetically more extrovert, stemming from desires to be more outwardly expressive. By the late sixties, in England and Wales at least, this activity had reached its peak.

After about 1968 there was a steep and steady decline in Catholic church-building in England and Wales, if not also in Scotland and Ireland. The precise reasons seem hard to discern; it is too easy to explain it away as being solely due to a monetary crisis. Deeper reasons probably lie in that growing sense of the relativism of Western culture referred to earlier. Doubts and distrust were widespread. Western culture suddenly seemed to need social credibility; it became less a matter of aesthetics and individual genius, and more a matter of politics and media engagement. Certainly in the seventies in England and Wales, liturgical practice seemed

literally to turn its back on an orthodox environment of Catholic worship. The ad hoc and the flexible supposedly offered fewer social and cultural constraints, and were therefore, considered more accessible and creative. The motivating proposition appeared to be that churches were neither shrines nor sanctuaries but social worskshops.

That post-war developments in Catholic churchbuilding in the British Isles have led to a justifiable debunking of the 'holy place' concept, is not a basic assumption of this study. Indeed, from the outset, value is given to the church as 'place', as the environmental portent of the sacred. In the first Section which deals with 'Cultus' the architectural ikon of the church is seen as having a liminal or threshold function integral to that of the liturgy. And to reinforce that assumption four model places of primitive Christian worship are briefly described. The Section then goes on to consider the growing impetus to recover a primitive sense of liturgical liminality, in a short history of the Liturgical Movement in the British Isles. Finally, it finishes with a close look at changes in liturgical practice during the period under review, and in particular, the effects and significance of those changes upon architectural elements of Catholic worship.

The second Section deals with 'Culture' on the assumption that liturgy is not merely a 'visual aid' to sacramental theology, but is the prime palpable reality of a living religion. As such, its cultural forms, whether of word, music, image or structure, cannot be free of a value and meaning partly determined by the various contexts in which the Church exists. So some account is taken of several broad issues in Western culture impinging on modern liturgical design. Then the discussion is narrowed to the perception and theories of several individual commentators on the value and meaning of churchbuilding during the past thirty-five years or so covered by the study.

And finally, this Section describes a number of factors, which, for want of a better label, are referred to an 'contingencies'. In effect, these are considered to be exigencies of one kind or another including war damage compensation, urban development, cost-effectiveness, shared-use, redundancy and conservation.

The third and final Section deals with 'Churches' in two parts: those built before the Second Vatican Council, and those built after. By far the greater number are parish churches; there are a few chapels and oratories, and, of course, the Marian shrines at Knock and Walsingham, cannot be avoided. Cathedrals, including the three new post-war cathedrals at Liverpool, Galway and Bristol, are definitely included because they are also parish churches. But monastic and conventual buildings have not been surveyed to quite the same extent.

One category of Catholic worship space, which was very tempting to include, was that of the outdoor setting for papal Mass. During the visit of Pope John Paul II to Ireland in 1979, and to England and Wales, and Scotland, in 1982, some thirteen such settings required unprecedented planning. They were, however, such special occasions with design considerations unique to themselves, that they are best left out of this study.[9]

So this is a study of post-war developments in Catholic churchbuilding in the British Isles in which examples of architectural trends are intended to be viewed through a preceding set of considerations derived from developments in the Catholic Church as well as in a number of contingent areas whose influence has shown itself to be more than marginal. It is a study which - as was said at the beginning - has personal relevance to me as a practising Catholic and as a past and present member of more than one advisory body on matters of church art and architecture. So before the study proper is begun, it is perhaps fitting that this introduction should end with the

zealous plea of the Old Testament prophet, Nehemiah, as he actively set about putting the worship practices of the old Jewish House of God in order:

> Remember me for this, my God; do not blot out the pious deed
> I have done for the Temple of my God and for its liturgy. 10

Footnotes

1. Cf Hammond P <u>Liturgy and Architecture</u> (1960) and Hammond P ed <u>Towards a Church Architecture</u> (1962)

2. In 1960 Hammond wrote:

> The results of all this (churchbuilding) activity have been depressing in the extreme. It is hard to think of any field of ecclesiastical investment where so much money has been squandered to so little purpose ... There is little that can now be done to redeem the tragic failure of the church building programme of the last thirty years. The Church has failed to seize its opportunity - and now it is too late ...

<u>Liturgy and Architecture</u> (1960) pp 1 & 153

3. In 1969 Pevsner wrote:

> ... Catholic architects without much courage or creative ability have gone on with the Italian Romanesque all over England. It is one of the deadest ends in mid-C20 ecclesiastical architecture.

4. According to Canon Law an Ecumenical Council takes place when a Pope convokes and presides over a general assembly of Cardinals, Archbishops and Bishops, mitred Abbots, Superiors General of certain religious Orders or Congregations together with certain other prelates having special jurisdiction.

   Ecumenical Councils (or General Councils, as they represent the whole Church) have the purpose of regulating matters of Faith, Morals and Discipline.

Paluzzi C G <u>The Ecumenical Councils</u> (1962) p5

> The first General Council of the Church was the First Council of Nicaea in AD 325

5. Kavanagh A J 'The Politics of Symbol and Art' <u>Concilium</u> 132 (2/1980) p31

6. Cf Walsh C 'Introduction' <u>Instruction on the Revised Roman Rites</u> (1979) pp 8/9

7. Martin L 'Architect's Approach to Architecture' <u>RIBA Journal</u> lxxiv 1967, p 191

8. Maguire R 'A Modern Church on Liturgical Principles' <u>Architectural Review</u>(Dec 1960) Cf also Hammond P ed <u>Towards a Church Architecture</u> (1962) footnote to Plate 44 p 154

9. A list of the architects responsible for the design of the outdoor settings for the Papal Masses in Ireland in 1979, and in England, Wales and Scotland in 1982, will be found in Appendix 2.5

10. Nehemiah 13.14

Section One

Section One

CULTUS

This Section deals with selected aspects related to the _cultus_ of the Roman Catholic Church. The essential _cultus_ of the Church is its prescribed acts of public worship - the liturgy. And it is on certain understandings of liturgy, and changes that have taken place during the period under review, that this Section concentrates.

There are three chapters: first, a general understanding of liturgy is discussed with reference to the concept of liminality as used by such religious-sociologists as Turner, Flanagan, and Williams. While this is not a dissertation within the field of socio-religious studies, nevertheless those sciences which are concerned with 'the activity of man in relation to God' (van der Leeuw) must have at least a passing reference, as the activity of church building falls quite definitely within that category. In seeking a socio-religious understanding of liturgy and the locus of its enactment, there would seem to be an inevitable need to seek an understanding of the _place_ of worship in the early Church. So the second part of the chapter briefly attempts to do that, by identifying four model places of primitive liturgy.

The second chapter deals with a brief historical survey on the Continent, in Ireland, and in England, of the Liturgical Movement, which sought to propose a repristinated liturgy as the revitalising agency of the Church in the twentieth century. The survey is incomplete, but it establishes a framework of attitudes and developments, of persons, bodies, and influences within which many changes in church building design took place.

The third chapter concentrates mainly on certain aspects of liturgical change fostered by, or related to, the papal Encyclical of Pius XII

issued in 1947 - Mediator Dei. Though the Second Vatican Ecumenical Council of 1962-65 represents the major watershed for official sanctions to liturgical reform, its Constitution On The Sacred Liturgy (1963) embodied much of the 'great Encyclical' of Pius XII. Again it is an incomplete analysis of all changes throughout the period from 1945 to 1980, but it adequately describes several of the classic issues, and the main thrust of developments, particularly those affecting the liturgical locus.

Chapter One

Chapter One

Liturgy, Liminality, and Place

Liturgy does not constitute the whole work of the Church,[1] nor does it constitute the whole of its cultus (of which such acts as pilgrimages, devotions, and mortifications, are also part):

> Nevertheless the liturgy is the summit toward which the activity of the Church is directed; it is also the fount from which all her power flows. [2]

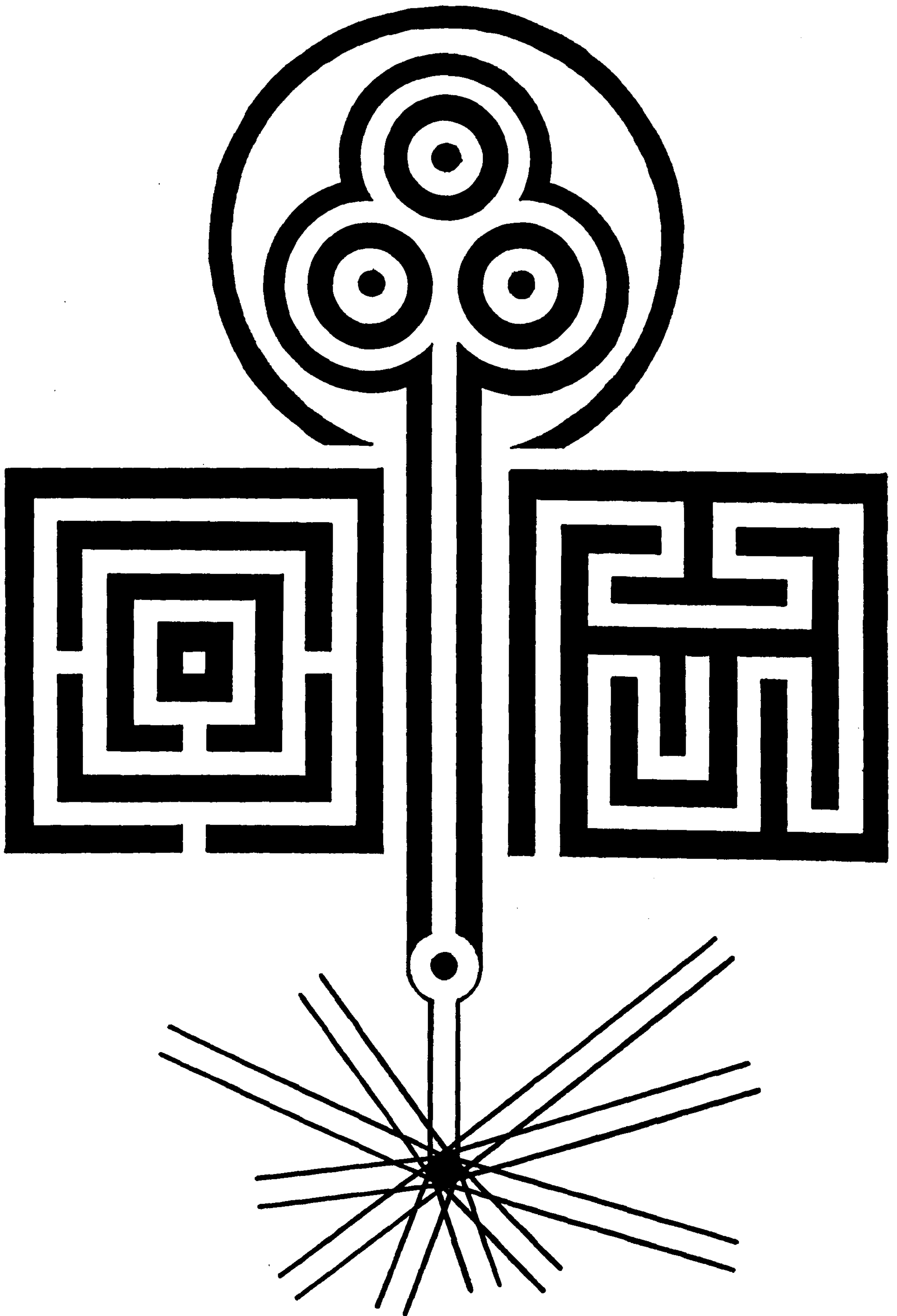
De facto, liturgy is the prime means whereby the Church recognises itself, is recognised, and seeks to reconcile itself with the object of its religion, and the subject of its concerns in the world. While it may be argued that 'Christ came to admit the post religious age', and that 'Christianity is the antithesis of religion',[3] in this study there is an underlying commitment to Roman Catholicism as a Christian religion, and to its precepts. Consequently there is a commitment to the centrality of liturgy in the life of the Church, and in this particular context, to an understanding of that centrality in any critical approach to the matter of church-building.

Theological debates during the past thirty years or so, most frequently seem to have been characterised by the issue of demythologisation in one form or another. By this process it is understood that the prime pre-occupation has been to seek a vital and primitive re-appraisal of the life and teachings of Christ (ie of the Christian Gospel). And consequent upon that process, is an inevitable desire for a radical re-appraisal of the Church as the institution of Christ. The quest, and its attendant questioning, has not been without its effects upon the form, and in some way the content also, of the Church's worship. Church architecture has been considered 'ripe for myth stripping' in order to be both supportive of, and expressive of, a demythologised

Christianity that is pragmatic, contingent, and dynamic. The concept of the 'holy place' is considered as being in need of 'debunking'; 'place' is no longer regarded as being a portent of the 'sacred'. The very notion of the sacred is demythologised by being impacted with the secular; the mystical with the mundane.

An axiom that has become predictably associated with modern radical theology is that people do not 'go to church', they gather together to 'be the Church'.[4] It would, at times, seem that this axiom has become more of a nostrum, a cliche for not needing to consider seriously the built form, and perceptible environment, of the place of worship. The implication that arises, is that the gathering as an action or a physical presence, does not denote a locus towards which or within which the assembly directs, or circumscribes, itself. But from the time of the Church's institution there has been a close affinity between Church as people, and church as place; between the assembly and the place of assembly. By identifying with a place, a centre was established; by going to a place, centrality was made perceptible. To go to a centre of assembly that was used more than once, was to identify and set aside a place for the Church, or to heighten the significance of a place determined by a theophanic, or historical, event. So to go to a place of assembly, however determined, was to go to church in order to be the Church. The centrality of each place was a local affirmation in communion with all other local affirmations, which <u>in toto</u> were the Church universal. Each place was a centre for each local assembly of the Church, and also a co-ordinate within a global system of co-ordinates that is the Church universal.

People and place are inextricably associated. People cannot orientate their self without a sense of place within a system of referential concepts



Four Diagrammatic Models of Nodes, Paths and Domains

of space, whether it is the pragmatic space of physical action, the perceptual space of proximity, the existential space which forms a stable environmental image, the cognitive space of the physical world, or the abstract space of pure logical reason.[5] And place certainly cannot exist other than within a variously conditioned system of human referential co-ordinates. A sense and experience of concretized place, provides both inner and outer models of an awareness of self and of environment. They provide what Norberg-Schulz refers to as 'a meaningful and coherent environmental image, or "existential space"'.[6] The elementary organisation of such an image, he argues, is determined on a horizontal plane by centres or nodes (proximity); by paths or axes (continuity and direction); and by areas or domains (closure). (Fig 2). But, he further argues, the 'simplest model of man's existential space is ... a horizontal plane pierced by a vertical axis ... It represents a path towards a reality which is higher or lower than daily life. The vertical axis, the <u>axis mundi</u>, is therefore an archetypal symbol of a passage from one cosmic region to another'.[7]

Taking Norberg-Schulz's terminology, perhaps the term 'node' should be reserved <u>exclusively</u> for that point of intersection between the horizontal and the vertical, because it is a co-ordinate not on one plane but on two, and therefore is of far greater potential as a point and moment of change for whatever converges upon it. A node is a specific and stable point of orientation; and it is also a moment of change, for whatever converges upon it becomes simultaneously divergent. A node is both a point and centre of arrival, and of departure. It is also that almost imperceptible moment of change, of transition, of transaction, of transformation, from one system of co-ordinates to another, from one conceptual order to another.

The liturgical assembly is simultaneously both people and place; without a sense of place people's paths would not converge and no assembly would be

achieved. But even with a sense of place, and the successful convergence of paths of assembly, the locus is both a point of arrival and of departure. Its potential is always dynamic. While constant and specific, it is never wholly static. As a node it is but a 'point of permanent rest in a vibrating body'.[8] The locus of liturgical assembly is both a concretized centre of orientation and a node of re-orientation, which (to adapt Gelineau) parabolically throws us aside, metaphorically takes us somewhere else, allegorically speaks of something else, and symbolically brings together and makes connections.[9] It is also (to adapt Norberg-Schulz) the 'goal and focus' where we experience the meaningful events of our existence as Christians, but it is also a point of departure from which we orient ourselves and take possession of our environment.[10] It is an implicit and explicit centre of an orienting activity - liturgy. Far from being inanimate, and supposedly of another order than mankind, (the order of things rather than persons) loci of liturgical assembly are utterly integral to the whole animate activity of human society, but in particular, that of the Church.

The further axiom that 'the Church is not buildings but people' has also been widely promoted as part of a radical endeavour to re-assert a primacy of people over things. But as 'things' are not conceived of their own volition, nor are accidents of nature, they (and that includes churchbuildings) cannot be separated from people. Human society cannot be separated from the things of its creation. To say 'that the Church is people is not to say much: one has also to say what members of the Church are called to do in terms of purposeful activity'.[11] For the Christian community the most purposeful activity it can undertake is liturgy. Laos (people) and ergon (work) are combined in the discharge of the prime public work of the Church. Worship is work. It is the opus Dei. Liturgy is the work of the Church which is of greatest public

benefit; it is the pastoral work of the Church '<u>par excellence</u>'.[12]

> Christ, indeed, always associates the Church with himself in this great work in which God is perfectly glorified and men are sanctified ... The liturgy, then, is rightly seen as an exercise of the priestly office of Jesus Christ. It involves the presentation of man's sanctification under the guise of signs perceptible by the senses and its accomplishment in ways appropriate to each of these signs. In it full public worship is performed by the Mystical Body of Christ, that is, by the Head and its members. From this it follows that every liturgical celebration, because it is an action of Christ the Priest and of his Body, which is the Church, is a sacred action surpassing all others. No other action of the Church can equal its efficacy by the same title and to the same degree.
>
> In the earthly liturgy we take part in a foretaste of that heavenly liturgy which is celebrated in the Holy City of Jerusalem towards which we journey as pilgrims ... 13

Liturgy is thus a <u>trans</u>action working to bind together a lower conceptual order of time and place (the mundane), with a higher conceptual order of cosmological dimensions (the sacred). In common with all transactions, the totality of such an enterprise is a complete network or economy of mediating relationships. Within such an economy things are required for making stable categories of meaning; a stability that is but a moment of rest in an otherwise vibrating body and can only be described in 'terms of negation paradox or inversion of the lower order conception'.[14] This re-presenting of a higher cosmological order 'under the guise of signs perceptible by the senses' is a transforming economy that permeates the whole material fabric of our mundane human experience. Things are not denied but are transfigured as the stable elements binding together two conceptual orders within the transaction of liturgy.

> The christian eucharistic rite, as with the jewish sabbath service, can be seen to act in this way ... at the level of cosmological conceptions which refer to no particular society, but subsume all the acts and rites of men into an all-embracing set of relations. 15

Liturgical action accomplished in 'specific acts done by people in certain

places at specific times',[16] is a re-presentation through ritual, of the operative binding, healing, and mending, powers of a universal structural order.

Investigations in the field of behavioural sciences, especially that of social anthropology, within the last decade, have demonstrated the particular function of complex cultural structures that 'confer some degree of intelligibility on an "experience" that "perpetually outstrips the possibilities of linguistic (and other cultural) expression"'.[17] It would seem that the desire to 'bind together disparate entities and processes' is a natural drive responding to 'a fundamental structure of human mentality or even of the human brain itself'.[18]

It may be said that liturgy 'does not lend itself to definition',[19] but we can be assured that as a ritual system it belongs unquestionably to the satisfying of deep-seated needs within the human experience.

Sacramentally understood, liturgy is the re-presentation throughout human history of the manual acts and spoken words by which Christ affected the human condition, and made certain material things, other.[20] Through the Eucharistic liturgy (the bread we offer 'which earth has given and human hands have made', and the wine we offer 'which is fruit of the vine and work of human hands')[21] an integral human role in God's material creation is celebrated. Natural elements are materially transformed by the making and doing of human culture, and are spiritually transfigured through the routinised transactions of cultic ritual. By the placing of the signs or 'signifiants' (as Vogel refers to them)[22] in direct relationship with the body and blood of Christ as 'referents', 'primary Eucharist' is effected. In Christ's interpretative and eschatological words, and in his command to continue the memorial and thanksgiving meal which he has transfigured, a new sacrificial significance is assimilated to the primary elements. The

ingestion of bread and wine brings those who participate in the sacred meal into a sacrificial relationship with his divine life. Through the offering and consumption of his body the Church continually becomes his body. In the Eucharist, Christ's unique oblation is perpetually re-presented by the Church, according to his original mandate. So the continual re-presentation of the words and actions by which the 'signifiants' are assimilated to the 'referents' becomes a behavioural model and a social paradigm of 'right order'. But one that has a 'decisively inverse character to those prevalent in the social structural domain'.[23]

The notion of what is socially 'anti-structural' and 'liminal' seems invariably to be protected and circumscribed by complex cultural structures.[24] 'Liminality' is a term borrowed by Victor Turner from Arnold van Gennep's classic formulation of rites de passage.[25] It refers to those moments and incidents of transition and inversion, when an individual or group becomes detached from a fixed temporal, social, or cultural, structure, and enters a state and a moment that is neither in nor out of time; an eternal now. The liminal is a freedom from the exigencies of day to day living and the incumbencies of the mundane economy. But it is a creative freedom providing 'time' to contemplate, to speculate, to invent, to play, and to pray. Ritual is the work of re-creating the potency of the cultural forms that point to and lead from the liminal according to traditional patterns of right order.

Liturgy of itself is not wholly 'other', but it contains a threshold encounter with it. Nor conversely, is its repertoire of actions and objects limited to being only abstractions or reflections of the mundane, or indeed to being wholly synonymous with it. Demythologisation with its positivistic, rationalistic, and relativistic, methodologies may have

reduced ritual and its constituent symbolism to scarcely more than thinly veiled projections of structural-functionalism manifest in the conflicting hypotheses of tendentious interest groups; but the traditional commitment to liturgy as a universally binding ritual action has not been lost - and some would even maintain that in the Roman Catholic Church a sense of the 'sacred' is in process of recovery.[26]

The paramount significance of liturgy for the Church is as the work of continuously re-creating a single organic body of ritual, which holds together its entire heterogeneous mystical body. 'The creation of a single body of ritual has been one of (the Catholic Church's) supreme instruments in forming bonds ... on a global scale.'[27] Liturgy binds together those called out by Christ, the 'ecclesia'; and in its complex cultural structures, provides a patterning that both protects, and participates in, the liminal.

> The liminal, and the ritual which guards it, are proofs (for the Church) of the existence of powers antithetical to those generating and maintaining "profane" structures of all types, proofs that man does not live by bread alone. [28]

Within the 'liminal space' as Victor Turner terms it, 'protected by organic rituals rich in symbolism shaped by history', spiritual creativeness flourishes.

In recent times, the promotion of a universally homogeneous ritual of worship has been particularly associated with the strategy derived from the Council of Trent in the sixteenth century. The degree to which there should be a totally homogeneous ritual, a ritual conforming to one universal model, vis a vis the degree to which there should be variants has been a matter of issue since the early days of the Church. Heterogeneity has often been regarded as a fostering of heterodoxy; so invariably, the desire to universally normalise worship has been

associated with the control of deviancy and the anathematising of heresy. The strict normalisations of Trent were codified in Canon Law precisely for that purpose - as a juridical bastion against the 'heretical' deviancy of Protestantism.

> And so from 1570 onwards the liturgy entered a period of stagnation. Nothing in the liturgy itself could be changed or developed. Every word printed in black had to be uttered, every action printed in red had to be performed. Thus, and only thus, was the Mass to be celebrated, and a vigilant Sacred Congregation of Rites ensured that it was so ... 29

A search for a less complex approach to the liminal in liturgy has been largely a search for the primitive in worship. Early attempts at this search, following closely on the canonical strictures of Trent,[30] did not altogether succeed, but as a pursuit of 'primitivism' bourgeoned in the nineteenth century, so a search for 'liturgical primitivism' increased. By the early decades of this century there was a growing and informed movement of recovery. What the Liturgical Movement sought was a simplification of the protective cultural accretions surrounding the threshold of the sacred, and what it saw in the Apostolic and early Patristic period were notions of the Church not as a juridical structure, but as a 'community of the faithful in the form of the body of Christ'. The Movement believed that a repristinated tradition rather than canonical strictures, formed a more profound love of worship, and a more vital and organic pastoral life of the Church. And central to this belief was a sense of the communality of the Church in its worship, its pastoral commitments, and its governance. What was therefore sought was a re-animation of a corporate spirit fostered as an effective sign of 'living stones making a spiritual house' (<u>oikos pneumatikos</u>).[31]

<u>Model Places of Primitive Liturgy</u>

The following conspectus of history and scripture identifies four primitive models of architecture which to a greater or lesser extent,

patterned an environmental sense of the communal, the hierarchical, and the liminal, in the formative years of the Christian Church. With countless intervening prisms of interpretation, impacted cultures, and a complex morphology of symbolism, a search for the primitive as a single, distinctive, pristine, and acultural, model, is the elusive pursuit of a reductionist hypothesis, or a romantic imagining. Given that in order to be first intelligible it had to assume traditional, well-known, and well-worn, forms, cultural evidence points only to a gradual, but persistent, teasing out of Christianity, from its prime milieu of hellenized Judaism, and to its equally gradual but persistent dissemination throughout the imperial, and colonial, milieu of Rome. So any presentation of the birth of Christianity as a total discontinuation and repudiation of Judaism can only be but prejudiced. Judaism had a ' 'core meaning' which was susceptible of adaptation and reapplication',[32] and of being charged with very different values. From its outset, Christianity had a transforming potential for charging existing concepts and cultural forms with new meaning, including the environmentally patterned models of the communal, the hierarchical, and the liminal, with which its worship became associated.

Jewish worship at the time of Christ contained strong elements of an eschatological longing for the 'end times' and the 'coming of the kingdom'.[33] By using the Hebrew word qahal, Christ deliberately implied the eschatological significance of a community brought together by a common messianic expectation, an assembly of 'those called out' (by God), slaves made free, a phrase rendered in Greek by ekklesia. But almost from its inception Christianity was displaced and dispersed. By the early third century it had become structured on cultural and political centres outside Jerusalem, which no longer represented the unique locus of cult to God - not even to Jews. So the early Church was also characterised as 'a

people who dispersed abroad' (the diaspora) - a term more frequently used to denote Jewish communities living among Gentiles. It was in the Jewish diaspora that an already familiar concept of 'spiritual sacrifice' with its 'clean oblations',[34] was markedly enhanced as a 'signifiant' or symbol, of the unique 'referent',[35] viz: the sacrificial cult of the Temple. Christianity had no such 'man-made sanctuary' as a prime 'referent'; each Church was an epiphany of the Church universal. The Temple was regarded as being only a 'copy', a 'reflection', a model of the heavenly sanctuary now made more perfect by the ikon of Christ himself as 'the tent of meeting with God',[36] and 'the restored sanctuary of God's presence'.[37] Thus each Church was a 'household of God in the Spirit',[38] just as each synagogue and home was, in the Jewish diaspora. But it was in the Temple at Jerusalem that the Jewish people saw the unique sign of 'the dwelling place of God among men',[39] - and of their bond of belonging to him - a condition rendered in Christianity as 'belonging to the Lord' (in Greek, kyriake;[40] in Latin, dominica).

The Temple

The Temple at Jerusalem is the first of the four models to be identified. Its prime significance is as a sign of a history of divine covenanting, and of national salvation. The original had been erected in magnificent form by Solomon[41] in order to fulfil a vow made by his father, David. But its prototype was the Tent of Meeting constructed according to divine guidance, by Moses, who also marked off the boundary of the sacred mountain of Sinai, and set up a sacrificial altar, with twelve standing stones.[42] Even earlier, Jacob had selected and anointed a single stone at Bethel which indeed had become a 'place of awe ... God's house, the gate of heaven ... the royal court of God'.[43] Deeply influenced by this significance and history, the Jews regarded its defilement or

destruction as an offence against both God and the State, calling for retribution, and martyrdom, as a cleansing blood-purge.[44] The hellenized and degraded sacrificial economy of the Temple built by Herod the Great (Fig 3),[45] called for a purge,[46] which Christ sought to effect, not as a gesture to end public ritual, but to reform it according to the original Law.[47] He himself was an assiduous observer of the calendar of its cult,[48] and so was the early Jerusalem Church,[49] but he warned that in the eventuality of its destruction, failing reform, its significance would be assimilated to himself as a new threshold of spiritual mediation, and ikon of salvation.[50] It was against the theocratic conceit that failed to accept this, and persisted in its hollow formalism, that Stephen delivered his fatal injunction.[51]

Stephen's polemic 'that God does not live in a house that human hands have made',[52] reflects the almost utter futility expressed by Solomon when building the original Temple, that 'the heavens and their own heavens' cannot contain God.[53] What emerges from a consideration of scriptural sources is that the Temple is not erected in a pretentious endeavour to house God himself, but to enshrine his name as the sign of a particular indwelling of his presence, and as the locus and context of meeting for those who honour it. His name is his deed-word or covenant, and the Temple is the lasting perceptible sign of that bond, with blood-seal, and tithe, the perpetual oblations of its renewal. Just as the people were commanded not to touch the foot of the mountain when Moses went up to talk with God, so too the people had to stay outside the priestly precinct, with its Holy of Holies containing 'the glory of his name upon the throne of the Ark'. Only once a year could even the high-priest representing the people (as Moses had done) enter the divine presence. And reminding them of their escape through the Red Sea, and of the provision of manna in the wilderness, there was the laver of bronze,

and the table of the shew-bread.[54] In short, the Temple was an environmental image of God's revelation to the Jews, and of their soteriological mythology.

The House

Often opposed to the highly structured model of the Temple in modern critiques of church architecture, is the domus ecclesiae with its prime model - the house. What it is seen as signifying is the 'house of the people of God' rather than the 'house of God'; and its characteristics are held to be 'secular' and 'transparent' or neutral (i.e. neither 'sacred' nor 'profane'). Whereas it could be argued that its signifying characteristics are in fact hallowed, exclusive, and expedient. In the Jewish and Roman milieux the house signified a sacrosanct bond of a living and ancestral kinship most frequently expressed in communal meals which were exclusive to a family, its household, and privileged guests. Its domestic ritual practices were therefore corporate but not public. Hallowed by such associations, the Jewish eating room 'high up and open to the light',[55] had a customary significance. The final meal partaken by Christ, from which the mandate of the Eucharist is derived, was already a ritual meal following a traditional pattern of graces;[56] and its location was one specially prepared for the occasion.[57] After his death, the transformed and transforming new potency of the 'clean oblation' of bread and wine to which he had assimilated his self-sacrifice by words and actions, was first perceived at Emmaus,[58] and then by the Jerusalem Church, which 'went as a body to the Temple every day but met in their homes for the breaking of bread'.[59] As hallowed places of corporate family life, houses were suitably expedient, and exclusive, locii for the cellular communities of the primitive and dispersed Church seeking to protect what would become the disciplina arcani.[60] Registered under such

titles as the '*ecclesiae fratrum*' (Churches of brothers) or '*cultores verbi*' (congregations of the word) the barely discernible locii of Christian worship emerged alongside pagan sanctuaries.[61] Though fundamentally opposed to pagan beliefs and worship, there was, nevertheless, a political expediency in attempting to be discreet by not establishing a public architecture of worship that would conflict with official practices and their edifices. But it was hardly the exercise of an option: the earliest Christian communities generally had neither the status, means, nor organisation, with which to carry out such works; and their discretion was not infrequently mistaken for being political subversion, and a non-religious practice.[62] For a while, synagogues were used in the Diaspora, but the spread of antinomian teaching caused the expulsion of Christians, and the more expedient use of houses.[63] By the second century, as the size of Christian communities grew, houses had to be specially acquired as communal holdings (as the law allowed). While Krautheimer cautions against generalisations concerning the *domus ecclesiae*,[64] it is clear that this type of primitive church was not a development exclusive to the peristyle house,[65] but was also (and more likely to be) a development of adaptations to the tenement dwelling.[66] Nevertheless the one well-documented third-century example at Dura-Europas[67] has tended to promote a particular characterisation of the model, viz: a suite of interlinking rooms (with one containing a baptismal font) surrounding a peristyle, sited in a poor urban district. By the fourth century, these 'community houses' were too small to accommodate the several functions crowded into them, and incompatible in their form and location, with the new status of the Church, and its imperial patron. A new architecture 'of a higher order, public in character, resplendent in material, and spacious in layout'[68] was required.

The Basilica

When the Church began to erect larger, and more public, complexes of spiritual and social welfare, the model it developed was that of the basilica. Quite simply, the basilica was a partially or wholly covered public assembly area, characterised by wide adaptability of use for non-religious,[69] as well as strictly religious,[70] purposes (in so far as any such distinction had significance in antiquity), common throughout the Mediterranean region in the centuries immediately preceding, as well as following, the time of Christ. So the Christian basilica was but one more variant of the genus basilica: in the Semitic regions, it developed and lasted as a variant of the synagogue; in the regions of Rome and its provinces, it was more apparent as a variant of the civil court, and royal reception chamber (Fig 3).

'Synagogue' means both 'those led together' and 'the place of those led together'. Its origin lies in a time when the Jewish people were in exile and could not observe the Temple cult.[71] Instead, they were led together in a form of worship that concentrated on teaching and meditating upon the word of God, but in a way that fully assimilated it to the Temple cult. Centred upon the shrine of the word (the Ark), which was oriented towards Jerusalem, conveyed in its utterance and writing by inscrutable rituals, and expounded only by authorised teachers, the synagogical cult of the word was directed towards the safe-keeping and continual enlivening, of the original divine deed-word. It was in the 'group of synagogues in Galilee' that Christ as an authorised teacher (rabbi), first taught and made public the prophetic significance of his ministry.[72] For a while after his death the Christian use of synagogues continued,[73] and there is the likelihood that the Jerusalem Church may even have built its own.[74] Certainly by the fifth century the ultra-semitic Syrian Church had

preserved a variant of the synagogue as the earliest Christian use of the basilican model.[75]

By the late third century, the Church's enhancement of (or challenge to - as it was sometimes seen) the growing cult of the 'Welfare of the State', fostered the concomitant development of the basilica to the detriment of the temple of the old religions, which were already on the decline. The emerging compatibility of the episcopacy with the Roman magistracy, was increasingly evident in the appurtenances of insignia, ceremonial, and architecture. With the astute adoption of the Church by Constantine, Christianity, the Welfare of the State, and the cult of the Emperor, were all compounded, producing an architecture of assembly halls within public complexes, redolent of a divinely favoured imperial benificence. Within these courtly complexes, with the assembly gathered in his name and ikonic presence, the worship chamber was developed as the 'reception hall of the Lord' - the basilica dominica.[76]

Though the Christian basilica assumed an environmental image more dominant than that of the community centre church, in its emergent form it nevertheless reflected a great deal of regional diversity in plan, construction, and use. There is no one prototype of the Christian variant of the basilican model; according to Krautheimer, variety was the most striking feature of church buildings during Constantine's reign.[77] It could be with or without, aisles, ambulatories, galleries, or apses; projecting or continuous transepts; attachment to structures of central plan; atria or precinct walls. Internally the peripatetic dynamic of the worship added to the diversity; and different traditions variously located the fixed liturgical focii: altar, offertory tables, clergy seats, ambones, reliquary. And compounding the diversity still further were the increasingly varied functions of church buildings as cathedrals, country chapels, monasteries, shrines, covered cemeteries, and baptisteries. Over

the altar there developed as a fixed pivotal focus, the canopied structure of the altar, combining the fastigium of the imperial throne, with the tetrapylon of the mausoleum.

The Baptistry/Tomb

The last of the four elemental model places of primitive liturgy, is that of the baptistry/tomb. It too is a composite model, equally influential, with those of the temple, house, and basilica, in forming in the Christian mind a concept of prime liturgical space. Its significance is ambiguous: expressive of death it is also expressive of the life which is to come; and with the image of the resurrection is the image of rebirth, which in this life is sacramentally manifest in baptism. By going 'into the tomb with him', by being plunged into darkness, and then raised to the light, the Christian participates in the death and resurrection of Christ;[78] a rebirth through the waters of spiritual parturition. In a complex morphology of symbolism, death, birth, baptism, and resurrection, are combined in a common architectural form encompassing the tomb and the font.

The distinctive Christian significance of baptism emerged in part from Jewish lustrations,[79] which by the time of John the Baptist had developed a deep moral significance,[80] and to which he added the sign of baptism as the remission of sins, and as a foretaste of the final messianic purge. With Christ, the additional analogy of a baptism by 'fire and the spirit' further enrichened the sign, and assimilated it to his death and resurrection.[81] In the early Church, Easter and Pentecost became particularly associated with baptism, and the transmission of the spirit through the laying on of hands, which together with other sacramental acts comprised a complex ceremonial that could be undertaken only by a bishop.[82] Its architectural consequence was a complex of chambers of

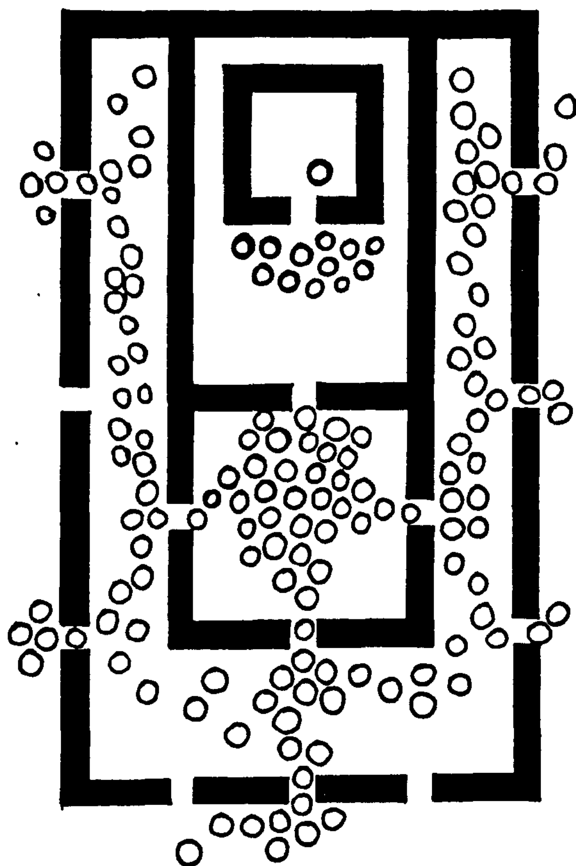
which the baptistry was prime, attached to (though often detached from) a cathedral church.[83]

The first public baptisms used natural sources, but it is in the use of a tank reminiscent of a sarcophagus, that the funerary analogy becomes increasingly visible. Regular-sided structures housed fonts that were rectangular, octagonal, quatrefoil, and circular, with or without apse, or ambulatory, but all with a sense of centrality around a vertical axis between the nadir and the zenith, between hades and heaven. The square signifying rationality and mortality, the circle, the transcendental and eternal; with the octagon and other polygons, effecting a combination (as in the divinising significance of the imperial _salutatoria_),[84] while apparently signifying a Christian meaning according to Ambrosian numerology.[85] But especially, it was the rotunda of the Anastasis over Christ's 'tomb' at Jerusalem that emphasised the hope of resurrection to the Christian 'buried' in baptism; its cyclic form evocative of natural sequence and cosmic orientation.[86]

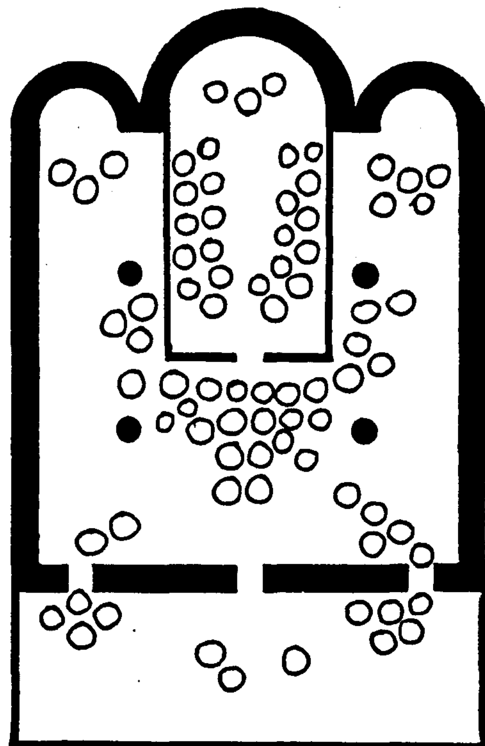
The cult of the dead had a profound effect upon the central worship practices of early Christian communities, which regarded themselves as being concerned not only with the spiritual and social welfare of the living; even to the extent of being registered as 'funerary associations',[87] providing cemeteries for inhumations (cremation was considered abhorrent), tending them, commemorating anniversaries, and arranging funerary banquets (_refrigeria_). These meals (like the caritative _agape_) were related to, but increasingly distinct from, the binomial theophagy of 'primary Eucharist'.[88] In the underground cemeteries (catacombs) they were held in small chambers (_cubicula_) containing a stone table, benches, and seat for the missing deceased.[89] Above ground in open-air cemeteries (_areae_) 'simple graves, often topped by funeral banquet tables (_mensae_),

alternated with free-standing sarcophagi. In between rose small mausolea (*cellae*) ...'[90] In time the greater organisation of these areas, within precinct walls terminating in a niche or conch containing the memorial of a martyr, would appear as a Christianised form of the pagan *heroa* - and may be an antecedent of churches with multiple altars? More monumental forms of *martyria* followed the pogroms of the third century, and greatly increased after Constantine's veneration of the 'martyrdom' of the Church's 'hero' *par excellence* - Christ himself. With banquet chambers adjacent, and altars erected over the covered tomb (*confessio*),[91] the *heroon-martyrium* became the most potent life-death paradigm of the Christian mysteries, juxtaposed with the baptistry. The attachment of the heroon-martyrium to the basilican form at Bethlehem and Golgotha, by Constantine, had an immense theological and liturgical influence, and formulated the essential two-cell model, that would be characteristic of Christian places of worship for over a thousand years.

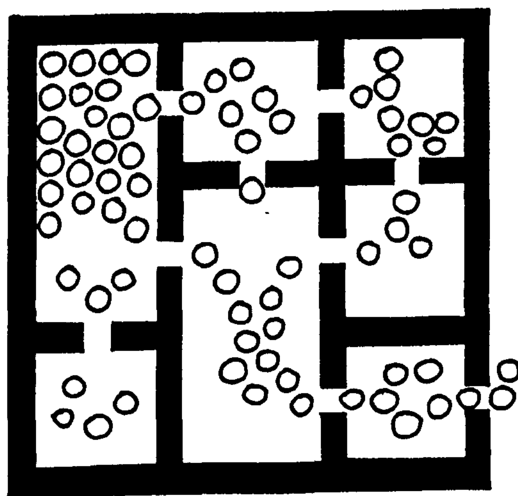
So powerful was the association of birth, baptism, death, and resurrection, in the primitive Church, that for a while it assumed a common architectural form. Though the martyrium may have finally dominated the baptistry in their incorporation with the basilica, it is perhaps to baptism (or more fully to the complete rites of initiation) that later developments affecting Christian worship, can be ascribed. The habit of delaying baptism (because of the rigours of its demands, and in order to obtain maximum remission of sins before death) led to a reduction in the number of communicants. A consequence was a distinctive two-tier membership of the Church, viz: the catechumenate, and the baptized. It also provoked a more distinctive separation of clergy (living by the rigour of rule) and the *plebs sancti dei* on whose behalf they increasingly operated (architecturally expressed in the development of the chancel and choir



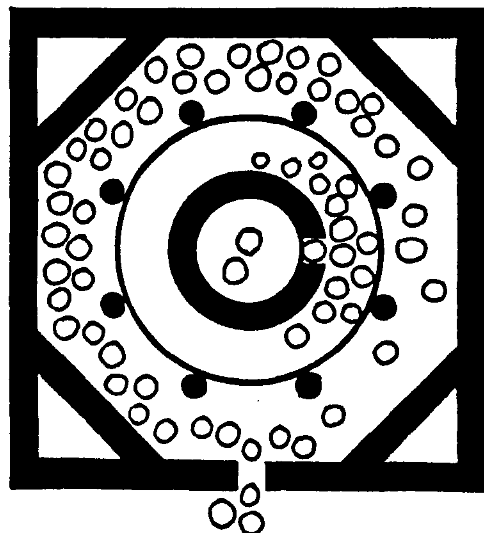
1 Jerusalem Temple



2 Basilica



3 House



4 Tomb/Baptistry

Four Diagrammatic Models of Places of Primitive Christian Liturgy

as an ecclesiola in ecclesia).[92] The introduction of a tariff system of penances was an inevitable corollary in order to maintain a discipline of faith,[93] which increased further the intercessory veneration of saints and martyrs, in the form of a proliferation of masses, as a means of doing penance by proxy. Similarly there was an increase in devotion to relics,[94] and in mortifications, including the self-imposed exile of pilgrimage. Being 'shriven' only immediately before death, developed a devotion to the consecrated Eucharistic bread (the 'Blessed Sacrament') reserved for viaticum (the last rites before death), and grew into the great Corpus Christi devotions and processions. The Blessed Sacrament became the 'relic' par excellence. Pardons, penances, and pilgrimages, abounded, providing no less than a major contributory element of the whole mediaeval economy, leading inexorably through corruption, if not in original concept and intention, to the Protestant Reformation, and the reactive Counter-Reformation, the effects of which were to last until Vatican II, and in some quarters, persist still.

This conspectus, then, provides four models of prime liturgical environment in the primitive Church. Three of them have a distinct Jewish origin, viz: the Temple, the house, the basilican synagogue; a fact underlining the effective and logical matrix of Christian liturgy.[95] A significance of the fourth model, too, lies in this same milieu,[96] while referring also to the contemporary religio-cultural milieu of Rome - as do the others. Altogether, to a greater or lesser extent, they patterned an environmental sense of the communal, the hierarchical, and the liminal (Fig 3). The Temple (even as the movable Tent) was cellular in a highly schematised concentric, but directional, form, oriented towards an unstintingly embellished void,[97] the approach to which was increasingly selective and arcane at each liminal stage. The house too was cellular, and schematised

to an extent, according to custom and status; each cell being used for some explicit purpose, familiar or social, and including ritual. Like the house, the basilica was a cellular complex, but generally it was characterised as a single cell, rectangular, and oriented on its longitudinal axis, extending to an external precinct. A single cell was also characteristic of the mausoleum, and the baptistry - though the latter did develop from an auxiliary cellular complex. Its axis was both radial, and vertical, emphasising a centrality.

Each of these models was 'a making visible' of the primitive Christian continuum. The 'nodes, paths, and domains' of which the four models were comprised, were not the abstractions of Euclidean geometry, nor the superimposition of fanciful motifs, but (like the 'great plans' that Rudolf Schwarz believed could be 'written down'),[98] they were the 'visibleness' of 'the revealed structure of the Church', an instruction 'in how the Church comes into being'. Each was also an example of a 'theology in material structure' - 'just as liturgy is theology in action'.[99] Their form was not an effete refinement imposed on the surface of the Church, but a manifestation of its very spirit. They were the beginning of a living bond of reciprocal influence blending, ethical, social, and artistic, themes, in ritual places that have made visible and relatively stable throughout history, the Church's prime spiritual and cultural model - the liturgy.

Footnotes

1. 'The sacred liturgy does not exhaust the entire activity of the Church.' The Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy (1964) n9

2. Ibid n10

3. Smith P F 'Peter Smith on Post Religious Churches' RIBA Journal May 1974 p12ff

4. Cf Cope G 'Church Building in the Twentieth Century' (Seminar on church buildings: RIBA Conference Dublin 2) RIBA Journal November 1966 p511

5. Cf Norberg-Schulz C Existence, Space and Architecture (1971) pII

6. Ibid p114

7. Cf Norberg-Schulz C Meaning in Western Architecture (1975) p430

8. Collins English Dictionary (1977)

9. Cf Gelineau J The Liturgy Today and Tomorrow (1978) p96

10. Cf Norberg-Schulz (1971) p430

11. Davies J G 'The Multi-Purpose Church: A Clarification' Research Bulletin 1969 I.S.W.R.A.

12. Bouyer L Life and Liturgy (1956) p61

13. Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy (SC) Vatican II (1963) nn 7-8

14. Williams C Deviance and Diversity in Roman Catholic Worship (1979) pII I am grateful to Mr Williams for allowing me to refer to and quote from, his unpublished paper. 'Negation paradox or inversion' (ie the notion of liturgy as a transacting agent) is to be qualified by reference to the notions of 'passage' (van Gennep A (1908:1960)); 'liminality' (Turner V (1969,1974)); and 'mediation' (Douglas M (1973))

15. Williams ibid

16. Kavanagh art cit p39

17. Turner V 'Passage, Margins, and Poverty: Religious Symbols of Communitas' Worship v46 No7 Sept 1972 p400

18. Turner V art cit p401

19. Chrichton J D 'A Theology of Worship' Jones, Wainwright, Yarnold (1978) p28

20. Cf Jones D letter to The Tablet 7:12:1967 ('...he(Christ), by manual acts and spoken words made certain material things, other. Hence: no artefacture no Christian cult.')

21. From the Offertory Prayer, Canon of the Roman Mass (1970)

22. Turner V art cit p391

23. 'Symbols in Christian Worship: Food and Drink' Concilium 132 (2/1980)

24. Turner art cit p391

25. Les Rites de Passage (1908) Vizedom M B and Caffee G L The Rites of Passage (1960)
Cf also Boocock R Ritual in Industrial Society (1974) passim

26. Cf Holmes U T 'Liminality and Liturgy' Worship v47 no7 Aug/Sept 1973 p386
Also Hitchcock J The Recovery of the Sacred (1974)

27. Turner V 'Ritual Tribal and Catholic' Worship v50 no6 Nov 1976 p525

28. Turner V 'Passages, Margins, and Poverty: Religious Symbols of Communitas' (1972) p391

29. Howell C 'From Trent to Vatican II' Jones, Wainwright, & Yarnold op cit 1978 p244

30. The Missal of Pope St Pius X (pub.1570) was introduced by three juridical collections of detailed rubrics, viz: Rubricae Generalis, Ritus Servandus, and De Defectibus. cf. Howell C 'From Trent to Vatican II' ed Jones, Wainwright, Yarnold The Study of Liturgy (1978) p244 (Hereafter referred to as 'ed.J.W.Y.')

31. Cf Chrichton J D 'A Theology of Worship' ed J.W.Y, (1978) op cit p17
Also Klauser T The Western Liturgy and Its History (1952) p20; and Hebrews 8,2

32. Cf Swain L Review of Riches J 'Jesus and the Transformation of Judaism' (1981) The Month July 1981 p250

33. There were some twenty-six 'heretical' groups among the Jews at the time of the emergence of Christianity, apparently, according to the first century Jewish historian, Josephus, including mainly political sects (Herodians, Zealots, Sicarii), and religious sects (Damascus Covenanters, Qumran Gnostics, Essenes)

34. Cf Beckwith R T 'The Jewish Background to Christian Worship' ed Jones, Wainwright, Yarnold op cit p39 passim

35. French original for these linguistic terms is signifiant and signifie
Cf notes to Vogel C 'Symbols in Christian Worship: Food and Drink' Concilium 132 (2/1980)

36. Cf John 1,13 (Lit.'pitched his tent among us')

37. Cf Matthew 26,61; John 2,19-22

38. Cf Ephesians 2,19-22

39. Cf Exodus 25,8

40. 'Kyriake' enters the non-Romance languages as kirke, kerk, kirche, and church 'Ecclesia' enters the Romance languages as eglise, iglesia, chiesa Cf Henze A & Filthaut T Contemporary Church Art tr Hastings C ed Lavanoux M (1956) p51; Jungmann J A Public Worship tr Howell C (1957) p56

41. Cf 1 Kings 8,16ff; 2 Chronicles 1,18-7,22 also Ezekiel 40,1-48,35

42. Cf Exodus 19,12;24,4; 25-26. Ezekiel 37,27-28
The worship of pagan stelae (standing-stones signifying male divinity) and poles (signifying female divinity) were forbidden
Cf Exodus 23,24;14,13 Deuteronomy 7,5;12,3 Leviticus 26,1
The setting up of stones by Moses and Jacob must have been an admissible purified form

43. Genesis 28,10-22. Used as the Antiphon in the pre-Vatican II 'Rite of Consecration of a Church'

44. The martyr-figure is derived from the Maccabean revolt of the 2nd century B.C. which was mounted in opposition to the encroaching hellenisation of the Temple cult. Cf 1 & 2 Maccabees. For discussion of the development of its Christian usage cf Donovan K 'The Sanctoral' ed J.W.Y. (1978) p419

45. Begun winter 20/19 B.C. The third on the site

46. Because the high-priesthood of Sadducees had hellenised its worship, and had a concern for its administration primarily as a sort of State Treasury

47. Cf Matthew 5,17

48. Cf John 10,22-23; 7,14; 8,2; 11,55ff

49. Cf Luke 24,53; Acts 3,1;2,46;5,12

50. Cf John 4,21-24

51. Acts 7,51-53

52. Cf Acts 7,48 also Amos 5,25-27; Isaiah 66,1-2; Acts 17,24

53. Cf 1 Kings 8,27

54. Cf Exodus 25,10-30; 30,17-21

55. Cf Krautheimer R Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture (1965) p2
Also Acts 1,13-15; 2,42;2,46;12,12;20,7ff

56. Cf Vogel (1981) art cit; Beckwith 1978 art cit N.B. the disputed dating of the Last Supper between the Synoptic and Johanine Gospels; whether it was a Passover meal, or an anticipation of it

57. Mark 14,15-25; Luke 22,12-20

58. Luke 24,13-35

59. Acts 2,46

60. 'Discipline of the Secret'. Here, this is a speculative comment, as the discipline did not develop fully until the 4th and 5th centuries (ie after Constantine had venerated mystery sites in the Holy Land). The witholding of doctrinal and liturgical 'secrets' is regarded as being related to the 'awe-inspiring' practices of pagan mystery cults. Cf Yarnold E J 'The Fourth and Fifth Centuries' ed J.W.Y. (1978) p109

61. Cf Bieler A _Architecture in Worship_ (1961 tr 1965) p29
Also: Krautheimer (1965) p20

62. Hence the classic defence by Minucius Felix: _Putas autem nos occultare quod colimus, si delubra et aras non habemus?_ (Do you think that we are hiding what we worship, if we do not have temples and (pagan) altars?) N.B. distinction between pagan ara and Christian _altare_. Reference often misquoted as: _Delubra non habemus, aras non habemus_ (We have no temples, we have no altars), and promoted as an injunction opposing physical altars _per se_. For the early Church, and throughout the Church's history, there is only one true altar and that is Christ (Hebrews 4,14; 13,10). Physical altars are erected only as analogous with him, eg: _Quid est enim altare nisi forma (figura) corporis Christi?_ (St Ambrose d397); _Altare significat Christum_ (St Thomas Aquinas d1274); _Altare quidem sanctae Ecclesiae ipse est Christus_ (Roman Pontifical 1888) Cf Minucius Felix _Octavius_ chap.XXXII (P.L.III 353) Also Krautheimer (1965) op cit p5 n23; Jungmann J A _Public Worship_ tr Howell C (1957) p60; Croegart A _The Mass of the Catechumens_ tr Holland-Smith J (1958) p34; For emendation of Minucius Felix reference, writer's indebtedness to Fr K Nugent SJ

63. Cf Acts 18,7. It is important to understand that the term _domus ecclesiae_ has both an unspecific mystical, sense, as well as a more specific, generic, sense describing an architectural structure. But even when used in a specific sense, it can indicate different forms, eg: Krautheimer refers to examples of modified _tituli_ or private town houses of the wealthy, and of modified apartments in _insulae_ or tenement blocks of the working class poor; while Jounel refers to the term being 'almost unknown among the Fathers', but appearing frequently in the sixth century to designate the episcopal residence (as at Paris)

64. Krautheimer (1965) op cit p8

65. A hypothesis favoured by Dix, and Bieler (after Leclercq), but contested by Bouyer. Cf Dix G _The Shape of the Liturgy_ (1945) p22-23; Bieler (1965) op cit p22-24 Bouyer L _Liturgy and Architecture_ (1967) p40-41

66. Eg. basilica of SS Giovanni e Paolo, Rome, formed from merger of groundfloor shops, upper tenements, and adjacent thermae. Cf Krautheimer (1965) op cit p8. Reference should also be made here to the _titulus_, the legal inscription on a building which designated the owner, eg: titulus Clementis, titulus Byzantis, titulus Praxedis. House churches in Rome, when later they became basilicas, replaced 'titulus' with 'Saint'

67. Salhiyeh, on the Euphrates, in use in AD230, excavated in AD1932. Krautheimer and Bieler differ slightly on the use of rooms. Cf Krautheimer (1965) op cit p6-7 and figure 1; Bieler (1965) op cit p24-26 and figure 5; Also van der Meer F and Mohrmann C _Atlas of the Early Christian World_ tr Hedlund and Rowley (1959) p46-47 illustrations 71 and 72

68. Krautheimer (1965) op cit p19

69. Eg bazaar, stock-exchange, promenade, drill hall, riding school, audience and reception chamber, banquet room, open-roofed precinct (basilica discoperta)

70. Funerary banquet chambers, covered cemeteries (coemeteria subteglata), pagan sanctuaries: 'the large hall in the sanctuary of Isis at Pergamon; the basilica of the Tree-bearers in Rome; a group of synagogues in Galilee'

71. Cf Beckwith ed J.W.Y. (1978) art cit p42 also 2 Kings 24,14-16; 25,11; Ezra 1 and 2

72. Cf Luke 4,14-22; Matthew 4,23; Luke 4,44; John 6,59; 18,20

73. Cf Acts 9,20; 13,14; 14,1; 17,10; 18,4; 19,8

74. Cf James 2,2-4

75. Cf Bouyer (1967) op cit p24ff

76. Cf Jounel P 'Places of Christian Assembly' The Environment for Worship (1980) p19

77. Cf Krautheimer (1965) op cit p42

78. Romans 6,3-4; John 3,5; Colossians 2,12

79. Cf Beckwith ed J.W.Y. (1978) art cit p44-46

80. Matthew 3,6; Acts 19,5; John 3,22-36

81. Luke 12,50; Matthew 3,11; Mark 10,39; Acts 1,5
'We have indeed a second font of blood...These two baptisms the Lord set out from the wound in his pierced side, in order that they who believed in his blood might be bathed with the water; that they who had bathed in the water might likewise drink the blood. This is the baptism which both stands in lieu of the fontal bathing, when that has not been received, and restores it when lost.' Tertullian De Baptismo 16; cf Cyprian, De Orat.dom.24
Cf Davies J G The Architectural Setting of Baptism (1962) p17

82. Initial stage: registration, scrutinies, exorcism, instruction, fasting. Initiation proper: entry to baptistry, opening verses, stripping, prebaptismal anointing with oil of exorcism, renunciation of the devil, contract with Christ, blessing of the baptismal water, immersion (submersion or affusion), anointing of the head, washing of the feet (pedilavium), dressing in white, receiving of the 'gift of the spirit' (laying on of hands, signing with cross, and kiss), lighting and carrying of candle, and finally entry to the church to receive the bread and wine of the Eucharist, and also milk and honey (as a sign of having reached the 'promised land').
Cf Yarnold ed J.W.Y. (1978) art cit
Also Davies (1962) pp27-31, 37-38

83. Eg Dura-Europas AD232; 'Lateran Octagon' (S.Giovanni in Laterano) AD330; S.Lorenzo, Milan AD370 (may have been mausoleum only); S.Babylas, Antioch AD378 (not the cathedral; baptistry adjacent to mausoleum); Baptistry of the Orthodox, Ravenna circ AD400

84. Audience and throne hall (maybe with fastigium: 'glorification facade') Cf Krautheimer (1965) op cit p53

85. Several references to numerical symbolism supposedly devised by St Ambrose; but for doubt on the attribution cf Yarnold ed J.W.Y. (1978) art cit p103 n2

86. Jewish custom faced openings of rock tombs towards East; orientation of the basilica is occidental

87. Cf Baldwin-Brown G From Schola to Cathedral (1886) p40 Also: 'This is the custom of the haburot (holy communities) in Jerusalem: some (of the members) go to a betrothal feast, others to a wedding feast, others to a feast of circumcision, others to a gathering of bones (for the purpose of final burial); the first go to a joyful feast, the others to a house of mourning'. Jeremias J Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus tr Cave F H and C H (1969)

88. 'Binomial' refers to the elements of bread and wine in the discussion on their complementary, independant, or supplementary character. 'Theophagy' is the act of eating which brings the participant into a relationship with a divinity. Cf Vogel (1980) art cit p70

89. The popular view that catacombs were used as churches during times of persecution, has little support from current critical opinion, eg Krautheimer. But it is admissible that refrigeria were held in cubicula. Of the memoriae the vacant seat at the head of the stone table was the most evocative of the presence of the deceased: a custom still celebrated in the feast of cathedra Petri on February 22nd. Cf van der Meer and Mohrmann (1958) p49 illus.81

90. Krautheimer (1965) p10

91. So that 'the triumphant victims may occupy the place where Christ is victim: he, however, who suffered for all, upon the altar; they, who have been redeemed by his sufferings, beneath the altar'. Saint Ambrose Epistula 22,13. Also Revelation 6,9. Cf Introduction 'Dedication of an Altar' Roman Pontifical (1977) tr ICEL (1980) p61 In Britain confessiones are evident in the earliest surviving examples of church building that followed the reintroduction of Christianity initiated by Pope Gregory the Great, eg: at Wing in Buckinghamshire, and at Repton in Derbyshire (the ancient seat and burial place of the kings of Mercia). Cf Taylor H M and J Anglo Saxon Architecture (1965) Vol II p510ff and 665ff

92. Cf Bouyer (1967) p37

93. Cf Matthews E 'History of Penance' Liturgy Vol 1 No1 1976 p25

94. 'Witnesses' in the early Church regarded their body as an 'altar', eg St Ignatius of Antioch: 'Grant me only this favour: let my blood be spilled in sacrifice to God, while there is still an altar ready'. Ad Romanos 2,2. Cf Introduction 'Dedication of an Altar' Roman Pontifical (1977) tr ICEL (1980) p59. For the scriptural source of the custom of touching relics with cloths (brandea) cf Acts 19,11-12

95. Cf Beckwith ed J.W.Y. (1978) art cit p41. Also Jenkins G 'The Development of the Eucharist' <u>Liturgy</u> Vol 1 No4 p4 and Comper J N <u>Of The Christian Altar And The Buildings Which Contain It</u> (1950) p11

96. Cf Matthew 23,29; Luke 11,47 conjectural reference to the 'Tomb of Absolom' and the 'Pyramid of Zechariah' Rock hewn funerary monuments of late 1st century B.C. in the Jewish necropolis in the Kedron Valley, Jerusalem

97. The original Ark had disappeared at the time of the Babylonian exile. Even when the Temple was rebuilt it was never replaced. The <u>debir</u> of the Temple remained an empty void
Cf Bouyer (1967) op cit p14

98. Schwarz R <u>Vom Bau der Kirche</u> (1938) tr Harris C <u>The Church Incarnate</u> (1958)
For a useful resume cf 'The Seven Lamps of Rudolf Schwarz' <u>Architectural Review</u> Vol 112 No670 (October 1952) p261-2

99. Cf Bruggink D J and Droppers C H <u>Christ and Architecture</u> (1965) p23

Chapter Two

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The Liturgical Movement

It is just not possible to understand the changes that have taken place in Catholic church architecture without some comprehension of the nature, significance, and effect, of the 'Liturgical Movement'. During the period under review there have been universal and radical changes to Catholic worship, generally associated with the Second Vatican Council which convened between 1962 and 1965. But such changes as there have been, were initially conceived before the Council, and developed during some fifty years of endeavour by various individuals and agencies. The Council was, therefore, in many respects, a culmination of a movement to revitalise the liturgy, with reference to its primitive origins, and modern relevance. For some, the movement ceased with the Council; the Council was the definitive approval of the changes sought. For others, the Council was the definitive approval not only of what had been sought in the previous fifty years or so, but also of the development of further changes. While for yet others, it was the occasion for resistance to change of either the first, or second, kind. Together with other factors (eg ecumenical, cultural) the resulting changes have been far from uniform; the uniformly binding ritual potential of liturgy has been diversified. Some would regard this as a strengthening of the Church, through greater tolerance, comprehensiveness, and adaptability; others, as a weakening through increased loss of authority, localisation, and plurality. Whichever, church buildings provide concrete 'tell-tales'.

The following brief commentary on the Liturgical Movement is intended to be indicative rather than exhaustive. It briefly outlines the Movement's emergence on the Continent, and its tentative introduction to England and Ireland. Though its name suggests an exclusive concern with _cultus_, the Movement has always been distinguished by its concern in promoting

an understanding of the vital relationship between models of pastoral ministry, and models of worship.

A second aspect of the commentary concentrates primarily on the period from the 1940s to the 1960s, when the endeavours of the Liturgical Movement had penetrated the Vatican, and official attitudes were priming themselves in order to take and apply a major initiative.

It has been chiefly pastoral preoccupations that have influenced the orientation, and development, of the Liturgical Movement. During a long period, the active sharing of people in liturgical worship had grown less and less. It was thought that the passive physical presence of people at church, with pious intentions, was sufficient to fulfil their obligation of Sunday worship. The Roman Missal of 1570 was still in use, the original of which was almost entirely silent on the active sharing of the Mass rite.[1] Yet from the sixteenth century there were attempts, most notably in Germany and France,[2] to undertake a Catholic Reformation of doctrine, and liturgy. The Protestant Reformation had only succeeded in making Rome even more intransigent over such reforms as the participation of the laity, and the use of vernacular language. In what are known as 'the abundant years of piety' following Trent, the Baroque asserted a new Catholic orthodoxy by spectacle:

> It overwhelmed heresy by splendour; it did not argue but proclaimed; it brought conviction to the doubter by the very scale of its grandeurs, it guaranteed truth by magniloquence. [3]

The Roman liturgy in its voluminous tones and voids was the bastion against heresy, and attendance by the people was a show of silent solidarity. But that imposed sense of acquiescence proved almost incapable of withstanding the assaults that came from rationalism and modernism in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

> The Reformation had challenged the virtue of Rome: the Age of Reason questioned something that had never before been doubted - its intelligence. The fountainhead of European culture and knowledge, the curators of world history, were ridiculed as ignorant and credulous. The Counter-Reformation had been a revolt: the Church would prove the Reformers wrong by exceeding them in moral courage; but ... as the Church relaxed its claim to intellectual leadership ... Catholic piety became more saccharin, more prettified, more emotional. [4]

As the nineteenth century Catholic Church attempted to compensate for a loss of intellectual leadership, with a social leadership, it began to seek an identity with, and then to mobilise, the 'labouring masses'. Local pastoral initiatives were developed, and by the end of the century the papal Encyclical <u>Rerum Novarum</u> (1891) promulgated an unprecedented 'workers' charter'. But for the Church, the profoundest of its pastoral initiatives lay in the potential of its liturgy. At one and the same time, there developed an inward-looking desire to make the liturgy the Church's great symbol of participatory social unity, and an outward-looking desire to make it a creative dynamic in the secular life of ordinary Christians, and thus in the Church's relationship with the modern world.

European Mainland

In 1903 Pope Pius X is regarded as having laid the foundation stone of the reform of the liturgy when his famous Motu Proprio <u>Tra le Sollecitudini</u> promoted a greater active sharing in 'the public and most solemn prayer of the Church' through the restoration of Gregorian plainchant as a means of assisting corporate singing, and a sense of tradition. Despite this initiative, and others,[5] the response was considerably indifferent. So much so, that in 1909 when at a Catholic Congress at Malines, Cardinal Mercier (d1926) wished to provide an opportunity for Dom Lambert Beauduin (d1960) to speak on 'Il faudrait democratiser la liturgie', he could only be accommodated in the session on 'Christian Art and Archeology'.[6]

Before becoming a Benedictine, Dom Lambert had been active in the diocese

of Liege as a 'chaplain of workmen' to forward the application of Rerum Novarum. Undoubtedly this pastoral experience gave the Belgian liturgical movement its most striking characteristic of 'realism'. It seemingly never got lost in archeologism and antiquarianism, nor caught up in innovatory novelties. Instead it attempted a renewal of the existing liturgy, wishing 'to know it, understand it, to carry it out as it is' as perfectly as could be, and only then to see whether 'something further' should be attempted.[7] Not surprisingly Belgium was the locus of the liturgical movement's first extensive following: in 1911 the first Liturgical Week was held at Louvain, and in 1931 the first Liturgical Congress was held in Antwerp.

In 1914 the first Liturgical Week for laymen (and regarded by some therefore, as the true start of the movement) was promoted in Germany by the Benedictine abbot of Maria Laach, Dom Ildefons Herwegens. In response to a request from a group of professional laymen seeking ways and means to promote a more active participation in liturgical worship, the dialogue mass first used in Belgium, was introduced.[8] Conferences and retreats at the abbey made it not only a centre of liturgical scholarship, but also a model of pastoral application. Easter 1918 marked the beginning of the 'Ecclesia Orans' series of papers, of which the first was Romano Guardini's seminal Vom Geist der Liturgie (The Spirit of Liturgy), which was later widely published, and had a profound effect upon the thinking of the architect Rudolf Schwarz.[9] Herwegens' own contribution to the series was Das Kunstprinzip der Liturgie,[10] which was a theme very much derived from his own archeological studies, and the mother house of Beuron.[11]

Archeological, scriptural, and pastoral, concerns were the admixture that characterised the Liturgical Movement. The development of a critical connection between liturgy and scripture is particularly

associated with Pius Parsch, an Augustinian canon of Klosterneuburg (Austria), who had been a chaplain in the 1914-18 war, as a personal application of Pius X's mandate to bring liturgy to the people. A further example of sound pastoral concern associated with liturgy, is that cited by Ernest Koenker, of the wartime parish work of Klemens Tillman, and Heinrich Kahlefeld (who was to have a formative effect on the architect Emil Steffann).[12] But it was the archeologically informed Mysterien-theologie of another Benedictine from Maria Laach, Dom Odo Casel (d1948), that has probably become most closely associated with the movement.

The pastoral concern for the proletariat that developed in the nineteenth century fostered as a corollary, a desire for a renewed theology of the sacraments and of their roots in human nature. A search for the social fundaments of liturgy inevitably led to a more critical study of the primitive Church; and that in turn developed a realisation of coeval hellenistic and Eastern mystery cults, with analogies with Christianity that were so striking that an explanation was required. Casel saw these pagan mysteries as 'a shadow, though falsified, of the coming true mystery'. They did not influence the beginning of Christianity, but they did provide a framework for it; a framework already well-known and well-worn. Not surprisingly this Mysterien-theologie attracted criticism: it promoted a sense of exclusiveness too much centred on a mysticising of the Eucharistic rite; it denied the perfecting effect of tradition. But the mystery that Casel perceived was that embodied in the teaching of St Paul: it is not a ritual 'secret', but the wisdom of God's plan of salvation, revealed in the Gospel, and incorporated in the Church throughout history.[13] At each historical moment the Church has an objective reality which is summed up in the Eucharist. The Eucharistic mystery is the continual making-present of the whole redemptive work of Christ: it is

the _totum opus redemptionis_.[14] It is the sign of _reconciling_ all things in Christ;[15] and of _recapitulation_, the historical summing-up of all things in him.[16] Here is to be found the source of Pope Pius XI's principal object of his pontificate, viz: 'the restoration of all things in Christ'; and of its reflection in a Christocentric architecture with its free-standing, untrammelled but duly honoured, centralised altar. Liturgy is the 'source and centre' of every aspect of Christian life; there is no area of life to which the regenerative, creative, and redemptive, potential, of the Eucharistic mystery is not relevant.

A liturgy that pervaded the Christian year and regulated its regenerative, creative, and redemptive, potential through an annual calendar, was a conviction that the early nineteenth century French Benedictine, Prosper Gueranger (d1875), held to be spiritually beneficial.[17] But it was a limited conviction, in several ways less radical than other precursors of the Liturgical Movement of the twentieth century. Gueranger's objectives were somewhat limited to aesthetic unity of form, and to archeological verisimilitude. His pursuit of a restoration of Gregorian plainchant, had little 'pastoral' intention as it is now understood; and his desire to standardise diocesan liturgical practices in France with a single Roman rite was too ultramontane. Yet his abbey of Solesmes has continued to occupy a notable position in the history of modern liturgical development.

After Gueranger there was a century of liturgical lull, in France, often gratuitously referred to as 'a period of preparation in scholarship and piety'.[18] In 1901, following the anti-clerical legislation, the monks of Solesmes were expelled, and until 1921, Quarr Abbey on the Isle of Wight, was their headquarters. France was declared a _pays de mission_ by the Church, and the missionary ideals of Charles de Foucauld became an inspiration to worker priests in their active sharing in a concern for

social injustice, and 'domestic heathenism'. Responding to official exhortations[19] there was also developed in France (principally by the Dominicans), a neo-Thomism that provided a 'sharp instrument of criticism of modern life and thought ... a philosophy that was concerned with human living'.[20] In particular this development is associated with the aesthetic of the philosopher Jacques Maritain, which greatly influenced a number of artists, and commentators, and lay behind the controversy that raged around the church at Assy in the late 1940s, concerning the use of Modern Art, and of non-Christian artists. In 1935 L'Art Sacre was first published, followed by La Maison Dieu, the periodical review of the Centre de Pastorale Liturgique, founded in 1943, and still a principal study house for priests from the British Isles specialising in liturgy.[21]

Such a movement does not develop without provoking counter-currents. There has been, and continues to be, lively opposition in which the movement has come up against a conservative traditionalism, that regards it as revolutionary, and even heretical. Its development has also been the despair of those who endeavoured to implement the principles to which such men as Beauduin, Parsch, Herwegens, and Casel, devoted themselves. In his book The Decomposition of Catholicism written in 1969, Louis Bouyer is insistent that 'in the Catholic Church at the present time there is practically no liturgy worthy of the name. Yesterday's liturgy was scarcely more than an embalmed corpse. What goes on under the name of liturgy today is hardly more than the same corpse decomposed ... '[22]

In Germany before the 1939-45 war there was deep controversy over the relative merits of liturgical vis-a-vis para-liturgical prayer,[23] which the Liturgical Movement considered as extreme forms of individualistic mysticism, that had degenerated into privatised vulgar piety.[24] Koenker refers to repeated objections opposing a liturgical purge, from the Bishop

of Linz, and the Archbishop of Fribourg; Benoit, to those from the Archbishop of Paris, and the author and diplomat, Paul Claudel.[25] The principal objections were: the celebration of mass facing the people (what Claudel called 'the Mass back to front'); the removal of the tabernacle from the main altar; the subordination of the Marian devotion; and the suppression of the saying of the Rosary during Mass. The bitterness of the controversies, and the widespread examples of superficial, and extreme, forms of certain innovations, led even Guardini to disclaim certain tendencies.

As a result of intervention from Rome, in 1940 the German Bishops' Conference of Fulda placed liturgical matters under its direct supervision by establishing a liturgical commission which comprised: Bishops Albert Stohr of Mainz, and Simon Landersdorfer O.S.B. of Passau; Professors Romano Guardini, Josef Jungmann S.J., Theodor Klauser, Mgr. Ludwig Wolker, Dom Damasus Zahringer of Beuron, and Dom Theodor Bogler of Maria Laach; and 'Parish Leaders' the Oratorians, Heinrich Kahlefeld, and Klemens Tillmann. Possibly the most notable achievement of this commission was its avoidance of condemnation, and the assistance it therefore gave to liturgical progress. In particular, it is characterised by two substantial initiatives, viz: the obtaining of approval for the _German Ritual_, which included even greater use of the vernacular than the earlier French submission; and the publication in 1947 of the _Guiding Principles for the Design of Churches According to the Spirit of the Roman Liturgy_, which were composed mainly by Theodor Klauser (then Rector Magnificens of the University of Bonn). These were the 'German Directives' that appeared in 1962 in England as an appendix to the series of essays edited by Peter Hammond, _Towards a Church Architecture_.

In other areas of Europe there was little evidence of the Liturgical

Movement as conceived in Belgium, France, Germany and Austria, having effect. Commentators remarked on a lack of popular leadership, of uninterestedness among clergy, of a failure of appreciation in seminaries, and of an aestheticism that had vitiated the movement. Certainly a concern for 'sacred music' as a distinct genre, was an exacerbated effect of the promotion of Gregorian plainchant.[26] And 'sacred art' was closely associated with 'renewal societies'; it being undoubtedly greatly encouraged by the founding in 1924 by Pius XI of the Central Pontifical Commission for Sacred Art.[27] In Italy itself the exhortations in 1932 of Cardinal Marchetti-Salvagiani 'apostolic visitator of the churches of the Eternal City', and of Cardinal Schuster in his Liber Sacramentorum, strongly urged simplification, the doing away with popular accretions of piety, and above all a return to the concept of a church as an enclosure for 'the one altar of the one true God'.[28]

England and Wales

A 'vitiating aestheticism' fostered by a coterie of intellectuals, is how the Liturgical Movement in England was generally regarded. In an article published in 1948 poignantly asking 'What About England?' H.A. Reinhold, a priest exile, made a number of perceptive observations of the immediate post-war period:

> It seems to be one of the great crosses of the English Church that it has a brilliant minority, ever so small and yet so much in the limelight, apparently without visible contact with the people and with parishes - and on the other side a sort of 'Catholic masses' lacking all the leavening that is needed to raise them. A voice crying in the wilderness like Fr S J Gosling and his English Liturgist seems to have no response. Father Ivor Daniel has been working to establish the liturgy in its fullness for twenty years and nobody seems to be paying him much attention...
>
> The division between extremely brilliant intellectuals on the one hand (and these divided into converts and born Catholics) and the poor and their clergy on the other, seems to be a chasm nobody has been able to bridge ... That strange version of 'Catholic life'

> which seems to make a deliberate effort to be as low brow and emotional as the Salvation Army - without showing its social rescue work - with its interest fixed on secondary, derivative, aspects of Catholic dogma, is drably omnipresent whenever you put your foot into a Catholic church in England. It is as if Cardinal Newman had never lived, and as if Downside Abbey, Prinknash, Stanbrook, Farm Street, and Stoneyhurst belonged to another Church ... You go back to your church of 'Our Lady of some local title or other', which is really 'chapel', and that is where you feel at home. Sometimes one feels that these people are all homesick Irishmen.
>
> Somebody has to start somewhere to build the road from the esoteric places like Ditchling Common, Eric Gill's heritage, to the chapels in Stepney or even in Westend ... What is a movement in books, at desks, in monasteries, and magazines? Where are the people? In parishes of course. Without the parish clergy nobody can get anywhere. Even if you lower your standards for a while, or water your wine to condition your audience, you have to try; so long as you water the wine and don't give Pepsicola instead! 29

Obviously Reinhold perceived a complex socio-religious problem, whose symptoms could not simply be described as 'indifference'. The division in Catholic society to which he referred, was between those who were intellectually developed, and those who were not. Taking that further, the division could be described as being between those who had been educated, and those who had not; between those who could afford to be educated, and those who could not; between those who were working class, and those who were not; between those who had come within the orbit of conventual and regular institutions, and those who had not. Interestingly it does not identify a socio-geographical division between North and South but it does make a disparagingly divisive reference apropos of Irish immigrant Catholicism, which is implicitly regarded as being less cultured.[30] On the issue of culture, its reference to a popular synthetic beverage, could be enlarged to a reference to the whole question of the Church's relationship to industrialised syntheticism, synchronism, and other technological developments. These are serious cultural questions related very closely to liturgy as 'theology in material structure', but they have rarely occupied the mind of the Church in its three territories of the British Isles, either before or after Reinhold's article. They have

however, occupied the mind of certain individuals such as Eric Gill (d1940), but have invariably been considered as 'esoteric'.

Gill's 'cell of good living' was intended as an object lesson in promoting an alternative culture, and bore a distinctly English mark in its concern for the familiar and the commonplace, whose art lay in the integrity of its making. Gill was an individual, and a visionary, whose social thought is overdue for reappraisal.[31] In his 'Mass for the Masses'[32] and other writings, he evinced a liturgical concern that has gained little recognition from liturgical commentators.

According to Reinhold, Fr Gosling (d1950) too was a 'voice crying in the wilderness'. But he had been preceded by other 'voices', whose history of endeavour, and measure of success, is well described in English Catholic Worship (1980).[33] It is a veritable 'choir', including those of Adrian Fortescue (d1923);[34] George Tyrrell (d1909);[35] Edmund Bishop (d1917);[36] Fernand Cabrol (d1937);[37] Cyril Martindale (d1963);[38] F H Drinkwater;[39] Bernard McElligott (d1971);[40] J B O'Connell (d1977);[41] Clifford Howell (d1981).[42] And of the hierarchy possibly the 'ear' if not the voice of the following could be cited: Herbert Vaughan (Westminster 1892-1903);[43] Thomas Williams (Birmingham 1929-46);[44] Arthur Hinsley (Westminster 1935-43).[45]

In 1942 Gosling had contributed to the controversy that raged in the pages of the Catholic Herald[46] over the use of English in the Mass. The qualified approvals that were being sought by other countries for the use of vernacular language, was supported with only tepid interest by the English hierarchy, who were still very reluctant to even allow congregational responses in the use of the Dialogue Mass.[47] Central to Gosling's concern was that as a chaplain[48] in the 1914-18 war he had come to realise that the retention of Latin was a handicap to pastoral work.

Like others in Austria, Belgium, France, and Germany, he desired a more explicit faith, to which a more pastorally concerned liturgy was an essential corollary. The response he got led to the formation of the English Liturgy Society for priests and laity who 'desired to promote the use of the mother tongue in public worship so far as is consistent with the doctrines and traditions of the Church'.[49]

The pastoral concern voiced by Gosling was but a means to an end. What was really meant by pastoral concern was a discernment of the needs of the world, in particular, the urban proletariat of industrialised Europe and North America; followed by a ministration to those needs. In 1874 Cardinal Manning had clearly made known his discernment in an address on 'The Dignity and Rights of Labour', and had postponed the building of Westminster Cathedral until he had provided for Catholic primary education. There was an acute awareness that Christianity had not kept pace with the industrialisation of society, with those 'who have only one possession - their labour'.[50] Catholic congregations might be representative of people from all classes of society, but the liturgy itself needed to become less problematic as the prime pastoral access to the 'uncultured many' - even though 'a return to primitive practice might be a return to primitive disorder'.[51] At the turn of the century it had become clear that the way ahead would require a more precise discernment of what Edmund Bishop referred to as a '<u>histoire naturelle du sentiment religieux</u>'.[52]

What Bishop attempted to discern through a systematic study of liturgy were certain cardinal factors inherent in it, that would make sense not only of its own development, but would have a much more universal application in making sense of the historical and modern processes of acculturation. He discerned through this the process by which the Church reflected on religious practice in general (not just worship), and made

up its mind in dogmatic conclusions. Any technical discussion of liturgy <u>per se</u>, was, he believed, only a means of getting into a position to deal with manifestations of <u>homo religiosus</u>. It was not to pursue a refinement of the ceremonial externals of worship by displaying 'a fitful interest in a chasuble', as the Anglican ritualists had done, and which he totally rejected because of its emphasis on arcane symbolism, a characteristic which he regarded as quite unRoman.

> The Roman Mass was for him distinguished by its sobriety, sense, and simplicity, and he declared that 'mystery never flourished in the Roman atmosphere, and symbolism was no product of the Roman mind' ... The original Roman contribution to the liturgy lacked the picturesque or emotional character now associated with Rome; it was, rather, practical, simple, matter-of-fact and direct. 53

In his work, which was most cogently summarised in his paper on <u>The Genius of the Roman Rite</u> (1899), he discerned not only the historicity of the Roman rite itself, but also the primacy of the Roman rite vis a vis other cultural and religious contributions to the all-embracing life of the Church.

While the authoritarianism of the Church in his day made it impossible to develop a pastoral theology upon his findings, Bishop's scholarly discernment of liturgy as the Church's cardinal instrument of orientation, would have echoes in those pastoral theologies worked out on the Continent, shaped by a social engagement not pursued by Bishop. Despite this deficiency all that was to follow was, in a sense, but a means to the end discerned by him. The endeavours of the Goslings, the admonitions of the Reinolds, were all really directed towards a dynamic of renewal in perception and action. But to bring about that renewal was a long haul during which certain aspects became major preoccupations and issues of contention - of which the use of vernacular language was but one. And in the British Isles the haul was much longer than most other places in

Europe and North America; indeed, in some respects, it is possible to say that the Liturgical Movement entered England, Wales, and Scotland only fitfully, and in spite of official attitudes. In Ireland it entered late but from the outset was a much more coherent and comprehensive initiative.

To say that the Church in England was not enthusiastic in its early encouragement of pastoral liturgy, is not to say that it was not interested in pastoral concerns, nor that it was not supportive of lay involvement. In 1890 William Barry argued that the Church stood in need of a 'public creed - of a social ... of a lay Christianity' to undertake work that could not be done by the clergy, nor within the four walls of a church, but in 'the school, the home, the street, the tavern, the market, and wherever men come together'.[54] Responses to these needs included the establishment of the Catholic Social Guild (1909), and the Catholic Workers' College at Oxford (1921).[55] In 1922 Pius XI's encyclical _Ubi Arcano_ promoted the Catholic Action organisation,[56] which, though it never produced in the British Isles an organisation such as the _Jeunesse Ouvriere Chretienne_ of Belgium,[57] did give encouragement to the function and status of lay undertakings such as those associated with social issues and public media, and with lay evangelisation (especially the Catholic Evidence Guild). 1929 was the centenary of the last of the Catholic Emancipation Acts and saw the founding of both the Catholic Guild of Artists, and the Society of St Gregory. In 1931 Pius XI's encyclical _Quadragesimo Anno_ restressed the social teachings of its antecedent, _Rerum Novarum_.

The thirties brought political difficulties for the universal Church, and formed a (speculative) background for the apparent indifference of the territorial hierarchy of the British Isles to the encroaching practices

of the Liturgical Movement. There was a possibility that their attitude contained an element of mistrust for the Movement's Continental origins. The English Reformation had been overshadowed with accusations of Continental 'treason'; trials of Catholics had been as much political occasions as religious. In the nineteenth century Catholic Emancipation could be understood as an expeditious measure in view of Continental (and Irish) political developments. At the end of the century the building of Westminster Cathedral in the heart of the 'immense capital of a worldwide empire of power and influence (was a) stirring appeal to faith and patriotism'.[58] But by the 1920s a quietism had become evident and the 1929 centenary provided an opportunity for new initiatives, yet cues that might have been taken from the Continent were not encouraged, and any explanation as to why not cannot exclude the possibility of political reasons. The Church had identified with Fascism in Spain and Italy (in opposition to Communism), with Nazism in Germany,[59] and with Republicanism in Ireland. So it would have attracted undoubted political suspicion if the Church had embarked on a socially dynamic initiative, such as the Liturgical Movement (if pursued with enthusiasm) would have fostered. And in addition there was the Church's own perennial suspicion of the development of local practices in 'contravention' of the central discipline of Rome: the spectre of Gallicanism, Jansenism, and Josephinism, forever lurked in the mind of those committed to ultramontane supremacy, of which the English Church was one of the foremost following its bitter division over the issue in the nineteenth century.[60] Culturally too the Church in the British Isles was suspicious, viewing the Modern Movement in art and architecture as another manifestation of Continental internationalism, and not to be pursued in violation of the anti-Modernist oath.[61] And socially also, the three hierarchies adopted a cautious approach, their attitude dominated by the fear of further

leakage from the Church if the familiar practices of worship were too radically altered and proved too disturbing.[62]

Official attitudes may have been so cautious as to promote a preference for 'non-involvement', but there were active individuals who pursued liturgical and pastoral reform, and more importantly, there were groups forming to share these expectations, and to learn more of how any potential for change could be realised. The Guild of Catholic Artists does not seem to have been in the forefront of such activity, and up to 1943 neither does the Society of St Gregory, which was founded primarily to promote Gregorian plainchant. In 1943 Pius XII promulgated his encyclical Mystici Corporis Christi which emphasised the unity of the Church in the Mystical Body of Christ, and condemned the errors of Quietism, of which a silent passivity of attendance at Mass could be regarded as an external evidence. A more dynamic apostolate was required. If Gueranger had begun a first phase of liturgical renewal, and Beaudin, a second, then Pius XII had begun a third which was not to be ignored - not even by the cautious and fastidious hierarchies of the British Isles.

> The gradual advance in the Pope's thought on the liturgy is clearly evident in his Encyclical Letters Mystici Corporis Christi (1943), Mediator Dei (1947), Musicae Sacrae Disciplina (1955), and in his address to the participants in the Assisi Congress on Pastoral Liturgy (1956). To him we owe the reformed rite of Holy Week (1951, 1955), the Pian Psalter (1945), the simplification of the rubrics (1955), the introduction of evening Mass (1953) and the modification of the eucharistic fast (1957). His last great act on behalf of the liturgy was the Instruction of the Sacred Congregation of Rites, Musica Sacra et Sacra Liturgia, which was issued on 3 September 1958, a few weeks before the Pope's death (9 October), and set forth in detail how active sharing in liturgical worship of the Church is accomplished.
>
> It was Pius XII who also helped the liturgical movement forward by concessions in the use of the vernacular in the liturgy, especially through bi-lingual or tri-lingual rituals, in many countries.
>
> The pontificate of Pope John XXIII saw the publication of the Codex of the Rubrics of the Roman Breviary and Missal (1960), of the

revised typical edition of the Roman Pontifical (1961) and the reformed rite of adult baptism (1962). In all these, as in the new rite of Holy Week, the people are no longer ignored; provision is made for their active sharing in the different rites.

The full flowering of the liturgical movement has, under divine Providence, come in the pontificate of Pope Paul VI with the solemn promulgation of the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy of the Second Vatican Council (4 December 1963). Its chief theme is the active sharing of the faithful in public worship. 63

That conspectus of twenty years' development of official assimilation and promotion of the Liturgical Movement was written by J B O'Connell who himself began as a renowned rubricist editing and revising Fortescue's Ceremonies of the Roman Rite Described, then writing his own The Celebration of Mass (1941), and as 'a study in liturgical law', Church Building and Furnishing: the Church's Way (1954); and ended as a 'scholarly and pastoral liturgist'. He was the only English representative on the pre-conciliar commission on the liturgy,[64] and a member of the post-conciliar commission established to implement the Liturgy Constitution; his matured thought being concisely evident in his 'commentary on the chief purpose of the Second Vatican Council's Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy' Active Sharing In Public Worship (1964). But it was in his contributions to the Clergy Review from 1953 under the editorship of Charles Davis, that he steadily propagated the notion of a pastoral liturgy based firmly on what was allowed according to Canon Law.

There was an increasing number of writers on the subject of pastoral liturgy. Clifford Howell SJ (d1981) was one of the more prominent; his The Work of Our Redemption (1953) reaching a fourth edition in 1975. Prominent Continental writers were also translated into English; eg in 1957, Howell's translation of J A Jungmann's Public Worship was published; and in 1952, F L Cross' translation of Klauser's The Western Liturgy and Its History. Cross was an Anglican divine, and his translation illustrates

the great ecumenical interest in the liturgical renewal that was developing in the Catholic Church in the 1950s. Two further ecumenical examples could be added, viz: E B Koenker's The Liturgical Renaissance in the Roman Catholic Church (1954), and J D Benoit's Liturgical Renewal: Studies in Catholic and Protestant Developments on the Continent (1958).

The Society of St Gregory had held summer schools since its inception in 1929, and the topics had been published in its quarterly review Music and Liturgy. In 1944 after an 'expansion of interests' (but not including architecture!) it changed to Liturgy and finally (1970) to Life and Worship 'in an effort to show that worship had to do with Christian living and vice versa'. But however well-intentioned the Society was, it remained primarily associated with the promotion of music in the liturgy - albeit as a practical agent for forming a corporate body in worship, if not a community in life.

Pastoral clergy were not numerous in their attendance at the summer schools, though many seemingly were interested in deepening their own knowledge of pastoral liturgy. So in 1962 a group took the initiative and set up a regular conference at the retreat house of the Dominican Priory at Spode.[65] In the six years of its existence its topics were: Baptism (1963), The Christian Sunday (1964), The Parish (1965), The Mass and The People of God (1966), The Ministry of the Word (1967), and Penance (1968). These were gatherings of clergy that followed the Council, and were an essential exercise in informing, and assessing, pastoral needs apropos of the liturgical renewal. In the case of England and Wales (and Scotland) they were certainly necessary in the absence of any officially approved national focus or agency for liturgical formation.

The reluctance to comprehend the need to localise the international debates on the liturgy that had been promoted in Europe from 1950 at liturgical

congresses, can only be regarded as a rear-guard action of the most futile kind, especially when it was clear that Rome was prepared to give due consideration to 'requests for reform, based on tradition'.[66] The presidency of the Cardinal Prefect of the Congregation of Rites at the last congress in Assisi in 1956, and above all the address given by the Pope himself, gave the occasion a semi-official status that led those in England committed to the renewal of pastoral liturgy, to believe that official attitudes in this country would be consonant with those of the Pope. However after the Council the hierarchy of England and Wales dutifully set up a 'National Liturgical Commission' to undertake the supervision of the translation of liturgical texts, and to advise the hierarchy in its direction of the pastoral implementation of the revised rites as they appeared. One of its first tasks was the translation of the Roman Missal as it then was, and it produced the 'Finberg-O'Connell-Knox' version. There were other efforts, but with the formation of ICEL (International Committee for English in the Liturgy) local efforts were put at its disposal, though there still remain remnants of the excellent translations of the so-called 'Glenstal-Headingley Committee'.[67]

Ireland

In the development of pastoral liturgy in Ireland, the Benedictine abbey of Glenstal, Co. Limerick, has had a distinctive and remarkable role, which has been briefly documented by O'Connell in his supplement to Jungmann's <u>Liturgical Renewal</u> (1965).[68]

Ireland did not enjoy a reputation for advances in liturgical thinking and practice. In 1954 Koenker regarded Ireland as one of the countries that 'can hardly be said to be deeply affected by the Liturgical Movement'.[69] A view repeated in 1973 by Bernard Botte when he wrote of Ireland as having been the exception in responding to the Movement.[70] Of a country that had

once been a well-spring of Christian renewal with the establishment of monasteries as far afield as St Gall in Switzerland, and Bobbio in Italy, such observations were not without causes to be found in the intervening history of the country.

1903 marks the beginning of the Liturgical Movement elsewhere, but in Ireland it is a useful starting point in that the previous years were times of persecution, emancipation, and re-organisation. It was a country of around four million people compared with eight million a century before. In that century twenty-four cathedrals and some three thousand churches, had been built. 'Our churches are but symbols of our resurrection', said the bishop of Limerick, in 1903, referring, no doubt, to the many buildings erected in the ersatz Hiberno-Romanesque style that was Ireland's contribution to the general trend towards primitivism.

An event considered to be important in Irish Church history was the Synod of Thurles in 1850. Though its major concern was education, its largest volume of legislation dealt with regularising worship practices. There had been widespread house celebrations of baptism, marriage, Mass, and penance. These domestic liturgies fostered by expediency, were generally ended by the Synod. The determined, discreet, and domestic worship of Irish Catholicism during the Penal era (1695-1778 or 1534-1829), became submissive to a corrective period of rubrical implementation, and an 'anglicisation' of its public worship and private devotions.

However, in the twentieth century the squalid Mass houses, and the Mass Rocks of the fields (Plate 1) were eulogised to glorify the past in a mixture of pastoral concern, and patriotic zeal. Bishops continually pointed out the twentieth century dangers to faith: intemperance, sensational literature and films, fashions in dress, communism, and emigration. By the 1950s

there was a growing desire to restore repressed traditional forms of Irish piety (holy wells, shrines, and pilgrimages) as a means of strengthening the pastoral life of the Church, and enhancing national identity. Thus the formula for liturgical progress was prescribed as the 'glance backward'.[71]

The traditional forms of Irish piety centred on the Eucharist, towards which there was a great sense of reverence, awe, and devotion. Congregations were silent in its enactment, professing an individualistic piety, and using sentimental and devotional prayerbooks. Outside Ireland it might be said that Ireland had 'no love for common public prayer or song', but such criticism if intended to promote a more dynamic form of liturgical worship as a means of building up (numerically and spiritually) a parish community, foundered on the size and constancy of normal congregations. Without question, the Eucharist was a devotion, embellished by the popular extra-liturgical practices of First Friday communions of 'reparation', Forty Hours Devotion before the Blessed Sacrament, Holy Hours, Rosary, Exposition, Litany, and Benediction (these latter, in particular in May and October, were months especially associated with devotions to Our Lady, the Queen of Heaven, the Blessed Virgin).

Pius X's encouragement of more frequent communion had a favourable response, but not so much in the Sunday parish Mass, as in the monthly communion of the sodalities and confraternities. And there were the great outdoor public devotions and mortifications: the pilgrimages to Croagh Patrick 'mountain', and Knock shrine, the Corpus Christi, and May processions, the Rosary rallies of 1954, and above all the Eucharistic Congress of 1932. Describing the moment of the consecration in the final Mass, O'Callaghan wrote:

> One million persons with lowered heads beat one million breasts, two million eyes charged with Faith yearningly gazed upon the Altar on which the Eucharistic Christ had just descended. 72

Such concentration of passive devotion was described by Fernard Cabrol even before the Congress, in 1930, as a 'fortified citadel, hostile to change'. And ten years earlier James McNamee had written of 'Our silent congregations' to whom any one Mass was just the same as another, as they told their beads, read their Prayers At Mass, and meditated on the Passion. Despite (or because of) these practices, critical commentators observed as McNamee did, 'that there are no people who evince so much reluctance to active participation in church functions as our Irish people'.[73] Commentators then looked for reasons and pointed to the penal times which though long past were glorified in legend, and simulated in acts of mortification; to geographical and cultural isolation; and probably most importantly, to a desire to assert independence on all levels, and in all aspects, of Irish society.

But commentators were also noting that despite the packed churches a just life style was not emerging in the new Ireland, and that there was an apparently effortless lapsation amongst emigrants - including those to England.

> Packed churches are of little significance if there is not a correspondingly intense Catholic life outside them - both private and social; frequent communions are denied their proper fruit unless they cement a living bond between parishioners, between the social grades and functions, between priest and people. How real is a practice of the Faith that lapses without effort in an alien land across the seas? 74

In the 1950s lapsation was becoming of increasing concern in Ireland as it had been earlier in other countries of Europe and North America that had become industrialised, and affected by social reorganisation, political

aspiration, technological innovation, and the fostering of mass cultural appetites. Faced with this problem, and a desire to affirm traditional Irish values, it seemed inevitable to certain perceptive members of the Church in Ireland, that a sociological appraisal was called for, and priests and laity attended lectures on liturgical topics organised by the Dublin Institute of Sociology. The growing realisation was, that what was needed was a renewed sacramental and pastoral theology; a theology that related to the material and social life of Catholics as they lived their life in the world. And clearly central to such a realisation was the liturgy as understood by the Liturgical Movement. So in 1954 in the Benedictine abbey of St Columba, Glenstal, (founded in 1927 from Maredsous in Belgium) the monks, with the patronage of the Archbishop of Cashel, took the initiative of holding a Liturgical Congress.

Before the 1954 initiative, and as in England, a liturgical awakening had first begun in the sphere of liturgical music, following the papal encyclicals of 1903 and 1928. From the end of the nineteenth century, efforts were made at Ireland's principal seminary at Maynooth, and through the Cecilean Society, to promote Gregorian plainsong. In the 1920s and 1930s Glenstal organised summer schools, conferences and music festivals, and the teaching of plain chant was taken up by the convents and schools. (Competitions were even included in the Feis Ceoil - an annual festival of the living heritage of Irish music). These led to 'Liturgical Festivals' normally comprising '2-3000 children singing the Missa de Angelis in the morning, an afternoon of competitions, and ending with solemn Benediction with the Bishop giving an address'. But it would seem that these activities were confined, and rarely influenced parish worship.

As elsewhere the promotion of the ideals of the Liturgucal Movement was dependent on certain individuals, but always subject to official approval -

whether editorial or episcopal. Edward Long, correspondent from 1933 to 1942 of The Irish Ecclesiastical Record welcomed the Dialogue Mass, though his successor was less enthusiastic. To the founder-editor of The Furrow, Dr J G McGarry (d1977) however must be primarily attributed the most regular and widespread promotion of the liturgical renewal. From its inception in 1950 it gave special attention to preaching, pastoral theology, liturgy, sacred art and architecture.

Another parish priest, John Fennelly, based his plea for active participation on low Mass, the 'de facto' Mass of the people.

> The low Mass is likely to become the normal way of worship in public churches, but it will be a service accompanied by some form of common prayer and simple community singing. It will be a service in which all as a body can take part.

For him, and many others, it was time to stop using the penal times as an excuse, to lay the 'ghost of silence' that persisted in haunting Irish churches. In order to encourage active participation he edited a Children's Mass Book (later The People's Mass Book) (1952), and published Towards the Liturgy and The Mass and the People (1956).

In 1956 when the completely restored Holy Week Ordo was introduced, many were taking a full part in the ceremonies for the first time, and to several observers there was a manifestation of faith not witnessed since the Eucharistic Congress of 1932.[75] To others the situation by the early 1960s seemed less well developed. O'Connell observed that the Instruction on Music and Liturgy (1958) had not been implemented;[76] and Canon McGarry was offering a possible explanation as to why the Liturgical Movement was 'but poorly understood and little advanced in Ireland':

> Perhaps as a movement of extrinsic origin, the liturgical movement seems to our countrymen too little concerned about essential matters, too little in key with Irish piety, with its personal, eucharistic and ascetic ethos. 77

Yet despite such expressions of discontent from those with a deep commitment to, and high expectation of, the Liturgical Movement, the initial and subsequent twenty annual Congresses were influential and formative, in the process of liturgical renewal in Ireland. The combination of the substantial Benedictine liturgical tradition with the high standard of the papers, workshops, and discussions, which always included one member of the Glenstal community,[78] and one foreign expert,[79] resulted in an informed, and patient promotion of a measure of acceptance that was particularly required after the Vatican Council. The Congresses did not confine themselves to purely theological aspects of the liturgy; they were invariably concerned with pastoral practice. In particular, they recognised the vital relationship of liturgy and architecture, and by encouraging architects to attend and speak, and by promoting exhibitions, there was created a nucleus of clergy and architects who became both involved in the study of the practical application of the liturgy, and capable, because of their understanding of the theological principles, of building churches which fulfilled the spirit, as well as the letter, of the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy of Vatican II.[80]

The theme for the first Congress was 'The Liturgy' (1954); and of subsequent Congresses up to the eve of Vatican II : 'The Lord's Day' (1955), 'Baptism' (1956), 'The Liturgy and Death' (1957), 'The Eucharist' (1958), 'Holy Week' (1959), 'The Liturgy and the Sick' (1960), 'Participation in the Mass' (1961), and 'Our Churches - The Liturgy and Church Architecture' (1962). Papers given at the 1962 Congress were: 'Liturgical Principles for Church Architecture' (Placid Murray O.S.B.), 'The Study of Church Design' (Wilfrid Cantwell), 'Liturgy, Devotions and Church Interiors' (Joseph Cunnane), 'Priest, Architect and Community' (Austin Flannery O.P.), 'Priest, Architect and

Community' (W H D McCormick), 'The Artist's Role' (James White), 'Liturgy and Church Architecture' (Gerard and Lawrence McGonville), 'Modern Church Architecture' (Urban Rapp O.S.B.).

1974 was the last year of the Glenstal Congresses. Initiatives for promoting the liturgical renewal, and Christian formation in the liturgy, passed to the Institute for Pastoral Liturgy, which was established in the same year.[81] Its 1980-81 syllabus indicates the breadth of considerations a mature understanding of liturgy should take into account. Principal areas of specialisation are: the Church at Prayer, the Eucharist, the Sacraments, the Theology of Liturgy. And related areas include: scripture, theology, psychology and sociology of worship, anthropology, sources and history of liturgy, the liturgical year, music, art, architecture, indigenisation of worship, the Eastern rites, ecumenism, liturgy and the child, harmony in communication, creative expression in liturgy, and practical skills in celebration,

In the field of liturgical art and architecture, an Advisory Committee on Sacred Art and Architecture of the Episcopal Liturgical Commission was formed shortly after the setting up of the Commission under the presidency of Archbishop Cunnane, and the chairmanship of Canon McGarry, in 1965. This advisory body grew out of the Church Exhibitions Committee of the Royal Institute of the Architects of Ireland, which was formed in 1956 and dissolved in 1968.[82]

In England and Wales no national advisory body for liturgical art and architecture was established until 1977, and then only as a belated implementation of an uncertain recommendation of the episcopal body that reviewed the national Commissions of the Bishops' Conference of England

and Wales, in 1971.[83] Ironically it was in 1977, at the Low Week meeting of the Bishops' Conference, that a suggestion to form an agency similar to the Council for Places of Worship (now once again the Council for the Care of Churches) was rejected on the grounds that 'the care of the historical and artistic patrimony of the Church in each diocese is a matter for the individual diocesan bishop'. However the Department of Art and Architecture of the Liturgy Commission did not regard a concern for patrimony as being its sole remit. Rather since its inception has it sought to operate on a broad front of concerns, but primarily that of promoting an understanding of 'place' as being integral to an understanding of liturgy. And in that endeavour it has come to realise that there is a great complexity of issues arising from the Liturgical Movement.

Footnotes

1. Seemingly the Ordo Missae of 1498 (from which the rubrics of the Roman Missal are derived) gave detailed directions for the active sharing of the people in the Mass rite, but the first printed edition of the Roman Missal published in 1474, and the first official edition of 1570 are almost entirely silent on the subject. Cf O'Connell J B Active Sharing In Public Worship (1964) p10

2. Eg in the sixteenth century Witzel in Germany; in the eighteenth century the attempts in France which became confused with Jansenism. Cf Ibid

3. Source of reference unrecorded

4. Cf Warner M Alone Of All Her Sex (The Myth And The Cult Of The Virgin Mary) (1978) p312

5. Eg in 1905 he issued a decree recommending daily Communion; a year later he further recommended children's Communion.

6. Cf La Maison-Dieu Nos 47-8 (1956) IV p107 Also Benoit J D Liturgical Renewal (1958) p69-70 Mercier promoted the Thomist revival. In the 1920s he was the leading R.C. at the 'Malines Conversations' held informally between Anglicans and Catholics. Beauduin was involved in the 'Conversations'; he formulated the principle 'The Anglican Church united to Rome not absorbed'. Pope John XIII (whose initiative Vatican II was) when patriarch of Venice, and after contact with Beauduin when Papal Nuncio to France, said: 'The true method of working for the reunion of the Churches is that of Dom Beauduin'. Beauduin was also responsible for a rapprochement with the Eastern Churches. From 1925 he edited Irenikon.
At the 1914 Malines Congress Beauduin presented four desiderata: (1) That the Roman Missal be translated and used as the principal literary source of devotion and catechesis; (2) that all popular piety should become more liturgical; (3) that Gregorian chant should be fostered, according to the Pope's desires; (4) that choir members should be encouraged to make annual retreats 'in some centre of liturgical life such as a Benedictine abbey'.

7. Cf Bouyer L Life And Liturgy (1954 Eng tr 1956) p63

8. Cf Winzen Dom D 'Progress And Tradition In Maria Laach Art' Liturgical Arts X (1941) p20

9. In 1928 when Guardini was chaplain of the 'Quickborn' youth movement, Schwarz collaborated with him in the first recorded modern setting for 'Mass in the round' at Schloss Rothenfels

10. Cf Herwegen I The Art-Principle of the Liturgy (1916) tr Busch W The Liturgical Press, Collegeville, Minnesota (1931) Obtaining a copy in England proved particularly difficult. Photocopies were eventually obtained simultaneously from West Germany and the USA.

11. The Abbey of Beuron was noted in the nineteenth century for a certain archeological style of decorating churches (cf later chapter on cultural issues). It was the mother house of the abbeys of Maria Laach; Mont Cesar, Louvain (locus of Dom Beauduin); and Maredsous (mother house of Glenstal Abbey, Co. Limerick)

12. In 1956 St Lawrence church at Munich-Gern was completed for Heinrich Kahlefeld to designs by Steffann and Siegfried Ostreicher. It was a development of the house churches he had first designed in 1938 for the German Diaspora and published in the Schildgenossen but had not been permitted to build. And it was the precursor of the more celebrated church of St Maria in den Benden at Dusseldorf-Wersten which he designed with Klaus Rosiny in 1959

13. Cf 1 Corinthians 1, 17-25; 2,7

14. Cf Koenker E B The Liturgical Renaissance In The Roman Catholic Church (1954) p87 and p104 Koenker, a Lutheran theologian, regarded the Mysterien-theologie of Casel a further continuation of the aggravating Tridentine denial of the once-and-for-all character of the historic sacrifice of Christ. Also, its association with pagan mysteries and primitive Christianity presented difficulties in promoting it as a living pastoral theology. In Catholic circles, it was rejected by Klauser and Jungmann, but was sympathetically received by Guardini. In England its content was the substance of Liturgy and Life (1937) by Dom Theodor Wesseling; and was 'explored and expounded' in Liturgy & Doctrine (1960) by Charles Davis. According to Bouyer and Chrichton 'the papal encyclical of 1947 Mediator Dei contained Casel's 'statement of thought' (Cf n72)

15. Cf Colossians 1,20

16. Cf Ephesians 1,9-10

17. Cf L'Annee Liturgique (1841-66) a devotional commentary of nine volumes on the cycle of the liturgical year. It was an early attempt to re-establish the supremacy of the calendar of the Christian year over the precedence that saints' and other feast days, had gained on Sundays

18. Koenker (1954) op cit p10

19. Leo XIII Aeterni Patris (1879) Papal encyclical commending to the Church the philosophy and works of St Thomas Aquinas

20. Crichton J D 'The Dawn' English Catholic Worship: Liturgical Renewal In England Since 1900 ed Crichton, Winstone, Ainslie (hereafter ed C.W.A.) (1979) pp27-28

21. In Germany a Liturgical Institute was not opened until 1947 - at Trier; and not until 1950 was the first Liturgical Congress held - at Frankfurt. In America the first Liturgical Day was held in 1929; and the first Liturgical Week in 1940

22. p99 Cf Napier C 'The Altar In The Contemporary Church' Clergy Review (8/1972) p631 Also Napier C 'What Is A Church For' Churchbuilding No6 (4/1962) p4

23. Eg saying of the Rosary; Stations of the Cross; Benediction; Exposition; Sacred Heart of Jesus

24. 'All that is by its nature 'private' prayer (meditation and devotion) are in common, while all that is per se public worship (breviary and Mass) is performed individually and in private.' Koenker (1954) op cit p62

25. Cf Benoit (1958) p82

26. Eg in England certain musicians feeling restricted by the limited pursuit of Gregorian plainchant as promoted by the Society of St Gregory, in 1955 formed themselves into the Church Music Association of the Society of St Gregory, under the directorship of John Michael East. For a useful conspectus of developments in liturgical music cf Ainslie J 'English Liturgical Music Before Vatican II' and 'English Liturgical Music Since The Council' ed C.W.A. (1979)

27. Others include: the International Institute of Liturgical Art (founded 1954 by Vittorino Veronese); the Grail (founded in 1920 in the Netherlands); the Academy of Christian Art (founded in 1929 and dissolved in 1946 in Ireland); the Guild of Catholic Artists and Craftsmen (founded in 1929 in England) - later known as the Society of Catholic Artists; the Societe Internationale des Artiste Chretienne.
A similar problem arose in the visual arts in the nineteenth century with the art first fostered at the Benedictine abbey of Beuron, and later more thoroughly promoted by the daughter abbey of Maria Laach, by Dom Desiderius Lenz. Maurice Denis (the French Nabis painter, and disciple of Jacques Maritain) regarded this art as corresponding to 'the renaissance of the liturgy, and... parallel to the reform affected by the Gregorian chant'. Cf Roulin E Modern Church Architecture (1947) p817

28. Cf Roulin (1947) p684 & p542

29. Orate Fratres Vol XXII (18/4/1948) No6 p267f

30. Account of this attitude should be borne in mind in reference to the following outline of liturgical attitudes in Ireland itself. It is a persistent view that the Roman Catholic Church in England and Wales is the Irish Church. Eg cf Murphy M The Roman Catholic Church (1977) p12

31. Cf Yorke M Eric Gill: Man of Flesh and Spirit (1981)

32. Sacred and Secular (1940) p143

33. Published to mark the jubilee of the founding of the Society of St Gregory in 1929

34. N.B. his Ceremonies of the Roman Rite Described (1917)

35. N.B. his Lex Orandi (1903) the last of his books to receive an Imprimatur. He stressed an anti-Scholasticism and a preference for experiential aspects of religion. In 1908 he bitterly attacked the neo-Thomism promoted by Cardinal Mercier. A convert to the R.C. Church, and a Jesuit, he was suspended from the order, and was refused Catholic burial

36. Cf Abercrombie N The Life and Work of Edmund Bishop (1959)

37. NB his edited The Roman Missal (1920) and Dictionnaire d'Archeologie Chretienne et de Liturgie (1903-53) with Henri Leclercq (d1945) Both were members of the French Benedictine community at Farnborough Abbey

38. A scholar with a deep pastoral commitment NB <u>The Mind of the Missal</u> written for the non-specialist; his assistance with the establishment of the Catholic Workers' College at Oxford (1921); his three 'Little Eucharistic Plays' for children written for the Liturgical Week programme presented in Birmingham from 28-31 October 1935; and his radio broadcasts

39. He built up 'The Sower Scheme' (later the Birmingham Archdiocesan Scheme) which replaced the learning of the Catechism by rote in the schools, and any other form of regimentation of religion. Liturgy was an essential part of 'learning by doing'. His work laid much of the foundation of post-Conciliar catechetics in England and Wales

40. Benedictine monk of Ampleforth Abbey, and much revered founder of the Society of St Gregory Cf Crichton J D 'Dom Bernard McElligott OSB 1890-1971' ed C.W.A. (1979) p153f In the middle 1930s he was chaplain to the Eric Gills

41. Cf following commentary

42. Peripatetic animator of the liturgical renewal in the British Isles. Cf following commentary

43. Exhibited great pastoral concern for the poor not feeling excluded from the new cathedral at Westminster. However his desire to have a Benedictine community at the cathedral to maintain a high liturgical standard, was thwarted, because the order did not wish to be confined to the sanctuary, but wished to engage in pastoral work: a condition that the Cardinal did not accept because of a fear of provoking the secular clergy

44. Supporter of Fr Drinkwater's catechetical scheme, and of the establishment of the 'Birmingham Archdiocesan Liturgical Commission', apparently the only diocesan commission of that kind in the British Isles prior to Vatican II

45. The first patron of the Society of St Gregory. Noted for his war-time radio broadcasts, and for an ecumenical openness demonstrated in his support of the 'Sword and the Spirit' movement, founded 'for the exposition and upholding of Christian principles in national and international life'

46. Gosling himself was an editor, of <u>The Sower</u>

47. Until circa 1958 Dialogue Mass was forbidden in six dioceses, allowed occasionally in four, and given varied support in the remaining eight

48. Other pastoral liturgists who had also been chaplains include Romano Guardini, and Pius Parsch; John Drinkwater and Clifford Howell

49. Cf Entry under Gosling Samuel <u>New Catholic Encyclopaedia</u> (1967) Vol VI

50. Cf ed C.W.A. (1979) p4n7

51. Ibid p9

52. Ibid p11

53. Ibid p13 & p14

54. Ibid p4 n7

55. Founded by Dominic Plater SJ with the assistance of Cyril Martindale SJ. (Later known as Plater College)

56. The response in the British Isles primarily comprised the founding of the 'Legion of Mary' in 1921 in Ireland. The 'Grail Movement' was founded in Holland in 1929 and became established in England in 1932.

57. The 'Young Christian Workers' or 'Jocists' founded in the early 1920s by Abbe Cardijn of Mont-Cesar Abbey, Louvain

58. Cf de l'Hopital W Westminster Cathedral and Its Architect (1919) Vol 1 p260

59. In his fear of Communism Pius XI had entered into a Concordat with Hitler in 1933. Repeated breaches of the Concordat and the rise of neo-paganism lead him to denounce Nazism in the famous German encyclical of 1937 Mit Brennender Sorge: With Burning Anxiety

60. At the Restoration of the Hierarchy in 1850 Cardinal Wiseman promoted Ultramontane devotions and attracted criticism from the surviving Old Catholic families and supporters

61. In 1907 Pius X issued the decree Lamentabili and the encyclical Pascendi. followed by his motu proprio in 1910 Sacrorum Antistitum imposing on clergy an anti-Modernist oath, as he regarded Modernism as the 'synthesis of all the heresies'

62. No doubt fears of mass apostasy such as happened in Spain in 1931 lay behind these reservations

63. O'Connell (1964) pp11-12

64. For a brief introduction to the work of these commissions cf Gy P M 'The Constitution in the Making' Liturgy: Renewal and Adaptation ed Flannery A (1964/65/66/68)

65. Spode House, Rugeley, Staffordshire, has been a significant meeting place for those interested in pastoral liturgy, and not only clergy. It was also notable for its Visual Arts Weeks which began in 1953, and from which both the New Churches Research Group, and the Institute for the Study of Worship and Religious Architecture in the University of Birmingham, could be said to have emerged. Its Warden was Conrad Pepler OP (retired 1981), son of Hilary Pepler, a member of the Ditchling community associated with Eric Gill.

66. Cf ed C.W.A. (1979) p72

67. Commissioned by Bishop Gordon Wheeler of Leeds, then chairman of the National Liturgical Commission for England and Wales

68. For much of the following, an indebtedness is due to Fr Paddy Jones of Dublin for providing abstracts of his unpublished study of Irish Traditions and Liturgical Renewal from 1903 to 1962 prepared for the Liturgical Institute of San Anselmo, Rome (1977)

69. Koenker (1954) p17

70. Botte B Le Mouvement Liturgique (1973)

71. Cf O'Floinn D 'Integral Irish Tradition' Furrow (12/1954)

72. O'Gallaghan J The Eucharistic Triumph (1933) p22f

73. NcNamee J J 'Our Silent Congregations' The Irish Ecclesiastical Record (1920)

74. Breen C OSB 'Glenstal Liturgical Congress' Liturgical Arts (8/1951) p90

75. MacReamoinn S Furrow (6/1956)

76. O'Connell J B 'The Liturgical Movement in Great Britain and Ireland' supplement to Jungmann J SJ Liturgical Renewal pp43-45

77. McGarry J G Liturgical Arts (8/1961)

78. Abbot Joseph Dowdall in 1956 and 1957; Placid Murray in other years

79. Eg Johannes Wagner, Clifford Howell SJ, J B O'Connell, Balthasar Fischer, Herman Schmidt SJ, J A Jungman SJ, Charles Davis.

80. For additional information indebtedness is due to Wilfrid Cantwell for permission to refer to an unpublished paper 'Modern Churches in Ireland' given at Tuam, Co Galway, in 1974

81. Under the directorship of Fr Sean Swayne a graduate of the Institut de Pastorale Liturgique, Paris (1966). In 1972 while on the staff of St Patrick's College, Carlow, Co Kildare, he established a 'liturgical information centre' for the diocese of Kildare and Leighlin. In 1973 he was appointed Secretary of the Episcopal Liturgical Commission of Ireland. In 1974 the Pastoral Liturgy Institute was formed from the pilot project in Carlow, and moved to the convent of the Presentation Sisters at Mount St Annes, near Portlaoise. In 1978 it moved back to the College at Carlow

82. Following Canon McGarry's death in 1977 Bishop Cahal Daly of Ardagh and Clonmacnoise (Longford) has been chairman of the Committee for Sacred Art and Architecture

83. Cf Commissions: Aid to a Pastoral Strategy (1971) pp16-17

84. Cf Living Liturgy: A Report to the Bishops of England and Wales compiled by Fr A Boylan JCD (1981) Following this report, and with the proposal that was made by delegates to the National Pastoral Congress at Liverpool in 1980, the formation of an Institute for Pastoral Liturgy was agreed in principle by the Bishops' Conference of England and Wales at its meeting in November 1981

Chapter Three

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Issues Arising From The Liturgical Movement

During the period under review the universal and radical changes to Roman Catholic worship have been associated with a programme of reform and renewal initiated by the Second Vatican Council in its Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy promulgated in 1963. But, as has been shown, a programme had been developing for some fifty years before the Council. In 1948 it entered a new phase initiated by Pius XII, adding impetus to a world-wide spread of the liturgical apostolate - even to those European countries where it had scarcely penetrated. The intiative taken by the Pope was to establish a commission to completely overhaul the liturgy. It followed his major encyclical on Catholic worship, Mediator Dei et Hominum: Between God and Man, promulgated in 1947, in which there was an essential clue for his action: the unifying and healing effect of the liturgy in the restoration of 'peace among nations'.[1] It was his desire that 'the celebration of the liturgy in missionary contexts, whether in the dechristianised West or the newly evangelized civilisations',[2] would lead to the forming of 'one community of brothers', which though many in number would 'share the same bread'.[3]

Mediator Dei was written as a directive for the efforts that were being made to regain a fuller understanding of the traditional prayer and worship of the Church. In particular, and most importantly, it endeavoured to restate the nature of worship in the context of contemporary mores and cultures. Throughout, it adopted a sincere but authoritative mediating attitude, which far from presenting a sense of uncertainty, set into play a constructive debate that included liturgical, cultural, and social issues - but primarily liturgical. There was a duty to maintain a unity of aim and practice in the liturgical 'revival' between those who were

ignorant of the liturgy, or its pastoral potential, and those who were too fond of innovation, or repristination, and lacked prudence, or a real perception of its exact nature and meaning. These concerns have been criticised as attempts to circumscribe the Liturgical Movement; yet they have also been regarded as showing 'restraint' in comparison to the 'permissiveness' of Vatican II, which 'stood the Church on its head' fifteen years later. Certainly by the mid 1940s the formative phase of the Movement was coming to a head; in the moral and cultural rehabilitation of Europe, and in particular, of Germany, the Church had a recognised important role to play, and the Movement possessed just such a pastoral objective, and programme. What Mediator Dei did was to provide a strategic summary of the Movement, and a focus of co-ordination for its future development.

A number of issues affecting the rationale of post-war church-building design arise from the concerns dealt with by Mediator Dei, and several of these are selected for discussion in the following commentary.

Repristination

Opponents of the Liturgical Movement were critical of the efforts to repristinate the liturgy; they saw it as having a concern only for 'archeologism' (ie for historical pastiche), or for 'ritualism' (ie for external lustre). They regarded it as being incumbent on no one 'arbitrarily to repristinate previously developed usages of the ancient Church'.[4] But other critics felt that it did not go back far enough beyond the fourth and fifth centuries, which for the Movement, were the Springtime years of the Church, its Golden Age - not the Gothic era of the Ecclesiologists.

In Mediator Dei Pius XII voiced his own fears of liturgical archeologism:

> The liturgy of the early ages is worthy of veneration; but an ancient custom is not to be considered better, either in itself or in relation to later times and circumstances, just because it has the flavour of antiquity. More recent liturgical rites are also worthy of reverence and respect, because they too have been introduced under the guidance of the Holy Ghost, who is with the Church in all ages even to the consummation of the world. 5

The fear was that an attempt to revert to primitive practices would deny the Church her history, and therefore a continuance of God's promise of salvation.[6] The Catholic tradition was not to be thought of as a thing of the past, fixed for all time, never to change or progress. Nor was it to be regarded as being changeable at the whim of individuals, or even of arbitrary authority. Rather was it the patterning of a living history according to a model first determined by Christ and the Apostles.[7] Mediator Dei warned of the dangers of both a false traditionalism and a rash modernism, and of the need to seek a via media. Not even the Council of Trent had imposed a permanent and inflexible liturgy on the Church. The Church was a living communion, hierarchically ordered, with a tradition that embodied a living liturgy reciprocating between an authoritative aspect (magisterium), and a prophetic aspect (life), regulated by the Holy See and all the Bishops, and described by Pius XII as 'the source and centre of true Christian devotion'.[8]

The liturgy was (and is) regarded by the Church to be the most perfect vehicle for the maintenance of the Christian and Apostolic tradition.[9] But in the progress of the liturgy, it seemed that history had closed in behind the 'Golden Age' and the Liturgical Movement wished to clear and correct the accretions, encroachments, and deviations, by dismantling the apparatus of rubrics and pious practices erected by canonists, rubricists, dogmatic theologians, and missioners, subsequent to the sixteenth century, as a bastion to preserve the promulgations of Trent. For those committed to the Movement there was an urgent desire to restore

to their pristine glory the primitive forms of Christian worship not for reasons of a dilettante antiquarianism, but in order to experience them anew.

Yet the Liturgical Movement did not seek a return to the Middle-Ages, which were regarded as far from demonstrating an ideal understanding and practice of the liturgy, having overlaid it with fanciful allegory. Not surprisingly this view (primarily associated with Herwegens) was looked upon with some apprehension as it was generally accepted that the Middle-Ages were the Christian era *par excellence*. Such had been the unquestioning assumption of Gueranger (and Pugin). But the contention was that 'the mediaeval period in fact paved the way for the abandonment of the liturgy by Protestantism, and its final disgrace and neglect in so much of post-Tridentine Catholicism'.[10] The fundamental error of the Middle Ages, when compared to Christian antiquity, was (according to Herwegens) their turning from an objective, to a subjective, piety.

Objective and Subjective Piety

Popular subjective piety dwells on the perfection of the self as essential to the work of personal salvation. In the presence of the all knowing, the all perfect, and the all powerful, the individual has no option but to confess self-abregation, and worship is a constant turning in upon oneself, a self-centred aspiration of moral perfection by rigorous spiritual discipline. Underlying this piety is the unconscious assumption that we can and must work out our own salvation; a sort of 'hidden Pelagianism'. Christianity becomes an institutionalised system of moralizing constraints with the object of developing a personal spiritual conceit.

In the liturgy Herwegens maintained, there was a sole objectivity in its

efficacy ex opere operato (ie 'inherent in the action performed'). But Pius XII was adamant in stating that there should be no opposition between objective and subjective devotion, and that there was a complementary efficacy which is ex opere operantis Ecclesiae (ie 'due to the merit or personal devotion of the agent').[11] Bouyer too, considered that a more authentic way of returning to tradition would be to rediscover 'the inherent and mutual relation of the 'subjective' and 'objective' in piety'. He also censured the 'fanciful exaltation' of the Middle Ages by Gueranger, and of the Patristic period by Casel and Herwegens.

> It is a hopeless effort to bring back to life the men and the Christendom of the first ten centuries, as if only these men and the Church of that era could rightly understand and practise the Catholic liturgy, and therefore we must try to substitute them for the men and the Church of today. Were this true, it could hardly matter which historical period was used as a norm for such a hopeless endeavour! For if the stubborn rejection of the Church and of the world as they are today were held to be the necessary preliminary to any authentic liturgical renaissance, this fact in itself would certainly constitute the most perfect condemnation of that renaissance. 12

Objectivity, Archeologism, and the Art of Beuron

As being symptomatic of the dangers of archeologism, Bouyer cited the liturgical art of the Benedictine abbey of Maria-Laach. He regarded it as being 'among the most astounding blunders produced by any Christian aesthetics ... not by reason of a defective technique, but blunders committed solemnly and on principle'.[13] Its hieratic style was criticised as being a bogus Byzantinism; an 'abortion, dead at the very moment of birth'; worse even than any sham Gothic. It was one thing to recognise a period in the history of the Church when theology, Christian art, and the life of the Church, all coincided as an expression of a deeper inner conviction; but it was another to try to recreate the externals of such a period in an attempt to engender a similar conviction.

In fact what the art of Maria-Laach and its mother house of Beuron sought

to embody was objectivity and dogma, devoid of the sentimental, the sensual, and the moralizing; it was a search for a parallel to the formal perfection and spiritual content, of Gregorian music. In a deChristianised nineteenth century Europe, there was a general awareness of a need to reassess Christian culture in the light of developments outside the Church; and that new culture in the light of Christian principles. The art of Maria-Laach was part of a greater move to rediscover the primitive ideal, both in terms of image and artefact, and in the social and technical means of production. Its own history was associated at its beginning with the Nazarenes (the 'German PreRaphaelites'),[14] and later with Les Nabis[15] in France, and the Secessionists[16] in Austria. The formation of an ideological brotherhood of artists, but one that would place its talents at the service of the Church, had been the desire of the founder of the art of Maria Laach. Instead a cloistered brotherhood formed his ideal art community, and like similar contemporary but secular, experiments,[17] it contained elements that made it vulnerable to criticisms of elitism and esotericism.[18] Yet it was undoubtedly elite in its ideals, and esoteric in its forms; in particular it was associated with the canonisation of the ideal 'to place at the service of great theological ideas the basic shapes, of a geometric and aesthetic nature, of which God made use in creating His universe'.[19] What in effect was sought was an art that was architectural in its principles, and possessed a spiritual repose. Surprisingly it was not the art of the early Church that was chosen as the ideal model but the art of preChristian Egypt.[20] This esoteric choice was accepted in its Christian usage, though its canons were never allowed to be published, and were abandoned after 1928. But in 1913, at the completion of the scheme for the crypt of the abbey of Monte Cassino,[21] Pius X congratulated the art of Maria-Laach for having returned Christian art to the purity of its origins; it was 'un' arte tutta cristiana'.[22]

Corporate Worship

The nature of the Christian community, in particular the community assembled for worship, was one of the issues that arose in Mediator Dei. In the struggle to conceive a more organic and communal Church, rationalist individualism, and nominalism (that denied the reality of universal concepts) were severely attacked. Romanticism in the nineteenth century had influenced a new Catholic appreciation for tradition, and communal life. The concept of the Church as a kingdom that had prevailed since the Council of Trent, had been first critically commented on by the early nineteenth century theologian J A Moehler. Rather than the Church being shaped by a juridical structure, the preference was for an understanding of the inner spirit of its form. Instead of an externally imposed sovereign papacy, organisation was to be conceived much more in terms of the local Church centred on its bishop, and acting in collegial affinity with others.[23] The Church, it was held, was not a legal institution, nor merely a moral guide, nor only a proclaimer of Gospel and dogma,[24] but was the very manifestation of the divine life of Christ, especially when it was gathered around the altar as ecclesia orans.[25] To bring together priests and people in a more effective participation in worship, and pastoral ministry, was the aim of the Liturgical Movement.

That the liturgy had first to be 'disinterred' as a prerequisite to its being revitalised, was understood by only a few in England before 1947. Those that did, sought to emphasise the centrality of liturgy to the Christian life as a means of combating community disintegration; and to the supreme centrality of the altar as the sign and seal of each community. While there were those who were scandalised at the 'leakage' from the Church, particularly of the working class, and that Christianity had become the religion of the few (particularly 'the respectable and well-to-do'),

there were leading figures of the Movement itself who favoured a 'qualitative Christianity', and the promotion of a parish elite. Most however, favoured a reduction in the size of parishes (to 'one thousand souls') in order to engender greater identity, and a more effective cellular concept of pastoral mission and evangelisation.[26] And there was a growing realisation that the old territorial concept of the parish was becoming outmoded because of greater social mobility, and that pastoral work was more likely to be effective in factories, hospitals, education, and prisons. Such a realisation did not necessarily require the liturgy itself to become more pastoral, but there was a developing conviction that it should. And what that meant was that the liturgy was increasingly regarded as being for the more explicit benefit of all members of the Church, and so should not be enacted without them being present.

The view that the Mass was only fully efficient when the faithful were present was allied to the view that there was no distinction in kind between priest and people - only in function and responsibility; the priest acting only in virtue of the function and responsibility delegated to him by the community. These views were symptomatic of a regard for the Mass as an actual 'concelebration' at which priests assisted with the people. Not surprisingly there was opposition stressing the _ex opere operato_ character of the ministerial priesthood. An opposition based on Tridentine anti-Lutheran legislation, that derived not so much from the stress Luther had placed on a lay-priesthood, as on what he had denied holy orders.[27]

Pius XII did not deny the desirability of the faithful being present, and communicating, but he regarded it as a 'false doctrine that would lead a priest to celebrate unless the faithful come to Communion; and it is

still worse to ground this view - that the faithful must necessarily communicate together with the priest - on the sophistical contention that the Mass besides being a Sacrifice is also the banquet of a community of brethren: and that the general Communion of the faithful is to be regarded as the culminating point of the whole celebration'.[28] The social character of the Eucharist was inherent in its very significance and enactment by the priest regardless of whether the faithful were present or absent, because it was 'in no way necessary that the people should ratify what has been done by the sacred minister'.[29]

The concerns of the Liturgical Movement, and those of Luther, were not identical though, as the Lutheran theologian, Ernst Koenker, pointed out:

> The Movement was concerned with relating the laity, through an hierarchical apostolate, more closely with the Mystical Body of Christ, and with the offering of the Divine Victim; Luther was concerned with stressing that all Christians are equally priests without the imposition of hands, and all are called to serve our fellow men by virtue of our faith in Christ (the 'priesthood of all believers'). [30]

So whilst it was not a sine qua non that the faithful should be present for the Mass to be socially beneficial, it was pastorally desirable that they should, in order to form the complete corpus of the Church; but being present the question had to be answered in what sense was the use of the plural in the prayer Orate Fratres to be interpreted:

> Pray, brethren, that my sacrifice and yours may become acceptable in the sight of God the Almighty Father. [31]

The official reply cited three 'remote' reasons by which the faithful were involved in the offering of the Mass: in assisting with a dialogue of prayers; in the ceremonial presentation of the bread and wine (the Offertory Procession); and in giving alms to provide for the practical needs of the Church.[32] Further cited were two 'proximate' reasons by

which the laity were involved: by their offering of oblation through the priest, and also in a certain sense of offering it with him[33] (viz: by joining his offering that would be made regardless of whether they were present).

In fact a major concession of Mediator Dei was a recognition of the qualified sense in which the faithful 'concelebrated' with the 'ministerial priesthood' through the 'common priesthood' of their baptism:

> By reason of their baptism Christians are in the Mystical Body and become by a common title members of Christ the Priest ... and therefore, according to their condition, they share in the priesthood of Christ Himself. 33a

These replies by Pius XII were complemented by those of commentators before and after its publication. In 1941 Jungmann formulated his 'graded' approach to the problem: the dignity and honour of the priesthood belonged first and foremost to Christ; secondly it belonged to the 'totality of those who compose his Mystical Body'.

> Only after that does the question come up, who within the community of the faithful, has a special share in the priestly function of Christ, who properly speaking is the organ through whom the community performs those acts for which a special power is necessary. And only then does the priest, who by the imposition of hands has received that special power, come to the fore. 34

And a further example is that of Bouyer's 'integrated' approach published in 1954. In dealing with the perception of Christ in his Church, he maintained that in addition to the sacramental bread and wine, Christ was to be perceived in 'the man who is to preside over the synaxis (assembly: the coming together)' as a result of the apostolic succession; and in the whole Church which is 'made one, in Christ and with Christ, through the Eucharistic celebration and especially through the consummation in the holy meal'.

> When these three realities of the divine presence are not seen in their right interrelation, they are seen falsely and misconceived - just as ... the whole celebration is not understood unless it is understood in all its constituent parts and their unity. 35

Concelebration

In addition to the issues arising from a reassessment of the relationship of the universal, and functional, priesthood, there was the allied issue of concelebration by priests themselves, which, it was maintained, 'split up the community and jeopardised its unity'.[36] Though Pius XII did show signs of favourably reviewing the doctrinal basis for this practice at the Liturgical Congress at Assisi,[37] Benoit reported the Pope affirming strongly the objective character of the Mass, and refuting the view that the celebration of a single Mass attended piously by a hundred priests is the equivalent of a hundred Masses celebrated by a hundred priests.

> In the light of the objective character of the Eucharistic sacrifice, one Mass cannot be equivalent to a hundred Masses, even if these hundred were each said by a priest on his own, and the single Mass were attended by an innumerable multitude. 38

The prevailing view was that the greater number of Masses gave greater glory to God and multiplied 'the measure of graces for men'. Concelebration emphasised the primacy of one altar, and reflected the reforming desire of the Liturgical Movement to insist on the Mass as a whole community celebration at the one altar. Not surprisingly the emphasis raised the spectre of Luther and his thunderings against the multiplicity of private Masses. By the mid 1950s the situation was becoming crucial with persistent, and often ingenious, attempts to solve the problem within existing legislation. Koenker cites the practice adopted at the national Liturgical Congress in Germany in 1950 as a result of a 'penetrating essay' written in 1949 by the Jesuit, Karl Rahner: Multiple Masses and the One Sacrifice.[39] Rather than celebrate Mass privately, priests attending

the Congress participated in a communal, choral Mass, and received communion from the hands of their bishops. In France the hierarchy seemingly found it necessary to intervene and regulate such 'community Masses', as they did also with 'the reading of the Epistle and Gospel in French, the audible recitation of the Prayers of the Canon, and a standing position (as opposed to kneeling) for receiving Communion'.[40]

Two personal reminiscences of the English liturgical scholar and parish priest, J D Crichton, serve to illustrate the state of affairs even further. In 1954 he witnessed a _synchronised_ concelebration at four altars in the midst of the choir at the Dominican priory of St Jacques, in Paris. And in 1953, whilst attending the International Congress on Liturgy at Lugano, Switzerland, he was present at a Mass conducted around an altar placed _facie versa populum_ (facing the people), the celebrant for which was Cardinal Ottaviani, chairman of the Supreme Congregation of the Holy Office - the successor to the Inquisition![41]

The Word

In 1956 at another International Liturgical Congress (in Assisi), Augustin Bea (later Cardinal), spoke of the pastoral value of the Word of God in the liturgy. He concluded in a reference to the 1943 Papal encyclical _Divino Afflatu Spiritu_, that 'every move to make the Scriptures better known, read, studied, and used, deserves our best praise, our full approval, and sincere encouragement'.[42] Recording his reaction the Protestant theologian, J D Benoit, was struck 'to hear Catholic theologians speaking today of the Word of God in terms that might be used by the sons of the Reformation ... '

> The Word of God is put on a level with the Eucharist itself. The spiritual bread of the holy word is considered as necessary to the life of the soul as is the bread of the Eucharist ... Fr Bea sees two tables set up in the Church. One is the table of the altar, on

> which is placed the consecrated bread, the precious body of Christ; the other is the table on which lies the holy book of God's Word. Today, he declares, the Sovereign Pontiff is concerned to lead the faithful laity also to the second table which the Lord has prepared for them. 43

From 1953 in England, Charles Davis as editor of the Clergy Review, introduced the notion of the 'real presence' of Christ in the Word in the liturgy. The Word was increasingly being regarded as 'pre-eminently revelatory of the meaning' of sacramental faith.[44] After having for long subordinated the Word to the Sacrament of the Eucharist, the Church was rediscovering the true value of the Word in Scripture, and in liturgical preaching, which was a continual making present of the living Word of Christ.[45] An inseparable link between Scripture and Eucharist and tradition was proving a fruitful stimulus to shifts in doctrinal attitudes and liturgical practice. The Word of God if it were not to be at the mercy of caprice, had never to be separated from the tradition in which its contents remained alive; only in a living tradition sustained by the Eucharist, could the Word of God be enlivened.[46] Like the Eucharist, the Word was continually 'renewed and made real'.

To give the Word such incarnational significance was a remarkable trend for modern Catholic theology. In the mid 1960s the American Dutch Reformed Church theologian Donald Bruggink, and architect Carl Droppers, were aware of the trend, but were critical of its imperfection:

> Rome simply cannot ever place predominant emphasis on preaching the Word, as do the Reformed, because for Rome Christ is not given in his very substance in preaching. In short, there is no transubstantiation in preaching, but only in the Mass. 47

But such criticism would seem to have little foundation if compared with Bouyer's view of a decade earlier, when emphasising the inseparable link between Scripture and the Eucharistic meal:

> For the readings lead up to the meal. They recall to memory God's action of entering into human history, redeeming it, and fulfilling it from within; while the meal itself commemorates the climax of this process in the Cross of Christ. And the meal needs the readings to point out to us the way to see it aright, not as a separate event of today, but understandable only in reference to a decisive action accomplished once and for all in the past. Such consideration will bring us in due time to see that the whole Mass is a single liturgy of the Word, Who began by speaking to man; Who continued speaking to him more and more intimately; Who finally spoke to him most directly in the Word-made-flesh; and Who now speaks from the very heart of man himself to God the Father through the Spirit. 48

The Use of the Vernacular

Understandably the Word of God for theologians meant a concern for words that expressed in comprehensible language, the faith and prayer of the Church; though there were those who recognised that faith and prayer is 'not declared in propositions ... but in the liturgy'[49] - which is a much more comprehensive employer of cultural forms, including those 'other than words'. Nevertheless, the use of the vernacular became an ever increasing requirement of those committed to the Liturgical Movement. The considerable value that was recognised in the use of the Missa Recitata and the Missa Cantata (ie the dialogue, and the sung, Mass), and of the use of more pastorally edited Missals, led to an increasing number of petitions to Rome for bilingual liturgical texts (and even trilingual as in the case of Ireland, and Scotland). English was permitted for the first time as a liturgical language for the profession of faith and the renewal of the baptismal promise in the revision of the Holy Week liturgy which came into use in 1956, and included the revision of the liturgy of Easter Eve introduced in 1951. From 1947 until shortly before the Vatican Council, vernacular Rituals were being approved for missionary countries, for the U.S.A., and in Europe for Austria, France, Germany, Ireland and finally England - which (according to Crichton) 'had less of the vernacular than any other!'[50]

The Liturgical Year

The reforms for the Holy Week liturgies introduced in the new Ordo of 1956[51] were part of the disinterment of the annual calendar of worship from its surfeit of saints' days, and of the intention to be able to trace more firmly the line that runs from Advent to Whitsuntide, through Christmas, Epiphany, Lent, Passiontide, Easter, and Paschaltide. A more liturgical calendar would thus be a sanctification of the natural year, and (with a revised breviary) the hours of the day. The Decretal on the Simplification of the Rubrics (1955) had heightened the problem of a conflict in the Roman calendar between the Propers of the Saints and 'abstract and systematic secrets' (eg the Holy Name of Jesus), and the Proper of Time. (The Proper is that part of the Mass and of festivals or season, which is variable, as opposed to the Common of the Mass, which is constant.) Any arising sense of incompatibility between the Eucharistic liturgy and paraliturgies that developed a pious and contemplative attitude to liturgical participation, was strongly opposed by Pius XII.[52] But by emphasising the need for authenticity, he stressed the absolute requirement for subjective piety to be complemented by proper authority in order not to 'hold religion up to ridicule and cheapen the dignity of worship'. Though there were grounds for reforming pious devotions, Mediator Dei strenuously defended the virtue of venerating the images and relics of saints, thus maintaining support indirectly for the retention of the Sanctoral year.[53] But for the Liturgical Movement, the Church's year was the progressive liturgical unfolding of the Mysterium, with Easter the original and supreme pivot, and each Sunday a 'little Easter', gathering the local Church week by week around the pivotal form of the altar.

The Altar : Tridentine Practice

The altar in the post-Tridentine Church had become an elaborate edifice subordinating its primary function to a secondary one. In St Charles Borromeo's Instructions[54] it was housed in the 'High Chapel', with a proliferation of lesser altars housed in minor chapels, and used for the veneration of saints and secrets in whose honour they had been erected - as well as providing the locus for the many stipendiary masses that had to be said, and for various sodalities and confraternities. In effect the sanctuary was the Chapel of the Blessed Sacrament; its purpose elaborately emphasised by the reredos that incorporated the altar at its base. At its centre was the tabernacle for the Blessed Sacrament, and above it was the permanent 'throne' for its Exposition, the 'loving gaze' of pious devotees unhindered by chancel screens, and heightened by a dread to honour that which they dare hardly eat, their thoughts dwelling on the human Jesus somehow still suffering in the Sacrament, the 'Divine Victim', and 'Divine Prisoner of the Tabernacle', who seemed to rise in the glory of his Resurrection when, at Exposition, the monstrance containing the Blessed Sacrament, was placed upon its throne. As Charles Davis noted: 'The design came to life not at Mass but at Benediction'.[55]

Though it might be somewhat adventitious,[56] an ex post facto rationalisation of post-Tridentine devotional practices could arrive at the view that the Blessed Sacrament was regarded as 'the relic par excellence'. Its authenticity could not be denied, and its permanent presence upon the high altar was the supreme authentication of the altar by which Christ was made authentically present in the Blessed Sacrament. It was a closed cycle, activated by the words and actions of the priest (the authenticity of which was regulated by rubrics and Canon Law), and not requiring the presence of the 'unauthorised' laity for its enactment, nor a concern for

its pastoral benefits other than could be obtained through passive observance, and pious compliance, by the faithful. The result was a near displacement of the liturgy by a surrogate form of endeavour called 'sacramental confection', which rendered private not just the Eucharist but the whole of the Church's liturgical system.[57] However it was in changes to the dynamic of Eucharistic worship that a major shift in sacramental theology promoted by the Liturgical Movement, would be most perceptibly and concretely evident; and central to those changes were those affecting the altar.

The Altar : Jansenist Practice

Changes to the altar which sought to simplify its form and the liturgy of which it was part, were anathema to official thinking, as they were too redolent of the 'many pernicious errors' of Jansenism. In Mediator Dei Pius XII repeated the condemnations of his eighteenth century predecessor Pius VI,[58] against the movement, which was very much a part of the 'Catholic Aufklärung' during the Age of Enlightenment. The 'errors' that it proposed for the liturgy included: one altar; the forbidding of the exposition of relics - and of the use of flowers; the condemnation of processions (of the Virgin and of the saints), of saying the Rosary, of the Stations of the Cross, of the cult of sacred images (especially the Sacred Heart of Jesus), of the celibacy of the clergy; and a minimalisation of the cult of the Blessed Sacrament. It also recommended the use of the vernacular language.

A description of a Jansenist liturgy[59] is remarkable for its similarity to external characteristics of the Liturgical Movement. The Curē Jube d'Asnieres (d1745)[59a] had only one altar which he called his 'Sunday altar' (because he claimed the Mass ought to be celebrated only on Sundays

and feast days); the altar was stripped bare outside of Mass; the processional cross was the only cross; there were congregational responses to the prayers said by the priest before the start of the Mass at the foot of the altar; the priest sat at the 'Epistle side' (right facing) and intoned the 'Gloria', the 'Credo', the Epistle, the Gospel, and read the Collect; he recited nothing belonging to other ministers or the choir; there was an offertory procession, which in addition to the bread and wine, included fruits of the season; the chalice was brought from the sacristy without a veil; the Offertory and the Canon of the Mass were recited aloud by priest and deacon. Thus through simplification of the visual elements and audibility of the spoken and sung word, the congregation was more able to participate. But Rome regarded it as a denial of tradition and central authority, and the practise of an ascetic and moral rigorism bordering on theological pessimism.

The Altar : Canon Law

Hampering attempts at new design principles for the architectural setting of liturgy during the development of the Liturgical Movement prior to Vatican II, was a preoccupation with reform within the law. Such works as The Sacramentary (Schuster 1924), The Liturgical Altar (Webb 1933), The Church Edifice and Its Appointments (Collins 1946), and Church Building and Furnishings: The Church's Way (O'Connell 1955), helped to guide the way through a complex of rubrics and Canon Law (revised in a new Code in 1917),[60] which nevertheless seemed to produce obscurities that required regular referral to Rome,[61] as the legalistic mind could only be confident that the liturgy was fully effective when every rubric had been correctly observed. Such preoccupations with rubrical correctness as the sole criterion of authenticity were deeply felt by some to be no less

than an atrophying of the pastoral potential of the Church's worship. Pursuing Gregorian plainchant as a legally acceptable model of lay participation was not enough;[62] more fundamental shifts in participatory attitudes were required, including those essential to the material fabric of liturgy.

The Altar Disinterred

Before 1940 the desire to make fundamental changes to the physical forms and dynamics of liturgy were nowhere better expressed in England than by John O'Connor and Eric Gill.

> In complete sympathy with the Liturgy, we begin by making the altar conspicuous and most accessible, since you will not revive the liturgy before you disinter it. [63]

> There is nothing in the nature of an altar that implies that it should be anywhere but in the middle ... The altar is the centre of the church; it is indeed the church ... (It) must be brought back again into the middle of our churches, in the middle of the congregation, surrounded by the people ... The Holy Sacrifice must be offered thus, and in relation to this reform nothing else matters ... The question is not which way the priest faces, but where the people are. [64]

That the altar was to be regarded as the 'central and culminating point of the (church) edifice' was no new idea;[65] nor was the idea that like 'a vast casket, the church guards its jewel, the altar' - the casket existing for the jewel and not <u>vice versa</u>.[66] And it has earlier been noted that the altar has had a constant analogy with Christ; and that the pontificate of Pius XI in the 1920s and 1930s was marked by his personal objective to restore 'all things in Christ', thus making all endeavours of the Church, including church-building, Christocentric. What made the statements by O'Connor and Gill significant was their desire to reinstate the altar among the <u>ecclesia</u>. It was a desire symptomatic of a wider debate in the Church that sought to completely reassess the

dynamics of Catholic worship 'according to the spirit of the Roman liturgy', rather than to its law, and to provide guiding principles based in pastoral theology.

The Altar : Principles of Centrality

In 1962 two sets of 'guiding principles' that had been first produced in Germany (1947) and America (1957) were published in England as an appendix to Towards A Church Architecture edited by Peter Hammond. Both sets of principles asserted the Roman ideal of the altar determining the essential dynamics and characteristics of orientation and distinction. With Mediator Dei very much in mind the Diocesan Church Building Directives of Superior Wisconsin maintained that the altar was the 'most expressive sign-image of Christ's mediatorship between God and man. Standing between heaven and earth (it) sanctifies man's gift to God and brings God's gift to man'.[67] It was, in other words, the critical node of intersection on the horizontal and vertical axes. And such was the concept implicit in the Guiding Principles of the German Liturgical Commission, when it regarded as 'a mistaken opinion' the view that 'the only satisfactory shape for a church is one that is centrally orientated' because the altar should be placed in the middle of the congregation.[68]

The essential principles apropos of the altar in both pastoral directories can be summarised from the Wisconsin Directives:

> This sacred stone of sacrifice and holy table of the eucharistic meal must possess absolute prominence over all else contained by the church ... The altar, rather than a supplement or ornament of the church, is the reason of its being ... The church edifice is the extension and complement of the altar of sacrifice. 69

Hammond himself had endorsed this latter view in his earlier Liturgy and Architecture (1960), and though he later modified it in favour of giving

greater recognition to the primacy of the ecclesia gathered in a unifying communal action, his original endorsement did not escape the criticism of Charles Davis:

> 'It is sometimes said that a church exists to house the altar and must be built, as it were, from the altar. I find this misleading and only partially true. The church exists to house the community ... Churches and altars do not exist for their own sake. They are subordinate to the community that uses them, and this subordination should be felt. Not the altar but the community comes first.
>
> The material altar has no intrinsic, independent value; its sacred character and its symbolic meaning come from its use ... Hence it has a derived holiness and a consequent symbolism. 70

Further opposition to the German Principles came from the Benedictine, Frederic Debuyst:

> Today, we tend to begin the planning of the church with a prearrangement of the main poles of the liturgy (the chair of the celebrant, the ambo, the altar) at supposedly privileged fixed places. When this is done to the satisfaction of experts, we try (so to speak) to construct the whole building 'around' these poles. In some official documents, this method is even presented as the right way to act in the spirit of the Liturgical Movement. 71

The fear was - and it was based on growing evidence - that a liturgical architecture that concentrated too much on the material nodes of its fabric, would invariably lead to what Paul Winninger referred to as le complex du monument. Winninger's term had been quoted by Hammond in his attack upon a Romantic notion of church building,[72] a criticism pursued by the Oratorian, Charles Napier, in answering his own question 'What Is A Church For?'. He maintained that in relation to the Christian community alone, could a church building have any sense or purpose. 'If its existence has any meaning for others, this meaning can only be the same as that of the community for which it was first built'.[73] Implicit in his argument was the notion of the Church as a select body, the ecclesia, and he objected strongly to church buildings that pandered on the one hand

to conceits of monumentalism, and on the other, to common accessibility ('A church is not simply a sort of religious counterpart to the town hall or the ante-natal clinic ...'). The Church could not be regarded as simply 'the religious aspect of the nation' serving the needs of all and sundry regardless of their commitment. Rather it existed to convey a message, to 'bear witness'. This is what Davis meant by saying that a church is tied to its purpose and must remain limited by it,[74] and what Napier meant when quoting Jungmann:

> The restoration of an active participation of the faithful in the Mass is not a didactic trick, intended simply to help them follow what is going on, but the renewal of a function of the eucharistic assembly that alone explains its structure ... namely the function of expressing visibly in a communal celebration the Church as the one Body of Christ and the chosen People of God. [75]

Whilst Davis was to differ with Napier over the celebration of Mass 'facing the people', they were both convinced of the exclusivity and primacy of the ecclesia. It was a revision reminiscent of Parsch's notion of a 'qualitative Christianity', and an 'elite of God'; but one that failed to see a monumental condescension in its own viewpoint, which would not gain ground in a Church seeking to identify with as broad a pastoral basis as possible.[76]

The Altar : Principles of Orientation

The practice of celebrating Mass with an altar placed facie versa populum has been the most distinguishing perceptible mark of the renewal of the Roman liturgy. Its significance and implications have been extensive and profound, because it embodied new understanding of the eucharistic celebration itself, of the other Sacraments in relation to the Eucharist, of the reserved 'fruit' of the Eucharist, and of the hierarchical vis-a-vis communal nature of the Church. The practice was first given

universal sanction in 1964 as an implementation of the 'general revival in doctrine and life' formally initiated by Vatican II.[77] But whether it was _sine qua non_ a _prerequisite_ of the post-conciliar liturgy was forcefully questioned; Napier was among those who believed it was not.[78]

The view of several expressed by Napier, was based on both archeological and liturgical objections, and Napier, writing in 1972, referred heavily to the arguments postulated by Bouyer in his _Liturgy and Architecture_ (1967). Whilst accepting that a table placed closer to the people would seem to satisfy three longstanding aims of the Liturgical Movement (viz: to restore, the Liturgy of the Word to due prominence; an active participation by the worshipping community; and, a proper emphasis on the Mass as both sacrifice _and_ meal), he, rejected the notion that it was necessary to see the celebrant's actions; deplored the divisive nature of placing the altar between priest and people; and was alarmed at the considerable expense likely to be incurred in the reordering of churches.

The introduction of the practice had been supported by appeals to archeological evidence. Napier rejected these appeals on the grounds that Bouyer had 'proved conclusively' that there was no widespread evidence that the eucharistic liturgy was ever celebrated facing the people, and that where it had taken place '_per accidens_', as in the Roman basilicas, it was devoid of the significance which modern liturgists attribute to it. And he supported his objection with findings from other notable Catholic scholars: Joseph Braun SJ (d1947); Joseph Jungmann SJ (d1975); and Cyrille Vogel. Interestingly Klauser (who had been mainly responsible for the German 'Principles') had also referred to Braun some thirty years before in his published paper on _The Western Liturgy and Its History_ (1943):

> Liturgists have long asked when the decisive change came about which led to the present arrangements outside Rome, when the priest was transferred from the back to the front of the altar ... For some years we have been sufficiently well informed about all this by the

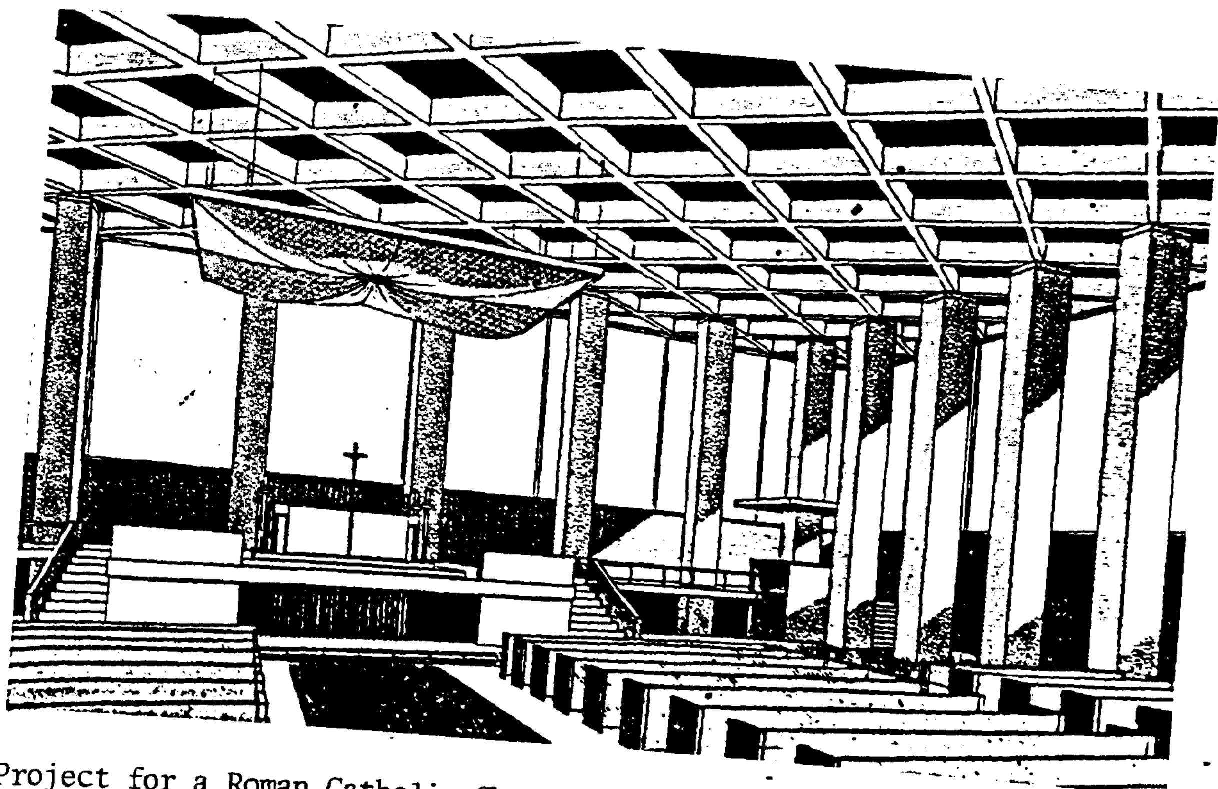
> remarkably learned investigations of Joseph Braun. We now know that Celebration with the priest's face averted from the congregation became the general rule outside Rome circa AD1000. The setting of the altar on the far wall and the introduction of retables followed soon afterwards. 79

But Napier's interpretation of Braun's work provided a conflicting emphasis:

> If anything is needed to dissipate the legend of a once universal practice of celebration versus populum lasting until at least the middle ages, there is the research carried out by the German archaeologist J Braun and published in his book Der Christliche Altar (Munich 1932). North of the Alps there are about 150 altars still in their original positions which date from the first millenium. Braun has established beyond discussion that not more than one or two of these could have been used for a celebration versus populum. 80

However, closer examination of Klauser's intention reveals an allied concern for the 'profound and beautiful symbolism of the act of facing east to pray',[81] to be revived, but as he was hopeful 'that in the Church of the future the priest will once again stand behind the altar and celebrate facing the people,[82] and as he abhorred the 'unfortunate turnings of the priest at Dominus Vobiscum etc'[83] (during the Mass at that time), what he envisaged was not the full revival of primitive practice, as that required priest and people to face East during the anaphora,[84] nor the hiding of the moment of this central eucharistic prayer behind the drawn curtains of a ciborium. As he saw it, this 'coming of God, this theophany, takes place on the altar and it is to the altar that priest and people must face'.[85]

The spatial liberation of the altar, the removal of gradines, reredos and exposition throne, the closer proximity to the congregation, and the overall heightening of the Christocentric nature of the altar, increasingly suggested a sense of 'gathering round', for which the position



Project for a Roman Catholic Church (1952), R Maguire
Illustration from E D Mills, The Modern Church, p 97

of the priest would be behind the altar facing the people. On the Continent Schwarz had designed such a setting at Schloss Rothenfels for Guardini in 1928. In 1937 the fifth Council of Malines had recognised that there was no law forbidding the celebration of Mass versus populum, and its Acts had been approved by the Holy See. (In fact, according to O'Connell, there was provision for it in the rubrics - subject to local approval.)[86] In 1945 recognition had been given by the French bishops; and in 1940 by the German bishops (the publication of the 'Principles' was delayed until 1947). In England a few pre-war examples suggest a tacit approval of the principle of greater centrality for the position of the altar,[87] if not of the practice of placing it facie versa populum. Reaction to the practice was, in general, derisory, as this example illustrates:

> The high altar, where Mass is said facing the people, seems destitute, almost miserable, in the large empty space surmounted by a rectangular lantern. It has no crucifix. The one relegated to the back of the apse is so small, made so secondary by the very place it occupies (beneath a statue of St Antony!). The second altar, outside of the sanctuary and of the sections of the enclosure which extend on either side of it, is erected (almost on the ground!) right down in front, practically near enough to touch. However, it has the great honour of bearing the tabernacle, the real place for which is however, on the high altar, here reduced to its lowest terms. [88]

Interestingly a solution along these lines was used by Robert Maguire in an unrealised project design illustrated in Mills E D The Modern Church (1957) (Fig 4).

The Tabernacle

In developing a 'theology of the assembly' centred on the eucharistic liturgy account had to be taken of the 'firm and reasonable grounds' on which devotion to the permanent sacramental presence of Christ in the Blessed Sacrament, was based. As Davis described it, it was a 'difficult

problem' doctrinally, and liturgically, because there was a very close connection between Mass, Communion, and Reservation. He argued that the altar exists for the eucharistic celebration, which was an event with a beginning and an end. It did not remain constantly of the same value, whereas the tabernacle was a permanent centre of constant significance. The altar was a regular centre of activity; the tabernacle, a permanent focus of passivity.

Though Pius XII had not referred to the place of Reservation in the section on the 'Adoration of the Eucharist' in Mediator Dei, nor the celebration of Mass versus populum, he did make reference to them in his Allocution to the International Congress at Assisi in 1956. He greatly emphasised the relationship of the Real Presence and the Eucharist, but explained the care necessary to 'keep habitually separate the act of sacrifice and the worship of simple adoration, in order that the faithful may understand the characteristic proper to each'.

> The altar is more important than the tabernacle, because on it is offered the Lord's sacrifice. No doubt the tabernacle holds the 'Sacramentum permanens', but it is not an 'altare permanens' ... To separate tabernacle from altar is to separate two entities which by their origin and nature should remain united. Specialists will offer various opinions for solving the problem of so placing the tabernacle on the altar as not to impede the celebration of Mass when the priest is facing the congregation. 89

Earlier mention has been made of attempts at establishing new design principles being hampered by old regulations. Apropos of the tabernacle, the Rituale Romanum (1925) and the Codex Juris Canonici (1918) required 'the Most Holy Eucharist to be preserved in an immovable tabernacle placed in the centre of the altar'.[90] In 1952 in the Instruction of the Holy Office On Sacred Art this law was forcefully stressed:

> This Supreme Congregation strictly commands that the prescriptions of Canons 1268 and 1269, be faithfully observed: 'The most Blessed Eucharist should be kept in the most distinguished and honourable place in the church, and hence as a rule at the main altar unless some other be considered more convenient and suitable for the veneration and worship due to so great a Sacrament. 91

And again in 1957 there was insistence from the Holy See that the tabernacle should be on the high altar.[92] 'The presence of a tabernacle as a permanent fixture on the altar is one of the greatest obstacles to celebration facing the people today', concluded Croegaert.[93] Seven years later official ruling had completely reversed:

> It is lawful to celebrate Mass facing the people even if on the altar there is a small but adequate tabernacle. 94

An ironical aspect of the issue was that a fixed tabernacle in the centre of the high altar had not always been the sole method and location of Reservation, but as late as 1863 (according to O'Connell)[95] a decree of the Sacred Congregation of Rites had finally abolished all other forms of Reservation. These had been well described in Dom Gregory Dix's A Detection of Aumbries (1942). His contention was that earlier Northern customs of using a hanging pyx, and a standing tower, were impeded by the Decree Sane of Pope Innocent III in 1215,[96] in favour of aumbry reservation as practised in Italy. In a refutation[97] of Dix's contentions, S J P van Dijk OFM and J Hazelden Walker demonstrated that the Decree had been part of a much wider policy to improve and promote standards of reverence to the Blessed Sacrament, which reached an apogee in 1254 with the universal proclamation of the Feast of Corpus Christi.[98] This public act of private devotion to the Sacrament had been fostered from its reverence when being carried during visitation of the sick and those in danger of death. These were the 'firm and reasonable grounds' for 'the praiseworthy custom of worshipping this heavenly food reserved in our churches', of which Pius XII wrote.[99] And they echo those of the

Benedictine, Gommaire Laporta in 1929:

> The Eucharist is reserved for the sick, and being so reserved it must naturally be worshipped with due latreia. 'We do not reserve in order to adore, but we adore in consequence of the fact that we reserve'. 100

The Instruction on the Worship of the Eucharistic Mystery (1967)[101] of Vatican II endorsed this precept; and the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy (1963) further emphasised the Eucharist as meal, as well as sacrifice. While in Mediator Dei Pius XII regarded it as a 'sophistical contention that the Mass besides being a Sacrifice is also the banquet of a community of brethren',[102] by 1956 and the Assisi Congress, it had adopted the double qualification of 'sacrifice and meal'. By 1963 and the Constitution of Vatican II Mass had become 'a sacrament of love, a sign of unity, a bond of charity, a paschal banquet ...';[103] and by 1967 and the Instruction it was a 'sacrifice' and a 'sacred (and) eschatological banquet'.[104]

Altar Rails

As a concrete realisation of the emphasis on the Mass as 'meal' the free-standing altar assumed the association with 'table'. In his criticism of the 'sophistical contention' Pius XII considered it wrong 'to want the altar restored to its ancient form of table'.[105] Seemingly though, this condemnation was interpreted as applying not just to the main altar but also to the use of the communion rails.

In 1962 in a paper given at a conference on The Modern Architectural Setting of the Liturgy, Charles Davis, then Reverend Professor of Dogmatic Theology at St Edmunds College, Ware, had this to say:

> But one point must be made that effects closely the meaning of the altar. Between the sanctuary and the nave there is usually a railing or balustrade known as the communion rail. This serves to separate the sanctuary from the nave and is the place where communion is distributed to the people. Now it must be

> stressed that it is in no sense the communion table. The altar is the communion table. The people receive the gift from the altar, and part of the essential meaning of the Christian altar is to be the place where Christ gives us Himself in Holy Communion.
>
> So the unity of altar and of table must not be lost. Communion has been distributed in various ways in the course of time. Originally priests went down into the nave and gave communion to people where they were. They have at times come up and stood near the altar. Now they kneel at the communion rail. But their significant relation is always with the altar. The communion rail must not be given prominence at all. It should not be formed into a table or put in any way into competition with the altar as the place of communion. The altar alone is the communion table. 106

The existence of this phenomenon of the communion rails as an elongated form of communion table is substantiated with two further observations.

In 1957 the Benedictine, Claude Meinberg, wrote an article on 'The New Churches of Europe' in which he recalled that at Aachen he had seen a communion rail incorporated in the altar, so that the rail was a narrower extension of the altar itself, and to him its meaning was plainly 'The table of the Lord'.[107]

In 1958 A Croegaert, in The Mass of the Catechumens observed that in classifying the different kinds of eucharistic devotion account should be taken of the order of importance symbolised by the altar, the communion rail, and the tabernacle.

> Without the eucharistic sacrifice, there would be no communion; without communion, there would be no reserved sacrament, nor any other forms of devotion connected with the worship of the reserved sacrament. Everything depends upon the altar, yet this order of importance is all too frequently ignored. 108

He maintained that the altar symbolised 'sacramental union'; the rails, communion during Mass; and the tabernacle, adoration outside of Mass.

The development of the rail as a 'communion table of the people' has coincidental associations with interiors of certain Dutch Reformed Churches, as exemplified by Bruggink and Droppers. Here the communion tables in the 'sanctuary' are 'God's board' at which as many as possible of the

communicants sit to partake of the paschal meal. There are no 'communion rails' as such since it is not the practice to kneel for Communion, and also their use implies a separation of the table from the laity, which is regarded as a contradiction of 'the message of the Lord's Supper that we are all one in Christ'.[109]

Rails were in evidence in early churches - including the domus ecclesiae type.[110] Their use as crush barriers was employed by Roman magistrates as protection against the 'common press',[111] as well as later by priests for the same purpose.[112] And their use as a preventitive measure against profanation by stray animals (when churches were continuously left open) was also a practical measure.[113] As a preventitive measure against profanation by unauthorised, or unworthy, humans, the use of rails was based on Moses' instruction to the people not to 'pass beyond their bounds' which marked out the sacred limits of the mountain.[114] And among the unworthy in Catholic eyes were Protestants. As late as 1938 the following sentiment could be expressed concerning profanation of the sanctuary as 'the garden enclosed of the Spouse':

> What a feeling of grief overwhelms the soul at the sight of atheists in Catholic countries and of heretics in Protestant countries, circulating freely in the sanctuary, mounting the altar steps, admiring or, more often, criticising its arrangement, touching everything, even the canopy, which expresses the reverence due to the little House of the God of Majesty and Love!
> There are liberties which the Protestant spirit does not hesitate to take. [115]

But even O'Connell could not have helped Dom Roulin's offensive, because the rubrics nowhere require altar rails. Their use was solely utilitarian.[116] However O'Connell did make the following statement, which was wholly consistent with the other commentators of the mid-1950s, referred to above.

> Although lay folk normally receive Holy Communion at the Communion rail, they are supposed to be receiving the Body of Christ from the altar of sacrifice, and so it is preferable to think of the Communion rail rather as a prolongation of the altar than as a Communion table (it is the table of the altar that is really this). Hence the ideal is to construct the rail to resemble somewhat the altar (the same material, style, decoration, etc) ... It should have a flat top, some nine inches to twelve inches wide, on which the Communion cloth rests, and which sometimes supports candlesticks. 117

In 1964 the matter was pursued further by Wilfrid Cantwell in a bridging notion of the relationship between eucharistic sacrifice and eucharistic communion. Dealing with the problematic siting of the tabernacle, he described a position for it behind, but on the same axis as, the 'altar of sacrifice', and in the form of a 'special communion table'.[118] By 1968 he had modified the form of the tabernacle's location to that of a 'special communion table or tabernacle tower' (Fig 8).[119] But apropos of the sanctuary's relationship to the body of the church, no particular attention was paid to altar rails per se.

The Sanctuary

That a church was primarily a place of eucharistic assembly, to which all other functions were secondary was emphasised by Cantwell. The Eucharist was a corporate action of the congregation with the priest; not just the priest alone, or the priest and the people (as bystanders). Therefore the sanctuary was not a stage on which 'dramatic actions are performed by the priest and are watched but not entered into by the people'. However Cantwell stressed that the church was more than 'the House of the People of God' it was also 'the House of God' present in the Eucharist, and that this presence was especially symbolised by the sanctuary. So while seeking to be integrated within the total area of the worship assembly, it nevertheless required a 'certain distinction', which Cantwell regarded as emphasising a positive attitude towards the sanctuary, and not a

negative one: 'It cannot be just an open area in which the people do not intrude'.[120]

In the early 1960s Charles Davis was also emphasising that the structure of the Christian community governed the design structure of church buildings; but in particular he emphasised the ambo and the presidential significance of the chair as elements of a more corporate, interdependent, and reciprocal, set of symbolic and dynamic relationships enhancing the lasting primacy of the altar.

> In a properly conceived sanctuary there must be the seat of the president ... and then the ambo or ambos for the reading of the Scriptures. The altar must not be conceived in isolation, with the whole church related to it but without any differentiation of nave and sanctuary and no attention given to the other features of the sanctuary. For that reason a centrally placed altar with the people all around it is unsuitable. The altar must be an integral part of a sanctuary - the principal feature indeed, but brought into harmony with the other two features, namely the presidential seat and ambo. This will secure a subordination of the material setting to the reality of the community ... An isolated dominating altar, existing as it were for its own sake, could destroy rather than assist a common worship and obscure the relation of priest and people. [121]

Davis continued to place emphasis on the linking function of the altar, and a need for its location between priest and people to signify this. Such an emphasis might well have been regarded as inconsistent with an attitude towards communion rails as 'barriers' rather than 'links', but in the desire to do away with rails there was an inherent desire to emphasise the one altar of communion within the Eucharist, and to interpose no other. (In addition there was also the desire to reduce the ambivalency of the sanctuary as both the locus of eucharistic action, and eucharistic contemplation and devotion; and to re-introduce the primitive practice of receiving communion standing.)

Twenty years earlier, in 1943, Crichton described a somewhat novel solution to a requirement for distinction between sanctuary and nave,

while retaining a sense of close identity. In an imaginative article[122] describing his 'Dream Church', the design incorporated a quasi liturgical 'ha-ha', in which at the perimeter of the sanctuary there was a descent of three steps, and a rise of three steps for the altar footpace and predella.[123] The resulting illusion was of the altar and 'nave' being on the same level,[124] and was intended to signify the common priesthood of priest and people, while maintaining the ministerial distinction (Fig 9).

Some thirty years later, in 1972, Peter F Smith, in his projections for Third Millenium Churches expressed the view that the 'battle for the single space worship room' had been won, as very few churches were being built with a distinct sanctuary, according to his observations.[125] His concern was for the lessening and eventual eradication of any hierarchical organisation of space for worship, in which even a slight elevation of the focal area was not permissible as it would be 'a little touch of the sacred mountain'.[126] He objects to such 'devices' as conspiring to establish 'the myth of locational holiness' and confer 'ex officio' sacrality on all who minister within the 'high place', no matter how discreetly maintained. While such an objection to hierarchical differentiation in favour of the Pauline[127] lateral model is not uninfluenced by Smith's Methodist affiliations, as has been noted, in Catholic circles there has been a pronounced desire to lessen the hierarchical and increase the lateral distribution of functions and responsibilities.

In Mediator Dei Pius XII maintained that although all members of the Church 'share the same goods and tend to the same end' that did not mean that they all enjoyed the same powers or were 'competent to perform the same actions',[128] and he stressed two key points underlining the importance of hierarchical worship. He stressed that liturgy was primarily

conducted by priests in the name of the Church, and so it followed that 'its organisation, its government and its form are necessarily subject to the Church's authority';[129] and that 'because the sacred liturgy has a very close connection with the chief doctrines that the Church teaches as most certainly true, it must therefore remain in perfect conformity with the pronouncements on the Catholic faith issued by the Church's supreme teaching authority to safeguard the integrity of revealed truth'.[130] The two points stressed were that liturgy was _the_ means of maintaining order and authority in the Church. Hence the view expressed in an assessment of Vatican II by Joseph Gelineau in 1978,[131] that the Council had dealt with the reform of the liturgy first, because it depended exclusively on the Holy See as the supreme moderator of authority and order, and with its reform there would be a 'charter for the reform to come'. Consequently the demarcation and ordering of a sanctuary was (and to a considerable extent, still is) primarily one of objective episcopal jurisdiction; its more mythological and psychological significances (eg 'locational holiness') are derivative and consequential - as had already been noted in Charles Davis' commentary.

Conclusion

The purpose of the Encyclical _Mediator Dei_ was to mediate between those who had a retarded or conservative understanding of liturgy, and those whose more developed understanding made them impatient of universal norms, so that the unity of the Church would be maintained and it would historically progress intact. Theologically Pope Pius XII stressed the supreme Mediatorship of Christ between God and man, and therefore of the Church when understood as the Mystical Body of Christ. Unity in the beliefs and practices of the Church was unity in Christ, and the worship of the Church was the prime model and agent of that unity.

Yet since the challenge to its virtue by Protestantism, and to its intellect by the Age of Reason, the Church had fostered a defensive and subjective piety of worship that relied on an exclusive and self-sufficient notion of the Church. Not that the Church was not concerned with the issues and affairs of the world - on the contrary - but that it believed itself to hold the agenda of the world's salvation, and so saw a valid interposition for itself between God and the world. In Mediator Dei this was the essential model of the Church's mission that Pius XII sought to maintain: God, Church, world. But in an incredulous world (including members of the Church itself - especially in the industrially developed Western societies), there developed in the Church an urgent realisation that the model had to be radically revised so that the world interposed itself between God and the Church, by which change was implied that it was the function of the Church to perceive God at work in the world, and to respond. The world, not the Church, was to write the agenda; the Church was to develop the means of greater perception of the needs of the world, and to do so by an increased engagement with it. Yet it could not become a wholly secular institution; nor could its concerns promote themselves with a moral or social convenience. It had to be increasingly in the world, but not of it. Inherent in Mediator Dei was this profound realisation, and in heralding a thorough-going overhaul of the liturgy, it was thus far from being superficially concerned with the externals of worship. By the time the Second Vatican Ecumenical Council was convened in 1962, some fifteen years of preparation had gone into the recommendations for the renewal of the liturgy embodied in the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, which relied 'considerably on the great encyclical of Pius XII and time and again (used) its very terminology, without quotation marks or reference'.[132] So it is to Mediator Dei that attention has to be given as a basis of understanding the official renewal of liturgy

in the Church before and after Vatican II, even though after the Council other Constitutions would have a marked effect on the Church, and on the nature of the liturgy within it, in particular the *Dogmatic Constitution on the Church* (1964), and the *Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World* (1965). As this effect became more evident further symptoms of diversity or disorder (depending on the point of view of interpretation) developed in liturgical practice, and some reference will be made to these later. But from the issues dealt with here in relation to *Mediator Dei*, several salient points can be summarised.

A more corporate sense of liturgical worship was emphasised by Pius XII's 'great encyclical', though the social benefit of the Eucharist was still regarded as being satisfied by a priest celebrating alone. The presence of a congregation remained desirable but not essential, thus endorsing for some, a resistance to any notion of the liturgy becoming more pastoral. But though the hierarchical ordering of the Church was maintained, through the 'ministerial priesthood' of the clergy, greater recognition was given to the doctrine of a 'common priesthood' of all gained through Baptism, which supported a much more corporate sense of the Church. Architecturally this recognition attributed a significance to the font and enclosing baptisty that was occasionally expressed by their being placed on the central axis of a church, in contradistinction to the altar.

A consequence of conceiving of the Church as the Mystical Body of Christ was to increase an exclusive regard for it, and to revive primitive notions of *ecclesia*. Liturgical practice fostered participation in various ways, through the use of dialogue, singing, vernacular language (printed more than spoken), the reinstatement of the Offertory procession, and more frequent Communion. In new churches people were assembled closer to the altar (though whether *all* present were to be gathered around the altar,

or just the 'ministers of the sanctuary', was a contentious issue). If initially there were few post-war churches that actually manifested a literal interpretation of '<u>circumstances</u>', certainly a number of buildings possessed a relatively greater breadth to their plan, with no visually interfering structural supports, which provided a more obviously single volume uniting sanctuary and 'nave'.

A greater theological realisation of the relationship of Word and Sacrament meant more than a desire to increase the practice of the use of 'words': it meant an increased understanding of 'the Word made flesh'. This 'incarnational theology' developed a new critical awareness of contemporary culture, and the role of artistic genius. But where it was directed towards an increased didactic emphasis on the audibility and comprehensibility of words <u>per se</u>, by which an understanding of the Mass would be increased, more attention was given to the acoustical projection of ordinary speech. And a greater sacramental understanding of Scripture, and of the 'living word' promoted the placing of lecterns and ambos (as 'Tables of the Word') not only on the chord of the sanctuary, but also within it.

Renewed encouragement of more frequent Communion as part of the greater congregational participation at Mass, plus a reassessment of the practice of devotion to the Blessed Sacrament, led to a tripartite understanding of Eucharistic worship: sacramental sacrifice on the altar; communion at the rails; reservation in the tabernacle. Adoration of the reserved Sacrament was strenuously maintained as a prime devotion discipline, but it was made subordinate to the Eucharist, with an emphasis on the practice being the effect and not the cause of reservation. In general, the tabernacle remained adamantly on the high altar, frustrating any desire to celebrate Mass <u>versus populum</u> (even though later it was permissible to

reduce its height in order to do so). Whilst there were known Roman and Continental examples of alternative locations, and forms, of reservation, these were particularly resisted; as was the old English custom of the hanging pyx. With the removal of the attached reredos, the throne for exposition became a part of the dossal, and in order to comply with the rubrics was covered with a small canopy (_tegumen_) or more frequently with a suspended canopy, cantilevered tester, or occasionally, a full ciborium.

High altars in Catholic churches had generally not been attached to the sanctuary wall in order to allow access to the rear for the placing of the monstrance on the throne at Exposition. Alternative provision for this practice reduced the altar appendages to possibly a single gradine, and by the time of Vatican II, even that had generally disappeared. So there was a distinct trend towards an unimpaired altar that seemed to make its more complete projection inevitable. But again while there were well known ancient and modern practices of celebrating Mass facing the people, and even though the rubrics allowed for it, there was a generally intransigent resistance towards it; and the fact that it was not a _sine qua non_ of the conciliar Constitution was an inspiration to that resistance. Unencumbered and completely freestanding, the altar became more clearly a table (especially if it complied with the rubrics and comprised a mensa resting on stipes), which provoked intransigence still further, by emphasising the Eucharist as a sacred meal. But the practice of more frequent Communion endorsed the emphasis as inevitable. Whether by design or default in order to preserve an exclusive association of the altar with sacramental sacrifice, the practice developed of using the altar rails as the 'people's table' of the 'paschal banquet'. Where the altar was allowed in table form it invariably had a less dominant presence as

the culmination of a vista, though its scale and complete construction in stone maintained a monumentality.

The primacy of the main altar was emphasised by the reduction in numbers of side altars - though one with a secondary tabernacle to serve as the 'altar of repose' during the Easter Triduum, was usually provided, and served as an auxiliary altar for smaller gatherings. (When it did become permissible to house the tabernacle away from the sanctuary, it was frequently located in a special chapel, which was used for smaller gatherings, eg weekday Masses.) Concentration on the uniqueness of the one altar within a community was heightened by the fewer altars erected in honour of saints and 'secrets'; instead these appeared as 'shrines' - though their number was somewhat diminished as the liturgical year took precedence over the Sanctoral.

The desire to repristinate liturgical practice by appealing to primitive antecedents in the first 'Golden Age' of the Church, which had marked the nineteenth and early twentieth century phase of the Liturgical Movement, was reproved because it denied the Church its historical responsibility, and tradition as the fruit of that responsibility. Consequently those architectural forms which had modelled themselves on the Early Christian, Byzantine, and Romanesque styles in an endeavour to find an archeologically endorsed primitivism, were no longer in favour, as were already the Gothic and the Baroque. Culturally the way forward seemed therefore to lie in the direction of a cautious approval of the idioms of the Modern Movement.[133]

Footnotes

1. Art.10

2. Gy P 'The Constitution in the Making' Flannery A ed Liturgy: Renewal and Adaptation (1968) p9 Cf also footnote 119 below

3. Cf 1 Corinthians 10,17

4. Gfoellner C (Bishop of Linz, Austria) quoted in Koenker E The Liturgical Renaissance in the Roman Catholic Church (1954) p66

5. Art 65

6. Ibid art 68

7. Cf Bouyer L Life and Liturgy (1954) Eng tr 1956) p72

8. Mediator Dei art.5

9. Eg cf Bouyer (1954/56) p72

10. Ibid p10 Also Koenker (1954) p164 & p187

11. Mediator Dei art.29 Cf also Bouyer (1954/56) p17 and O'Connell J B Active Sharing in Public Worship (1964) passim

12. Bouyer (1954/56) p20

13. Ibid p20 The art of Maria-Laach is known usually by the name of its mother house at Beuron. The founder of the Beuron aesthetic was Desiderius Lenz (1832-1928) who entered the Benedictine monastery in the 1870s specifically to pursue his artistic ideals. Examples of the art are illustrated in Roulin E Modern Church Architecture (1938 tr 1947) Cf also Chasse C 'Links Between the Nabis and Sacred Art Through the Intermediary of the Abbey of Beuron' The Nabis and Their Period (1960 tr 1969) pp83-112 Anson P F Fashions in Church Furnishings 1840-1940 (1959) refers to the Kulturkampf in 1875 which drove the monks from Beuron for twelve years. Among the places to which they dispersed was Erdington, Birmingham. pp257-8

14. The Lukasbrüder founded as a quasi-religious order in 1809 in Vienna. Its principal members with an influence on Lenz were Overbeck and Cornelius

15. A group formed c.1889 from a common attraction to Gauguin's aesthetic, to a mystical theosophy, and to the Breton landscape and milieu. Its members included Vuillard, Bonnard, Maillol, and Denis, who intensified the group's interest in sacred art, and the principle of respecting the flat surface of a painting in the organisation of colour and form. His thinking was also influenced by the Neo-Thomist philosopher, Jacques Maritain. For examples of his work for churches cf Roulin

16. The Vienna Secession was founded in 1897 by a group of progressive young artists and architects including Otto Wagner, Joseph Maria Olbrich, Josef Hoffman, Gustav Klimt and Koloman Moser. They believed in the freedom of art, that art should be an expression of its time, and above all in the notion of the 'total work of art' (ie the aesthetic standards of fine art applied to buildings and objects of everyday use). The official organ of the group was Ver Sacrum.
In 1905 the Secessionists invited the School of Beuron to take part in its exhibition of religious art; the School was also invited to take part in the exhibitions at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1907, Düsseldorf in 1909, Ratisbon in 1911, and Brussels in 1912

Cf Waissenberger R Vienna Secession (1971/77) and Chassē C The Nabis and Their Period (1960/69)

17. Ie the many guilds and other groups and schools formed as part of the Arts and Crafts Movement, of which England (eg William Morris, C R Ashbee) Scotland (eg Charles Rennie Mackintosh) and Ireland (eg Harry Clarke) were leading exponents, and had influence on the Continent including Germany and Austria (eg the work of Mackintosh, and of Ernest Gimson). For a useful conspectus of British Design during this period cf MacCarthy F 'The Arts and Crafts 1860-1915' A History of British Design 1830-1970 (1979)

18. When asked to submit his scheme for the abbey of Monte Cassino to the judgement of the common people Lenz protested: 'Monks have an entirely different outlook from the vulgar herd and they have no right to debase it to their level'. Chasse (1960/69) p89

19. Ibid p112

20. In England the neoEgyptian aesthetic was taken up by Benedict Williamson, an architect-priest. Roulin illustrates the church of the Sacred Heart Mill Hill, London (1922) p170; Anson P F Fashions in Church Furnishings 1840-1940 (1959) refers to furnishings in the churches of St Ignatius, Stamford Hill (1904); the Lithuanian Church, Hackney Road (1901); and St Boniface, Tooting (1907) p297

21. The abbey was destroyed by Allied Forces in 1944 in action against German resistance but was subsequently rebuilt.

22. Chassē (1960/69) p96 Chassē also makes the following revealing comment:
'It was only provisionally, and in the absence of any other organised team of decorators it could have employed, that the Papacy gave its support to Father Lenz. He did not embody the artistic ideal of the Benedictines of his day, who, up to then, had been interested above all in Baroque; and once Lenz was gone, his principles were abandoned and there is no reason to believe that they will have any influence whatsoever on the development of the history of art'. p112

23. Koenker (1954) p34

24. Debuyst F Modern Architecture and Christian Celebration (1968) p17

25. Koenker (1954) p38

26. Bouyer (1954/56) p60

27. Mediator Dei art.120

28. Mediator Dei art.121

29. Ibid art.101

30. Koenker (1954) p79

31. Roman Missal Offertory (1955)

32. Mediator Dei art.94

33. M.D. art.96 Pius XII greatly stressed the participation of the faithful in Communion. He referred to the Council of Trent's exhortation for the faithful to communicate (M.D.art.125); to similar exhortations of the eighteenth century Pope Benedict XIV (M.D.art.126); and to the thirteenth century Pope Innocent III (M.D.art.90)

33a. M.D.art92

34. Koenker (1954) p75

35. Bouyer (1954/56) p81

36. Mediator Dei art.100

37. Gy in Flannery ed (1968) p11 The matter was not finally dealt with until Vatican II Ecclesiae Semper Decree on Concelebration and Communication Under Both Species S.C.R. 1965

38. Benoit J D Liturgical Renewal: Studies in Catholic and Protestant Developments on the Continent (1958) p80 Benoit was Professor of Theology in the University of Strasbourg

39. Koenker (1954) p68

40. Benoit (1958) p84

41. Letters of 23:6:78 and 13:10:78

42. La Maison Dieu Nos 47-48 1956 IV p149

43. Benoit (1958) p92

44. Crichton J D Christian Celebration: The Mass (1971) p23

45. Benoit (1958) pp92-93

46. Ibid p96

47. Bruggink D J and Droppers C H Christ and Architecture (1965) p41

48. Bouyer (1954/56) p79

49. Crichton (1971) p23

50. Crichton J D 'The Liturgical Movement from 1940 to Vatican II' English Catholic Worship Crichton, Winstone, Ainslie eds (1979) p76

51. Cf Ibid p76; Benoit (1958) p87-89; Hammond P Liturgy and Architecture (1960) p79

52. Mediator Dei arts.33-35

53. Ibid art.179 Also directly Cf arts.178-183

54. Borromeo C Acta Ecclesiae Medialanensis: Acts of the Church of Milan (1599) tr Wigley C J St Charles Borromeo's Instructions on Ecclesiastical Building (1857)

55. Davis C 'The Christian Altar' The Modern Architectural Setting of the Liturgy (1962/64) Lockett W ed p55

56. Comment made by Rev C Walsh of St Cuthbert's College, Ushaw in letter of 14:6:78 on this speculative interpretation

57. Kavanagh A J 'The Politics of Symbol and Art in Liturgical Expression' Concilium 132(2/1980) p32

58. Mediator Dei art.68 Ref. Bulla Auctorem Fidei (1794) The 'errors' of Jansenism were also the desiderata of its German counterpart Febronianism; together with Josephinism and Gallicanism, they were seen by Rome as a challenge to the temporal power of the papacy

59. Cf Koenker (1954) p24

59a. Jube, Jacques, dit De La Coeur (1674-1745) of article in Dictionnaire de Theologie vol 8 pp 1580-81

60. The Code was further reformed and published in English in 1983.

61. Crichton art.cit. C.W.A.eds (1979) p36

62. Cf Gill E letter to Mgr John O'Connor 15:3:1937 (No 273) Letters of Eric Gill Shewring W ed (1947) p384

63. O'Connor J quoted by Langtry-Langton J 'The Church of the First Martyrs' Parthenon March 1937 pp195-8 cf also The Builder May 14 1937 pp1028-30

64. Gill E 'Mass for the Masses' Sacred and Secular (1940) p147

65. Webb G The Liturgical Altar (1933/39) p22

66. Croegaert A The Mass of the Catechumens (1958/63) p5

67. Hammond P ed Appendix p259

68. Ibid p250 art.6

69. Ibid p259

70. Davis art.cit. Lockett ed (1962/64) p26

71. Debuyst (1968) p22

72. Hammond (1960) p48

73. Churchbuilding No6 (April 1962) p5

74. Davis C 'Church Architecture and the Liturgy' Towards a Church Architecture Hammond P ed (1962) p107

75. Churchbuilding No6 (April 1962) p6

76. Cf Edwards E 'A Consumer's View of Ecclesiastical Architecture' Church Architecture and Social Responsibility Lockett ed (1968) p3-13

77. Cf Inter Oecumenici: Instruction On Putting Into Effect The Constitution On The Sacred Liturgy S.C.R. (1964) art.91 'It is better for the high altar to be constructed away from the wall so that one can move round it without difficulty, and so that it can be used for celebration facing the people.'

78. Cardinal Lercaro, President of the Commission for implementing the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, and signatory to the above Instruction, was quoted by Napier as having written the following to 'Heads of Hierarchies' in 1966: 'It is not necessary, for a living and participated liturgy, that the altar faces the people. The whole Liturgy of the Word is celebrated facing the people and for the Eucharistic Liturgy microphones make participation easy. Again, one must give due weight to architectural and artistic considerations ...' Napier C 'The Altar in the Contemporary Church' The Clergy Review (August 1972) p629

79. pp43-44

80. Art.cit. The Clergy Review (Aug 1972) p627 For additional discussion of the evidence cf Davies J G The Origin and Development of Early Christian Church Architecture (1952)

81. 'Guiding Principles' of the German Liturgical Commission (1947) in Hammond (1962) p251

82. Ibid

83. Koenker (1954) p44

84. The prayers of the Mass from the Consecration to the Communion

85. Hammond (1962) appendix p251

86. O'Connell J B Church Building and Furnishing: The Church's Way (1955) p154 Cf also Croegaert (1958/63) p13

87. Eg Ampleforth Abbey (begun 1922); First Martyrs, Bradford (1937); St Peter, Gorleston (1939); Liverpool Cathedral (projected 1930s)

88. Roulin (1938/47) p544 The church referred to and illustrated with two photographs, is not identified. The attitude is also typical of Anson
O'Connell referred to the growing practice of a 'double high altar' where there was a retro-choir, so that, on occasion Mass could be celebrated facing the people; and also to that of two altars, one higher placed than the other, and used for Mass facing the people; the lower having the tabernacle on it and used in an orthodox way (1955) p155

89. The Furrow Cf Claudia M Dictionary of Papal Pronouncements: Leo XIII, to Pius XII (1878-1957) p168 also Irish Ecclesiastical Record 86 (Nov 1956) pp344-56; Tablet 208 (Oct 6-27 1956). pp282-3, 308, 340-1, 365-6

90. Canon 1269.1 : 'Sanctissimi Eucharistia servari debet in tabernaculo inamovabili in media parte altaris posito.' The practice was made obligatory by the Rituale Romanum of Paul V (1614) Cf Croegaert (1958/63) p13

91. Acta Apostolicae Sedis v44 No10 (1:7:1952) pp542-6

92. Acta Apostolicae Sedis v49 No8 (22:7:1957) Cf 'The Versailles' Conclusions" Churchbuilding No9 (April 1963) p14

93. Croegaert (1958/63) p13

94. Instruction on Putting Into Effect the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy S.C.R. (1964) art.95

95. O'Connell (1955) pp167-8

96. Promulgated from the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 (the twelfth Ecumenical Council of the Church)

97. The Myth of the Aumbry (1957)

98. Urban IV Bulla Transiturus

99. Mediator Dei art.139

100. Koenker (1954) p103

101. And was again endorsed in Eucharistiae Sacramentum: On Holy Communion and the Worship of the Eucharistic Mystery Outside of Mass S.C.D.W. (1973)

102. Art.121

103. Art.47

104. Art.1

105. Mediator Dei art.66

106. Art.cit. (1964) Lockett ed pp30-31

107. The Furrow Vol8 No6 (June 1957) pp364-372

108. p4

109. Bruggink and Droppers (1965) p221

110. Cf Krautheimer R Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture (1965) p5

111. Cf Bouyer L Liturgy and Architecture (1967) p51

112. Cf Borromeo (1599/1857) tr Wigley pp44-45

113. Cf Addleshaw G W O and Etchells F The Architectural Setting of Anglican Worship (1948) p121 n3

114. Cf Exodus 19,18f

115. Roulin (1938/47) p521

116. Nevertheless it is hard to think of the ornate mediaeval screen (jube or pulpitum) as having developed from the original humble cancelli. From the gallery of the screen would be sung the Epistle and Gospel; and the vernacular office, or prone - including the bidding prayers and the homily - would be addressed to the congregation. Cf Bouyer (1967) pp71-76
Also Addleshaw and Etchells (1948) passim

117. O'Connell (1955) p13

118. Cantwell C 'Design of Churches and Altars' Churchbuilding No16 (Oct 1965) pp5-11

119. Cantwell C 'Design of Churches: Application of the Directives of the Instruction Inter Oecumenici' Liturgy: Renewal and Adaptation (1968) Flannery A ed pp120-141. The earlier article in Churchbuilding was a reprint from this compilation under its first title Vatican II: The Liturgy Constitution (1964)

120. Ibid p121

121. Art.cit. (1962/64) Lockett ed p27

122. Liturgy (June 1943) pp71-75 The plan was drawn by the architect Leighton Bishop

123. The altar was sited 'East' of centre, with the congregation broadly in a segment in front of the celebrant. He suggested that if it were not possible for the Mass to be celebrated facing the people then the altar would need to be sited further from the centre, but it was 'psychologically better to have the altar in the midst of the people'

124. The principle was followed at the priory church of St Mary's Leyland (1959-64) by Weightman and Bullen with its dished floor and predella height equal to the floor at the church perimeter

125. Smith P F Third Millenium Churches (1972) p78

126. Royal Institute of British Architects Journal (May 1974) p15

127. Cf Ephesians 4,11-12

128. Art.43

129. Art.48

130. Art.49

131. The Liturgy: Today and Tomorrow p13

132. Gy (1968) Flannery ed p14

133. Cf Mediator Dei art.207

Section Two

Section Two

CULTURE

In the first Section reference was made to the view that any 'technical discussion of liturgy was essentially a means of getting into a position to deal with manifestations of homo religiosus, and not of merely pursuing a refinement of the ceremonial externals of worship such as displaying a 'fitful interest in a chasuble' as nineteenth century ritualists had done'. It was a view underlying the purpose of the Section which was to emphasise that to understand Catholic churchbuilding as a 'ceremonial external' some account had to be taken of worship, and in particular of Catholic worship and the changes within it during the period under review.

Underlying this second Section is the view that in addition to being sacramentally the prime model of the Church, liturgy is also its prime cultural model. Already it has been suggested that liturgy, in making the liminal sacredness of worship perceptible to the senses, is essentially concerned with the ordering or patterning of cultural forms in order both to protect its apartness, and to control participation in it. Indeed it could be described as being those cultural forms specifically fostered and directed with sacred intent. The pragmatic view that the palpable manifestations of liturgy are merely an 'expedient to impress on untutored minds truths that the developed intelligence can turn into clear and distinct ideas' betrays a 'poverty as well as historical error', according to the veteran theologian and historian Mgr William Purdy.[1] Liturgy is not merely a 'visual aid' to sacramental theology. In the ordering of its palpable manifestations, in its art, it is a 'parallel activity to theology'. To take those cultural forms determined by liturgy and

to regard them on the level of being a mere means to a theological argument is (in the view of Purdy) to take one of two equally important modes of perception and debase it.

So in order to take full account of Catholic churchbuilding as a palpable manifestation of its liturgy it is necessary to take account of certain cultural characteristics together with a number of related aesthetic and contingent issues affecting the architecture of Catholic worship during the period under review.

Again there are three chapters: the first deals with cultural characteristics of Catholic liturgical architecture that have been, implicitly or explicitly, somewhat contentious issues during the post-war period. Acting as an introduction to these is once again the 'great Encyclical' of Pius XII Mediator Dei promulgated in 1947. And following that, in a brief survey of what the Church has had to say officially about such matters, is De Arte Sacre published as an Instruction in 1952 and arising from the 'Assy controversy' of 1947; and Gaudium et Spes or the Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World promulgated in 1965 as a consequence of the Second Vatican Council, in which there is a significant section on the Church's understanding of culture including the arts.

The second chapter groups together several commentators and promoters of seminal church design rationales active since 1945. The intention is to offer a critical description and assessment of some of the shaping ideas as fostered and discussed by individuals, editorials, and institutions closely involved in churchbuilding issues during the period.

The final chapter outlines a number of contingent factors bearing in

on the actual building policies followed during the period. It is only an outline survey requiring much more specialist expertise in such areas as construction technique, comparative building costs, and pastoral planning, than can be offered here. Nevertheless some reference is made to these factors as well as to factors of shared-use, multipurpose use, and of conservation. Through these contingencies that inevitably affect whatever prime liturgical function may be described for churchbuilding, the survey moves towards the final Section and the consideration of specific buildings.

Chapter One

Chapter One

Introduction

Culture is a term not easily defined. In the broadest sense, it means a common behavioural patterning characteristic of a particular social group. So it implies a certain homogeneity. But beyond an optimum size a social group can and often does, contain within itself a number of sub-cultures, which under certain conditions can develop into a counter-culture that may even prove destructive. However, culture is generally the prime cohesive and identifying patterning that constitutes and characterises human society.

At its centre is a world-view which may be 'religious' (concerning God, or gods and spirits, and our relation to them), or it may be 'secular', as in a Marxist concept of reality. From this world-view are oriented standards of judgment or values, and of behaviour. The view is received from the past; it is all pervading, so much so that even though it has to be learnt, it is primarily assimilated at a sub-conscious level from the constituent units and agencies of the social environment. In many societies significant elements of the culture are communicated in ritual form at key moments in the life cycle.

Cultures are never static; there is a continuous process of change that occurs invariably within accepted norms, otherwise tradition is disrupted or destroyed. Yet it demonstrates a stability that provides a sense of security, of identity, of continuity, of being part of a larger whole, and of sharing both in the life of past generations and in the expectancy of a society for its future.

Biblical clues to the understanding of culture are found in the threefold dimension of people, land, and history, on which the Old Testament in

particular focuses attention.

> The ethnic, the territorial, and the historical (who, where, whence we are) appear there as the triple source of economic, ecological, social and artistic forms of human life in Israel, of the forms of labour and production, and so of wealth and well-being. This model provides a perspective for interpreting all cultures. 2

Culture then is an integrated system of beliefs (about God or reality or ultimate meaning), of values (about what is true, good, beautiful and normative), of customs (how to behave, relate to others, talk, pray, dress, work, play, trade, farm, eat, etc), and of the institutions which express these beliefs, values, and customs (government, law courts, temples or churches, family, schools, hospitals, factories, shops, unions, clubs, etc), which binds a society together and gives it a sense of identity, dignity, security, and continuity.

Culture is closely bound up with language, and is expressed in proverbs, myths, poetry, and various art forms. Mary Douglas, the anthropologist, supports the view of some linguists that the essential nature of language lies not in giving instructions about how to do practical things, but in its creative potential, and she transfers that assumption to an anthropological view of the purpose of material goods and their consumption; the nature of consumption (she maintains) is 'its essential capacity to make sense of things, creatively'. 'Consumption of goods is a ritual process, whose primary function is to make sense of the inchoate flux of events'

> Rituals are conventions which set up visible public definitions. If you want meanings to stay still long enough to be transmitted from one person to another, you have to try to make them public and visible and recognisable. The most effective rituals use material things, and the more costly the stronger the intention to fix the meanings concerned. 3

That assuredly would have been a view endorsed by Pope Nicholas V when forming his intention to rebuild St Peter's in the fifteenth century:

> To create solid and stable convictions in the minds of the uncultured masses, there must be something that appeals to the eye: a proper faith, sustained only on doctrines, will never be anything but feeble and vacillating; but if the authority of the Holy See were visibly displayed in majestic buildings, imperishable memorials and witnesses seemingly planted by the hand of God himself, belief would grow and strengthen. 4

At the outset of the Renaissance when endeavouring to reconcile the tradition of the Church to the new learning, Nicholas V, in some senses, faced a similar problem to his twentieth century successor, Pius XII, confronted with Modernism, and its accelerated cultural changes. Little Renaissance architecture of Pope Nicholas' era could be denigrated for its ostentation and lavishness, but following the Council of Trent in the sixteenth century the Church 'announced its decrees with majestic voice; it overwhelmed heresy by splendour; it did not argue but proclaimed; it brought conviction to the doubter by the very scale of its grandeur; it guaranteed truth by magniloquence'. The 'gigantic excelsior' of the Baroque spoke with voluminous tones of a new orthodoxy. For Pius XII, the twentieth century inheritor of that orthodoxy, the reality was that the grand posturings of the Counter-Reformation had served only to alienate the Church from the mainstream of cultural development, and that some reconciliation with contemporary culture was necessary if the Church were to engage at all with the modern world.

In 1947 Pius XII promulgated his Encyclical Mediator Dei. In the same year the church at Assy in the Haute-Savoie, France, by Maurice Novarina, was completed, and the Guiding Principles for the Design of Churches According to the Spirit of the Roman Liturgy were published by the

German Liturgy Commission. Implicit in these 'Principles', and manifestly explicit at Assy, were cultural factors affecting the form (and therefore the meaning if not the content) of Catholic liturgy. In Mediator Dei Pius XII clearly stated his recognition that the progress of the fine arts, especially, architecture, painting, and music, in the twentieth century, had had a shaping influence on the external features of the liturgy.[5] Consequently he was concerned that this influence should be as 'correct' as possible. If change were to be encouraged it could only be so within accepted norms. By that - as with the whole tone of the document - was meant the maintenance of traditional values and the seeking of a middle way between excesses, which could briefly be categorised as those of archeological primitivism, zealous puritanism, common pietism, neglectful torpidity, and artless and esoteric modernity.[6]

The following discussion takes account of these and related issues in the context of Catholic churchbuilding in the post-war period.

Minimalism and Primitivism

In the Encyclical Mediator Dei Pius XII's condemnation of 'archeologism' is allied to a condemnation of the pseudo-synod of Pistoia in 1786 which was noted for having promulgated one of the most comprehensive statements of Jansenism, a doctrine characterised by a moral and aesthetic rigorism. Its rejectionist rigorism is perhaps most notoriously exemplified by the Abbess of the convent at Port Royal, Paris, in the seventeenth century who stripped the chapel preferring all that is ugly: 'Art is nothing but lies and vanity. Whosoever gives to the senses takes away from God'.[7]

The pseudo-synod was first condemned in 1794 by Pius VI.[8] The reforms to Catholic worship that it included could readily be regarded as

similar to those promoted by the Liturgical Movement. It prescribed that there should be no more than one altar in a church, and one mass held on a Sunday; it forbade the exposition of relics and the use of flowers; it condemned many popular devotions (eg processions in honour of the Virgin Mary, and of the saints; the saying of the Rosary and of the Stations of the Cross; the cult of sacred images, especially that of the Sacred Heart (particularly so because of its special promotion by the opposing Jesuits); and not excluding the Blessed Sacrament (ie the venerated consecrated bread of the Mass) devotions to which it sought rather to minimise than eliminate). Furthermore it promoted the simplification of the liturgy and the use of vernacular language. In short, elaborations that had developed in the mediaeval Church were regarded by the Jansenists as being a weakening and a confounding of the spirit and practice of the primitive Church.

Febronianism, the German counterpart of Jansenism, also promoted a programme of repudiation in search of a more explicit faith. 'Simplification', 'communal character', 'understanding', and 'edification', were bye-words. With greater emphasis on the preaching of the Word, and on catechetics, the didactic potential of liturgy was realised by the Catholic Aufklärung of the late eighteenth century.

The externals of Jansenist worship as described do seem to bear a remarkable resemblance to the externals of avant-garde forms of modern churchbuilding - particularly in Germany - much eulogised by certain sympathetic commentators on the architecture of the Liturgical Movement, in Britain. In the pre-war period the church of Corpus Christi at Aachen by Rudolf Schwarz, and that at Nordeney by Domenikus Böhm (both built 1930/31) embodied a moral rigorism, and an aesthetic minimalism, in their designs. Writing in 1960 in Liturgy and Architecture (the

first sustained critique, in English, of the architecture of the Liturgical Movement) Peter Hammond considered the church at Aachen to be an 'extraordinary example of absolute truthfulness and of concentration on details ... there is no decoration, there are no distracting irrelevancies'.[9] Furthermore he considered it to be the 'outward embodiment of a theological vision'. In support he cited two principles associated with Schwarz:

> First, to start from a reality based on faith, not from one based on art, this truth or reality being of such a kind as to produce a community and an artistic achievement. Secondly, to be absolutely truthful in our artistic language by saying nothing more than we can say in our times, and nothing which cannot be understood by our contemporaries. If what we have to say is not much, compared with the Middle Ages and antiquity, it is still better to remain in our sphere and to renounce all sorts of mystical theories which will not be visualised or experienced by anybody.

Hammond's reference was taken from an article written by the priest-liturgist H.A. Reinhold in 1938.[10]

Conversely, Dom E Roulin, also writing in 1938 in Modern Church Architecture[11] referred to an article in L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui of July 1914, in which the 'revolution in church architecture' is regarded as a serious threat:

> Industrial forms are triumphant. Builders of churches (some of them) go for their inspiration to airplane hangars, swimming pools, markets, theatres. And it is not by ignoring this evolution, which is all too real, that the problem will be solved. Is it possible that the intelligentsia have lost their faith? Are we advancing towards pantheism, towards a new paganism? [12]

Such condemnation of the Modern Movement was characteristic of Anti-Modernist feeling, particularly in the three decades following the Motu Proprio of Pius X in 1910.[13] The application of Anti-Modernist condemnation is evident in Dom Roulin's assessment of Dominikus Böhm's church at Nordeney:

> A caricature erected to sadden believers, enrage connoisseurs, and rejoice the impious. [14]

And of Rudolf Schwarz's church at Aachen:

> A structure dictated by a strictly utilitarian need ... which resembles a warehouse. [15]

Hammond however, assesses the architectural quality of the church as being 'a matter of order, proportion, and an honest use of materials. But it also represents a conscious attempt to express in terms of architecture the liturgical ideals associated with Maria Laach ... '.[16]

Robert Maguire and Keith Murray in 1965 also emphasised that Schwarz's church at Aachen was the outcome of both the 'new world of architectural ideas ... and those of the movement for liturgical renewal in the Roman Catholic Church, which received its greatest impetus in Germany'.[17]

Schwarz was very much in touch with the theologians of the Liturgical Movement in Germany. In particular he acknowledged a great debt to Romano Guardini. At Aachen he was greatly influenced by Guardini's thought on 'the meaningfulness of emptiness' in which Guardini maintained the need for recognising the limitations of architectural expression. Consequently Schwarz deliberately simplified the building so that 'the emptiness could be filled by that which only the holy can make meaningful'.[18] A precept echoed in Mies van der Rohe's aphorism 'Less is more', by which he rigorously pursued a renunciation of all that would hamper the absolute conquest of pure form.

The Liturgical Movement placed such importance on the unfolding of the *mysterium* throughout the liturgical year that at Aachen all 'secondary functions' were located in a subsidiary structure so that they would not challenge the building's essential purpose as a house for the

eucharistic assembly. Such 'secondary functions' included devotions associated with the sanctoral cycle (ie the calendar of the feasts and memorials of saints) which modern liturgists clearly regarded as confounding the temporal cycle (ie the calendar of the liturgical year).

Though Schwarz's church at Aachen was founded on three basic precepts of the Modern Movement in architecture (honesty of structural expression; honesty in the use of materials; and honesty in the expression of function) together with precepts derived from theological, liturgical, and practical, considerations, it nevertheless bears a remarkable resemblance to an oppressive puritanical high-mindedness expressive of a theological pessimism akin to that of Jansenism. In its separation of the sensible and spiritual worlds, Jansenism utterly opposed any form of concupiscence, and the formal lucidity of the architecture of Corpus Christi made no concessions. Though Guardini spoke of the 'silence' of the interior, Schwarz was conscious of the void. He admitted that 'the technologically inspired architectural form still smacks too much of warehouses and railway stations and too little of the world of piety, and that only a gradual imbuement and enrichment of this form in the service of God' would be possible; the internal void was 'no interior of the history of salvation' and 'of church history'.[19] He never repeated it.

Two other churches built in Germany after the war by one of Schwarz's collaborators, Emil Steffann, were St Laurentius, Munich-Gern (1956, with Siegfried Östreicher), and St Maria in den Benden (1959, with Nikolaus Rosiny). Both were highly regarded by Hammond, Maguire and Murray, and other English *cognoscenti* of the time, yet despite the liturgical advances they were considered to embody, both appear in their interiors as being essentially the result of a programme

of severe renunciation. Often referred to as being inspired by a sense of Franciscan poverty, the renunciation practised by Steffann concentrates upon essentials, while retaining just sufficient historical reference (eg in its compact Romanesque brickwork) to aid a memorative function, and so avoid the complete adoption of the 'untraditional' aesthetic of Modernism. What Steffann was renouncing was the cumulative effect of cultural heritage; he was attempting a cultural purge as the Franciscans, and Jansenists, and others, had done at various times in the history of the Church, but against the excesses of which strong notes of caution had steadily been voiced, such as those by Guardini (who could also write of 'meaningful emptiness').[20]

Franciscan in heart, a convert from Protestantism, Steffann was clearly an architect of extraordinary rigor where integrity was concerned. He especially sought to demonstrate that very few things are essential. Because of his resistance to Nazism he had been imprisoned, an experience of denudation which haunted him until his death. Like other Christian architects of Nazi Germany, Steffann found it difficult to build churches after 1933, consequently it is not surprising that an apologetic for church-building should have been developed that was minimalist, anonymous, and protestant in form. In 1938 Steffann prepared several projects in the 'house-church' idiom for Guardini's review Die Schildgenossen. To the demands of the pitiless difficulties of the times he responded with a series of questions:

> Can it really be allowable for us to go on implanting in our towns buildings which once built will impose on the houses which surround them a type of relationship which no longer exists in fact? Would it not be better to return our places of worship to the category of domestic buildings and, filled with a new power, set out towards the world? Why could we not present ourselves as ordinary people, and speak in all simplicity of

> this man who was crucified under Pontius Pilate and is yet still living among us? Speech which is offered without turgid language has a special force of its own. Should we not, from that time, envisage the building of a church geared to the actual situation and derive from it a new and authentic spontaneity? We might very well imagine the church as a house among others; a house which comprised at the same time spaces for habitation and a space for the Eucharistic celebration. There would then be a frank and honest point of departure for the transmission of the Christian message ... Unfortunately, when we come to build a permanent church we do so with complete insincerity. It is a pretence at symbolising the Christian city with which there is supposed to be a communication - and which does not exist. And we affirm yet again that those responsible for the building have confused the fundamental, unconditional character of the affirmation of faith with the very ambiguous need to be materially imposing. 21

Quoting the above in his article 'Towards a Reappraisal of the 'Classics'' (1981) Dom Frederic Debuyst, who, through his editorial in Arts d'Eglises, has for two decades influenced a number of Catholic architects in the British Isles, argues strongly in favour of what he terms 'anti-monumentalism', which he above all associates with Steffann. It is, he believes, the hall-mark of a clear-sightedness now characterising a generation of young architects, though it 'involves, undoubtedly, a degree of pessimism regarding the very hard world which encompasses them'. This is an argument to which we shall return in the following chapter, but here it should be mentioned that though Debuyst generally associates Schwarz with 'monumentalism' and 'processional interiors for countless cathedrals', he concedes that Schwarz does exhibit an occasional 'anti-monumentalist streak' of which his setting at Schloss Rothenfels in 1928 was the most classic example. (Plate 2)

In the 1920s, pursuing a concept of assimilation and convergence in which architectural detail, ornament, and embellishment were not to be regarded as 'applied' but as absolutely 'integral', was the seminal theological work of Johannes van Acken: Christozentrische Kirchenkunst. Ein Entwurf zum liturgischen Gesamtkunstwerk (Christocentric Church Art - Towards

the Total Work of Liturgical Art). Though unknown in English translation, the essential concept of convergence upon the centrality of the altar, which it explored, had a formative influence upon Schwarz.[22]

In 1929 in a competition design for the church of the Holy Ghost at Aachen (contemporary with Corpus Christi) a collaboration between Rudolf Schwarz, Hans Schwippert, and Hans Krahn, produced a pure geometric cube which was intended as a 'monument amidst division and unrest'. The design was never executed.

What then can be seen as an intellectual concept of formalist integrity and lucidity, can also be seen as a subversive means of cultural rejection, or the rigorous application of spiritual pessimism. Those empty interiors that have been regarded as 'meaningful' and 'pregnant with spiritual potential', can also be understood as statements of cultural bankruptcy, or moral purge. In either case they expound pessimistic attitudes formulated in hostile conditions, and exacerbated by profound sensations of guilt. So profound are these attitudes and sensations that together they represent a severe cultural hiatus experienced by the whole of Europe, but especially in those countries that fell under the Nazi regime. Such a sense of discontinuity found its theological apologetic in the work of the Protestant theologian Karl Barth.

For Barth, the prophetic teaching of the Bible - the essential Kerygma - was the continual breaking-into-history of Christ. All man's cultural achievements were to be regarded as alien to the Word. Christ was to be seen as usurping the symbol-system of the past; he was the 'flashpoint of the new age of pragmatic faith, operating within a purely contingent relationship between earth and heaven', according to Peter F Smith's understanding of Barth.[23] Cultural forms had little or no contribution

to make to Barthian notions of worship, as the replies he made under the title 'The Architectural Problem of Protestant Places of Worship' made evident: 'It is only the community met together for 'worship' in the strict meaning of the word - that is, for prayer, preaching, baptism and the Lord's Supper - and above all, the community in action in everyday life, which corresponds to the reality of the person and work of Jesus Christ. No image and no symbol can play that role'.[24]

The aesthetic inevitably produced from Barth's distrust of images and symbols, as if they were nothing but expressions of 'lies and vanity', exhibited to Catholic eyes only a pessimism that seemed to deny an incarnational and sacramental Christianity 'perceptible to the senses'. In <u>Mediator Dei</u> Pius XII was acutely aware of a pessimism stemming from the holocaust of World War II.[25] A theological pessimism had been a key characteristic of Jansenism and had been evident in an austere aesthetic which sought to give nothing to the senses which might detract from God. The probability was that unrestrained zeal to promote a new primitive liturgy would too readily abandon the patrimony of the Church and so introduce a minimal aesthetic that could too easily seem like a pessimistic denial of the Church's history and piety.

The strong condemnation of Jansenism was undoubtedly allied to a 'fear' of Protestant encroachment. Jansenism had taken account of the Reformation. Any rejection of post-sixteenth century developments in Catholicism in order to return to an earlier 'golden age' of the Church, would be to deny confessional <u>and</u> cultural differences specially developed by the Counter-Reformation. Such a denial would clearly exacerbate (or encourage - depending on your point of view) ecumenism. So true to Tridentine tradition Pius XII provided the rejoinder that the externals of Catholic worship were to be maintained in order to 'move the soul to reverence for what is holy, raise the mind to the

things of heaven, nourish piety, foster charity, increase faith, strengthen devotion, instruct the unlearned, add lustre to divine worship, maintain the sense of religion, and distinguish the faithful from false Christians and heretics'.

Jansenism came to a head in the late eighteenth century but its implications clearly lasted well into the twentieth.

Beginning in the late eighteenth century and lasting throughout the nineteenth and into the twentieth centuries, there has also been a persistent search for the _primitif_. In a series of radio broadcasts in 1979 in which he discussed 'The Primitive and Its Value in Art'[27] Sir Ernst Gombrich referred to the classic work on _Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity_ (1965) by Arthur Lovejoy and George Boas, in which the authors had labelled the desire to go back in time beyond the moment when 'the rot had set in' _chronological primitivism_, which they defined as a form of longing for the good old days and the lost paradise of innocence. Discontent with contemporary civilisation as such they called _cultural primitivism_: the dream that we would all be better off without the 'blessings' of science and technology. It is just such convictions as perceived in art and architecture that can also be discerned in what might be termed the 'primitivism' of the Liturgical Movement, particularly in its ethos of repristination.

In the 1870s the principles of an aesthetic that was later to be regarded by Maurice Denis as corresponding to the renaissance of the liturgy and 'parallel to the reform effected in music by the Gregorian chant'[28] were promoted in the German Benedictine abbeys of Beuron and Maria Laach, both cradles of the Liturgical Movement. What the aesthetic sought to embody was an architectural art that possessed a spiritual repose by placing 'at the service of great theological ideas

the basic shapes of a geometric and aesthetic nature of which God made use in creating his universe'.[29] While, at Beuron, Dom Desiderius Lenz pursued a controversial notion of the pre-Christian architecture of Egypt as the primitive ideal,[30] it was the architecture of the Early Christian and Byzantine eras that was regarded as being the truly primitive Christian ideal.

In 1903 (the same year that Pius X officially affirmed the restoration of the Gregorian chant to the liturgy)[31] Westminster cathedral was completed. Significantly J F Bentley recorded that it was 'thought by the Cardinal (Vaughan) that to build the principal Catholic church in England in a style which was absolutely primitive Christian, which was not confined to Italy, England, or to any other nation, but was up to the ninth century spread over many countries, would be the wisest thing to do'.[32]

Unfortunately, as happened with Pugin's promotion of Gothic architecture as the ideal universal embodiment of basic Christian principles applied to the organisation of material form, the primitive models provided by early Christian and Byzantine architecture were invariably copied without regard for the principles they sought to advance. They became so etiolated that Sir Nikolaus Pevsner, in his Buildings of England series, berated the quasi-Romanesque as being 'one of the deadest ends in mid-twentieth century ecclesiastical architecture' produced in preponderance by 'Catholic architects without courage or creative ability ... all over England'.[33]

A century and a half earlier the conviction that too much creative ability and technical skill had led art to perdition, and that virtuosity had tempted art to adopt seductive wiles and thus to lose

its innocence, was expressed by a group of young radicals known as Les Primitifs.[34] The concern that developed in the late eighteenth century for the 'noble savage' and the 'peacable kingdom' of childlike innocence, was symptomatic of a growing questioning of the corrupted and corrupting luxuries of civilised Europe. An exaltation of all things primitif had its inspiration in the prophecies of Jean Jacques Rousseau and Johann Winckelmann. In Winckelmann there was a call for a return to the 'crystal-clear water' of neo-classicism; in Rousseau there was a call for a return to nature. Like Aristotle Rousseau argued that the arts evolved from primitive stages towards perfection from which they could deviate only at the risk of declining. But as Gombrich points out, Rousseau focused not on the virtues of perfection but on the condition of being potentially perfect - or primitif.

Conversely, Winckelmann followed Plato's warning against the lures of art that numb the reasoning faculties, and he sought an authentic neo-classicism based on antiquity; a quest whose 'clammy influence obtrudes in Rome to this day', according to Purdy. Paradoxically Winckelmann's call is regarded as having paved the way for a new appreciation of Gothic and the expressions of the soul which the 'age of reason' had called in doubt. The earliest of the mediaevalisers, the Nazarenes,[35] believed that all art should have a moral or religious purpose, and that their work was not to be justified by any aesthetic system, but by their religious faith. The lost unity of art and life, they felt, could only thus be regained. Where Winckelmann preached the noble simplicity of classical antiquity, the new mediaevalisers preached the devout simplicity, and the chaste simplicity, of the 'age of faith'. Such simplicity Gombrich saw as the 'fatal flaw of nineteenth century primitivism' for its concern was with art as a state of mind rather than

with the creation of form.

The Gothic ideal was expressed nowhere more strongly than in England by A W N Pugin. It represented a chaste primitivism that purified the 'unnatural adoption of Pagan externals for Catholic rites'.[36] Gothic was the 'natural' form of Christian architecture because it embodied 'the soundest principles of utility' and possessed no features which were not 'necessary for convenience, construction, or propriety'. In his True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture (1841) he maintained that 'the great test of architectural beauty is the fitness of the design to the purpose for which it is intended'; for Pugin that purpose was exclusively the promotion of a society dominated by the Catholic Church as in its mediaeval hey-day in northern Europe. In the Gothic idiom Pugin clearly saw a highly programmatic and moralistic Christian ethos, and was thus far less totally mechanistic in his interpretation than was the Abbe Laugier in the eighteenth century, who argued that the hut of primitive man, devoid of all historical style, was the normative building type.[37]

In 1954 Professor Phoebe Stanton published an article called 'Pugin's Principles of Design versus Revivalism' in which she implied that Pugin's theory was astringent and styleless, emphasising construction and equating ornament with it, but that he could not follow the theory to its logical conclusion. Nevertheless it is a persuasive view which holds that Pugin was not so much concerned with the promotion of Gothic per se, as with a code of principles which would once again unite in a creative way ecclesial and secular culture. That in order to do so, he employed the Gothic idiom as a preconceived notion of the outward appearance of his principles, is considered by Stanton to have been but an 'errant enthusiasm'.

> Fortunately his buildings provide the evidence to bridge the gap between his aesthetic theory and his practice of modified revivalism. His rigid adherence to his principles gives them strength, coherence, and the singular originality they possess. It is finally the principles which control his errant Gothic enthusiasm and his scholarly and religious propensities. 38

A century after Pugin, Eric Gill inherited that understanding of the primitif as a desire to 'return again and again to the first principles' in order to determine the truth of any matter. And in 1960 Sir John Summerson demonstrated the continuing influence of Pugin's determination when he wrote of Maguire and Murray's church at Bow Common that it represented 'the readiness to go back again and again to the programme and to wrestle with its implications' in order to produce 'the hard core of moral convictions that holds together any number of formal and structural concepts on the basis of what Lethaby called nearness to need'.[39] Such a readiness he regarded as the hall-mark of serious modern architecture in Britain at that time, one which was void of 'current decorative cliches, structural acrobatics, or fashionable formalisms'.

In the century between Pugin's Contrasts (1836) and Pevsner's Pioneers of the Modern Movement (1936) there was a constant underlying zeal for promoting a discerning architectural sense not just as an appreciation of style, but as a rational way of building in response to political ideals, and for regarding any opposition to this as being anti-social and immoral. In his controversial essay Morality and Architecture David Watkin maintained that 'Pugin's mode of argument adumbrated the tendency which had been widespread since his time to deny or falsify the role of aesthetic motivation and to claim instead guidance from considerations of 'naturalness', utility, functional advantage, and social, moral, and political necessity, or simply from correspondence with the 'spirit of the age'.[40]

Correspondence with the 'spirit of the age' is very reminiscent of the saying that became common in the 1960s and 1970s of 'letting the world write the agenda for the Church'. And with that aphorism, those that were particularly associated with Maguire and Murray and their church at Bow Common, viz: 'nearness to need' and 'fitness for purpose', both of which relate back to Lethaby and his programmatic notion of art. For him the mystique of taste was the death of design; rather was it the 'arranging how work shall be done' and 'first of all a well-made thing'. Such concepts he believed could only be held by those engaged in a moral struggle to achieve a 'permanent and pure means of expression not marked by human imperfection'. Pugin called it a 'natural' answer; but to those opposed to the programmatic dominance of universal principles over individual genius it was only to be regarded as being ultimately degrading in its 'lowest common denominator conception of man and his needs'.[41]

That the haphazardness of the individual was to give way to the perfection of the programme, was an ideal of the English Arts and Crafts Movement that had a great contributory effect upon the development of the Modern Movement in Europe. The thinking of the influential de Stijl group in Holland is particularly interesting in this respect because it contained (albeit controversially among art historians) a religious dimension. For the Group the fusion of the individual with the universal was essentially a willingness to become absorbed in the 'general consciousness of time' or Zeitgeist. They saw a future perfected by the universality of science and its technological application through the methods of exactitude and formula, which would produce 'collectivist populism' and depersonalisation. Personal execution of building skills would no longer count as a forming agent; in essence a building would be complete when the programme was complete. Concern would not be for individual performance and personal discovery, but for the seeking of fundamental

and universal truths by rigorous method. The intention certainly would not be to perpetuate the historical appearance of things, but to 'annihilate ... the utmost consequence of all art notion'.[42]

The controversial religious dimension was the suggested connection with Dutch puritanism of the seventeenth century. Yet, according to the group's principal biographer, H L C Jaffe, all the founding members came from strict Calvinist families, and so a connection between religious rigour and aesthetic rectilinearity ought not to be ruled out.

> After all, the first deed of the new Calvinism in the Netherlands was the Iconoclasm, the destruction of the images in Catholic churches, and the masters of de Stijl could be regarded as legitimate descendents of the iconoclasts. For the motive was the same in both cases. To the iconoclast any and every representation of a saint was an infringement of the absolute sanctity of God the Creator. To the masters of de Stijl, any and every representation of a portion of the Creation is a corruption, a mutilation of the divine purity of the laws of creation. 43

In this observation by Professor Jaffe on a probable historical influence of seventeenth century Calvinism upon a radical twentieth century aesthetic, some ground is provided for understanding a Catholic condemnation of the seventeenth century Jansenism of the abbess of Port Royal and of twentieth century Modernism, a movement which seems not only to have conjured up its own end but the end of a whole culture from the Enlightenment and the Age of Reason to the present day.[44]

In principle and in time minimalism and primitivism have been two closely allied concepts that have been contained within the liturgical criterion of 'noble beauty'. In principle, minimalism has represented a virile and rigorous ideal of discipline; in time, primitivism has represented an original and natural ideal of innocence. The two concepts are not mutually exclusive, it would seem, although in their realisation they do

lead to certain paradoxes (eg an affirmation of roots and origins vis a vis a repudiation of tradition; a desire to release the person from 'servitude' vis a vis a promotion of universal systems and programmes; a greater trust in natural reaction vis a vis a denial of the senses in favour of analytical method; a greater regard for basic manual skills vis a vis a commitment to production technology).

In architectural terms the two concepts of minimalism and primitivism have been epitomised by Purism or the analytic, and Plasticism or the synthetic. Applying an increasing analysis of the function of architectural space and the construction of its determination, the purist aesthetic denied a notion of architecture as a compendium of historical motifs. Its spatial geometry was bounded and extended by pure planes with high-finish surfaces. It had a simplicity of volume, a linear austerity, and a precision of construction. But in its subordination of structural flexibility and human functions to the perfection of a rectilinear geometry and systematised modes of construction, it had a 'dryness of humanity' that alienated it in a way that became regarded as 'brutal'. In its 'untraditional' forms it also had an alienating effect in relation to history, but this was regarded as being compensated for by a neutrality before nature and the changing tastes and needs of man. In its total lack of any sacral character Debuyst regarded the purist aesthetic as spiritually liberating in a sense that echoed Mies van der Rohe's aphorism that 'Less is more', and whose chapel at the Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago (1952) (Plate 3) epitomised this aesthetic most clearly.

The counterpart of van der Rohe's chapel at I.I.T. was epitomised by le Corbusier's chapel at Ronchamp (Plate 4). In its organic form it had an affinity with those primitive modes of construction that heap up rounded

forms, or burrow into rock faces, rather than assemble prepared and measured units. In its volumetric relationships it epitomised the ideal of Plasticism in both a denial and an assertion of mass and of structure. It was simultaneously both introverted and extroverted enfolding space within itself, while unfurling into the greater environment. Perhaps even more so than Schwarz' own buildings, it corresponded to a deep physiological need. Yet despite its lyricism, and primitive and cosmic resonance - or perhaps because of them - as a model environment of ordinary Christian worship, it has been regarded as suspect, because, in allowing the architect's propensity to form to be so evident, 'anything became possible' and made a 'new metamorphosis of the old temptation to monumentality'[45] inevitable.

If a new monumentalism and brutalism became the inevitable and unacceptable concomitant of primitivism and minimalism, then it would seem that popularism and pluralism became their more widely acceptable alternatives, and so they too require some assessment.

Popularism and Pluralism

The Encyclical Mediator Dei (1947) again offers an initial reference. Complementing a condemnation of 'archeologism' because of its potentially strict minimalisation of the externals of worship, the Encyclical was also critical of the tasteless and unauthorised profusion of popular piety; while the 'misguided conduct of those who would exclude pictures and statues from our churches on the plea of reverting to ancient custom' was condemned, it was also thought necessary to reprove 'the ill-educated piety which ... insists on unimportant trifles while neglecting what is important and necessary',[46] because such practices were to be regarded as holding religion up to ridicule and cheapening the dignity of worship.

What were regarded as unessential or unimportant were certain liturgical practices that detracted from the 'essential' liturgy; and what were regarded as trifles were the aesthetically inferior forms that embodied what was liturgically unimportant. It was a clear and unequivocal realisation of the need for a new cultural seriousness on the part of the Church, a seriousness concerned not so much with architecture _per se_ as with a complete environmental image of which the many _objets de culte_ of Catholic worship were part, and a seriousness that directly and reciprocally related the liturgical forms of the Church to the cultural forms of society in general.

The cultural implications inherent in _Mediator Dei_ and in the development of a critical consciousness of such implications both before and after 1947, can be identified under five categories: the conservation of the heritage of forms and values proper to the Church and to secular communities; the critical reassessment of extant, and the creation of new, forms and values by the _cognoscenti_; the less critical production and pious preservation of popular forms and values; the systematic mass production and dissemination of forms and values by commercial enterprise; the automatic and synthetic production and transmission of forms and values by technological method. In this consideration of certain issues arising from the effects of _popularism_ and _pluralism_ on the built environment of Catholic worship, it is the latter three categories which will be specifically referred to.

Providing a case in point is the novelty of electricity which faced liturgical rubricians earlier this century. O'Connell refers to three main principles on which rubrics were finally based:

> That electric (or gas) light may not - apart from the real necessity - be used for cultual purposes; that the lighting

> used for ornament and greater splendour must have nothing of the puerile or theatrical about it; that any system of lighting a church must respect the sanctity and gravity of the sacred place and the dignity of Catholic worship. 47

That these principles were not readily or widely observed is evident from the severally dated directives to which Dom Roulin referred in 1938; and from a report in 1932 on the directives issued by the 'Apostolic Visitator to the Churches of Rome' which were specified and unequivocal:

> Crowns, garlands, diadems, frames, inscriptions, monograms, hearts, symbols, rays, stars, roses, lilies, or other flowers, and any sort of ornament outlined in electric lights, are forbidden in the church.
> As for ordinary lighting, it should be provided for, preferably, by electric bulbs invisible to the congregation. 48

Directives condemning practices seemingly more akin to the electrographic displays of Piccadilly, Times Square, or the Golden Mile, than to places of worship; and ones that would still have relevance today for those churches caught up in the current boom of electronic gadgetry including audio-synthesisers and visual projectors as well as banks of coin-operated, time-controlled votive lights.[49] But it is not a condemnation of technological progress per se, only of those mis-applications which trivialise the liturgy. The 'Apostolic Visitator' was equally critical of the misuse of wax candles which were 'intended to be burned on structures of various and strange forms, before religious statues or paintings', and he prohibited the practice insisting that instead the faithful were to be counselled to go more frequently to Mass and Communion, with the reminder that 'a single Mass heard well or a Communion received with the required dispositions will obtain many more graces and favours than thousands of candles, lit even for long periods'.[50]

Of examples of an equation that is still frequently drawn between religious art, practice, and belief none are more contentious than Marian

devotional images. In 1976 writing to The Times Anthony Hanson bemoaned the ubiquitous presence in Ireland of what he referred to as 'Our Lady of the Simper', the inevitable defence of which would be: 'The people like it'. But bad, degenerate, sentimental religious art was not just unfortunate, it was corrupting.

> George Tyrrell was quite right when he said 'Lex orandi lex credendi'. People believe according to the way they pray ... Sentimental statues will excite sentimental devotion and that will lead to sentimental belief. 51

Even more piquant was Richard Egenter in his book The Desecration of Christ in which he raised a number of issues but few more swingeing than his borrowed reference to 'that horror, painted, carved or made of plaster, which is called 'the Virgin Mary', 'the Immaculate Conception', 'Our Lady of Lourdes', and so on'. If we were to consider objectively these 'dolls made of marzipan and cosmetics looking upwards with cowlike glances' supposing to be soulful, then we would perceive a secret masculine ideal of the feminine nature - his 'undifferentiated anima'.[52]

The sheer abundance of such sentimental images, whether pictorial or environmental, does suggest, nevertheless, to an architectural theorist such as Peter F Smith that their 'negative aesthetic quality is of less importance than the fact that they appear to meet a psychological need'.[53] That need he describes as being associated with de-arousal emotions and stress relief from intellectual complexities, and every-day realities.

The notion of sentimental religious art being not so much bad art as 'non-art' was the one promoted by Jacques Maritain in his Art and Scholasticism, in which he believed that such 'products of commercial manufacture, when they are not too disgusting, have at least the advantage of being perfectly indeterminate, so neutral, so empty, we look at them without seeing them, and thus project onto them our own sentiments.[54]

Professor Gombrich has gone even further; he has ventured the paradox that for the historian, as distinct from the critic of art, the 'chocolate-boxy, kitsch, or saccharine' represents a 'holy terror', but one that ought not to fail in being recognised among the 'most significant products of our age' precisely because of its role as a catalyst.

> The desire to get away from the cheap, the tainted, the corrupt has been one of the prime motive forces of artistic development, and not only in this century. And it was this desire that led to the adoption of the term 'primitive' as a term not of condescension, but of admiration. 55

To be 'primitive' was to have responded to the plea to 'purify the dialect of the tribe'.[56] Eric Gill's insistence on doing away with so much 'frippery' of church-furnishers' merchandise while avoiding wallowing in an 'orgy of good taste' in the process;[57] J F Bentley's condemnation of 'gaudy claptrap' chosen by those who really 'belong to the gutter so far as taste is concerned';[58] and in particular Pugin's determination to rid the 'cheap magnificence' and 'meretricious show' of the 'wax dolls, flounces and furbelows, employed to decorate or rather disfigure, the altar of sacrifice and the holy place' (which to him represented the 'fag end' of the 'dazzling innovations of the Medician era'),[59] were three attempts at just such purification during the past century and a half.

A longing in the nineteenth century for a purification that would retrieve the 'lost paradise of innocence' revealed (according to certain modern critical historians of Catholicism) a desperate desire in the Church for some reassurance that its dogma and teaching were credit-worthy among the majority. The confidence placed in the visions of children like Bernadette Soubirous of Lourdes epitomised that desire

in particular, for Marina Warner, and in the ensuing forms of devotion and their commercial exploitation she found that the 'experience raises problematic and ultimately insoluble questions about the religious response and its mechanism'.[60]

The longing for a natural innocence also revealed a dread of corruption from the intellectual and material developments of the new humanist and industrialist society. Valiant endeavours to enforce its own rules in order to avoid 'gross errors of taste and false theology' only seemed to succeed in producing a supercilious attitude, a preoccupation with aberrations, and an embattled mentality. Seen in a self-referential light the cultural manifestations of the Church proved capable of a new sophistication, but inevitably it was a situation in which the Church could only become increasingly separated from a critical and creative discourse with new aesthetic and technical initiatives. Modernism was a spectre to be exorcised. With some notable exceptions the built environment of popular Catholic worship became more widely meretricious and etiolated, and there began, as Anton Henze described it, the 'triumphal progress of trash'.[61]

Aesthetic banality was not however, exclusive to an embattled religious mentality. The mass-produced items from the factories of Birmingham, Stoke, and Sheffield were, in the words of their contemporary critics, 'aesthetic abominations, veritable monstrosities'. They recognised a strategical necessity in improving taste as an essential connection between economic and moral well-being. From Pugin to Pevsner there have been campaigns to improve public taste.

Whilst an identification of beauty with 'fitness for purpose' represented a problem of aesthetic and moral integrity, economic,

political, and social factors could not be forgotten. In particular praise of 'the great principle of division of labour in support of the industrialised manufacturing processes' was diagnosed among others by William Morris, and later by Eric Gill, as the chief evil of the industrialised era. Mass production deprived workers of making complete things. The result as critically observed, was that they were deprived of pleasure and of responsibility, and so were reduced to a 'subhuman condition of intellectual irresponsibility'.[62] An implication was that the arts by not providing directly for man's ordinary everyday needs and so consequently, by not being mass-produced, became isolated from design defined as 'the art of the utilitarian'. The common concern of Morris and then of Gill for this implication was well demonstrated by Nicolette Gray in an article in an Architectural Review of 1941 when she quoted extensively from Morris' lecture on 'Art under Plutocracy'; in particular she stressed Morris' accusation that 'the modern state of society is that it is founded on the art-lacking or unhappy labour of men'. As a remedy, we are reminded, Morris argued for an extension of 'the word art beyond those matters which are consciously works of art, to take in not only painting and sculpture and architecture, but the shapes and colours of all household goods ... even the arrangements of the fields for tillage and pasture, the management of towns and of our highways of all kinds; in a word to extend it to the aspect of all the externals of life'.[63]

Gill, like Morris, saw individual creativity as being not just the preserve of the artist, and fervently adopted the aphorism of the Indian writer Ananda Coomeraswamy: 'The artist is not a special kind of man, but every man is a special kind of artist'.[64] Gill tried the socialism of the Morris school but decided that industrialisation had too firm a hold on society for any reform through politics and instead stressed the

role of religion in redeeming a creative sense and a wholeness of vision for industrial workers. The social teaching of the Church embodied in the two forceful Encyclicals Rerum Novarum (Leo XIII, 1891) and Quadragesima Anno (Pius XI, 1931) deeply affected Gill, and he linked a desire to give art back to the people as a measure of the social justice sought for, with an equal, if not greater, desire to give religion back to the people.

> The only important thing and the only thing that matters is to bring the altar to the people. It is like the cry 'back to the land', which means back to the people, back to humanity, and in this connection we must add, back to Christianity, back to the Incarnation. 65

The 'frippery' he wished to do away was not the product of people's hands, but was 'for the most part mere merchandise, stuff produced like everything else not for any use, holy or unholy but for profit'. For him the cheapening of the dignity of worship was a cheapening of the dignity of that special cultural labour of the liturgy, and thus a cheapening of all human labour and its products.[66]

In his cry 'back to the land' Gill appealed to the straightforwardness of everyday objects, and in particular to the natural simplicity of hand-crafted work. He attributed no special status to the artist, nor to the artefacts of art, especially the art employed by the Church.

> Men will make things, whether pots or paintings, whatever ecclesiastics may say or do. Where the Church shows and has always shown common sense ... is in taking advantage of men's aptitudes (and) using them for her own purposes ... The Catholic Church takes man in general, savage and civilised, rich and poor, learned and simple, with all his gifts and appetites, his needs, his delights in doing and making, his delight in things made ... She needs (men need) places of meeting (churches). Let them be as men delight to make them and let them be delightful when made. 67

The preference for the delightful and well-made commonplace item, typical

of the Arts and Crafts movement, continued in Maguire and Murray's seminal aesthetic of the 'ordinary' and the 'appropriate' for post-war churchbuildings. The thinking was that liturgical art and architecture was no special genre, such as had been promoted by the nineteenth century ritualists; rather was it the commonplace (and therefore, the secular) employed for a specified ecclesiastical use, so giving it only an ad hoc sacred significance. By engaging with the everyday in this way there was a potential for the Church to seek a theological understanding of the material economy in general. An anthropological understanding certainly accepts that the economy of material goods expresses meaning, and makes 'visible and stable the categories of culture' within a society. To paraphrase the anthropologist Mary Douglas, in this perspective, goods are much more than something primarily required for subsistence, they are very definitely adjuncts to the ritual process of consumption 'whose primary function is to make sense of the inchoate flux of events'.

> Rituals are conventions which set up visible public definitions. If you want meanings to stay still long enough to be transmitted from one person to another, you have to try to make them public and visible and recognisable. The most effective rituals use material things, and the more costly the stronger the intention to fix the meanings concerned. 68

With electric transmission, patterns of meaning become even more readily perceived, and in the context of the Church provide a new understanding of the Christian myth as a reality 'seen at a very high speed'. This new 'electric consciousness' as Marshall Macluhan described it, promises a 'Pentecostal condition of universal understanding and unity' that does not implicitly deny the mythical community of the Church, nor of each local church's need to congregate and maintain the means of communion 'social and divine', but offers the capability of indefinite

transformation of the forms in which the churches will congregate and organise their activities. What he envisaged was a dismantling of the heavy industrial technologies which came 'after Gutenberg', and a greater development of 'cottage economies' in which the 'railway centralism' of ecclesiastical bureaucracy would become passe.[69]

That 'small is beautiful' was also the conclusion of E F Schumacher in his analysis of the social effects of advancing technology.[70] What he perceived was a failure to spread the benefits of an increasingly sophisticated technology throughout the world. He was thinking largely of the uneven development or distribution of resources to the detriment of the Third World. That the same principles might also be applied to an area of ailing industrial economy, was the mind of the 'Panel Established by the Merseyside Enterprise Forum to Consider the Social Implications of Advancing Technology' in 1980, when it concluded that if 'the threatened breakdown in society is to be avoided, we have to ensure that some at least of the new and advancing technology is contained in sufficiently small packets to have a recognisable and human face'.[71] What the panel's report was concerned for was a completely radical reassessment of work vis a vis the argument that 'the primary task of technology is to lighten the burden of work which man has to carry in order to survive and develop his potential'. As such it was a concern not unrelated to a 'theology of production' and the status of 'work' in the 'aesthetics of liberation' as outlined by Enrique Dussel in relation to Latin America.[72]

Dussel argues that the theology of liberation depends totally on a preliminary 'theology of production' (ie productive creation), and that this theology should think of the universe and nature as a 'product' of the divine vitality; and of man as a 'productive subject' (not an ego

cogito but an ego laboro) 'who in producing the goods required for the basic necessities of human life creates the conditions for the celebration of the Eucharist'. The Eucharist presupposes materially the existence of 'bread', which in Biblical terms, is the fruit of our labour par excellence, but only so when produced freely and fairly within the prevailing political economy. Only then, according to Dussel, can it be seen as a theological economy where the cult or service paid to God is the offering of the product of labour, and he points out that in Hebrew the same word is used for 'cult' as for 'work': habodah.

Further in his outline of a 'theological aesthetics of liberation' in Latin America Dussel outlines the problem of acculturation (that branch of anthropology concerned with what happens when diverse cultures meet and mingle). He refers to the art of 'the ruling classes' (aesthetics of domination); of 'the oppressed classes' (popular art produced by the working classes, liberation art); and of 'the prophetic Christian vanguard' (integral to the people's struggle), as he perceives these layers in the three periods of Latin American religious art (pre-Hispanic, Spanish colonial and 'the period of dependence on Anglo-Saxon capitalism, until its defeat').

Discussing development since 1950 of 'The New Factors in Missionary Art'[73] J F Butler outlined the far greater complexity of acculturation facing Christian art and architecture in 'the Younger Churches'. In an introductory historical survey Butler referred to the Jesuit support of sparing converts the 'psychological traumas of a complete reorientation of culture ... when these were not absolutely necessary for the purity of faith and morals', and to the Franciscan and Dominican thunderings against the dangers of syncretistic heresy involved in such compromises with what was basically unChristian. 'Here it is enough to say that,

complicated though the history was, the underlying theory was very simple. On the one hand was Westernism, theologically safe, but with narrow, inhibiting foreignness; but the alternative, adaptationism or indigenisation, involved risk to doctrine and morals'.

1950 was the date of the Vatican Exhibition of Missionary Art organised by Cardinal Celso Constantini,[74] and regarded by Butler as the turning point in resistance to adaptationism. Even so, as Peter Hebblethwaite pointed out, the resistance had not disappeared by the time of the Second Vatican Council when pleas for a healthy subjectivism and relativism were met with dismay.[75]

Christianity never fell and never can fall into a religious, cultural and social vacuum, and so must always find in its various environments an intellectual, emotional and institutional expression akin to its needs. In an important analysis of factors that have influenced Church art and architecture mainly in Africa and Asia, Butler ranged widely considering the impact of 'The Conversion of General Opinion in the West to a Sense of the Relativism of Western Culture'; 'The Barthian Conviction of the Contamination of the Christian Revelation by the West'; 'The Spread of the Liturgical Movement'; 'The Church Use of Ferro-Concrete Architecture and Other Modern Techniques'; 'The Anti-Traditionalism of the New Nationalisms'; 'The Christian Use of Abstract Art'; 'The Vogue for Naive Art'; 'The New Puritanism'; 'The Paganization of the West'; and 'The Sociological Study of Acculturation'. Such a plurality of factors not only vindicated the need to radically reassess evangelisation in alien cultures, but also had a relevance to the greater complexity of a multi-racial, multi-cultural and multi-faith society in the British Isles.

The Use of Church Properties for Community Activities in Multi-Racial Areas was published in 1972 by the British Council of Churches and had as an appendix the results of a survey in three multi-racial, multi-faith areas of Bradford, Derby, and Lambeth: 'Church, Property and People' (cf Appendix 4.1). In her survey Ann Holmes analysed attitudes to the use of church property by other mainstream Churches; by minority Churches; by non-Christian faiths; by non-religious groups; and by anti-religious groups, and concluded that a poor understanding of 'community orientation' in faithfulness to the Christian Gospel was inhibiting the Churches in their relating resources to the needs of the local community as well as the local church, and planning and working on an ecumenical basis.

In considering the present cultural implications for the Church it is a problem to hold all the issues in one comprehensible view, and to conceive of a church-building that could express every aspect. For the 'ecumenist' the problem is one of devising means for the greater sharing of resources;[76] for the promoter of 'justice and peace' the problem of cultural plurality is primarily if not exclusively defined in terms of conflicting ethnic groups;[77] for the 'educationist' the problem is one of querying the value of traditional cultural distinctiveness;[78] and so on.

Vatican II had the same problem to which it addressed itself in a most wide-ranging and far-reaching statement on the 'Proper Development of Culture' within one of the most major promulgations of the Council, the Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World (1965). In it 'culture' refers to man at work, man in society, and man who learns and the plurality of these cultures throughout the world and

within individual groupings, was recognised. What held the plurality together was the concept of 'diversity in unity'; it was not a diversity of cultures closed to each other, but one that was open and responsive to acculturation, and inevitably one that was committed to a drive towards a common universal culture characterised by the exact sciences developing more fully a critical sense; psychological studies explaining human activity more deeply; and historical studies leading to things being viewed more in the light of change and evolution.[79] And Hebblethwaite notes that the 'Council is not afraid to speak of the need to see things sub specie mutabilitatis (in contrast) with the more familiar expression: sub specie aeternitatis'. Further, these three characteristics are on the level of high culture and filter down to the popular level where they combine with standardisation, industrialisation, urbanisation, international communications, and mass-cultures.[80]

The cultural currents in the post-war period have been several and varied. The Church's response to these has been essentially contained in the two slogans that have characterised its thinking in the twentieth century, viz: 'aggiornamento, or keeping abreast of the times, and approfondimento, or deepening of religious thought'.[81] In terms of its worship, and of the architectural setting of its worship in particular in this context, the phrase 'renewal and adaptation' is especially useful in summarising the general thrust of change. In an endeavour to renew its liturgy, which for the Church is its prime means of self-understanding, only what was 'essential' was sought for or 'disinterred' (as Gill put it). As a result of being too exclusive and protectionist in its dogmatic concern, popular liturgies (ie para-liturgies) had proliferated and now the Church wished to develop a more pastoral Eucharistic theology in order to provide greater access to what was 'the summit and centre' of its

life. Culturally that meant purging the externals of Catholic worship of 'popular trifles' in an effort to return to a pure and primitive understanding of the liturgy.

In a corresponding endeavour to keep abreast of the times the Church steadily, if at times somewhat reluctantly, accepted the need for adaptation. In its forms of universal evangelisation, and in its mission to the varying needs within particular societies, the characteristics of acculturation were increasingly recognised. The theological and cultural rigours which had characterised the liturgical renewal in order to make it more truly the unifying _lingua franca_ of a Church faced by international conflict, became more modified and 'relative'. In a multi-racial, multi-cultural, multi-faith society the Church adapted to a more 'multi-purpose' role, and its worship was seen in less determinate terms, and more in terms of flexibility and plurality. Expressed in architecture, adaptation has been evident in not only the greater or lesser schemes of re-ordering churchbuildings, but also in the development of the multi-purpose, and shared-use, concepts of churchbuilding.

Art and Aestheticism

A sense of _aggiornamento_ has been widely characteristic of post-Renaissance art, particularly the art of the twentieth century. As the Church, in the post-war era especially, has also become increasingly concerned with _aggiornamento_, there has been a justifiable expectation to see reflected in its art many of the trends and controversies associated with art in general. And _vice versa_: as the flourishing development of art-historical studies in recent years has shown that art embodies or reflects 'the conditions, the ideas, and the rules under which it was produced', so there has been a growing realisation that

developments in religious art reflect developments in religious thought.[82] Modern thought however has been notable for its religious scepticism, and for producing, what has been considered as being, a 'post religious society'. Not surprisingly, the Church has tended consequently to view the art of the Modern Movement as a prime agent of the 'untraditional'[83] and to hold it suspect.

Though the Church does not exist primarily to encourage the fine arts,[84] its sacramental theology, which defines liturgy as involving the 'presentation of man's sanctification under the guise of signs perceptible to the senses',[85] necessarily implies a concern for art. But an exclusively liturgical concern for art is not a concern for art as a visible historical development, nor as an exercise of the creative ego, but as a ritual patterning of the essential Christian myth. In its attempt to make visible and stable a contemporary correspondence with the original 'shape of the liturgy', the tendency has been to produce an aesthetic derived from 'functional determinism'.[86] It is an aesthetic of space allied to Norberg-Schulz's notion of a 'meaningful and coherent environmental image' by which we orientate ourselves to the several concepts and percepts of space of which we are now aware. But in its determinism critics of this aesthetic identify it with a new 'monumentalism' (Debuyst), or with a triumphalism of the 'aesthetics of domination' (Dussel).

Though the aesthetic of 'noble simplicity' has been pursued as a perfection of 'functional determinism', it has also been regarded as a perfection of the 'spirit of poverty' (Senn). But in this pursuit of 'noble simplicity' the moralistic motivation has been vulnerable to criticism, as the outcome has seemed to satisfy more an elite aesthetic of economic dominance. But conversely, the presumption that the

economically poor and politically oppressed are devoid of art, or all interest in it, and that any identification with them therefore requires a corresponding lack of aesthetic concern, has been considered suspect. Yet for those who would generally identify with the economically dominant there has been the doubt whether art at times of widespread moral crisis has a sufficiently symbolic capacity for optimism. If not, then there is certain to be a 'tension between art and faith' (Berrigan). Yet if pessimism and nihilism were to lead to an alienation of art, or to an art concerned with its own annihilation, if the vital connection between religion and imagination were to be overlooked or denied, then, it has been considered, religion would be in danger of evaporation, or of becoming the 'prisoner of practical men and their needs'.[87]

Such issues and their implications are the reverberations of those which first showed themselves in post-war France, and provoked such a response of questions and demands from Rome, with such catalytic effect upon the images and environment of Catholic worship that extended outside France, including the British Isles. Here, in this limited consideration of art and aestheticism, critical attention is confined to just the three sets of issues outlined above, associated with 'modern art', 'liturgical art' and 'liberation art'.

Developments in the Modern Movement in art gave encouragement to those who favoured a modern religious art, but provoked those who did not. The ensuing argument contested not only the appropriate style or form of Christian art in the twentieth but also what actually was to be understood by the generic term 'Christian art'; was it an art by Christians, or for Christians, or with a Christian content, or with a Christian end in view?[88]

Prior to 1947 several initiatives were taken to engage the Church more closely with modern art, of which the seminal work of the French philosopher Jacques Maritain, Art et Scolastique, was considered to be paramount. As Koenker pointed out later, it was a conception of Christian art much less restrictive than those nineteenth century theories based on historicism, or even those bound to a vision of total liturgy as promoted by the Liturgical Movement, based as it was on the 'authentic inspiration' principle derived from St Augustine: 'Love God and do what you will'.[89] As such it allowed a vital interior freedom and an ability to operate in the living idiom of the time, and not be overburdened by tradition, while observing the necessary requirement of conveying its meaning to the faithful.

Of the artists who conformed to this principle, the most notable was considered by Roulin (and others) to be Maurice Denis of Les Nabis.[90] According to Koenker, Denis is also notable for promoting the 'strict harmony of three all-important factors: the life of art, involving knowledge of style and good workmanship; the divine life, stemming from Scripture, the liturgy, religious knowledge, and the artistic productions of the great Christian epochs; and the life of one's environment, including the people, daily occurrences, and the natural setting of the artist's life'.[91]

Others argued for the classification of works as Christian by virtue of their inherent anima naturaliter christiana,[92] while yet others stressed the iconic potential of abstract art as the projection of an 'interior landscape'.[93] In the thirties in France a trend of bringing the Church increasingly to terms with modern art and the several underlying philosophies of its diverse aesthetic, was quite definitely marked. The

impetus was greatly increased with papal acknowledgment of the 'legitimacy' of modern art,[94] and the founding of the periodical L'Art Sacre in 1935 by Joseph Prichard provided a platform for the radical views of the Dominican Fathers Couturier and Regamey. But the trend was not universally accepted, and a fierce rearguard action was fought during the war years.

An example of resistance in England to modern art in the service of the Church was that of E I Watkin as argued in his Catholic Art and Culture (1942). Because of a lack of religion to provide 'collective insight' art had lost contact with society, and had, instead become increasingly the preserve of coteries 'until it finally reached the unintelligibility of a purely private idiom'. As he then perceived it, modern art had become threateningly subversive to an already depressed English Catholicism.

> To-day collective pseudo-religions have arisen inspiring pseudo-cultures which are but disciplined barabarisms and finding expression in an art and literature which, if once more popular, have no more worth than the ideologies they express ... Catholics have been fighting desperately a rearguard action against the superior forces of an advancing secularism. Their foes, on the other hand, have pressed forward with the confidence that the present is with them and the future their own. 95

In 1947 the growing controversy was allayed by the comprehensive Encyclical on Catholic worship Mediator Dei which both affirmed that modern art should not be 'condemned out of hand' but be allowed 'full scope', while simultaneously censuring it in a way that, according to Cyril Barrett, could only be detected as being a new trend in official pronouncements on art, and going even beyond the strictures of the Council of Trent.[96] Official attitude upto and including Trent had been expressed in the maxim of the Second Council of Nicea (787): 'Art alone

belongs to the painter: the order and disposition to the Fathers'. But with its reference to taste, 'true art' and distortion, to realism and 'symbolism' (ie abstract art) the Encyclical ventured into the controversial area of aesthetic judgment.

In 1950 the controversy came to a head with far-reaching consequences. That year the church by Novarina at Assy in the French Alps was consecrated. From an initiative taken by the Dominican Couturier to engage the leading French exponents of modern art, the argument against the use of non-Catholic artists, promoted by Maritain,[97] was seriously challenged. Of the fifteen artists only two were practising Catholics (Rouault and Bazaine); the others were atheists or non-practising Catholics (including Matisse, Bonnard, Braque and Richier), Jews (Chagall and Lipchitz), and Communists (Leger and Lurcat). This in itself was scandalous enough, but it was the forced removal of the crucifix by Germaine Richier, that provoked the greater scandal, and led to the unprecedented intervention of the Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office.[98] Faced with a controversy at Assy, the French Episcopal Commission for Pastoral and Liturgical Matters adopted a moderate attitude by recognising that a vital art must correspond with the idioms of the times, and welcomed the engagement of the foremost exponents of these idioms, while expressing the hope that they would 'impregnate themselves with the Christian spirit' and also not produce works which required 'long intellectual explanations'. However the Holy Office dismissed the Commission's directive as being of 'no moment', and in 1952 issued its own Instruction De Arte Sacra, in which it invoked the support of Trent and of Canon Law in condemning stylistic distortions, and thus compounded the mistake of Mediator Dei by venturing into art criticism and not confining itself to iconographical and doctrinal

norms. As Daniel Berrigan later commented: 'The Pope's statement seemed to be foundering upon the heavy waters of genius'.[99]

In 1964 commenting on the Second Vatican Council's directives on art in relation to Catholic worship, Cyril Barrett put its pronouncements in the full context of the 'Assy controversy', and concluded that its tone was a 'vindication of the more moderate attitude of the French directive'. Yet though it was more favourable to modern art it still retained a tendency to confuse aesthetic and artistic principles and practices with liturgical, and to apply aesthetic criteria as if to modern art, or Western art, only, without seemingly realising the wider and art historical implications - a failure that was comprehensively and sensitively corrected in the section on the 'Proper Development of Culture' of the Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World (Gaudium et Spes) issued in 1965 two years after The Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy (Sacrosanctum Concilium).

In the fifties in England in the debate that was generated by the competition for the rebuilding of Coventry cathedral, the modern churches of France held a particular fascination, prompted by Regamey's seminal Art Sacre au XXe Siecle? (1952). The very first pamphlet published in 1958 by the New Churches Research Group was a Guide to New French Churches edited by Peter Hammond.[100] The thinking, quite clearly, was to engage with modern art as a complement to new constructional techniques in churchbuilding, in the manner of the French. Those few who were sufficiently percipient were keen to promote this trend as the realisation of a new cultural role for the Church in the post-war reconstruction of a Christian Europe. Where officialdom failed to respond local initiatives took up the cause. In 1964 the parish priest of a new church in West London had an address of Paul VI to artists

privately published and invited Sir John Rothenstein, then Director of the Tate Gallery, to comment on it, with the directives of Vatican II as an appendix.[101] But already by 1960 the danger of making the 'Church's house of prayer ... a possession of high cultural and aesthetic interest, or a pavilion of religious art' had been recognised by Hammond (and others), and the emphasis was shifting to one of regarding the primary function of the worship setting as being simply the practical provision of a 'shelter for the liturgical assembly of a particular Christian community'.[102]

The problem as Debuyst perceived it, was the mistake of allowing church architecture to be conceived of as being the product of artistic genius alone, and of each product being thus regarded as a hapax legomenon monopolizing for itself the 'reality of the Christian mystery' instead of serving the liturgical assembly.[103] Without that central stabilising discipline, art would seduce faith into 'all kinds of weird excesses, neurotic compensations and downright idiocy' with a 'great deal of architectural vaudeville'.[104] But conversely by shifting the emphasis to an assumption that a building is merely the sum total of technical devices for the solution of functional problems' there was the danger of the excess of believing that 'the glory of God may be served just as much if not more by getting the acoustics and the heating right, as by incorporating some expensive piece of junk passing as a work of art'.[105]

> Not only does this tend to shape buildings more and more like machines, but the whole order of interchangeable, standardized parts becomes a method which restrains the possibilities of free art and thus eliminates the organic. Architecture then becomes more a matter of assembly and fabrication than creation ... However justified this may seem, it is plain that great art has always been more than well-developed techniques. 106

Unfortunately the situation in the early sixties does seem to have been

one of the Liturgical Movement having been taken to excuse a rash of new churches which were justified as being 'liturgical' while remaining the 'products of an architectural bear-garden'.[107] The critics of that situation sincerely believed that the needs of the liturgy provided sufficient aesthetic criteria, and that art was inherent in all the things which had to be made for the built environment of worship, and was not confined to works of 'fine art' alone. As such, art was integral to the 'programme' arising from the 'liturgical brief'.[108]

In stressing that contemporary architectural theory 'does not recognise the existence of an autonomous manner of working that produces an independent style called 'church architecture'', great emphasis was placed on the principle that there is 'no law dictating suitable relationships (of space, form, construction, function, and other elements) except that found in the total configuration itself'.[109] Hammond in 1957 in one of the earliest post-war critical commentaries on 'Contemporary Architecture and the Church', eulogised the 'simplicity of the new French churches in which all the instruments of the liturgy - the altar, the sacred vessels, vestments, candlesticks, mural paintings and stained glass - are conceived in relation to the church as a whole, as an integral part of the architectural conception'.[110] There was nothing new about the concept of the 'total work of art'.[111] But in the typology of total churchbuilding configurations formulated by Rudolf Schwarz there was introduced on one level a whole new physiological understanding of the worship environment, and on another, a potent new symbolism derived from an aesthetic theology of Catholic liturgy;[112] like Christian Norberg-Schulz' patterns of 'nodes', 'paths', and 'domains' which assist man's existential orientation in establishing meaningful and coherent environmental images.[113] The danger of this typological theory was of

succumbing to a literal symbolism, as in the classic example of St Francis Xavier's church at Kansas City, which is shaped like an early Christian pictogram for a fish.[114] But even where the theory was taken seriously it was criticised for developing 'le complex du monument'[115] among those who sought a form of new churchbuilding that was rooted much more in a pastoral liturgy.

Though Schwarz' types received critical attention as early as 1952 in the Architectural Review,[116] the book Vom Bau der Kirche (1938) did not appear in a full English edition until 1958. In 1957 the Directives of the German Liturgical Commission (1947) were published in English[117] and complemented by a speight of books illustrating post-war developments in churchbuilding in Europe, of which the English edition of Henze and Filthaut's Contemporary Church Art (1956) has probably been most influential. What it thoroughly delineated was a comprehensive schema or design strategy for churchbuilding based on sound liturgical understanding and practice, presented 'not in unrelated fragments but as a coherent whole, in a significant order and with the emphasis appropriately distributed'.[118] The contemporary liturgical art and architecture of Ireland has probably been most influenced by this thinking, in the British Isles. Outside Germany it certainly has been very evident in America,[119] and outside the Catholic Church too. In formulating a set of 'Architectural Criteria for Presbyterian and Reformed Churches' Bruggink and Droppers added to an understanding of order and coherence an essential distinction between those elements which are a manifestation of the means whereby God's grace is transmitted to his people in Word and Sacrament, and those which are a response to this in thanksgiving and praise.[120] It was a set of distinctions similar to that devised by Cope in a categorisation of 'liturgical',

'para-liturgical', and 'extra-liturgical'. What such an ordering allowed was a greater pastoral understanding and accommodation of art and creativity. While the schema of Henze and Filthaut did not exclude popular involvement, it very much tended to favour the professional in practice, and to those favouring a popular pastoral liturgy such a practice was too susceptible to elitism and esotericism.

The greater emphasis on pastoral liturgy implied a greater emphasis on communal celebration in which the people not only made the rituals more their own but also the environment of their enactment. Space became place: formal and typological abstractions gave way to experiential and pragmatic realities. The building was to be less regarded as a gallery for art, or as an art object itself, than as a communal workshop. Art was part of a theology of liberation; it was an extemporisation, a 'rehearsal experience',[121] an exploration of juxtaposition and paradox.

Now it is possible to refer to the influence of Harvey Cox and his Feast of Fools in the sixties,[122] but the concept of the 'Playfulness of the Liturgy' had long been an essential one within the Liturgical Movement. The Spirit of the Liturgy (1930) had contained Guardini's belief that the soul should 'play the divinely ordained game of the liturgy in liberty and beauty and holy joy before God',[123] and should demonstrate 'the one thing that it has in common with the play of the child and the life of art (viz) it has no purpose, but it is full of profound meaning'.[124] But where an emphasis was placed too much on liturgy as a 'supernatural childhood' there was an obvious danger to succumb to the puerile and the banal (ie to those adult images of childhood which are fraught with whimsy).

Juxtaposed to the 'purposeless' art of play there has been evident the

'purposeful' art of propaganda. Guardini himself had warned of pursuing a 'purpose' in the liturgy: 'Purpose is the goal of all effort, labour and organisation, meaning is the essence of existence, of flourishing ripening life'.[125] The entire scientific sphere he saw as exhibiting an 'enterprising and aggressive tendency' which developed inevitably into a 'powerful, restlessly productive, labouring community', for which the ordering of a phenomenological world, of a world of observable realities, a world of material things, was concomitant with the functioning of the will in matters of practicality and freedom. 'In this way the active life forces its way before the contemplative'.[126] The implication is that action as the exercise of the will, is the action of 'practical men and of their needs', and the art which serves that purpose is propaganda. As greater 'action' and 'involvement' have been two model objectives in a pastoral orientation of the liturgy, so they have also become objectives for the Church in the world of practical men and their 'aim conscious aids' have been visibly evident in the worship environment of Catholic churches, to a greater or lesser extent, since the sixties.

> Such is the origin of pragmatism, by which truth is no longer viewed as an independent value in the case of a conception of the universe or in spiritual matters, but as the expression of the fact that a principle or system benefits life and actual affairs, and elevates the character and stability of the will ... It is a spirit which has step by step abandoned objective religious truth, and has tended to make conviction a matter of personal judgment, feeling, and experience. 127

Guardini again presages a post-war trend, and expresses a profoundly Catholic fear, in which can be discerned an even older fear of Pelagianism.[128] In cultural terms the subjectivism to which he refers, is evident in popular notions of 'originality' and 'creativity'.

In a comprehensive analysis of 'Les Limites Necessaires de la Creativite

en Liturgie' (1977)[129] Dom Oury was concerned with notions and practices of 'creativity' as developed in relation to the post-conciliar liturgical renewal. 'Creativity' can evoke a spontaneous joy and freedom untrammelled by conformity and open to originality and discovery. Conversely it can be synonymous with arbitrariness, vulgarity, improvision, and self-justification. And where evident in worship can induce a sense of frustration in limiting access to a 'normal' liturgy by the intrusion of groups or individuals who seek to impose purely personal interpretations, or complicity with secular aims. The cult of 'originality' Oury traces to four probable sources comprising a dissatisfaction within society which excites a sense of instability and finds a temporary security in fashion; a stolid conformity imposed by mass communication, production and commerce, which induces a need for self-affirmation and identity; a subjectivism which refuses to accept tradition and so narcissistically regards culture solely as self-expression or self-contemplation; and a frustration caused by an artificial environment that denies a working relationship with nature and so requires practical therapy.

In recent socio-religious studies (eg 'Deviance and Diversity in Roman Catholic Worship' (1979) by Chris Williams;[130] 'Competitive Assemblies of God: Lies and Mistakes' (1981) by Kieran Flanagan[131]) there have been clearly observed cultural trends which exhibit 'originality' and 'creativity', but which simultaneously have provoked strong oppositional trends: a conventional university chaplaincy chapel is turned into a 'liturgical workshop'; while a country house parlour is turned into a Tridentinist oratory.

Aesthetic manifestations of the difficulties of bringing a new Church into existence may well describe deep-seated socio-religious problems,

and in the immediate post-war period may even have been the 'opening salvo of a much more massive and radical questioning of Christianity itself',[132] but in 1967 the radical Jesuit, Daniel Berrigan, argued that real questions of art and faith 'spun from men's guts' had little to do with such manifestations.[133] Against the moral dilemma of the Vietnam war he asked whether we wanted the image of a cross at all, or whether life itself had taken the shape of what we used to make into art. In a world where the 'symbols of unfaith are very nearly omnipresent' and the 'visible figures are those of death and the dealing of death' he was convinced that it was not a time for making art at all. It was a morbid conviction which stood in interesting comparison to the near hedonism of Cox's Christianised 'rock' culture of the same era. But in its deep doubts of how the symbols of faith had been 'rendered questionable by experience itself' it is allied to questions currently regarding the oppressed in Latin America and in the role of art in their liberation.

In the liberation of the oppressed in Latin America there would seem to be none of Berrigan's doubts about the suitability of the time for the production of art. In a 'theology of production' Enrique Dussel argues that to create a new world the oppressed must have freedom to produce bread in order to satisfy their basic need (and which the Eucharist requires as a preliminary condition for its celebration); and freedom to produce art of a 'critical, prophetic and eschatological 'beauty' '.[134] This 'liberation art' constitutes two of the three categories of Christian art viz: the 'art of the oppressed' and the 'art of the prophetic Christian vanguard'. The bitter tremendism of popular images of the crucified Christ, and the desperate struggles of the people depicted by the muralists, being the most poignant evidence

of these categories. Dussell's third category is the 'art of the ruling classes' (which includes the art of the masses as opposed to the authentic 'art of the people'), and is to be seen in its most triumphant form in the 'restored German churches (glass doors, bronze decorations, perfect lighting, organs with wonderful acoustics etc.)'.[135]

With half the population of the Catholic Church in Latin America, the influence of 'liberation art' has inevitably had an effect upon an aesthetic of worship in other parts of the world including the British Isles. A 'spirit of poverty' has been however, a familiar concept in post-war debates on churchbuilding.[136] In the sixties, Rainer Senn's chapel for rag-pickers at Nice was the environmental symbol. Whenever illustrated though, it never showed the rag-pickers' own propensity for transfiguring their environment from the dross of society; a propensity that Eugene Atget[137] had well documented years before.(Plates 5&6) It was as if poverty were to be considered identical to 'noble simplicity', deprivation to 'spiritual transparency'. The purgative value of such an attitude at that time can now be assessed, as can the possibility of its spurious adoption as a simulation of poverty or oppression. But in the true art of the poor and the oppressed the one great overriding factor is its innate and symbolic capacity for transfiguration, for a desire for meaning to life, for an openness to religion.

At a time when modern art seems to be manifesting symptoms of acute meaninglessness, 'art and the question of meaning' has become a deeply serious theological concern. While that meaninglessness might be dealt with in a way that is 'aesthetically completely meaningful' the question now is whether modern art has not 'in its most recent developments not perhaps itself destroyed the heritage of a thousand-year-old history and thus great potentialities of meaning?' Has it not succumbed to

'conjuring up its own end', to achieving the annihilation of 'the consequences of all art notion' which the de Stijl group had sought?

> Has not modern art in its most recent developments not perhaps itself destroyed the heritage of a thousand-year-old history and thus great potentialities of meaning? With its radical questioning of all aesthetic methods and norms, is it not exposed to the great danger of destroying its own meaning, its great significance for men, of conjuring up its own end ... ? 138

> What leitmotifs of our century have not yet been given artistic shape, what principles of form have not yet been subjected to thorough experimentation, what new techniques have not yet been tried, what artistic 'action' not yet started, what bold happening not yet staged, what taboo not yet infringed? Is it possible to surpass what has hitherto been attempted? Whether geometry or dreams, whether the sophisticated or the banal, whether _objets trouve_ or environment, whether aluminium, polyester, or excreta, nails, rags, or scraps of food, whether op, pop, or porn, whether monochrome, informal, serial, or conceptional (sic), whether quotations from illustrated papers and posters or persiflage of sacrosanct masterworks; experiments have been made with all these things - up to the final consequences. 139

These are questions recently asked by the theologian Hans Küng; they are also similar to those asked in 1970 by the cultural historian H R Rookmaaker, in his critical 'epitaph' to _Modern Art and the Death of a Culture_. Recently too in a close analysis of a historical relationship between art and theology in order to understand more fully the present predicament of that relationship, Mgr William Purdy has concluded that it 'cannot be simply taken for granted that the visual arts have any future in the Christian community, or even in the human community'.[140] But assuming that the arts survive, it would seem to remain a doubtful supposition that the Church would regain a position of being a major patron; and it would also seem doubtful (according to Purdy) whether the Church would even maintain a connection as 'external moral censor of works whose language the theologian takes no trouble to learn'.[141] But a connection between artist and theologian is one that should be fostered, it is argued, because, like Eliot's description of poetry, art and

theology represent a 'raid on the inarticulate'. Their resource is the imagination where memory is compounded, perception is heightened, and expressive forms are born and revitalised.

A regard for art as a creative source for theology provides a much broader base from which to define a Christian art, or an art of Christian ritual, than that which restricts it to being a 'visual aid'. It also gets beyond a restriction of theology to the use and understanding of language alone. Just as anthropologically, it has been accepted that the economy of material goods needs and demonstrates an 'essential capacity to make sense of things, creatively'; a concept which is the parallel of that which accepts that language is not primarily intended for giving instructions about practical things. Without that concept the economy of material goods would become separated from the imagination and solely the concern of 'practical men and of their needs'. By regarding in a more positive and comprehensive way the 'extra-utile' significance of art, the Church is seeking to provide an indication of her sacramental system, which is to be theologically regarded as 'signa-making' par excellence. And by stressing the signa-making functions of her liturgy, the Church is endeavouring to ward off the final consequences of materialism - including the annihilation of art. That being so, it would seem that the onus is upon art and liturgy to oppose themselves to the ultimate 'purposefulness' of materialism, and in doing so to recall the assertion of the artist-visionary,

David Jones:

> The Christian cult rests solidly on the presupposition that man is a sacramental animal ... (and) it is to this sacramental principle that the Christian ecclesia is committed. And it is by that commitment that She unconsciously asserts the validity of all signa-making, all extra-utile acts, all poiesis. 142

In conclusion, the three sets of issues discussed clearly demonstrate that broader cultural implications are inherent in churchbuilding concerns than those which might be narrowly described as 'ecclesiastical'. The organisation of any environment, temporarily or permanently, for Christian worship inevitably involves cultural implications, and so requires a critical understanding of cultural values and traditions. In the post-war period, anthropological and sociological surveys and analyses have been developing this understanding, and from these and other studies the Church now has a much fuller and more well-defined awareness available to it for assessing cultural implications.

In the Catholic Church sociological aims and methods were regarded with some suspicion for a long time. Even when it was thought necessary to be more analytical apropos building needs in the immediate post-war period, sociological methods were used primarily to quantify resources necessary for an educational strategy. Their function was largely regarded as being limited to statistical demographic analysis and projection, and of little relevance to an understanding of religious behaviour and practices, and of the church buildings designed to accommodate, enable and express them. But the limitations did not go unnoticed; there has developed a considerable interest in religious needs and behaviour, and in the social role of celebration and ritual. Christian practices have come under scrutiny and especially so in Catholic circles as a result of the renewal and change brought about by the Second Vatican Council in the mid-1960s. A sense of 'place' has been seen to be integral to 'practice', and so in the following chapter several theoretical understandings of the 'place' of Christian worship are surveyed and critically assessed.

Footnotes

1. Purdy W A Seeing and Believing: Theology and Art (1976) p115

2. Source of reference as supplied by Rev J Redford (member of the Evangelical/Roman Catholic Dialogue on Mission) not given, but see Lausanne Occasional Papers No 2 'The Willowbank Report - Gospel and Culture'(1978) and International Review of Mission Vol 67 No 266 (1978) pp211-221
The Report was the outcome of a consultation on Gospel and Culture sponsored by the Lausanne Committee for World Evangelisation in 1978

3. Douglas M 'Why Do People Want Goods' The Listener (8 & 15 Sep 1977) p330

4. Purdy (1976) p81 Quoted in Lees-Milne J St Peter's (1967) p124

5. Pius XII Encyclical Mediator Dei (1947) art 60

6. Ibid Cf art 200; art 201; art 208

7. Purdy (1976) p100

8. In the Bulla Auctorum Fidei

9. Hammond P Liturgy and Architecture (1960) p56

10. Ibid pp55/56 Quoted in Reinhold H A 'A Revolution in Church Architecture' Liturgical Arts (VI 3 1938)

11. Original title Nos Eglises (1938 Eng tr 1947)

12. Ibid p262

13. Sacrorum Antistitum

14. Roulin (1938/47) fig153 p262

15. Ibid fig 51 p132

16. Hammond (1960) p56

17. Maguire R and Murray K Modern Churches of the World (1965) p24

18. Ibid

19. Schnell H Twentieth Century Church Architecture in Germany (Eng tr 1974)

20. 'Individuals or short waves of enthusiasm, can to a wide degree dispense with learning and culture. This is proved by the beginnings of the desert Orders in Egypt, and of the mendicant friars, and by holy people in all ages. But generally speaking, a fairly high degree of genuine learning and culture is necessary in the long run, in order to keep spiritual life healthy ... In all this is to

be learnt a really important lesson on liturgical practice. Religion needs civilisation. By civilisation we mean the essence of the most valuable products of man's creative, constructive and organising powers - works of art, science, social orders, and the like. In the liturgy it is civilisation's task to give durable form and expression to the treasures of truths, aims, and supernatural activity, which God has delivered to man by Revelation, to distil its quintessence, to relate this to life in all its multiplicity'.

Guardini R The Spirit of the Liturgy (Vom Geist der Liturgie) (1918 Eng tr 1930) pp32/33

21. Debuyst F 'Vers Une Revaluation des 'Classiques'' Espace II (1981) Indebtedness is due to Mrs Winefride Pruden for a translation of this article

22. 'It is our intention to show that Christocentric forces are being aroused which are striving for new forms and are in process of creating a new style. It is our aim to develop from these fundamental ideas principles which will help to eliminate the present-day lack of clear objectives in the building of parish churches'. 'If only men would desist entirely from building and furnishing in the 'pure' Gothic, Romanesque or Baroque styles. If only men would everywhere learn to design in truth ... What we want is in a word: the altar as the 'Mystical Christ' shall be the point of departure and the artistic focal point of the churchbuilding and furnishings. The whole complex of fine art in the service of God should create, in the full knowledge of tradition, true and noble contemporary forms arising from liturgical needs, whereby the main part of the interior should be the realisation of the total work of art ...' 'If anyone strolls through the Gothic house of God, he sees through a diverging lens and views a wondrous paradise of form and colour. If anyone turns his attention to the early-Christian house of God, he is looking through a converging lens'.
Quoted Schnell (1974) pp34/35

23. Smith P F Third Millenium Churches (1972) p34

24. Bieler A Architecture in Worship (Liturgie et Architecture) (1961) Eng tr Elliott (1965)

25. Mediator Dei art 10

26. Ibid art 24

27. The Listener (15 Feb; 22 Feb; 1 Mar; 8 Mar 1979)

28. Denis M quoted Roulin E Modern Church Architecture (1938/47) p817

29. Chasse C The Nabis and Their Period (1960 Eng tr 1969) p112

30. Didier (Desiderius) Lenz (1832-1928) Although during his life time held in high esteem, his canons of human form and sacred measurement were regarded as unorthodox, and their publication was prohibited in toto, even after his death. Chasse claims papal duplicity in supporting Lenz: in the absence of any other organised team of

'decorators' Lenz received major commissions (eg Monte Cassino, 1913), yet after his death his principles of art were abandoned.

His work has been regarded as marking a break with sentimental art and replacing it with one that was completely objective and dogmatic; also one that did not moralize or lend itself to propaganda.

It has further been regarded as an elite art of the cloisters, and one not readily accessible to the faithful.

Lenz certainly conceived his art according to the principles of Gregorian music, and so gained applause for attempting to do in the visual arts what the Benedictine order (to which he belonged) had done in the art of music, with the revival of plainchant.

Apropos his canon of aesthetic principles derived from Egyptian art; these he formulated (after fears of heretical implications) in 1864. One of his collaborators from Beuron, Willibrord Verkade, writing to the artist Paul Serusier in 1896 indicated the significance of Egyptian art for Lenz: 'The great impression made upon us by Egyptian works comes from the fact that they are constructed with the archetypal measurements of regular bodies: circle, triangle, square ... Japanese art is like an eighteenth century lady; Egyptian art like a man come from the hand of God - harmonious, full of wisdom and reason. The Egyptians expressed the divine ideas of order, of divine authority and of holy joy ... Christian means of expression are only good when they have drawn their materials from the ancients ... Let us build our works _logically_'. Verkade had been attracted to Lenz's theory because he believed that it was among primitive peoples 'not yet spoiled by an advanced civilisation that the greatest simplicity is to be found'.

During the _Kulturkampf_ from 1870 to 1887 the Benedictines were forced to leave Beuron. One group settled at Erdington abbey, Birmingham, but left no trace of Lenz's influence. (Letter of Fr Francis McDermott C.SS.R. 14 Sept 1981) An influence did permeate 'through the intermediary of monks, friars, and missionaries' and is evident in Roulin. Architecturally, the Egyptian aesthetic was probably most notable in the work of the priest-architect Benedict Williamson (eg Sacred Heart, Mill Hill, London (1922) Cf Roulin (1938/47 fig 162 p270.) Little B _Catholic Churches Since 1623_ (1966) makes no reference to Williamson's use of the idiom, but of Anson P _Fashions in Church Furnishings 1840-1940_ (1959) p297. Also cf chapter 3 footnotes 13-22 above.

31. Pius X Motu Proprio _Tra Le Sollecitudini_ (1903)

32. Bentley J F quoted _Victorian Church Art_ V & A Cat.(1971) p104

33. Pevsner N _The Buildings of England: South Lancashire_ (1969) p51

34. _Les Primitifs_ or _Les Penseurs_ was a group of young artists, which in _1797_ under the leadership of Maurice Quai, reacted against the atelier of Jacques-Louis David, whose art for them had 'no grandeur, no simplicity, in short, nothing 'primitive''. It is also worth noting that with his radicalism Quai combined an intense personal piety derived from the appeal of primitive Christianity, and the blessing of little children by Christ. Cf Gombrich art cit p242

35. The Nazarenes (or Brotherhood of St Luke : Lukasbrüder) was a group of artists which formed themselves into a quasi-religious sect in 1809, and lived a semi-monastic life when they moved from Vienna to Rome. Key names include Overbeck, Pforr, and von Cornelius. They sought to renew art through the Christian faith, and sought to revive the mediaeval guild system. The mysticism of Overbeck and the teaching of Cornelius had an early influence on Desiderius Lenz, and so made the art of Beuron a link with the Nazarenes at one end of the nineteenth century, and Les Nabis and the Vienna Secessionists, at the other.

Through William Dyce, the English painter, member of Henry Cole's organising committee for the Great Exhibition of 1851, and then head of the Government School of Design, the Nazarene's are associated with the historical line of development of arts and crafts in Britain, with which Gill was subsequently also related, and whose notion of a revival of the mediaeval guild system was strikingly similar.

Cf Finke U German Painting (from Romanticism to Expressionism) (1974)

36. 'The decline of true Christian art and architecture may be dated from a most corrupt era in the history of the Church; and ever since that most unnatural adoption of Pagan externals for Catholic rites, we mourn the loss of those reverend and solemn structures which so perfectly embodied the faith for which they were raised. Bad as was the Paganism of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, it was dressed out in much external majesty and richness; but now nothing is left but the fag end of this system; bronze and marble are replaced by calico and trimmings; the works of the sculptor and the goldsmith are succeeded by the milliner and the toyshop; and the rottenness of the Pagan movement is thinly concealed by gilt paper and ribands - the nineteenth century apeings of the dazzling innovations of the Medician era. Cheap magnificence, meretricious show, is the order of the day; something pretty, something novel, calico hangings, sparkling lustres, paper pots, wax dolls, flounces and furbelows, glass cases, ribands, and lace, are the ornaments and materials usually employed to decorate or rather disfigure, the altar of sacrifice and the holy place. It is impossible for church furniture and decoration to attain a lower depth of degradation, and it is one of the greatest impediments to the revival of Catholic truth'.

Pugin A W N A Treatise on Chancel Screens and Rood Lofts (1851) pp100/101 quoted Victorian Church Art V & A Cat. (1971) p7

37. Cf Rykwert J On Adam's House in Paradise (1972) pp43/49
Marc-Antoine Laugier (1713-69) was a French hommes de lettres and an ex-Jesuit

38. Stanton P B 'Pugin: Principles of Design Versus Revivalism' Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians Vol XIII (1954) pp20/25

Pugin's tastes and theories anticipate the Pre-Raphaelites and the Arts and Crafts Movement. He knew and admired Overbeck and drew on German aesthetic theory and practice

39. Summerson J 'A Modern Church on Liturgical Principles' Architectural Review (Dec 1960) quoted Hammond (1960) fig 44 p154

40. Watkin D Morality and Architecture (1977) p23

41. Ibid p103

42. De Stijl Group First Manifesto (Nov 1918) art 6 Cf De Stijl Gay B ed Camden Arts Centre cat.(1968)

43. Jaffe H L C Dutch Plastic Art: The 'de Stijl' Group (Eng tr 1967) pII

44. Cf Rookmaaker H R Modern Art and the Death of a Culture (1970)

45. Debuyst F Modern Architecture and Christian Celebration (1968) p49

46. Mediator Dei art 201

47. O'Connell J Church Building and Furnishing: The Church's Way (1955) p63

48. Roulin (1938/47) p621 ref Osservatore Romano (19 Mar 1932)

Roulin refers to the decrees which forbade the installation of electric lights on the altar as a substitute for, or complement to, wax candles (16 May 1902); or as substitute for candles and lamps prescribed for use before the Blessed Sacrament (22 Nov 1907); or within the Exposition throne, or tabernacle, or behind the monstrance (28 Jul 1911); or in front of paintings and statues (24 Jun 1914)
The admonitions of the 'Apostolic Visitator' Cardinal Marchetti-Salvagiani published in Osservatore Romano (23 Jun 1932) are particularly revealing:

'Various serious inconveniences arise from the habit, practiced in many churches, which consists in placing at the disposal of the faithful, for certain stipulated sums, small votive tapers or candles, intended to be burned on structures of various and strange forms, before religious statues or paintings. This might become or appear to be suspicious, and might give the impression that it was done to make a profit. Moreover, this custom contributes neither to the cleanliness nor to the serenity of churches, in which numerous candles, which often are not of wax, burn simultaneously, and tend to make spots on the floor, soil the walls and vitiate the air.

'This practice, then, must cease.

'The candlesticks or supports which have just been mentioned, even if they have artistic value, must disappear from all churches, public or semi-public oratories, as also from buildings that are contiguous to or dependent upon them. It is also strictly forbidden to sell candles in churches or oratories, in sacristies, at the entrance to churches or chapels, and even in adjourning rooms which belong to the clergy or religious in charge of a church.

'Priests and religious will explain to the faithful the reason for

this prohibition made by ecclesiastical authority; they will counsel them to go in greater numbers, and as frequently as possible, to Mass and Holy Communion, reminding them that a single Mass heard well or a Communion received with the required dispositions will obtain many more graces and favours than thousands of candles, lit even for long periods. Furthermore let the faithful be encouraged, according to the ancient and worthy tradition, either to give alms that Mass may be celebrated, or to present wax candles (in accordance with liturgical prescriptions), candles which they will purchase elsewhere, and which, deposited in the sacristy, will be lighted on the altar for liturgical functions.'

The Cardinal ends by saying that 'the clergy will cooperate in this work for the beauty of the house of God and the integrity of the faith, thus giving a striking example of submission to ecclesiastical authority'.pp684/686

49. Selected current directives include:

'Electric lights imitating candles should be avoided.'

Pastoral Directory for Church Building National Liturgical Commission of England and Wales (1968) art 70.

'If the practice of lighting candles before images is to be continued, new design solutions should be found to replace the unsuitable traditional brass votive stands. Artificial lighting of votive lamps is unacceptable and the use of electricity for such cultural purposes as votive lamps, haloes, etc., is to be altogether avoided.'

Building and Reorganisation of Churches: Pastoral Directory Episcopal Liturgical Commission of Ireland (1972) art 16.4

'It is too early to predict the effect of contemporary audiovisual media - films, video tape, records, tapes - on the public worship of Christians. It is safe to say that a new church building or renovation project should make provision for screens and/or walls which will make the projection of films, slides and filmstrips visible to the entire assembly, as well as an audio system capable of fine electronic reproduction of sound.

'There seems to be a parallel between the new visual media and the traditional function of stained glass. Now that the easily printed word has lost its grip on popular communication, the neglect of audiovisual possibilities is a serious fault. Skill in using these media in ways which will not reduce the congregation to an audience or passive state can be gained only by experience.

'Such media, of course, should never be used to replace essential congregational action. At least two ways in which they may be used to enhance celebration and participation are already apparent: I) visual media may be used to create an environment for the liturgical action, surrounding the rite with appropriate color and form; 2) visual and audio media may be used to assist in the communication of appropriate content, a use which requires great delicacy and careful, balanced integration into the liturgy taken as a whole.'

Environment and Art in Catholic Worship United States Bishops' Committee on the Liturgy (1978) arts 104, 105, 106

50. Roulin (1938/47) p686

51. '"The people like it." That is the trouble. That is where the harm is done. Bad degenerate, sentimental religious art is not just unfortunate or funny, it is corrupting. George Tyrrell was quite right when he said "Lex orandi lex credendi". People believe according to the way they pray. These statues are meant to be objects of devotion. Sentimental statues will excite sentimental devotion and that will lead to sentimental belief. Instead of Dante's magnificent conception of "l'amore che muove il sole e l'altre stelle", we shall have a sloppy idea that Our Lady can somehow let us off lightly. In just the same way, womanish, characterless sentimental pictures of Jesus in Church windows will engender a sloppy, sentimental, womanish conception of Christ. Instead of the strong Son of God, the Word made flesh to endure the pains imposed by cruel men, we shall have the notion of a sort of indulgent semi-human, semi-divine figure, incredible to the educated, corrupting to the uneducated. Bad religious art engenders (and indicates) corrupt religion.'

Hanson A extract from letter to The Times (13 Nov 1976) Hanson was then lecturer in the Department of Theology in the University of Hull

52. '... that horror, painted, carved or made of plaster, which is called 'the Virgin Mary', 'the Immaculate Conception', 'Our Lady of Lourdes', and so on. It is in fact not accidental that Mary here almost always appears as a sweet girl, more precisely as a curious combination of courtesan and goddess, for these images make manifest nothing of Mary the Mother of God, but rather (although this is naturally not admitted and is often also unconscious) the feminine part of man's soul - still in a primitive state - his undifferentiated anima. If we consider coolly these dolls made of marzipan and cosmetics looking upward with cowlike glances supposed to be 'soulful', this artificial set-up, this excessive affectation, behind which a lascivious element often lurks, then we can perceive more or less exactly the secret idea which many men have of the feminine nature. And indeed, those who produce and buy this kitsch are for the most part men, parish priests and church leaders - in this respect it is significant that modern Marian kitsch often resembles to a hair's breadth certain film stars, even to the rosy painted kissable lips. Amazingly little survives here of theology and of the fine distinctions of nearly two thousand years of Mariology. I have always been surprised that priests who have been trained in theology, not only themselves enjoy such products of a corrupt and perverted religious outlook, but also commend them to the devotion of the faithful. We must ask ourselves: What will these souls look like after they have been devastated by such pictures of the Mother of God? and what does the 'care of souls' mean in this respect ...?'

Herzog B 'Religiöser Kitsch' Orientierung (1950) II pp228ff quoted in Egenter R The Desecration of Christ (Kitsch und Christenleben) (Eng tr 1967) pp77/78

Other commentaries on the meretricious in religious art hold similar views, eg:

'What is unique about Christian kitsch is that there is more to it than a purely stylistic deficiency. A Kitsch flower vase does display a stylistic deficiency, but a kitsch statue of the Sacred Heart displays a theological deficiency.'

Dorfles G 'Religious Trappings' Kitsch: An Anthology of Bad Taste (1968) Eng tr (1969) p145

53. Smith P F 'Art and the Sentimental' Unpublished paper (1981) Indebtedness is due to Dr Smith for use of this

54. Maritain J Art and Scholasticism (Art et Scolastique) (1920 Eng tr 1930; Eng tr 1962) p101

55. Gombrich art cit (1979) p242

56. Eliot T S 'Little Gidding' Four Quartets (1968) p39

57. Gill E 'Mass for the Masses' Sacred and Secular (1940) p153

58. Bentley J F letter to W C Symons (30 May 1891) quoted Victorian Church Art V & A cat. (1971) p99

59. Pugin (1851) p101

60. Warner M 'Visions, the Rosary, and War' Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and Cult of the Virgin Mary (1978) pp310/311

61. Henze A and Filthaut T Contemporary Church Art (1956) p14

62. D'Arcy M quoted Gill E letter (27 Aug 1934) cf Shewring W ed Letters of Eric Gill (1947) p294

63. Gray N 'William Morris, Eric Gill and Catholicism' Architectural Review (Apr 1941) pp61/62

64. Cf Yorke M Eric Gill: Man of Flesh and Spirit (1981) p63

65. Gill (1940) p153

66. Again it is a sentiment to be found in Morris: 'Nothing should be made by man's labour which is not worth making; or which must be made by labour degrading to the workers.' Morris W 'Art and Socialism' William Morris: Selected Writings Cole G D H ed (1948) p636

67. Shewring ed (1947) p278

68. Douglas art cit (1977) p330

69. McLuhan M and Hoskins H 'Electric Consciousness and the Church' The Listener (26 Mar 1970) pp393/396

70. Schumacher E F Small Is Beautiful (1973)

71. 'Chips With Everything' - Or Technology With A Human Face
A Report of the Panel Established by the Merseyside Enterprise Forum to consider The Social Implications of Advancing Technology The Most Rev D J H Worlock, Archbishop of Liverpool (Chairman) (1980)

72. Dussel E 'Christian Art of the Oppressed in Latin America' Concilium (Symbol and Art in Worship) (Feb 1980) pp40/52

73. Butler J F 'The New Factors in Missionary Art: Developments Since 1950' Research Bulletin Institute for the Study of Worship and Religious Architecture, University of Birmingham (1972) pp16/29

74. The exhibition organised by Cardinal Celso Constantini was one of the events marking 1950 as a Holy Year. Originally intended for 1942 it was postponed because of the war. The essential idea was developed from the promotion of adaptationism in China after 1922 when Constantini became Apostolic Delegate. The 1950 exhibition is regarded as the culmination of his world-wide promotion of adaptationism after becoming Secretary for Propaganda and Cardinal. The venue for the exhibition was the Palazzo dei Propilei, but enquiries there and to the Vatican Art Gallery have failed to produce documentary references. A review by H J Hood appeared in the Tablet (9 Dec 1950) which referred to works from India, China, Japan, and a number of African countries. Thirteen of these items were illustrated in Sign (May 1951), which also included Pope Pius XII's introduction: 'It is not the office of the Missionary to transplant civilization of a specifically European nature to missionary lands, but to prepare the people who sometimes boast a culture thousands of years old to welcome and assimilate the elements of Christian life and manners, things that harmonise easily and naturally with all healthy civilisations, conferring on them the full capacity and strength to insure and guarantee human dignity and happiness. Catholics must be true members of the family of God and citizens of His Kingdom. But they must not cease to be citizens of their own earthly country also.'
Other exhibitions included one on 'Liturgical Art of the Eastern Church'; and one on 'Modern Sacred Art from Western Countries' in which Britain was poorly represented, and provoked the criticism of 'artisti isolati' from the Central Committee for organising the events for Holy Year.
Cf also Koenker (1954) p178 and Henze Filthaut (1956) p36

75. Cf Hebblethwaite P What the Council Says About Cultural Values CTS Do372 (1967) p8

76. Eg The Sharing of Resources (Report prepared for the Ecumenical Commission of England and Wales) (1972)

77. Eg Catholic Education in a Multiracial Society A Statement from the Catholic Commission for Racial Justice (1981)

78. Eg Signposts and Homecomings: The Educative Task of the Catholic Community A Report of a study group on Catholic Education, Rt Rev D Konstant, Bishop in Central London (Chairman) (1981) The above statement was critical of the study group's report because it did not make sufficiently explicit 'the educative task of the Catholic community in a multiracial, multicultural, multifaith society'

79. Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World (Gaudium et Spes (GS)) (1965) art 54

80. Hebblethwaite (1967) p14

81. Jones A 'Editor's Foreword' The Jerusalem Bible (Standard Edition) (1966) pv

82. 'The question regarding the nature and task of Church art is at least equally as much a question of religion as it is of art'. Herwegens I (Abbot of Maria Laach abbey) Christliche Kunst und Mysterium (1929) p30 quoted Koenker E B The Liturgical Renaissance in the Roman Catholic Church (1954) p166

83. Cf Regamey P-R Religious Art in the Twentieth Century (Art Sacre au XXe Siecle?) (1952 Eng tr 1963) p7

84. Maritain (1920/62) p101

85. The Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy (Sacrosanctum Concilium (SC)) (1963) art 9

86. Cf Purdy W A Seeing and Believing: Theology and Art (1976) p116

87. Coulson J Religion and Imagination (1981) p14

88. Cf Sittler J 'Faith and Form' Theology Today XIX 2 (Jul 1962) p207 Sittler employed Aristotle's four categories of 'cause' in an attempt to examine whether a work was Christian or not. By applying these principles (efficient cause, material cause, final cause and formal cause) he came no nearer a definition of Christian art but the attempt did highlight some of the fallacies. Unacknowledged reference was made to Sittler's article by W Lockett in 'Church Art and Craft' Looking to the Future: Prospects for Worship, Religious Architecture and Socio-Religious Studies I.S.W.R.A. University of Birmingham (1976) p147 Cf also Henze and Filthaut (1956)

89. Quoted in Koenker (1954) p171

90. Les Nabis was a group of painters and sculptors founded c1890 by Paul Serusier, whose aesthetic doctrines they received as mystical revelations, and so regarded themselves as 'seers' or 'prophets' for which the Hebrew word is navi. They were influenced by the French Symbolists, and the English Pre-Raphaelites. The primary influence however was Paul Gauguin whose pupil Serusier was. The group included Maurice Denis (also the group's main theoretician), Pierre Bonnard, Edouard Vuillard, Aristide Maillol, and others. Denis' dictum that a picture 'before being a war horse, a nude woman, or some anecdote, is essentially a flat surface covered by colours in a certain order' pointed influentially towards a greater objectivity for the work of art and so to the early twentieth century development of abstract and nonrepresentational art

91. Koenker (1954) p171

92. Cf Henze and Filthaut (1956) p15

93. 'No longer seeking to obtain a mastery of things, the painter's eyes become tools for projecting an interior landscape.' Ortega y Gasset quoted Ibid.

94. Pius XI at the inauguration of the Vatican Gallery of Paintings (27 Oct 1932)

95. Watkin E I <u>Catholic Art and Culture</u> (1942/7) p162

96. Barrett C 'Art and the Council' <u>The Month</u> (Jan 1964) p17

97. Barrett quotes Maritain's argument against employing non-Catholic artists as being that 'the manner of action follows the disposition of the agent and as a man is, so are his works'. Barrett art cit (1964) p21

98. Barrett notes that for the publication of the <u>Instruction on Sacred Art</u> to have been undertaken by the Sacred Congregation for the Holy Office, and not by either the Sacred Congregation of Rites or the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, was 'unusual'. Originally the Holy Office had been established by Paul III in 1542 in connection with the Inquisition. At the time of the Assy 'controversy' it was the court to which all final decisions concerning matters of faith and morals were reserved.
Henze and Filthaut however argue emphatically that the provisions of the Instruction 'do not embark on questions of style and form, and certainly do not provide guidance in aesthetics, still less detailed recipes for Christian artists; which means that they are much more moderate than the instructions often given in Germany, for instance, to architects by those commissioning them'. p36

99. Berrigan D 'The Tension Between Art and Faith' <u>The Critic</u> (Aug/Sep 1967) p35

100. Hammond P ed <u>Guide to New French Churches</u> N.C.R.G. Pamphlet No I (1958)

101. Ethrington J <u>The Church and Art</u> (1964)

102. Hammond (1960) p29

103. Debuyst (1968) p49

104. Miller S H 'Sacred Space in a Secular Age' <u>Theology Today</u> XIX 2 (Jul 1962) p212

105. Hinton D 'The Pastoral Role of the Architect' <u>Christian Ministry in New Towns</u> Cope G ed I.S.W.R.A. University of Birmingham (1968)
Cf review Cantwell C <u>Churchbuilding</u> 23 (Jan 1968) p26

106. Miller art cit (1962) p217

107. Gomme A H 'Who Cares What a Church Looks Like?' <u>Churchbuilding</u> 6 (Apr 1962) p7

108. Cf Hammond P 'A Liturgical Brief' <u>Architectural Review</u> (Apr 1958) pp241/255
'A Modern Church on Liturgical Principles' <u>Architectural Review</u> (Dec 1960) p400
Wright L 'Architectural Seriousness' <u>Towards a Church Architecture</u> Hammond P ed (1962) p232

109. Wall D R 'Church Architecture' <u>New Catholic Encyclopaedia</u> Vol VIII (1967) Wall also comments: 'Strict ritual functionalism has not been endorsed by architects and critics as an adequate theory since they see the essence of architecture elsewhere ... Functionalism alone does not satisfy the love for design. At best, liturgical use suggests a proper programmatic attitude that may result in an

intelligent horizontal placement of elements; of itself it cannot specify a necessary vertical extension of these elements, that is to say, the very quality and quantity of the spatial container. For the realising of this, the architect must resort to his creative propensity to form'

110. Hammond P 'Contemporary Architecture and the Church' The Listener (23 May 1957) pp824/826

111. The notion of the 'total work of art' was a primary ideal of the Vienna Secessionists at the turn of the century. Cf Waissenberger R Vienna Secession (1970 Eng tr 1977)

112. Cf Schwarz R The Church Incarnate (Vom Bau der Kirche) (1938 Eng tr 1958)

113. Norberg's theory is based on Gestalt psychology and topological relationships. Topology does not deal with permanent distances, angles, and areas, but is based on relations such as proximity, separation, succession, continuity, and closure (inside/outside). These relationships are organised architecturally as 'centres' or 'places' (proximity), 'directions' or 'paths' (continuity), and 'areas' or 'domains' (closure). In order to facilitate his environmental image-making man needs 'districts which have a particular character, paths which lead somewhere and nodes which are "distinct and unforgettable places"'.

Cf Norberg-Schulz C Experience, Space and Architecture (1971) and Meaning in Western Architecture (1975) pp428/434

114. Cf Hammond (1960) p82 cf also Miller art cit (1962) 'Because there is no great stabilising discipline in our culture, faith runs off into all kinds of weird excesses, neurotic compensations and downright idiocy. But ... in a world where there is not much balance, queer abnormalities are created to attract attention - and they do! I do not like stop-and-shop Churches, or back-to-the-womb-of-night Churches; I do not care much for corncrib Churches, or flying-wing Churches. They may be interesting and novel and even dynamic, but what they signify religiously is only a perversion of religion'. p215

115. Cf Hammond (1960) p48

116. Rosenberg G 'The Seven Lamps of Rudolf Schwarz' 'Miscellany' Architectural Review (Oct 1952) pp261/262

117. Cf Documents for Sacred Architecture (1957) in Hammond (1960) p182

118. Cf 'Guiding Principles for the Design of Churches According to the Spirit of the Roman Liturgy' art 18 in Hammond (1962) p253

119. The aesthetic exemplified in Henze and Filthaut's Contemporary Church Art has been developed in the USA perhaps most extensively by Frank Kacmarcik who is not an architect but a 'liturgical design consultant', and whose influence is clearly evident in the illustrations and content of the Statement on Environment and Art in Catholic Worship published by the USA Bishops' Committee on the Liturgy in 1978.

120. Cf Bruggink D J and Droppers C H Christ and Architecture (1965) Eg Bruggink and Droppers refer to 'Windows': 'Windows are not a means of Grace and should therefore not in any way detract from or compete with the symbols of Word and Sacrament.' p474 And also the 'Organ': 'The Organ does not communicate God's Grace, but the gratitude of the Church.' p418 'The function of the Organ is to respond to God's Grace with praise. It is not to be confused with the means of God's Grace, and therefore must not be placed with the symbols of Word and Sacrament. Architecturally, the organ must be placed with the congregation, which it assists in its response of praise to God.' p420

121. Cf Cox H The Feast of Fools (1969)

122. Eg Purdy (1976) p119

123. Guardini R (1930) p106 The Spirit of the Liturgy was the first of a series of talks under the title of 'Ecclesia Orans' begun at Easter 1918 by Dom Ildefons Herwegens, Abbot of Maria Laach, and later expanded and published.

124. Ibid p102

125. Ibid p135

126. Ibid p134

127. Ibid p136 and p139

128. Pelagianism was a controversial fifth century teaching that moral responsibility was a matter of individual effort apart from any aid from God.

129. Oury G-M 'Les Limites Necessaires de la Creativite en Liturgie' 'Instauratic Liturgica' Notitiae 131 (Jun/Jul 1977) pp341/353 Reprinted from Esprit et Vie 17 (28 Apr 1977) pp248/253 Review in Liturgy 2:I (Oct/Nov 1977)

Indebtedness is due to Br Wulstan Fletcher OSB of Ampleforth for a translation

130. Williams C Deviance and Diversity in Roman Catholic Worship Ritual and Social Processes in the Post-Conciliar Catholic Community in England) (1979)

An unpublished paper. Indebtedness is due to Mr Williams for use of it.

131. Flanagan K 'Competitive Assemblies of God: Lies and Mistakes in Liturgy' Research Bulletin I.S.W.R.A. University of Birmingham (1981) pp20/69

132. Berrigan art cit (1967) p35 Referring to the questions raised by the 'Assy controversy' Berrigan believed that 'something deeper was at work during those years', something deeper than was then realised, 'when the best artists of France attracted by the friendship of Couturier were putting their genius into the service of the Church'. 'Was something more involved than a simple conflict between greatness in the service of mystery on the one hand, and traditional theology on the other? I believe now that

there was. I believe, moreover, that we have inherited, like it or not, a process which began with these men, and with the reverberations and questions which their work set in motion ... Real questions of faith and art today have little to do with that question, which can be considered only as the opening salvo of a much more massive and radical questioning of Christianity itself ...'

133. Ibid

134. Dussel art cit (1980) p50

135. Ibid

136. Eg Capellades M-R 'Transparent Poverty' Churchbuilding 7 Oct 1962 pp4-8

137. Eugene Atget (1857-1927)

138. Küng H Art and the Question of Meaning (1980) p12

139. Ibid pII

140. Purdy (1976) p113

141. Ibid p17

142. Jones D letter to The Tablet (7 Dec 1967) appendix to Reyntiens P 'The Liturgy and Art' Pastoral Liturgy : A Symposium Winstone H ed (1975) p79

Chapter Two

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Commentators and Rationales

Introduction

Catholic churchbuilding in the British Isles during the period under review by this study, has been part of a more general phenomenological attitude towards churchbuilding. The development of a theoretical and critical body of knowledge and opinion concerning the building of churches, has left its mark, one way or another, on Catholic churches. The critiques and design rationales which have been articulated and realised during the past three or four decades of building, have not always been of a primarily Catholic kind - a fact which in itself forms a key characteristic of the period. Consequently, in accounting for any influence in the development of Catholic churchbuilding, it is necessary to include factors from a broader set of considerations than a specifically Catholic one. In this chapter five different sources are used to discuss a number of factors forming such a broader set of considerations. Three of these sources are Catholic, two are not, but all, to a greater or lesser degree, have affected Catholic churchbuilding by their thinking.

Enquiries have made it clear that an analytical survey of post-war Catholic churchbuilding in England and Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, cannot be aided by any research agency in those three territories. No such agency seems ever to have been established or consulted in any sustained sense that would yield comprehensive data on a territorial, provincial, or diocesan basis, and in such a way that a detailed profile could be drawn for any given year, or for the period as a whole, apropos churchbuilding matters. The annual Catholic

Directory for England and Wales (cf Appendix 3) and its counterparts in Scotland, and in Ireland, contain a certain amount of statistical data, but they are invariably insufficient in detail, and comparative structure. This same criticism of a lack of a comparative structuring of data is also applicable to the Catholic Building Review, despite its more detailed recording of churchbuilding projects (cf Appendix 1.1).

As for socio-religious research, this has been manifestly a 'relatively frail bloom' in this country,[1] and especially so in relation to churchbuilding strategy and design. Though there have been several initiatives, including the currently active Liverpool Institute of Socio-Religious Studies,[2] and the unit at the University of Surrey,[3] perhaps the most ambitious venture in this direction was the Newman Demographic Survey which lasted from 1953 until 1964.

The Survey was formed as a voluntary organisation primarily on the initiative of Anthony Spencer. He believed that the 'work of the Church was impeded at the levels of administration and policy determination by lack of systematic detailed statistical information, so that decisions were necessarily based largely on hunch and personal impressions.' In negotiations with civil authorities the Church started at a grave disadvantage, as her negotiators could seldom prepare a detailed 'case' in statistical terms, such as Government departments and Local Authorities were accustomed to doing. In addition, a comprehensive and detailed survey was considered to be of use to the Catholic hierarchy in assessing the state and progress of the Catholic community; and for public information so that lay Catholics would be 'given the privilege of recognising real progress towards the aim of a Catholic England'.[4]

Throughout its short life, the work of the Survey seems to have been heavily biased towards the use of statistics in substantiating negotiations with the Ministry of Education. The reason for the bias was only partially due to the post-war expansion in educational provision; it was also due to the Survey's need to sell its expertise, of which the Catholic Education Council became its almost exclusive sponsor because it could afford to do so. But the Survey wished for an independence to tackle problems that did not always have an interested sponsor (eg pastoral sociology, pastoral planning, sociology of religious vocations, and basic demography - all of which were considered to have a most important relevance). Certainly, researches into pastoral sociology and planning could have assisted with churchbuilding strategy and design, but it seems that the work of the Survey turned only briefly in that direction.[5]

So is it possible to form some assessment of post-war trends in Catholic churchbuilding via some national consultative or administrative unit, instead? Here the prospect looks a little brighter - especially for Ireland. But even so there is nothing comparable to the Division of Property of the Methodist Church, or the Council for the Care of Churches of the Church of England. For a Church that has an unflattering reputation of a rigidly centralised legislature and executive, the fact that none of the three territorial hierarchies in this study have a central full-time agency dealing with matters relating to churchbuilding, and apparently regard such matters as being of local concern only, may seem incomprehensible.[6]

In Canon Law local responsibility means that responsibility exercised by each diocesan ordinary or bishop. Though Vatican II laid great

stress on the pastoral nature of the episcopal office vis a vis a solely administrative function, it nevertheless retained the juridical nature of the episcopate and did not modify the absolute quality of that power.[7] A bishop alone possesses all ecclesiastical powers in his diocese of which he is its 'ordinary and immediate pastor'. He has his power in virtue of his office and not by delegation; so he is not subject to any other ordinary.[8] However it is collectively, or as a 'college' that bishops are regarded as being successors to apostolic authority, and in the territorial division of their jurisdiction, especially since Vatican II, nationally contiguous dioceses have organised themselves into bishops' conferences. So, despite whatever reservations there might be about a compromisation of the episcopacy (and thereby too, of the papacy) when conceived of collegially, there remains a certain expectation that a nationally organised conference of bishops would have at least a modicum of similarly organised expertise at its disposal. And so it has, to a greater or lesser degree of effectiveness, in the form of advisory bodies or commissions.[9]

Even before Vatican II there is evidence (especially on the European mainland) of national and diocesan commissions comprising both clerical <u>and</u> lay experts. There was the celebrated Liturgy Commission of the Catholic Bishops of Germany which produced the seminal <u>Guiding Principles for the Design of Churches According to the Spirit of the Roman Liturgy</u>. Also in the 1930s in the archdiocese of Rheims 'the architecture of churches, their furniture, their decoration, sacred vessels, pictures and statues to be used, were all within the jurisdiction of the Commission'.[10] Such commissions were, seemingly, established even before commissions for liturgy, as article 116 of

Pius XII's Encyclical Mediator Dei would suggest when he urged that 'besides a Commission for the regulation of sacred music and art, each diocese should also have a Commission for promoting the liturguoal apostolate'.

In the British Isles in the 1930s there was at least one diocesan Liturgy Commission - at Birmingham.[11] But there does not seem to have been any Commission at diocesan or national level specifically established to advise on matters of liturgical art and architecture. It would seem that not until the initiation of the Irish Liturgical Congress at Glenstal Abbey in 1954 could there be said to have been some form of national focus for such matters. In Ireland it led to the establishment in 1965 of the Advisory Committee on Sacred Art of the Irish Episcopal Liturgical Commission. A development following the explicit requirement of Vatican II to establish such bodies,[12] and one which was reflected in similar developments in most European and North American countries - if not immediately in Scotland, England and Wales.

In England and Wales a Department of Art and Architecture of the Liturgy Commission was not established until as late as 1977, and even now has no guaranteed existence in view of the Bishop's Conference review of Commissions currently taking place (1982). In 1971 there was also a review, which produced the report Commissions: Aid to Pastoral Strategy that recommended the possibility of a third Department for the Liturgy Commission (for Art and Architecture) in addition to those for Rites and Pastoral Liturgy, and Music. Consequently in the whole of the period following World War II when there was so much new building, and in the period following Vatican

II when there was equally so much reordering as well as new building, there was no national focus in the Catholic Church in England and Wales for churchbuilding design whether liturgical, technical, or otherwise. And the position was similar for Scotland and remains so. Though there are indications that dioceses have occasionally collaborated in some form of sharing of information, speculations, and expertise.

In Ireland, as has already been mentioned in the first Section, the Advisory Committee for Sacred Art and Architecture had its foundations laid in 1954, ten years before Vatican II ended. Formally established in 1964 the work of this Committee steadily encroached on that undertaken by the Church Exhibitions Committee of the Royal Institute of the Architects of Ireland, which was finally dissolved in 1968. In 1972 the Liturgy Centre was established, and in 1974 became the Institute for Pastoral Liturgy with a national role in the renewal of the liturgy in Ireland. In 1978 it moved from Port Arlington back to Carlow where it provides a resource for the study of pastoral liturgy including art and architecture, as well as for a national advisory service apropos liturgical design.

Among the members of the Advisory Committee for Sacred Art and Architecture, it is perhaps not unfair to single out the work done by Bishop Cahal Daly of Ardagh and Clonmacnoise (and now of Down and Connor); the late Canon J J McGarry; the Reverend Sean Swayne; and the architect Wilfrid Cantwell.

In particular, the publication in 1972 of the Pastoral Directory for the Building and Reorganisation of Churches was a notable milestone in the Advisory Committee's efforts to improve an informed

understanding of liturgical design in Ireland. It superseded an earlier edition of 1966, and is itself presently under revision. Forward looking it recognised that there is a whole complex of issues in addition to those of a strictly liturgical kind, which undoubtedly affect churchbuilding.

> While the liturgical reforms maintain their fundamental importance in the design process, they no longer remain the sole preoccupation of architectural thought; a position which they clearly held in the years immediately following the Second Vatican Council. Wider implications are now emerging from the teaching of the Council. The vital importance of the complex relationship between the celebration and the building, between the building and its environment, between the environment and the people and between the people and the celebration, is being seen more clearly. 13

In the Foreword, Bishop Daly describes the pastoral nature of the document as being concerned 'not just with rubrics and rules, not with specific plans and technical solutions, but with people praying', and in particular Irish people praying.[14]

In 1968 the then National Liturgical Commission of England and Wales also issued a Pastoral Directory on Churchbuilding. Long out of print and hardly now known by clergy or architects, it is characterised by its minimal content and stress on 'liturgical law' and 'rules'. There may be some attraction in a Directory having such a succinct text, but it would have been more effective if greater attention had been given to the pastoral and cultural significance of churchbuilding - as in the Irish Directory. The Preface by Archbishop Dwyer of Birmingham (then President of the Commission) is so brief and lacking in pastoral insight, and so inadequate to convey a sense of serious meaning implicit in the architectural setting of the renewed liturgy, that it is not surprising the document is little known, or valued.[15] It was a rare opportunity missed by the Archbishop because members of the hierarchy only infrequently commit themselves to print. However, one

archbishop who did commit himself to print on churchbuilding matters and in a sustained way from 1955 to 1973, was Archbishop Beck of Liverpool.

Archbishop Beck and The (Annual) Catholic Building Review 1955-1973

From 1955 to 1973 the late Archbishop Beck[16] was a regular contributor to the Catholic Building Review. Published in a Northern and Southern edition since 1953 the Review has been an uncritical but comprehensive annual gazetteer of building projects undertaken by the Catholic Church in England and Wales (and in some editions, in Scotland too). But simply because it has been uncritical and has neither exemplified nor denigrated, it cannot be dismissed as a 'veritable chamber of horrors' as was the Incorporated Church Building Society's survey of Sixty Post-War Churches, by Peter Hammond in 1960.[17] Though lacking any comparative methodology in the presentation of essential data - a point expressed on several occasions and in his own way, by Archbishop Beck - the Review is nevertheless a useful source of information and has formed the basis of the lists of buildings and practices in the Appendix.

In the absence of any other published statements by an agency of the English and Welsh hierarchy during the same period, the nine articles and four forewords by Archbishop Beck are particularly useful in offering a limited insight into the thinking of a member of the hierarchy. Just how typical of the hierarchy in general they were, it has not been possible to establish. The articles were: 'Signs of Progress' (1955); 'After Ten Years' (1956); 'Value for Money' (1958); 'Plans and Prices' (1959); 'Design, Price and Value' (1960); 'Costs and Cost Allocations' (1961); 'Liturgy and Churchbuilding' (1962); 'Building and Costs' (1964); and 'Renewal and Adaptation' (1968). The Forewords were written for the 1964, 1965, 1969, and

1973 editions.

The Catholic Churchbuilding Review has regularly included educational building projects. In his 1964 article Archbishop Beck referred to sixty million pounds approximately having been spent on educational buildings; an amount that would have been equal to some one thousand churches at that time. But statistics published in the annual Catholic Directory for England and Wales (Appendix 3), and in the Registrar General's Annual Reports,[18] would suggest that this figure would be too high a total. So the indications were that more was being spent on buildings for Catholic education vis a vis buildings for Catholic worship; indications which could, in all probability, be regularly evident since then. That any such evidence might provoke criticism, the Archbishop strongly opposed by stressing the Catholic community's traditional commitment to worship and teaching as its two most important activities.

> Churches are built for communal worship ... while schools are ... an extension of the family and an introduction for the children to the wider community. [19]

He refuted the argument that the material resource used in churchbuilding would be better deployed for benefit of the needy and underprivileged, by arguing that Catholics are, above all, a Eucharistic community, and as such could find and express a quite justifiable apostolate in the communal act of churchbuilding.[20]

Five years earlier, in 1964, Archbishop Beck referred to the criticism which maintained that 'because of the crippling costs involved, developments and progress in other sectors have had to be sacrificed' including paring and skimping on churches.[21] It was a criticism he also strenuously rejected by drawing attention to the contents of the

Catholic Building Review which well illustrated the challenge met by architects in the application of stringent standards and measures by the Department of Education and Science, in educational building projects. A stringency which had obliged the Church to be much more methodical and centralised in its organisation, in the form of the Catholic Education Council and the National Catholic Building Office established under its aegis.[22]

In the same article, with its emphasis on effective cost-planning, Archbishop Beck hoped that a degree of control could be exercised with the establishment of Diocesan Building Offices. A point he also made in 1962, when he wondered whether one of the fruits of Vatican II would be the setting up of diocesan centres to exercise some supervision over liturgical architecture and art. Whilst a distinction and relationship between such a body and the customary Sites and Buildings Committee, and Finance Committee, of a diocese was not elaborated upon, the intention of establishing a mode of effective cost management directly related to design criteria, was a novel one. Unfortunately, in general it does not seem to have been extensively realised, and where it does exist (as in the dioceses of Westminster, Liverpool, and Salford) the mode appears to be biased more towards economic than liturgical design criteria.

In submitting a building proposal, the usual practice in England and Wales,[23] as Archbishop Beck mentioned in 1961, was for a parish priest to submit it to his bishop, or to go before a diocesan Board, in order to obtain approval of designs and costs, the designs invariably being critically scrutinised only in relation to the magnitude of costs.[24] Not infrequently have such occasions been more acts of faith than measured certitude, leading to prayers for divine assistance (eg 'With

Almighty God's help, and your continued support, the impossible will be achieved').[25] Whether or not such persuasive confidence is defensible, the archbishop does not say. Certainly there would seem to be doubts in the mind of a number of dioceses, as in the archdioceses of Westminster, where, in 1977, a full-time lay project consultant was appointed to assist the Vicar General's finance officer, in matters of churchbuilding. Whether such strategical control would ever be extended to national level is debatable, because even at diocesan level too much centralised control can seem unwelcome. In 1961 the problem of cost in connection with churchbuilding was certainly regarded as being very much a parochial one 'normally limited to the members of the parish'.[26]

Observations on an optimum size of churchbuilding made by Archbishop Beck in 1968, had implications which went beyond a limited parochial concern. He was not alone in his thinking that perhaps planning ought to be on a deanery rather than a parish basis. In which case the strategy would be to build a greater number of smaller, more intimate churches in relation to a larger central building within a deanery that would accommodate occasionally greater assemblies. By 1973 the situation had sufficiently altered for him to observe in his last contribution to the Review that smaller and simpler churches were certainly being built, and that in some parts of the country experiments were even being made in the sharing of church premises with other denominations; experiments which he believed would be looked on 'with keen and critical interest'. However, it is perhaps worth noting that none of the Archbishop's later articles in the Review actually referred to the Sharing of Church Buildings Act of 1969.

One topic the articles consistently did refer to was a post-war zeal to be 'modern' - albeit in a low-key form, and not like the more

'self-conscious Continentals'. In 1956, when the Archbishop was still Bishop of Salford, he referred to some of the new churches around Cologne as being heavy and self-conscious, striving for an exaggerated symbolism which was out of keeping with a general simplicity that architects such as Rudolf Schwarz and Karl Band had achieved. But whatever their shortcomings they did represent a new hope and a new life which English conservatism generally failed to grasp. Even where it was evident, the tendency, he regarded, was one more of copying rather than crusading, of seeing it as a matter of taste rather than as a means of solving a pastoral problem, which was how Cloud Meinberg also regarded it in 1957 in an article in The Furrow.[27]

Quoting another edition of The Furrow in 1957 in the Catholic Building Review of the same year, Archbishop Beck's predecessor, Archbishop Heenan, referred to the numbers of churches built or restored on the European mainland since the end of World War II eg : three thousand in France since 1949; two-hundred and fifty in the arch-diocese of Cologne since 1947; and fifty presently then being planned for Turin. Clearly both prelates were impressed by such figures, and frustrated by the severe restrictions on public building projects still being imposed on them in the latter part of the fifties.

Archbishop Beck shared the sense of necessity to be 'rethinking our ecclesiastical architecture' and to be learning from Germany, France, Holland and Switzerland ... the systematic programming and planning of churchbuilding of which numerous examples are given in recent issues of L'Art Sacre'.[28] While constantly wary of an overexaggerated Continental architecture, he stoutly defended the designs of Coventry, and Liverpool Metropolitan, cathedrals against such attacks as that

mounted by Michael De-la-Noy in the 1962 Summer edition of the Wiseman Review.[29] He firmly believed (as his article in the 1955 Catholic Building Review had indicated) that the employment of a new architectural idiom would show that 'the Catholic Church is as much a living force in the mid-twentieth century as it was in the days when the great cathedrals and parish churches of the Middle Ages were built'. Five years later he was confident that the new Metropolitan cathedral would give an impetus to modern design, which he regarded as being 'bound to be a good thing in the long run, for an art which is not vital, contemporary and, to some extent, controversial must be approaching stagnation and death'. By 1965 he obviously felt that his support had been rewarded when he referred to the cathedral as being one example among many of the 'interesting and original' works which Catholic architects were carrying out all over the country. There was no doubt in his mind that we would look back to Gibberd's design as a landmark in the history of Catholic architecture in England, and one which would redress the criticism of another commentator, Peter Hammond, who had felt that post-war Catholic churchbuilding in this country was as disspiriting as it was remarkable - a view later shared by Pevsner.[30]

Whatever may be said about the design itself of Liverpool Metropolitan cathedral, there can be little doubt that it followed the precedent of Coventry cathedral by providing the Catholic community (as well as the community in general) with a spiritual and cultural fillip in the post-war period. Besides which, the building of a new cathedral had undergone such repeated setbacks, with the abandoning of Lutyen's original, and Scott's subsequently modified, designs, that local morale alone required a swift and dramatic boost. But overall and nationally, it

undoubtedly contributed in a vital, contemporary, and controversial way to the Church's reassessment and accommodation of twentieth-century culture.

The New Churches Research Group

Perhaps one of the most useful and significant of Archbishop Beck's articles in the Catholic Building Review was that in the 1962 edition: 'Liturgy and Church Building'. In it he drew the attention of his Catholic readers to a number of the key issues then being discussed in relation to churchbuilding, and of the principal agencies conducting the discussion. Among these he referred to the work of the New Churches Research Group, and of its Director the Anglican priest the Reverend Peter Hammond.

The New Churches Research Group was founded in 1957 by a number of thoughtful clergy, architects, artists, and others who shared Hammond's concern at the state of church architecture and who could find no satisfaction in the 'modish and gimmick-ridden pavilions of religious art' which he regarded as being falsely held up as 'precursors of a genuine renewal of sacred building'.[31] In addition, it was felt that the war-time collaboration between the various Churches developed in dealings with the War Damage Commission, through the Churches Main Committee, was not being adequately developed. So the Group was born of despair at the opportunities being missed in reassessing the building of churches in the immediate post-war period, and regarded its function as being very much one of stimulating research and debate in order to improve matters. Particularly alarmed at a prevailingly outmoded design bias to much of post-war Anglican churchbuilding projects (as exemplified in Addleshaw and Etchell's The Architectural Setting of Anglican Worship (1948), Hammond wrote his seminal work

Liturgy and Architecture (1960), and edited essays and papers by ten members of NCRG in Towards a Church Architecture (1962).

Commenting in his Foreword to Liturgy and Architecture F W Dillistone, then Dean of Liverpool, summed up the concern generally felt by the Group:

> If only there could be creative consultation between architects, theologians, sociologists, liturgists all of whom are needed in the building of a church, how much better the situation might become. For there is an alarming finality about a church building ... Surely we have been in too much of a hurry. It is true that great new housing areas have seemed to clamour for attention. But is a society in the throes of a social revolution and in process of adapting itself to a completely new communication system in the least ready to embark upon a vast programme of churchbuilding with all the fixity and finality that it is bound to imply?

As the epitome of those 'pavilions of religious art', which Hammond regarded as ignoring fundamental questions of theology, liturgy, and sociology, stood Coventry Cathedral. Again and again Sir Basil Spence's design had to withstand virulent criticism from diverse quarters: from the City Council that sought to make political issue of money being spent on such a venture when housing was badly needed; from those who regarded the Book of Common Prayer as the ultimate norm of Anglican worship and taste; from those who believed that Gothic was still the true style of Christian architecture (a condition - later withdrawn - of the Harlech Commission set up after Sir Giles Gilbert Scott resigned in 1947 following the rejection of his design submitted in 1944);[32] from art and design historians and critics who assessed it as a 'butch version' of the flimsy effeminacy of the exhibition architecture of the 1951 Festival of Britain;[33] and from liturgical pundits who could not see the building signifying worship as something done corporately, and who doubted the very notion of a cathedral in the twentieth century anyhow (despite the building's

immense popular appeal - then and now).

Hammond led the vanguard against the subordination of function to visual effect in matters of churchbuilding design - a state of affairs which he regarded as 'the product of a defective understanding of the nature of the Christian assembly and the activities in which it engages'. The only remedy for such a misconception in his view, was to recognise that a Christian church was essentially a 'house for the community' and that it had no independent meaning apart from that community. The embodiment and expression of that meaning could only become explicit and coherent through the formulation and realisation of the 'programme'. The one thing, he argued, which had given a certain coherence to all serious architecture of the post-war period, was its emphasis on 'programme'. 'Programme', 'seriousness', 'a house for the church (domus ecclesiae)', together with 'function', 'appropriateness', and 'meaning', were all to be part of the vocabulary of the New Churches Research Group's approach to problem solving; a modus operandi at variance with that of Spence, who (according to E D Mills) believed that the designing of a church was not a 'planning problem but the opportunity to create a Shrine to the Glory of God'.[34]

If an altar, standing in the midst of the people, had been realised at Coventry, as Neville Gorton, the commissioning bishop, had hoped,[35] and if it had stood in the less axial space freed by the Smithson's hyperbolic paraboloid shell,[36] then it is arguably probable that English churchbuilding would have shown fewer traits of that 'brilliant and deceitful parenthesis' which Debuyst later believed had lasted from 1945 to 1965.[37] If the Festival style, which was one of previewing the 'human environment as a zone of enjoyment and

its design as an occupation of pleasure',[38] had not been carried so deep into the sixties, then perhaps that ideal synthesis between religious buildings and the modern movement, to which E D Mills referred, would indeed have been achieved through a contemporary simplicity. As Mills argued: 'Before God man is at his simplest, and for this reason alone it could be argued that the contemporary idiom would seem to be the most natural in the world for ecclesiastical design. Indeed, the few contemporary buildings that have been universally acknowledged as masterpieces have this one essential factor of simplicity in common'.[39] Simplicity was, therefore, another of those key concepts developed and pursued by the New Churches Research Group, as Mill's concern echoed that of Hammond's own reflection of the Smithson's belief that the trend in churchbuilding ought to be 'heading towards rather plain brick boxes with no tricks'.[40]

One architectural practice which not only agreed with the concept of simplicity, but also actively pursued it to an extent that placed it in the vanguard of churchbuilding design in the sixties in England, was that of Robert Maguire and Keith Murray (pseudonym of Keith Fensall). Maguire was a Catholic and a founder-member of the Group. Murray was an Anglican. In Edward Mill's book The Modern Church (which preceded Hammond's first book by four years) Maguire's rigorous desire for a greater simplicity and lucidity in Catholic churchbuilding was manifestly evident in the illustrated 'Project for a Roman Catholic Church' undertaken while he was still a student. Comparison with Catholic churches that were actually being built in 1955 (eg St Josephs, Upton, Cheshire, by A G Scott; Our Lady and St Clare, Bradford, Yorkshire, by J H Langtrey-Langton; or even St

Alexanders, Bootle, Liverpool, by F X Velarde) immediately illustrates Maguire's greater awareness of the Modern Movement in architecture, and of the Liturgical Movement in the Catholic Church. With its structural clarity the church projected by Maguire suggests the French influence of Auguste Perret for whom structure was 'the mother tongue of the architect', and whose early church at Le Raincy, Paris, would seem to provide a seminal influence. But it is perhaps the detection in the project design of an influence by Mies Van der Rohe also, which offers the more significant comment upon the thinking of the NCRG, because it provides an architectural analogy of Platonic world-order where everything is so appropriate and in its 'rightful place' and 'according to its nature' that it can only be the expression of a closed or elite society - and that, ironically, was exactly what the New Churches Research Group was later to be criticised as being.[41]

Charles Jencks has also pointed out that the spirit of the century has been motivated as much by democratic idealism as it has by Platonic elitism. The problem that comes with eulogising the 'neutralising skin and the open space structure', Jencks argues, is that there develops a failure to note that as a civilisation becomes more open, it makes a more semantic discrimination between building types; a discrimination which Mies' 'neutralising skin' does everything to obscure, so that not even the 'connoisseur acquainted with the Miesian idiom can identify the religious building at IIT, and the lettering 'Chapel' had to be added on by way of signification'.[42]

Ironically, Maguire found similar signification necessary for his first actual church building of St Paul, Bow Common, London, in 1960,

when Ralph Beyer was commissioned to carve Jacob's declaration over the main entrance: 'This is the House of God: This is the Gate of Heaven'.[43] A mark that interestingly corresponded to the motto which, Jencks reminded us, Plato placed above the door of his Academy: 'Nobody Untrained in Geometry May Enter My House'.[44] It was as if at Bow Common, the transcendental significance of the church's austere interior geometry needed a preconditional theological understanding.

However, it should not be forgotten that St Pauls, Bow Common, was a War Damage Commission replacement church, and that the Commission undertook only to pay for a 'plain substitute' (ie a building providing for the essentials of a church without any 'frills').[45] So the Commission brief explicitly contained a requirement that could be met by strict Miesian principles, but in its actual execution Maguire found that he had to 'overthrow the attitudes and inhibitions he had acquired in his modern movement education',[46] and take into account a <u>positive</u> appreciation of certain nineteenth century Gothic Revival architects. In this he was greatly encouraged by Keith Murray and Sir John Summerson, who both admired the work of William Butterfield (1814-1900), in particular.[47] Summerson wrote of Butterfield:

> His work is little appreciated in England to-day because of its extreme harshness of silhouette and texture. Trained as a builder ... he set himself to build without affectation or antiquarianism a Gothic architecture for the Victorian age, using the ordinary thin pit-sawn timbers, the common bricks and tiles which were the builders stock-in-trade. Out of these he made churches whose curious proportions and fierce ornamentation are often extremely moving. [48]

That harshness of silhouette and texture and use of ordinary materials were also characteristic of St Pauls with its cheap flint brick, fair-faced concrete, exposed rolled steel sections, ordinary concrete

paving flags, industrial vat and hoist mechanism for the font. Not surprisingly was it perceived as being a church which exemplified a radicalism, a readiness to go back to the programme (ie the essential idea) and to wrestle with the implications in order to produce the 'hard core of moral convictions that hold together any number of formal and structural concepts on the basis of what Lethaby called nearness to need'.[49]

A readiness to go back to the programme was something that Maguire felt the Modern Movement had failed to do by undergoing premature crystallisation. In his essay 'Meaning and Understanding' in Towards A Church Architecture Maguire described the phenomenon as 'modern architectural orthodoxy', a new Beaux Arts, practised by those who require a secure intellectual structure and who have abandoned any form of speculative enquiry. Serious contributions to modern architecture were to be discerned not by a conventional stylistic orthodoxy, but by a profound concern for meanings and for values - especially where churchbuilding was concerned, and he pronounced one of the most frequently repeated dicta on churchbuilding in the post-war period: 'If you are going to build a church you are going to create a thing which speaks. It will speak of meanings and of values, and it will go on speaking. And if it speaks of the wrong values it will go on destroying'.[50] Here, he believed, there was responsibility.

What Maguire and Murray recognised was that our contemporary philosophy of material things was lacking a religious reference or framework.

Discussing 'Sacred Space in a Secular Age' Samuel H Miller was another who recognised that our philosophy of material things was itself not

religious, was not as it had been for the twelfth century Abbe Suger of St. Denis. The mediaeval world which built chapels and cathedrals had a definite philosophy derived from Biblical and Aristotelian sources, which said that every humble thing, from wood and stone to glass and jewels, pointed beyond itself to a divine origin and purpose, through a system of unifying order. For us, materials were not pointers beyond themselves to a God in whom and by whom they may be fitly joined together in praise. For the most part they were merely what they were in themselves and pointed nowhere. In a demythologised and disenchanted world, matter was matter and was only relative to utility or function. Ultimately this led to the notion of a building being merely the sum total of technical devices for the solution of functional problems.[51]

This assumption that a building was merely the final resolution of certain technical functions somewhat dogged Maguire and Murray's notion of function in relation to churchbuilding. There were those who categorically believed that 'the glory of God may be served just as much if not more by getting the acoustics and the heating right, as by incorporating some expensive piece of junk passing as a work of art'.[52] While Maguire and Murray regarded the structure and the materials of which it was made as representing the essential idea, and as requiring no further embellishment, they clearly saw their method of approach as producing an architecture that was to be something more than just the sum total of its technical services. As Keith Murray wrote in his own essay 'Material Fabric and Symbolic Pattern' in <u>Towards A Church Architecture</u>:

> The key word, function, is open to misunderstanding and has in fact been constantly misunderstood, not only by the architectural layman but by architects ... both frequently

> deny function its full meaning, limiting it to the severely practical operation of a building; a failure to recognize that a building can have a comprehensible function which transcends circulation patterns, aspect or heating. 53

Murray's essay pivoted on the significance of Gestalt psychology with its recognition of the importance of pattern in the growth of mental life, especially as it related to modes of religious behaviour. But he also related it to nineteenth century ecclesiology - somewhat surprisingly in view of the then virulent criticism of Victorian architecture - and in particular, cited Neal and Webb's axiom from their introduction to Durandus:

> We assert, then, that Sacramentality is that characteristic which so strictly distinguishes ancient ecclesiastical architecture from our own. By this word we mean to convey the idea that, by the outward and visible form, is signified something inward and spiritual: that the material fabric symbolises, embodies, figures, represents, expresses, answers to some abstract meaning. Consequently, unless this ideal be itself true, or be rightly understood, he who seeks to build a Christian church may embody a false or incomplete and mistaken ideal but will not develop the true one. 54

In other words, the building is to be understood as part of the whole pattern of Christian meaning as it is experienced now. A church building is a constituent element of the cultural mores of the Christian community, while pointing beyond itself, and beyond the community itself, to divine purpose and reality. So concern for, and belief in, the total pattern of Christian meaning is absolutely essential to a reality of church architecture. That reality can only be compromised if it becomes too much a matter of materials, of craftsmanship. of structural expression, and above all, of taste. If taste were to be the primary value in the pattern, it would be its death.[55]

Maguire and Murray's criteria for churchbuilding, in particular 'leak out' from their book Modern Churches of the World (1967). The

heterogeneous collection of churches chosen was intended to be an exemplification of that architectural aptness which becomes 'symbolic' because of its correspondence to a fundamental level of consciousness. Particular reference was made to Emil Steffan's church of St Laurentius at Munich-Gern, which it was felt, had been largely overlooked because of its somewhat traditional form ('thick-walled, arched, chunky brick-style reminiscent of Romanesque, but down-to-earth in the manner of old farm buildings'). But they pointed out that traditional elements such as apses and aisles were used for what they did, and what they did was appropriate to what was needed. The appropriateness of the buildings elements was related to the local Christian community's fundamental consciousness as primarily formed by the liturgy. As the authors said in their introduction: 'Architectural quality is aptness at all levels - a 'nearness to need', an appropriate place for the activity the building houses (which it houses so well that it becomes a symbol of that activity of that aspect of man); and a relevance to its environment and the kind of culture of which it is the product, down to the kind of stuff it is made of and the way the stuff is used'.[56]

In the introduction to Modern Churches of the World emphasis was given to a phenomenological explanation of a church building as both a 'place set apart' and a 'place of the assembly'. A place, it was argued, was made by an assembly of people. Where before there was only placelessness, for the duration of an ad hoc liturgy even, a sense of 'place' and of 'centre' was created by a circle of people. But to become an enduring sense of 'place', some more permanent sign was required, set aside by time as well as by space. Hence the true significance at Bow Common, that Maguire and Murray intended for Jacob's words when marking the hallowed place at Bethel with a stone: 'This is

the House of God: This is the Gate of Heaven'.

The notion of the altar as the effective sign of the communal purpose and nature of the Christian assembly, was one that Maguire and Murray (and the New Churches Research Group as a whole) felt had been clarified and reinforced by the Guiding Principles for the Design of Churches According to the Spirit of the Roman Liturgy issued by the German Episcopal Liturgy Commission in 1947. The first Fundamental Principle had stated: 'The Christian church is a consecrated building which, even independently of the eucharist, is filled with God's presence, and in which God's people assemble'.[57] By which was meant that a church was a place set aside by a community of Christians for God's especial purposes; it was a sensible and enduring sign of God's constant initiative in calling a community to fulfil its Christian ordinances; and it was the historical form in which a Christian community assembled in order to respond in a variety of ways but in particular, and above all, in the liturgy.

Taking that historical dimension of many church buildings, Lance Wright, another of the Catholic essayists in Towards A Church Architecture, referred to what continued to matter most to the majority of clergy, viz, that a church should be distinguished by an atmosphere that was 'resolutely historical, expressive therefore of the Church's great age and long experience'.[58] Wright analysed this strong feeling for the architectural expression of tradition as being of even greater importance to clergy than architectural function; it was regarded as being part of the induction into the eternal truths of Christianity, and of a unity with past generations of Catholics. There was a strong sense of regarding a church as being intrinsically different from other

buildings, and of regarding modern architecture as being either insufficiently mature, or too secular to express profound religious ideas.

That church buildings should be distinctive vis a vis other categories of buildings was an idea that related to the antithesis of sacred and profane derived from pre-Christian antiquity, but Wright believed it was not an idea compatible with an understanding of an incarnate Christianity penetrating the world of matter and creating as it does so 'an environment which reflects the Redeemer'. Consequently Wright believed that the ultimate object of a Christian community in building a church was not one of creating an exclusive 'holy place', but of establishing a means of transforming the ordinary environment. In a later paper in 1970 he defined two types of church buildings which he argued embodied this objective: the 'community church', and the 'studio church'.

The church as a place set aside exclusively for worship, was aliented from the general community. If it were to seriously regard itself as a re-animator of society, Wright considered that what the Church required was a less specialised, more multi-purpose, building. With an evident social disintegration of 'home' and of 'family', a truly communal building would provide a sense of 'centre' and of 'identity', and could help meet a need for affection so often lacking in political, educational, or commercial community buildings. Such would be a 'community church'.

A church thought of as being the place for trying out new social and cultural ideas, would be a 'studio church'. Wright saw 'pop' culture and the restitution of popular modes of expression, as a means of redressing an imbalance imposed by the austerity of the modern

environment. He could foresee more direct and immediate modes of human identity being added to the machine aesthetic - at first applied in somewhat ephemeral form, but later in a more integral manner. He also identified a 'pressing priority' for the Church to expressively make visible the great truths it embodies through environmental forms. In the building of a church, he believed there was provided an opportune means of expression 'not normally eschewed by man, except in moments of historic necessity'.

For a time Wright was President of the Society of Catholic Artists, but more significantly, from 1964 he was the Director of the New Churches Research Group, as well as being on the editorial staff of the Architectural Press. As Nigel Melhuish pointed out in a Clergy Review article in 1970, that while the NCRG derived many of its ideas from Catholic scholarship, it was not until 1964 when Wright became Chairman, that members of the Group began to study some of the special problems of Catholic architecture in England. Shortly after the publication of the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy of Vatican II in 1964, in fact, a working party was formed to study two questions which were thought to be especially important. The first was the reordering of existing Catholic churches to meet the demands of the reformed liturgy; and the second was the design of new churches in rural areas with expanding populations.[59]

As further evidence of Wright's desire to pursue a more rigorously analytical understanding of church design, he bemoaned the fact in an article in The Month in 1963, that there was a lack of a common body of knowledge to which architect, priest and people could refer and appeal.

> Each church is thought of as a one-off operation. No experiences are recorded and no-one takes the trouble to find

> out how new arrangements have worked in practice. No-one has the resources to do fundamental research (eg on anthropometric data for kneeling) and no-one has the motive for trying out something new on an experimental basis. In consequence there is no real sense of direction or of development in churches. 60

Four years later, in 1967, the New Churches Research Group prepared a series of supplements to the Architects' Journal on design data related to church buildings ranging from those of the Salvation Army to those of the Roman Catholic Church - including 'anthropometric data for kneeling'.

In fairness it should be acknowledged that in 1955 Edward Mills, in his book on The Modern Church, had set a useful precedent by attempting to provide a straightforward diagrammatic analysis of the practical requirements for the designing of churches for various denominations. It was certainly one source of information for the Planning and Dimensional Studies undertaken by the Birmingham School of Architecture, two sections of which (on 'Baptism' and on 'Seating') were published in the January 1965 issue of Churchbuilding.

Churchbuilding first appeared in early 1961 as a supplement to Maintenance and Equipment News, and as an independent venture by its editor John Catt, a 'fund-raiser and entrepreneur for furnishings and equipment for schools and churches'. At first called Church Building Today, it changed its name after Robert Maguire became joint editor in late 1961. Before 1964, when they both resigned from the editorship, Maguire was joined by Keith Murray. Altogether twenty-nine issues were published before its demise after the last issue in January 1970, a decision which also signalled the demise of the New Churches Research Group - though it has never been formally wound up. But during its heyday, the circulation for each issue varied

between 1,250 and 1,500 copies, according to John Catt, of which the Catholic readership was probably three to four hundred.[61]

Surveying the topics of the articles which appeared in Churchbuilding (cf Bibliography), it is interesting to note how early concern for a deeper understanding of the architectural implications of liturgical worship, developed through a phase of detailed analysis of a variety of data and factors bearing in on the actual design parameters of a church building, to a third phase of broader strategical issues related to social and ecumenical planning matters. Repeated almost *ad nauseam* was the justifying tenet that a church was essentially a 'people-situation' and a church could no longer be regarded as the 'house of God'. Once the idea gained ground that God neither dwelt in a church in any special sense, nor even manifested himself there in any special sense, emphasis moved from an aesthetic of sacramental signs, to the functional analysis of building usage and construction, and to the nature of socio-religious behaviour and its architectural expression. In a discussion of 'Religious Buildings and Philosophical Aesthetics' in 1965 Wolfgang Zucker identified the extremes of this shift with the heresies of Doceticism and Arianism.

> Arianism in church architecture expresses itself as extreme functionalism and puritanism. It produces structures of uncompromising honesty; it uses materials according to their nature; it refrains from any dramatic or illusionistic effect; it provides all available space for the various activities that are supposed to take place in the church. But these activities are conceived entirely and exclusively in terms of human opus ...
>
> The other extreme, Docetic church architecture, is the temptation and pitfall of radical sacramentalism. Where all attention is given exclusively to the sacred act of the sacrament, to the manifestations of God's presence in the midst of the congregation, it is often and too easily forgotten that this congregation consists of human beings ... It is, in the last analysis, the tastefully set stage for some theatrical pageantry ... 62

The general tendency in post-war churchbuilding as it was discussed in the pages of Churchbuilding, was towards Arianism. Similarly, surveying the essays in Towards a Church Architecture, Fleetwood-Walker regarded the basic premise of most of them as envisaging a 'sort of noble and mystical fusion of all the elements concerned - people, spaces, situations, building elements, forms - into an 'organic' whole'.[63] By the time of the demise of the NCRG, that 'creative synthesis' as it was summed up in the notion of 'the programme') seemed, to Professor Patrick Quinn, to have arrived at a point where it meant little more than 'the summarisation of statistical information followed by a three-dimensional concept based on cultivated intuition'.[64]

In the October 1963 edition of Churchbuilding the timeliness of Professor Quinn's article on the 'Symbolic Function of Churchbuilding' had been welcomed by the editors. They had done so because they thought that there was a prevailing preference for 'quasi-scientific determinism' in which good architecture was seen as the product of a series of logical steps applied to rationalised requirements, and they were alarmed that the methodology of the New Churches Research Group to base design solutions on a properly considered 'programme', had been confused with this determinism.

Thirteen years later, when assessing the developments of the sixties in American church architecture, Quinn referred to the adverse but pervading products of rationalist thinking: 'Scientism in Architecture and Secularisation in Religion'. His reflections also found it curious that Hammond 'a discursive Englishman ... who painstakingly analysed the essential components of proper liturgical space-planning ... could have such a dramatic effect on pragmatic Americans', and later could abandon his pioneer writings as an 'obsolete and irrelevant

rag-bag'; an abandonment which 'should have shocked American readers' but which most merely ignored and instead embraced Hammond's writings without criticism.[65]

The Birmingham Institute

About the time that Peter Hammond was giving his talk on Contemporary Architecture and the Church on the B.B.C. Third Programme in May 1957,[66] Gilbert Cope, another Anglican cleric, was giving lectures on the use of the visual arts in worship, and organising tours to the Continent to see new church buildings, as staff-tutor in the extra-mural studies department of Birmingham University. One year before Hammond published Liturgy and Architecture in 1959, Cope published Symbolism in the Bible and the Church which was based on the general thesis that the imagery and symbolism of the Bible and the Church were still effective agencies in the orientation of human consciousness. Both Hammond and Cope were deeply concerned for a need to confront the established patterns of the Church with fresh questions of interpretation in what Cope described as 'this post-critical phase'. As Anglican clerics they were particularly concerned at the apparent failure of the established Church to pose such questions. For their inspiration they looked to the Continent, and in particular to France, where they attributed the 'courageous, if controversial policy of pressing into the service of the Church all that is most vital in contemporary art' to the initiatives taken by the Dominican priests Regamey and Couturier.[67] And it was at the Dominican retreat house at Hawkesyard Priory (Spode House), where an annual 'Visual Arts Week' was organised from 1953 by Conrad Pepler OP,[68] that both Hammond and Cope developed the idea of some form of national centre for relating studies of worship and architecture. Certainly with all the

discussion that the Coventry Cathedral project had generated since the early 1950s, Cope felt that the time was 'particularly appropriate for a free and frank exchange of views'.[69]

The significance of the rebuilding of Coventry Cathedral at that time cannot be underestimated, and the issues it raised undoubtedly forced the development of differing schools of thought on churchbuilding concepts - including those of Hammond and Cope. In an assessment of the Coventry design, Cope, while critical of the conservatively traditional use of the 'unimaginative oblong' in the plan, regarded the overall design as being 'so stimulating in many of its features'.[70] And Hammond himself admitted that the 'new cathedral at Coventry - though somewhat conventional in its functional analysis - is refreshingly adventurous in matters of detail'.[71] But by 1960 Hammond's critique of functional analysis in relation to churchbuilding had developed to the point where he dismissed Coventry (as well as Assy and Audincourt) as 'irrelevant' because of the way in which they failed to succeed in expressing a hierarchy of liturgical values 'not by means of 'artistic' symbols - contemporary or otherwise - but through significant spatial relationships'.[72] By 1960 Cope's own critique was becoming more influenced by an understanding of the spatial dynamics consistent with the practices of the Liturgical Movement in continental Europe; but the fact that Hammond did not include Cope (nor J G Davies) in his edition of essays by key NCRG members in 1962, suggests that there was by that time, sufficient variance between them as to make their relationship incompatible. Certainly there was a rift which was widened by the formation of the Institute for the Study of Worship and Religious Architecture in the University of Birmingham in 1963, by Gilbert Cope and J G Davies.

In 1957, six years before the founding of the Birmingham Institute, Hammond had made an appeal for some form of national centre for the study of worship and religious architecture:

> Perhaps our most urgent need in this country is for some kind of centre, where architects, craftsmen, clergy, ordination candidates, and all who are concerned with the building of new churches (as distinct from the preservation of old ones), could find opportunities for studying the principles and the disciplines of sacred art; and for studying them in the context of the Church's function in contemporary society, and not in an aesthetic vacuum. 23

And he referred to such centres in France which were proving themselves to be valuable in creating a new and informed body of opinion. He did not, however, refer to the focal point in Ireland that Glenstal Abbey had become since 1954, for a wide-ranging series of discussions, including the relationship of liturgy and architecture. But no such centre was established in England by either the Anglican or Catholic Churches as part of a strategical pastoral realisation of the Liturgical Movement,[74] which was, by the late fifties and early sixties, clearly making inroads into even official Vatican thinking, and was to be fully vindicated by the Second Vatican Council before the end of 1963. The New Churches Research Group did nevertheless attain academic research status in 1962, by becoming affiliated to the Institute of Advanced Architectural Studies in the University of York. But it was in the University of Birmingham that the first and really only, inter-disciplinary centre for liturgical, architectural, and sociological research in the British Isles was established by Cope and Davies, and without any formal ecclesiastical attachments. Perhaps it has been that relative detachment and certain academic objectivity, which has proved over the past twenty years to be both the strength and weakness of the Institute. That the Birmingham Institute had had so little to

do officially with the Catholic Church in England and Wales, would seem not to have been of its own choosing. The Institute came into being in the early stages of what Dr Cope has called 'the R.C. thaw'. At that time it was rare to have a Catholic reading theology in a non-Catholic institution. Since then, the Institute has had a number of Catholics, including priests, reading for the Institute's diploma or presenting theses for degrees. In addition, at conferences and on study tours, there have been close contacts with Catholics associated with churchbuilding matters. And of course, a number of the Institute's annual lectures have been given by Catholics such as Dr Patrick Nuttgens, Professor Patrick Quinn, and Dom Frederic Debuyst.

In 1966 the Institute published its first annual Research Bulletin, and its first special or occasional bulletin Buildings and Breakthrough. In 1977 the publications subscription list totalled some eight hundred names. Surprisingly, the Institute has never monitored the constituency of its publications readership, either denominationally or professionally. Consequently it has not been possible to readily determine the probable extent and make-up of any Catholic constituency, and the effects of any of the Institute's thinking upon it, in particular, that of the multi-purpose church concept.

Already by the late fifties there was a feeling that churchbuilding ought to adopt more visibly, three currently held architectural convictions, viz: 'the sense of the provisional, the sense of economy, and the sense of the continuing nature of space'.[75] In 1959 Cope was arguing that in the present state of theological flux and liturgical experimentation, there was a need in church design for flexibility, for 'room for manoeuvre - figuratively and literally'.[76] Consequently he was not so much concerned with an intellectual concept of architectural space, as with all those ingredients of human activity which make up

religious attitudes and practices.

Lance Wright and the New Churches Research Group also believed that to be socially relevant a churchbuilding had to be a correlation between certain visual convictions held by society in general, and the way in which people see religious truth and interpret their religious duties. But they were at variance with Cope, in believing that people carried out their lay apostolate in the many different secular milieux, so leaving a residual need to provide a place for those specifically Christian activities. Cope increasingly believed that such a distinction was too susceptible to the exclusive 'idea of the holy', to which he had originally subscribed when arguing for 'an atmosphere of worship' that would 'create a sense of awe proper to a church',[77] but which he radically modified as a result of J G Davies' 'devastating criticism' of a dependency upon the _mysterium tremendum_.[78]

Davies' criticism of Rudolf Otto's concern for those numinous elements in religious experience defined as 'awe' before a _mysterium tremendum_, and as 'fear' before a _mysterium fascinans_, was directed towards Otto's _Idea of the Holy_ (1968) vis a vis contemporary New Testament exegesis. Because contemporary experience of the numinous seemed to have decreased, the possibility should not be excluded of God being encountered in other ways. The 'scandal' of the Gospel was the sheer accessibility of God. Reverence and respect might be in order, but not the sense of 'self-abasement' described by Otto. Christ was not a holy object to be screened from profane gaze, nor did he manifest himself only on solemn occasions. In the Gospel and in his Church he had exposed himself to every aspect of human life.

So, Davies argued in his Secular Use of Church Buildings (1968) that the Church has to enter every human situation in order to expose Christ as servant. The wholeness of the concept had to be lived, not as a series of isolated activities, but as the profound expression of a pattern of life. Since the object of the Church's service was not itself but the world, church buildings should be something other than just places of worship. That did not mean that a stress on liturgy as a functional determinant was invalidated, but it did mean that an understanding and practice of liturgy had to be broadened to accommodate diakonia (a ministry of serving), and certain secular activities. A theology which embodied concepts of the two worlds of the 'sacred' and of the 'secular', and wished to maintain a separation in order to preserve an exclusive sense of the sacred, failed to understand, according to Davies, that in the contemporary world it was the secular which was real to the majority, and the sacred which was unreal. The remedial strategy he proposed was for the reality of the sacred to be rediscovered through the promotion of 'circumstances in which it might be encountered in and through the secular'.[79] As these 'circumstances' were to be lived, rather than treated solely as objects of theory, a beginning needed to be made by building multi-purpose churches in which sacred and secular were united. The theory and the theological reformulation could 'await upon the reality of the experience ... and spring out of the encounter of gospel and world'.[80] A shift was to take place from 'sacral architecture' to 'fellowship houses'.

In 1966 at the RIBA Conference in Dublin, Professor Davies maintained his advocacy of a shift to a more secular churchbuilding concept, with a restatement of his theological argument:

> In the past it was customary to maintain that God is related to the world through the Church. The sequence was: God-Church-world, ie God moves through the Church to the world. But I want to suggest that the last two items in God-Church-world have to be reversed, so that it reads instead: God-world-Church, ie God's primary relation is to the world, and it is the world and not the Church that is the focus of God's plan. 81

In order to promote a greater contemporary validity in the secular use of church buildings, Davies described many historical examples and their frequent censure by episcopal authorities and (especially in the nineteenth century) by pressure groups of a moral or intellectual high-mindedness. What he sought to promote was the concept of an architectural space that integrated the sacred and the secular, and did not divide them into two compartments as did the typical mediaeval Anglican church and its subsequent imitators. An exclusively sacral chamber was considered too redolent of Old Testament theology with its notion of a 'Holy of Holies' in the Jerusalem Temple; and because it perpetuated an exclusively clerical _ecclesiola in ecclesia_. What Davies therefore sought to promote with the multi-purpose church concept, was a building with a single comprehensively integrated use for a range of communal activities, including worship, and without any extra special emphasis being given to the accommodation requirements for worship vis a vis those for other activities.

Cope recognised that there was nothing new in a multiplicity of activities being united in a church building complex. Both monastic and non-conformist buildings consisted of a worship-room plus other related rooms. What _was_ new, he claimed, was 'the idea that a positive planning and design approach should be made in the light of a fundamental analysis of the total liturgical life of Christians in any particular place'.[82] Much to the chagrin of certain architects of non-conformist

churches (in particular Edward Mills, who regarded the claim as suspect if not spurious, in view of their own traditions of building),[83] the idea was widely regarded as original and synonymous with the Institute.

Certainly the key position that the multi-purpose concept held in the thinking of the Institute is nowhere more evident than in the diagram which illustrated the paper Cope gave to the Conference on Church Architecture and Social Responsibility in 1968, entitled 'The Liturgical Environment' (cf Fig 1). It developed further the five categories of church design which he had outlined at the RIBA Conference in 1966.[84] Altogether twenty-two approaches, influences or aspects were identified, most of which were clustered around the multi-purpose model, which Cope designated as the 'Mark III type'. The Mark I type was characterised by the application of twentieth century architectural idioms and building techniques to the unexamined traditional notion of a church building; while a more thoroughgoing design analysis of a renewed, but still formal, liturgy, realised in contemporary architectural terms, was the main characteristic of the Mark II type.

The analysis of the total liturgical life of a local Christian community, as required for a full design brief for the Mark III type, would be likely to be far-reaching. While it might begin with a general consensus that a church was essentially a place set apart for worship, once a price tag was put on that, the financial aspect would inevitably become a moral issue of responsible stewardship; an issue that in turn would become a theological question as to what kind of God was it that required such exclusive places for the Church to function in the

twentieth century? These were issues that Davies and Cope realised had to be dealt with in an actual pastoral situation. Neither wished to merely reflect on a process of dealing with such issues from an academic ivory tower, nor to depend solely on consultants. In 1963 therefore, when the Institute was established, an approach was made to the Anglican diocese of Birmingham in order to explore the possibility of the Institute receiving a commission to plan and build a church. In 1964 the Institute received the commission for the Hodge Hill project. It was not the only project in which the Institute became involved,[85] but it was the project which, in particular, made concrete the concept of the 'multi-purpose church' and its significance to the Institute is well demonstrated by the considerable detail in which it has been documented since the first report in 1966.[86]

Basic to the final brief received by the project architect, Martin Purdy, was the requirement that the building should be capable of accommodating two large-scale activities at the same time. The architectural outcome was two main halls with several intermediate and ancillary areas, a number of which had to serve more than one function and be capable of being varied in size in order to cater for varying numbers of people for limited periods. The requirements were then extremely complex and difficult to resolve architecturally with the theological concept. As it turned out, the building was much closer to the several chambered model favoured by the editorial predilections of the Belgian journal Art d'Eglises (which was much read by the Institute's adherents), despite Purdy's apparent rejection of the domestic scale of the model on the grounds that it was a 'fine sentiment' but impractical for a building to hold five hundred persons. In turn, over the years, Purdy's own design, and the model concept behind it, have

attracted both explicit and implicit criticism.

Writing with implied criticism of those experimental churches in England which have created 'spaces of maximum flexibility and therefore minimum determinancy' Peter F Smith has pointed out that, while the division of space in churches according to function may not have any theological basis, it does make architectural sense. Though a multi-purpose space may seem to respect the freedom of people to change their patterns of behaviour, it can produce a space which is not efficient for anything. And as part of his own design rationale he has proposed three distinct categories of activity each requiring a quite specific form of architectural accommodation (which seem very similar to those that practical realities forced upon the design at Hodge Hill), viz: the highly mobile pursuits of youth groups; small group activities and assemblies; and large sedantry group assemblies - including those for public worship.[87]

A similar criticism, but one directed from a different viewpoint, was levelled by Nigel Melhuish against the design of the main space which was used for public worship at Hodge Hill. The trouble was that the denial of the 'Holy Place concept' seemed to have a view of the liturgy which regarded it as the one social activity which was not in need of proper architectural accommodation.[88] It was a criticism closely allied to that levelled against the Institute's attitude towards providing a 'quiet room', 'oratory', or 'chapel', separate from the main areas. Such a provision, the Institute considered, would invalidate the fundamental concept of the multi-purpose church, and so denigrated it with the tag of being a 'holy of holies'.

When assessing Hodge Hill in 1975 its Rector viewed the project as having been undertaken at a time when the current nostrum was to talk

about 'letting the world write the agenda for the Church'.[89] His reservations about the whole enterprise however, were not derived from a desire to return to a more sacral architecture of worship, but from a desire for the Church to dispossess itself of property altogether, in order for it to be involved more fully in the 'already secularly sponsored reconciling work of Christ in communities'.

In his assessment, Nigel Melhuish did not go so far as to suggest that the Church should dispossess itself of property, but he did strongly advocate that if the moral argument used in the multi-purpose concept were followed to its conclusion, it would require the cessation of all churchbuilding, and the holding of liturgical functions in buildings normally used for other purposes - at least, until the Church was more certain what church buildings were actually needed for.[90]

These criticisms were mild in comparison to those expressed by W J Grisbrooke in the 1968 <u>Research Bulletin</u>, and which J G Davies obviously felt required a reply.

While it was recognised that the functionalist design rationale was more than a utilitarian approach, it was felt that the design of Hodge Hill was impractical, and more a monument to the 'Servant Church' doctrine, than a straightforward shelter for the use of the Church. It appeared to Grisbrooke to 'express some romantic idea rather than to serve a carefully worked out liturgical function'.[91]

Grisbrooke's other criticisms were that the survey data had been misinterpreted; the multi-purpose space was too indeterminate; the multi-purpose concept sought to sacralise the secular; the concept placed too great an emphasis on the significance of the church building as the gathering place of the local Church, whereas the

Church was both a people gathered and dispersed; by providing for the complete social needs of a local Christian community a ghetto mentality was developed.

To these could be added a further criticism from Melhuish, and three quoted by Davies himself: the theory that the sacred and the secular should be continually mutually evident, was a social solecism; the multi-purpose concept was no more than an attempt to find a place for the Church in a secularised society; the role envisaged by the concept was one that really belonged to social agencies and not to a Christian community; and secular activities ought not to be housed in hallowed buildings and given a falsely 'churchy' character.

Davies' reply to these criticisms was that if the Church had no role in the secular world, then it would remain in the limited sphere of the sacred. The Church's role was to identify human needs and to pioneer ways in which they were to be met. Hence the validity of the 'Servant Church' concept because it did not limit an understanding of 'Church' to 'people' but to 'people called together to undertake purposeful activity'. And such activity ought not to be 'churchified' as this would be to be guilty of the Eutychian heresy of denying Christ's humanity as being consubstantial with ours.

As for the Hodge Hill project, Davies contended that there was no imbalance between theory and practicality because the concept had arisen out of the needs of a specific situation, and so had developed from an expedient and not an ideal. While the logical corollary of the ideal was a single unifying space, the practical parameters had forced the expediency of the design as realised. So the nub of the expedient was practical - and therefore consistent with the moral arguments used to promote the multi-purpose concept. But what had been designed at

Hodge Hill was not a panacea for all churchbuilding needs. Every situation required its own assessment and solution, and Hodge Hill, at the time, had provided for social, recreational, and cultural needs because so little other provision was available in the area. Should however, there be a situation where there were no such needs to be met then, Davies somewhat tellingly argued, the concept of the multi-purpose church would have to be stood on its head, and the use of a secular building would have to be sought, as this too would affirm 'the unity of the sacred and secular in circumstances differing from those that justify the multi-purpose church'.[92]

Responding to criticism too, Martin Purdy, the project architect, argued that the multi-purpose ethic had shattered the illusion of church buildings inspired by the Liturgical Movement, with their focus within the gathered congregation and their often too grandiose sense of the numinous. However the architectural expression of that ethic had hardly been seriously debated, but lay somewhere between the avoidance of two extremes: an atmosphere or focus that might too readily condition or ossify attitudes and use; and a merely neutral environment that would not serve emotional and psychological needs. Hodge Hill, Purdy claimed, had sought to provide a positive compromise by 'clothing a series of spatial relationships, themselves designed for varying functions, in a construction of consistent detail. The result may be architecturally naive, lacking a coherent formal idea, but it has the virtue of being free from cliche'.[93]

There can be little denying that variations of the multi-purpose church concept have increasingly pervaded Catholic churchbuilding since the late sixties. But as these several variations often do not

make clear the derivation of the concept they are using, there is some difficulty in attributing the Birmingham Institute with being wholly instrumental in affecting this course of Catholic churchbuilding in England and Wales.

Since the Second Vatican Council the Catholic Church has certainly placed greater emphasis on a pastoral liturgy more closely linked with a lay apostolate, by which the faithful worked for 'the sanctification of the world from within'.[94] So inevitably, the secular concerns of the laity, responding to the call to order them 'according to the plan of God', would be brought more into the heart of the liturgy itself. Liturgy understood as the 'summit and source' of the Christian life, has assumed a greater pastoral or secular character. In a way (which one of the leading pre-war theologians actively associated with the Liturgical Movement would have regarded as being quite 'unCatholic'), the new trend has seemed to be forcing the active life before the contemplative. To paraphrase Romano Guardini: Religion seems to have become increasingly turned towards the world, and cheerfully secular. It has been developing more and more into a consecration of human activity in its various aspects.[95] So in new Catholic churchbuilding since the late sixties, these aspirations seem bound to have been more in evidence, though they were intimated a decade or more before, in the pages of Art d'Eglise, with the editorial foresight of Dom Frederic Debuyst.

Art d'Eglise and Dom Frederic Debuyst

The Benedictine philosophy historian Frederick Debuyst, has been influential in the development of Catholic churchbuilding for more than twenty years, and has been so way beyond his native Belgium. Following the leading example of the Dominican Fr Couturier and the

French periodical L'Art Sacre, Debuyst's editorship of Art d'Eglise since 1959 has provided a vital understanding on several levels, of many of the issues involved in reassessing the role and form of Catholic churchbuilding in the post-war era. In the period following the Second Vatican Council (1962-65) especially, his developing rationale has influenced a number of younger Catholic architects in the British Isles eg Richard O'Mahony, Austin Winkley, Richard Hurley). The resulting aesthetic of Debuyst's rationale has not been characterised by a concern for epic statements or virtuoso performances, but by a desire for an authenticity of Christian celebration, a limpidity of symbolism, and a domesticity of scale.

In a chapter on 'A Short Phenomenology of the Modern House' in his study of Modern Architecture and Christian Celebration (1968) Debuyst arrived at two conclusions which have broadly characterised his thinking both before and since then:

> First, a church is not an architectural monument built to symbolise God's glory, but a 'Paschal meeting-room', a functional space created for the celebrating Christian assembly. It is a real interior and it has to express a fundamental kind of hostpitality.
>
> Second, the churches of tomorrow, if they are to be really good churches, will have to look more like simple houses than like the churches of to-day or yesterday. In fact, they will have to combine the freedom of the modern house with the basic qualities of the early Christian churches, the primitive house-churches as well as the 'ecclesiastical-complex' churches.

In its emphasis on the appropriateness of the house-church, Debuyst's rationale has evolved from that of Emil Steffann in the late 1930s, a fact which he has readily acknowledged in his retrospective reassessment of seminal examples of modern churchbuilding.[96] Steffann had deplored the pretentious and even spurious, claims that more

grandiose churchbuilding schemes seemed to make, and argued instead for a church simply to be a 'house among others', a domestic building with 'spaces for living and a space for the Eucharistic celebration'. Building churches as if to symbolise that modern towns and settlements were Christian, was hardly a frank and honest local point of departure for the contemporary Church. Also more than any other building Debuyst believed, a church should contribute to the humanising of the monumental chaos of _technopolis_, and should not seek to compete with it. That is why, what was required of a church building was not a monument but the embodiment of a memorial.

The essence of Christianity for Debuyst, is to be found in a living 'memorial' or _anamnesis_. In the assembly of the worshipping Christian community, the Eurcharist is the celebration _par excellence_ of this _anamnesis_. It is a theology which clearly reflects his pioneering Benedictine predecessors in the Liturgical Movement, Dom Ildefons Herwegens and Dom Odo Casel, and is the explanation for his calling a church 'the Paschal meeting room'. Such a room in itself has no specific sacral character, but is marked with his homeliness of a great living-room where the 'faithful come together to meet the Lord, and each other in the Lord ... _within the context of a celebration_'.[97]

Liturgical renewal not only signifies renewal of the rites and ceremonies of the Church, but also renewal of the Christian life that can flow from the liturgy. It is an experience with an integral sense of organic creativity; one which creates its forms from models within itself and is constantly adapting. Even if the rite is officially prescribed, it should be regarded as an inner model whose outer form is capable of periodic modification. Though it is in the essential nature of a rite to be repetitive it can never be so without some element of change taking place, because the whole process is both

active and reactive. As the French liturgist Pere Joseph Gelineau has said:

> The liturgy is a parabolic type of activity (which throws us aside), metaphorical (which takes us somewhere else), allegorical (which speaks of something else) and symbolic (which brings together and makes connections). 98

When there is the tendency to close the mind firmly round a fixed and finite formula or convention then these potentials of liturgy have to be activated by some form of celebration. Debuyst's phenomenology of 'feast' defines it as 'an external, expressive, symbolic manifestation whereby we make outselves more deeply conscious of the importance of an event or of an idea already important to us'.[99] All the qualities of a temporal feast have to be transmuted into the concrete shape of the Christian celebration, into the 'paschal climate of its setting'.

From a sociological point of view it is recognised that celebration is a presentational form of ritual action which both affirms and changes. Participation in celebration requires a gift, a setting aside, a renunciation, of ordinary time and space, and of ordinary work and rewards. A view which Debuyst endorses when he says that any feast, any celebration, transforms our normal pattern of time and space and leads us into a world where the rules, conventions, and values are new and different. There is a transparency, a quality of osmosis, about such a process that would seem to make the static world of dimension, of architectural place, alien. Yet, it would seem that a sense of place is needed in order to locate our participation, and to focus our reflection upon the meaning of the whole reciprocating process.

Because Debuyst puts such an emphasis on 'transparency' it is not

surprising that he favours a limpid and economic architecture. But it is not a transparency which is intended to make the Church indistinguishable from the world; the Church will always be a people called out, a people apart. Emptying signs from the Church indiscriminately, will inevitably deprive it of definite witnessing features, and leave people immersed in their mundane ordinariness. The transparency he seeks in churchbuilding is not to be construed as a desire for complete loss of sacral character, but a desire to realise the potential of perception, of contemplation, of affirmation in the material elements of the feast. It is a total existential affirmation, a saying 'yes' and 'Amen' to one single moment of our existence which is also saying 'yes' and 'Amen' to our entire existence. So the tangible forms which embody and express a sense of sacrality are, for Debuyst, primarily those living actions of the celebrating Christian assembly, and only secondarily, the architecture of their accommodation.

Here he would join other critics of the German 'Directives' of 1947, much eulogised by Hammond and the New Churches Research Group, when he expresses his disapproval of the planning of a church with a pre-arrangement of the main poles of the liturgy at supposedly privileged fixed places, to the satisfaction of experts. A method, he points out, which is even presented as the right way to act in the spirit of the Liturgical Movement. The result, he maintains, is frequently a highly artificial building, lacking humanity and therefore lacking also real architectural value. Some of the most famous modern churches in Germany are considered by him to be of this kind,[100] and in particular those designed by Rudolf Schwarz, whose book Vom Bau der Kirche (The Church Incarnate) Debuyst regarded as being 'one of

the most dangerous ever written about churchbuilding'.[101]

The important point in a church, for Debuyst, is not to arrange as well as possible a set of impersonal objects, but to give shape to a living community. So it is important that all objects and spaces have truly human proportions, permit truly human gestures, and allow the greatest possible amount of freedom. Like Gelineau, he wants architects to stand back from the communities they design for, in order to let them discover themselves;[102] and he prefers churches to be smaller than they are now and accommodate only two or three hundred persons.[103] Debuyst himself, is not an architect. His theories therefore have had to be put into concrete form by willing proteges. In the sixties his main protege was Marc Dessauvage; in the seventies it has been Jean Cosse. The first project on which Dessauvage and Debuyst collaborated was the chapel of the Benedictine Abbey of St. Andre at Bruges, for which Debuyst was responsible. In the 1963 edition of Churchbuilding Giles Blomfield and Gilbert Cope described the reordering of the nineteenth century hostel chapel, as being 'much more significant than many buildings ten times its size'. It was an unassuming single chamber with a free-standing single-step sanctuary on which was a lectern, chair and fixed, free-standing, 'Westward-facing' altar, and with a facing single bank of simple bench seating. Originally, the seating was to have been around the walls, with all the principal liturgical furnishings movable.

After St Andre, Dessauvage's churches developed the single cell idea, which tended to characterise many of the more progressive church designs of the sixties. An idea which Debuyst referred to as serving the 'assembled community in the simplest possible form'. Several such designs by Dessauvage were illustrated in Debuyst's Modern Architecture

and Christian Celebration - all in Belgium.[104] But with a developing understanding of liturgy, both in the stricter, formal, sense, and in the broader sense of mission, catechesis, and service, the limitations on the versatility of the single cell fostered a development of the multi-cell type of church building in Debuyst's thinking.

The theory of the multi-purpose space concept of churchbuilding is its integration of a Christian community's activities, and the elimination of any distinction between notions of the sacred and of the secular. The theory of the multi-cell concept on the other hand, is its vital relationship of a plurality of spaces with a hierarchy of functions, prime among which is that of worship. In Debuyst's description of actual examples of this concept, designed by Jean Cosse,[105] it is clear that the primacy of function of the main cell is liturgical, but that it is also used for concerts, conferences, and ecumenical occasions. An adjacent secondary area is used for wedding receptions and other secular feasts and celebrations, and also for meetings of various kinds of groups. However, the liturgical celebration area 'remains a room where one does not smoke, drink or argue', where the 'ambience is and has to remain collected, serene and peaceful'.[106]

Debuyst clearly felt that the evolution of the multi-cell church achieved a satisfactory via media between public and private forms of architecture, by providing a semi-public category of building which expressed more fittingly a less dominant and more qualified image of the Church.

The architectural expression of the multi-cell church also lay between two opposing design rationales: that of the hyper-rationalist

functionalism (exemplified by Mies van der Rohe's chapel at the Illinois Institute of Technology); and that of the 'total symbol' of lyrical expressionism (exemplified by le Corbusier's pilgrimage chapel at Ronchamp). The architecture of the multi-cell church Debuyst believed, retained a contact with nature, with the old crafts, and with the basic qualities of the domestic dwelling house.

The multi-cell concept was complex, Debuyst argued, because the Christian way of life was complex, and because it simultaneously forged relationships while making distinctions. In particular, the individual distinctiveness of the main liturgical celebration room, and of the social meeting room, and the effectiveness of their relationship, was so important to Debuyst, that he regarded it as 'the test of practicability and soundness of churchbuilding today'.[107]

> What we ask of a church today, aesthetically speaking, is only (but decidedly) that it be an interior in harmony with the spirit of celebration, ie a building capable of giving - not a vision radically different from the good and simple things of this creation, thus not a vision of glory - but a vision of peace. 108

In summary then, Debuyst's contribution to post-war developments in churchbuilding, is a pursuit of the idea of the <u>domus ecclesiae</u>, of the church building as 'the house of the people called out by God', and he sees that people as belonging to a dispersed minority Church, the Church of the Christian <u>diaspora</u>. It is a new realisation of the Church and of its role in the modern world which has become more widely recognised since Vatican II. The old pretentions of grandiloquence are now no longer required; even the mere superficial rearrangement of liturgical furnishings is insufficient. Instead renewed understandings and relationships have to be aided in ways that express a greater limpidity, while retaining a sense of distinctiveness that is not hieratic nor

esoteric, and making use of current cultural forms.

But above all, in Debuyst's thinking there is the image of the house, and of the church building as the house among houses. Like a house it has several rooms, with a principal family room augmented by a suite of ancillary rooms. As a family room its form, furnishings, and embellishment should be the expression of living persons, rather than with design abstractions, or defunct conventions. But more than that, because all that takes place in that room is inspired by, and finds expression in, the Eurcharistic liturgy, the room is 'the Paschal meeting room' in which the local Church celebrates the *anamnesis* of Christ's death and resurrection.

Wilfrid Cantwell and Richard Hurley

Earlier, two tendencies in modern churchbuilding were referred to as contemporary forms of Arianism and of Doceticism.[109] Referring to the same tendencies, Debuyst described their respective characteristics as 'analytic' and 'synthetic', and cited as extreme examples of each the chapels at the Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago, by Mies van der Rohe (1952), and at Ronchamp by le Corbusier (1955).[110] The analytic type, Debuyst regarded as being neutral before nature and the changing tastes and needs of man. Though its austerity might induce a sense of cultural alienation and loss of sacral character, the type ought really to be regarded as liberating. However, he does accept two risks with this type, viz: a possible aridity and inhumanity, and an over-refined sense of purity.

The synthetic type, according to Debuyst, is, in an extreme form such as at Ronchamp, regarded as a work of genius and therefore unique (a *hapax legomenon*). Invariably, it has an intoxicating effect on the architectural mind which succumbs to various eccentricities and to a

predilection for monumentality - as if the building, instead of serving the local Christian community, were to monopolize for itself the complete reality of Christian doctrine.

Between these extremes Debuyst believed there lay a via media and he cited as examples St Maria in den Benden at Düsseldorf by Rosiny and Steffann (1958), which was the epitome of the modern domus ecclesiae concept; and the university chapel at Otaniemi, Finland, by the Siren brothers (1956), which was the epitome of a natural symbolic transparency, and the sense of the economic and provisional.

But even for architects seeking to follow the 'middle way' there is the ever present risk of a bias which seems like a tendency towards one of the extremes. In Ireland two such tendencies have been polarised around two Dublin architects, who both are, and have been members of the Advisory Committee for Sacred Art and Architecture of the Episcopal Liturgical Commission of Ireland: Wilfrid Cantwell and Richard Hurley. Their tendencies are indicative of two schools of thought presently active in Catholic churchbuilding considerations and not only in Ireland, but also elsewhere in the British Isles. They are not the only set of considerations, but each architect has, over a period of time, well articulated his design rationale or 'theology of church-building' - a faculty generally insufficiently developed by many architects engaged in churchbuilding projects.

Richard Hurley identifies very closely with Debuyst's thinking, as is apparent not only in his actual designs for churches (eg Church of the Nativity, Newtown, Co Kildare (1975), but from papers and articles he has written. In 1976, at the Irish Pastoral Liturgy Centre, he presented two (unpublished) papers on Recent Developments and Elements

of Church Design, in which he defined three phases of modern church architecture: a first phase which emphasised the functional needs of the liturgical renewal; a second phase which developed the accommodation of social needs in relation to a new image of the Church in the modern world; and a third phase in which there was a form of synthesis of the two previous phases. It was a synthesis which he saw as expressing the precedence of interiority over exteriority, of the world of persons over that of material objects, and of hostpitality over monumentality, as repeatedly stressed by Vatican II.

While the German 'Directives' of 1947 were in many ways excellent, Hurley considers them prone to notions of monumentality in scale, especially in the dominance of the altar. They still considered a church as a building to house primarily an altar, and only secondarily, a community.

In the work of Emil Steffann Hurley finds a 'Franciscan in heart and spirit, a convert from Protestantism ... an architect intransigently devoted to authenticity (who) had shown how very little is essential'.[111] Steffann's unrealised projects for small house churches in the late 1930s have a particular relevance to the needs of the present phase of churchbuilding Hurley believes and refers heavily to Romano Guardini's review of Steffann's project sketches in the Schildgenossen.[112]

Clearly Hurley shares with Debuyst an aesthetic of limpidity, of humility, and of economy, believing that a building with a more domestic scale will be more successful in supporting a human contribution to the celebration of the liturgy. Nevertheless, while churches have a secondary, supporting role, Hurley strongly maintains that not any kind of place will do, and that it is important to realise the value of the

sign of 'a place set apart'. Ideally, the quality of the architectural space should be such as to induce a frame of mind in those gathered in it, that is favourable to the act of worship. To aid this process, Hurley values the quality of light entering a building, the rhythmic incidence of the buildings structure, and the function of art as an intensifying focus. All of which he regards as forming part of 'the unconscious primitive limbic response which accounts for most of our deep feelings about the built-environment'.[113] But he warns against trying to equate any arousal of that response with an image of dominance found in 'miniature modernistic Jerusalems', in forgetfulness of the Beatitudes.

Hurley firmly believes that Ireland is in the third phase of churchbuilding, but recognises that in seeking a synthesis of the first two phases a number of contradictions have to be reconciled. While wishing to provide a sense of openness and accessibility, avoiding rigidity and restriction, it is also necessary to provide a sense of security and concentration. Authenticity and flexibility must now be among the more noticeable characteristics of the environment of Catholic worship.

Replying to an enquiry seeking to discover whether those debates on churchbuilding which have been fostered in England by the New Churches Research Group, and by the Birmingham Institute, have been influential in Ireland, Hurley admits that architects in Ireland have tended to look more towards the mainland of Europe, and to the debates that have gone on there. And he also admits that the traditional view of a church being sacred and set apart exclusively for worship, is still prevalent, and that the 'multi-functional' building has never really caught on.[114] But in his summary of what he feels are the necessary

qualities to be applied to churchbuilding he includes 'an ecumenical attitude to church interiority'.[115]

Ecumenism - or at least, any misguided form of it - does not appeal to Wilfrid Cantwell, and it is one of the three main issues with which he is in disagreement with Richard Hurley's thinking. His own thinking has been evident in many papers, articles, and documents, but here particular reference is made to a paper given in 1976 at the inaugural conference of the Department of Art and Architecture of the Liturgy Commission of England and Wales, and to an article which appeared in 1975 in a Position Paper.[116]

Cantwell strongly maintains that sacred art and architecture should be unashamedly Catholic, and should not, in the interests of any misguided forms of ecumenism, succumb to the neutral or ambiguous environment, which was most obvious in the 'shared church' concept.[117] And to endorse his stance he refers to the 1977 Advent letter of Archbishop Murphy of Cardiff, in which ecumenical 'outreach' is seen as being likely to capsize the 'barque of Peter', an attitude very much in keeping with the archbishop's apparent lack of support for any form of shared-use and joint-ownership church schemes in his diocese.[118]

Ireland too has been affected by a tendency towards secularisation, which has been reflected in certain churchbuilding projects, but Cantwell regards it as a minority movement without a long-term future. Its architectural manifestation, the multi-purpose church, he describes as 'extravagent' and a failure in Ireland (thus endorsing Richard Hurley's view). The most prevalent form of secularism, which often appears under the guise of efficient cost planning, is to be described as the 'economic heresy' because it is only a euphemism for a lack of

generosity and faith. The result of such parsimony is likely to be shoddy buildings requiring high maintenance costs, thus nullifying in the long run, the original objective. Shared churches too, originate partly from the same objective and that accounts for some of Cantwell's criticism of them, but he has other criticisms too.

In 1973 he prepared a report for the Advisory Committee on Sacred Art and Architecture on Community Centre Churches in Holland. The purpose was to investigate the manner in which such centres are designed and operated in order to provide guidelines for the development of similar centres in Ireland. Altogether ten buildings were selected for close evaluation, of which four were shared ventures with Protestants. For purposes of his survey Cantwell defined a Community Centre Church as a 'building or group of buildings on one site which incorporates, in addition to a church, a number of facilities to serve the individual and social needs of all members of the local community'.[119]

In his introduction to the report, Cantwell wrote:

> The motivation for the erection of Community Centre Churches is not always clear from a study of their design or from observing them in actual use. It is clear that the motivation, while always sincere and altruistic, varies from place to place. In some cases the objective is to express in terms of service to the community a belief in the dignity and value of all men as children of God; a belief which is directly derived from a living practice of the two fundamental commandments of love of God and love of our neighbour. Where this is the objective it is demonstrated by the importance which is given to the liturgical space and to the details of its design. In other cases the objective appears to be inspired by a 'secularist' theology which implies that social activity is the primary purpose of religion and which, by diminishing the transcendental role of the supernatural, tends to over-emphasise the social aspect so that the centre becomes little more than a club in which the spiritual content is incidental and does not exert a transforming influence.

> There seems to be little point in the Church providing social amenities, which could be equally well provided by other bodies, unless such amenities are provided and used for an apostolic purpose. 120

He goes on to say how important it is to have fully-formed Christian managers, and for the architecture to be of a high standard of design.

That churchbuilding should first be good architecture before being consecrated to God, is one of nine articles of Cantwell's own personal creed. The other eight are: that the primary function of sacred architecture is to serve the liturgy and not the ego of either architect or client, nor the needs of social services which are the responsibility of other agencies; that sacred art and architecture should be unashamedly Catholic; that the primary object of the liturgy is to glorify God and should not be distorted by misguided interpretations of poverty; that any work has to be 'sacred' (ie created in a spirit of prayer, set aside and dedicated to God) and not be regarded simply as a utility; that all works of sacred art and architecture make highly formative statements to the sub-conscious mind about the nature of God and of his Church; that a church should have a warm and welcoming atmosphere at all times; that church design, and in particular the reordering of existing buildings, is not a simple straightforward matter; and (it is the first of the nine articles) that the inspiration for all works of sacred art and architecture should be derived solely from the Magisterium of the Church (ie from Sacred Scripture as well as official teachings) and not from the personal opinions of theologians or liturgists, however learned.[121]

Cantwell has also categorised four current types of churchbuilding of which the secularist multi-purpose type is one. The other three are:

a monumental type, essentially megalomaniac and technically brilliant; a domestic type, essentially over-emotive about the priority of local human needs in relation to liturgical principles; and a type developed from the latter but with a reversed order of priority. This is the category that he identifies himself with. Like Hurley he believes the Catholic Church in Ireland is making an important contribution to 'conserving the truest values and insights of the Western Church' by developing 'a synthesis of art and devotion which can be understood by, and be helpful to, everyman, and is no longer the preserve of the intellectual'.[122]

It would be a mistake to consider the national sentiments expressed by Hurley and Cantwell as the symptoms of an insular mentality. With a long history of emigration and overseas mission, the Irish have a world view peculiarly their own. Complementing that world-view if a very intense sense of territorial identity born of centuries of harassment and penury, coupled with a regard for the Church as the one constant and stablising feature. With such a high proportion of the population belonging to Roman Catholicism the Church still retains a substantial role in the daily and national life of the Irish. However, increasing urbanisation caused by a certain depopulation of the countryside, a reduction in emigration, and an increase in industrialisation, and the insidious effects of consumer merchandising and of mass communications, are all now producing the familiar symptoms of cultural and spiritual disorientation and uncertainty. By promoting a vitally Irish way of 'praying upon beauty' the more informed liturgical renewal in Ireland is seeking to reflect as well as renew the Irish spiritual tradition in the spirit of the Second Vatican Council. It is seeking both te orientate Irish Catholics towards their authentic Irish heritage and to

give a greater certainty to the role of the Church in modern Ireland.[123]

While the fostering of a national character in the liturgical art and architecture of Ireland, is a matter on which both Hurley and Cantwell generally agree, the relative significance to be derived from juxtaposed notions of 'sacred' and 'secular' is one on which they generally disagree.

Quoting from the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy of Vatican II, Cantwell asserts that the Church has always taught that through the sacred liturgy 'by way of foretaste, we share in that heavenly liturgy which is celebrated in the holy city of Jerusalem towards which we journey as pilgrims, and in which Christ is sitting at the right hand of God, a minister of the sanctuary and of the true tabernacle'.[124] In addition he quotes the late Pope Paul VI: 'Let us have no fear that the orientation of our life towards its future eschatological destiny, will make us unable to carry out perfectly and intensely our duties in the present fleeting time. On the contrary, it will increase in us the appreciation of its inestimable value and the wise determination to use it'.[125]

For the Catholic Church, the liturgy has long been the prime mode of orienting the Christian life towards its 'future eschatological destiny'. It is the 'summit and source' of the Christian life. But as Cantwell points out, there are those today who consider that liturgy is just an expression, an extension of our everyday lives. Such a view has to be guarded against since it would invert the Church's traditional teaching by implying that new liturgies should be patterned after the lives of ordinary people, rather than after the 'true heavenly liturgy'. Liturgy, in so far as it is a model of the Church made manifest by human culture,

has received its pattern not from that culture, but from the divinely ordained signs evident in Word and Sacrament to which human culture responds.

Where the liturgical model of the Church is too analogous to its eschatological destiny, Hurley follows Guardini in believing that it 'plays' at symbolising the new Jerusalem, whereas in reality it results only in a fatuously over-optimistic show. Instead, he prefers Debuyst's criteria of humility and economy so that a church may psychologically 'promote a liberating influence in a more relaxed and, in this sense, a more human way of behaving during the liturgy'.[126] The concern he expresses is for ways in lifting up the consciousness of people in the act of worship. However such an immanent human concern does place him on the opposite side of a mean point between himself and Cantwell whose declared concern is with 'transcendantal signs of God'.

What is interesting about the views expressed by Cantwell and Hurley, is that they are each derived from a particular understanding of the conclusions and teachings of Vatican II. Cantwell confines his design rationale almost exclusively, to the liturgical promulgations of the Council, which, in addition to the original <u>Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy</u> (1963) have included a number of subsequent 'Instructions', especially the <u>General Instruction on the Roman Missal</u> (1970).

Hurley, on the other hand, seems to have a broader acceptance of what Vatican II had to say in such promulgations as the <u>Dogmatic Constitution on the Church</u> (1964) and the <u>Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World</u> (1965). Since designing the church of Our Lady of the Nativity, at Newtown, Co Kildare in 1975 Hurley's more pastoral, and less dogmatic, approach, has been more evident. Significantly, Hurley has

designed the chapels for the Irish Institute for Pastoral Liturgy both when it was at Portarlington, and now at Carlow.

Though their design rationales may be at variance, both Cantwell and Hurley agree on the close co-operation of artists and architects in matters of churchbuilding. Such co-operation has been a much more positive distinguishing feature in new churchbuilding in Ireland than anywhere else in the British Isles. One artist in particular, who may be described as Wilfrid Cantwell's alter ego, Ray Carroll, has been responsible for the designing of a considerable number of liturgical spaces tout ensemble, and can be regarded as the deus ex machina behind many new and reordering schemes in Ireland and elsewhere. Such is Carroll's status that his involvement in a scheme can be more than that of a design consultant, as was the case at Killarney cathedral in 1973 when he was co-responsible (with the architect John Kennedy) for the extensive, and consequently controversial, reordering scheme. For the perhaps even more controversial reordering of Longford cathedral (the then seat of the episcopal chairman of the Advisory Committee on Sacred Art and Architecture, Bishop Cahal Daly between 1975 and 1977, Carroll was principal adviser and recommended Richard Hurley as project architect. Unfortunately, bitter local controversy over the removal of the old high altar, together with other heated issues associated with the design and its completion, led to the termination of Hurley's commission, and the appointment of Wilfrid Cantwell to complete the task. It was this ironic incident, which, more than anything else, served to polarise the divergent tendencies of both architects.

To think that post-war church design in Ireland was polarised solely around these two architects, would be to misrepresent the significant contribution made by others, chief among whom might be listed Liam

McCormick of Derry. But McCormick is not, nor has been, a member of that national Advisory Committee, which has, through studies, information, and guidelines, developed a more critical mode of designing, commissioning, and maintaining, churches in Ireland. Though the Advisory Committee has published occasional manuals and papers (most notable among which are the Pastoral Directory on the Building and Reorganisation of Churches (1972), and the Maintenance Manual for Church Buildings (1976)), it has not published a regular bulletin or journal which might have served as a wider forum for the discussion and dissemination of the Committee's valuable work. Occasional articles do appear in The Furrow, the editor of which was at one time, also Chairman of the Advisory Committee;[127] also they appear in New Liturgy, the quarterly magazine of the Institute for Pastoral Liturgy. Nevertheless, the achievement of a considerable portion of Catholic churchbuilding in Ireland in recent years, has been a remarkable one in terms of both its architectural and its liturgical maturity.

At the beginning of the period under review, the rubrics for Catholic churchbuilding and the architectural style they assumed, possessed a certainty that now seems dissipated in doubts and disagreements over priorities and interpretations. Churchbuilding is no longer to be discussed merely in terms of style, but as a category of building in a truthful, rational way evolved inevitably in response to a set of needs. Instead of a tranquil assimilation of tradition, churchbuilding has become part of a restlessly investigative process that seeks to determine what those needs are, and to order them in some way that leads to an efficient built-form that may, or may not, aspire to architecture.

From the five sources discussed in this chapter, it is evident that an architectural seriousness has been sought for post-war churchbuilding in the British Isles by subjecting it to aesthetic and technical data analysis, to behavioural and statistical sociological surveys, to academic study and research programmes, to administrative and cost-effective scrutinies, and to formulations of moral justification and theological meaning. Catholic churchbuilding has not remained independent of this investigative process; as Archbishop Beck intimated, it had to take cognisance of Catholic churchbuilding on the European mainland, which was obviously so inspirational in the initial thinking of the New Churches Research Group, and the Birmingham Institute. And it also had to face up to escalations in traditional building costs, to other pressing building requirements of the Catholic community (in England and Wales in particular), and to the needs of urban development and redevelopment. In the following chapter a few of these contingency factors which have formed a veritable cat's-cradle of determinants affecting Catholic churchbuilding, will be considered a little more closely.

Footnotes

1. Pickering W S F 'The Future of Religious Sociology in England' Davies J G and Looking To The Future (Papers read at an international symposium on prospects for worship, religious architecture and socio-religious studies) (1976) p159

2. The Liverpool Institute of Socio-Religious Studies was established in 1966, 'for the promotion of education and research in the field of religious and educational sociology and social work'. Registered as a charity, its Trustees are primarily interested in developing the neglected sociological study of religion, because an increased understanding could interact 'fruitfully' with the theological investigation of the nature of the Church, and because any findings in this field could have important pastoral implications. The Director of LISS since its establishment has been the Rev. Michael B Gaines BA (Social Sciences), who has edited and compiled a number of 'working papers' under the general title of 'Pastoral Investigations Of Social Trends' (eg Pastoral Policies published on behalf of the Conference of Major Religious Superiors of England and Wales. (1977))

   Following a discussion with Fr Gaines in February 1980, concerning a sociological understanding of churchbuilding, and in particular the application or seeking of such an understanding, in relation to this study, he made a number of comments, which might be summarised thus:

   That in such a study one cannot hope to measure changing attitudes, since ideally that would require a longitudinal study over a period of time greater than is available. In order to compensate, one might try to glean hints by comparing younger and older groups, but one would have to recognise that any differences might simply reflect a repeating pattern of personal change. Alternatively one might ask individuals to compare present attitudes with those of their youth. Neither approach is satisfactory, but either might be better than nothing.

   That architects and administrators have special positions of influence; they are 'reality-definers' in a special way. Hence, one might wish to pursue one's participant observation with a bishop, a parish priest, and an architect, while they are in the process of planning a church - or at least interview them. But perhaps it would be more fruitful to interview or observe parishioners in order to discover whether they see the church as the architect intended, or use it as he planned. And for that one might have to go to an earlier church by the same architect, or compare his early written accounts with present reality.

3. The unit in the Department of Sociology in the University of Surrey has developed under the direction of Dr Michael Hornsby-Smith. Perhaps its most notable contribution to a Roman Catholic socio-religious study has been its publication in January 1980 of an analysis of a survey carried out in the Spring of 1978 by Gallup Poll, Roman Catholic Opinion. In a letter of 14:1:80 Dr Hornsby-

Smith disclosed that the joint survey, and a number of smaller studies of new-town developments, had been financed privately by a group of Catholic businessmen 'who wished to remain anonymous and who were interested in the research for their own charitable purposes'. He cited the example in order to show that there was no standing research group with funding from the Catholic Church in England and Wales. Apropos a sociological study of church architecture, Dr Hornsby-Smith admitted a difficulty in being able to offer any guiding help as 'so very little work has been done in this area', but he did refer to two sociologists who had been researching changes in Roman Catholic attitudes and behaviour (including certain environmental affects) arising from changes in liturgical understanding and practice since the Second Vatican Council, viz Dr Kieran Flanagan (v. 'Competitive Assemblies of God: Lies and Mistakes in Liturgy' Davies J G ed Institute for the Study of Worship and Religious Architecture: Research Bulletin 1981) and Chris Williams (v. 'Deviance and Diversity in Roman Catholic Worship: Ritual and Social Processes in the Post-Conciliar Catholic Community in England' (1979) unpublished)

4. The Newman Demographic Survey was first mooted at a meeting of the London Circle of the Newman Association in October 1953. Spencer, an Inland Revenue Inspector, and later Director of the Survey, proposed that members with the required expertise, should form a voluntary organisation devoted to statistical and social research about the Catholic community in Britain.

At a subsequent meeting, Colin Clark, Director of the Oxford Institute of Agricultural Economics and Director of The Tablet was elected Chairman, and proposed that the research be in two fields, viz: the demography of the Catholic community, and the morphology of the Catholic family.

Following approval of its terms of reference by the Newman Association, and after consultation with Cardinal Griffin's Private Secretary, Mgr Worlock (now Archbishop of Liverpool), formal approval was gained from the hierarchy of England and Wales at their Low Week meeting in 1954.

Cf Spencer A E C W 'The Newman Demographic Survey 1953-62 : Nine Years of Progress' Wiseman Review No 492 (1962)

5. In a letter of 20:9:1979 from the Department of Social Studies in The Queen's University of Belfast, Mr Spencer wrote:

> We tried hard to focus on churchbuilding in the later 1950s and early 1960s, but without success. The ecclesiastical authorities knew all the answers in the churchbuilding field, and saw no need for sociographic or sociological knowledge. The only use they had for social science was in the field of educational planning as a weapon to use in negotiations with the DES and LEAs.
>
> In the dying days of NDS I became involved in the New Churches

Research Group. I took part in a little NRG Conference in March 1964. The paper was published in Churchbuilding 14 (Jan 1965).

Cf Spencer A E C W 'Pastoral Planning in Urban Areas' Churchbuilding 14 (Jan 1965)

In a letter of 28:6:78 the Most Rev Derek Worlock, Archbishop of Liverpool, wrote:

> I certainly have no recollection of the use of Mr Spencer's statistics with regard to church building programme and types. Perhaps the nearest way was to work out peaks and falls in church attendance during the year. The whole of this particular exercise with the Newman Demographic Survey was beset with difficulties, some of them financial and some of them due to failure to produce the goods by the date for which the information had been commissioned.

In a letter of 21:2:1980 the Rev Michael Gaines, Director of the Liverpool Institute of Socio-Religious Studies, wrote:

> Church authorities have, in general, been suspicious of sociology. In retrospect, having suffered from this at times, I am glad that they did not fall for the heavily statistical, positivist sociology which dominated the English-speaking scene (and sociologie religieuse) 20 or 30 years ago, for I now believe that that was de-humanising and tended to reduce individuals to mere numbers. Again this background it is interesting that demography became acceptable for reasons of educational finance and government grants!

6. An illustration of this thinking is provided in a digest of 'Resolutions Concerning the Liturgy from the Bishops' Conference Meeting: April 1977', circulated to members of the Conference's Liturgy Commission. It was in response to a suggestion made by the Duke of Norfolk that the Catholic Church in England should have an organisation similar to the Church of England's Council for Places of Worship; the agreement reached by the Conference was that 'the care of the historical and artistic patrimony of the Church in each diocese is a matter for the individual diocesan bishop'. (19:9:77)

7. Cf McKenzie J L SJ The Roman Catholic Church (1969) p66

8. Ibid p50

9. Cf Commissions-Aid To A Pastoral Strategy: Report of a Review Committee of the Bishops' Conference of England and Wales (November 1971); and In The House Of The Living God: A Provisional Report of the Review Committee of the Bishops' Conference of England and Wales Issued for Discussion with Commissions and Other Interested Organisations (November 1982)

10. Roulin E OSB Modern Church Architecture tr Cornelia C (1947) p39

11. Cf Crichton J D (1920-1940: The Dawn of a Liturgical Movement' English Catholic Worship: Liturgical Renewal in England Since 1900 (1979) p44

12. Cf Flannery A O P ed Vatican Council II: The Conciliar and Post Conciliar Documents (1975) p15

> It is desirable that the competent territorial ecclesiastical authority ... set up a liturgical commission to be assisted by experts in liturgical science, sacred music, art and pastoral practice ...
>
> The Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy: Sacrosanctum Concilium (4:12:1963) art 44

13. Building and Reorganisation of Churches: Pastoral Directory of the Episcopal Liturgical Commission of Ireland (1972) p9

14. Ibid p7

15. Since the inception in 1977 of the Department of Art and Architecture of the Liturgy Commission of the Bishops' Conference of England and Wales, two drafts of a revised 'Directory' have been submitted to the Conference, and a final version may be published some time in 1983 or 1984.

16. Archbishop Beck died in 1978. A letter of enquiry sent on 18:8:78 before he died, seeking information in particular about the Archbishop's association with or interest in the New Churches Research Group, was returned by his executors, unanswered.

17. Sixty Post-War Churches (1957) Cf Hammond P Liturgy and Architecture (1960) p2

18. The lack of statistics on detailed aspects of the Catholic Church in England and Wales, and the unreliability of those that are compiled, together with some uncertainty over the definition and consistency of the categories described, cause periodic embarrassment to the Catholic community: eg in the Catholic Herald (30:12:1977) the report 'Northern Ireland Catholics Increasing' quoted a statistic for new churches built between 1970 and 1975 in England and Wales as being 66, whereas a more accurate total derived solely from those churches listed in the Catholic Building Review was 156. The report quoted its source of information as being the 'Government Statistical Service', whereas the correct title of the source was probably the 'Central Statistical Office' though the editor was unable to verify this.

    Also in the Catholic Herald (20:1:1978) the article 'Directory 'Loses' Two Million Catholics' commented on a discrepancy in the totals for Catholics in England and Wales for 1976 and 1977.

    In compiling its statistics on religion the Central Statistical Office clearly regards the Catholic Directory as a 'regular source' of accurate information about the Catholic Church in England and Wales; it cites it as such in Guide to Official Statistics (1975)

and in the supplement Sources of Statistics on Religion (1976)

Peter Brierley, who was the compiler of religious statistics for the CSO, in a letter of 14:2:1978 referred also to UK Protestant Missions Handbook: Volume 2 (November 1977). These publications referred to the number of Roman Catholic churches in England and Wales increasing from 3,147 in 1971 to 3,177 in 1975, 'and these are meant to be only buildings which are used for worship rather than separate halls or schools which may be separate halls or schools which may be separate although adjacent'. In fact the Catholic Directory was not published in 1971 and 1972, so Brierley must have obtained his information from other sources for those years. In 1973 when the Catholic Directory resumed publication, the total number of churches it cited was 3,668 (2,626 parish churches plus 1,042 other churches and chapels open to the public); and in 1975 the total was 3,710 (2,644 plus 1,066).

In 1980 Brierley was Programme Director of a census of Churches in England, undertaken by the Nationwide Initiative in Evangelism in 1979, and published by the Bible Society as Prospects for the Eighties (1980). The total number of Catholic churches cited in that exercise, for 1979, was 3,673 (a figure endorsed in the summary table by the Rt Rev Mgr David Norris, General Secretary of the Bishops' Conference of England and Wales). The figure differs from that of 2,667 cited in the statistical tables in the Catholic Directory (1980) for 1979; and that in itself differs from a total of 2,607 if all the diocesan figures cited in those tables were added together. If the figure of 2,607 for all parish churches were added to the total of 1,158 cited as representing all other churches and chapels used, the overall total would be 3,765. Moreover, the total endorsed by Mgr Norris, is supposed to be for England only, and not Wales. Consequently, not only the figures cited in Prospects for the Eighties but also all other figures regarding totals for Roman Catholic churches in England and Wales, must be suspect, and open to query.

Since 1945 the standard form of the Parish Register returns (usually made in October each year) has altered three times, making direct comparisons between statistical totals difficult. The changes have altered the definition of the categories of churches to be included. Up to 1951 the categories were: churches registered for marriages; and those not. From 1952 to 1970 the categories were: parish churches and other churches and chapels open to the public; and private chapels with at least a weekly public Mass. From 1973 the categories were: parish churches; and other churches and chapels open to the public.

In 1977 the Joint Working Party set up by the Bishops' Conference of England and Wales and the National Conference of Priests in 1971, commented in its report A Time for Building that 'detailed and reliable figures which would provide a general picture of the Church in England and Wales are not available and expressed the need for 'the establishment of a Bureau of Statistics with the means of keeping its material up to date'. (p15)

The figures and facts used in the above report were based on information collected from the National Conference of Priests, and the Catholic Education Council, in addition to the Catholic Directory. However, neither the NCP nor the Council were able to be of help in connection with church building statistics sought for this study.

19. Catholic Building Review (1968) Northern Edition p129; Southern Edition p187

20. Cf Catholic Building Review (1969) Northern Edition p21

21. Catholic Building Review (1964) Northern Edition p161; Southern Edition p193

22. In England and Wales since the coming into force of the 1975 Education Act 85% is available towards governors' liability for capital work or for external repairs. In 1944 the percentage of grant was 50% and for a more limited range of work, that is for external repairs, for transferred schools to substituted schools, and for schools for displaced pupils. The definition of displaced pupils was extended in the 1953 Act, and the 1959 Act raised the rate of grant to 75% and extended its range by providing for grant for new secondary schools to match either wholly or mainly existing primary schools. (These were projects which could not always obtain grant under the legislation up to that date.) The 1967 Act converted the rate of grant to 80% and made it available to all approved building work.

Information from R F Cunningham, Secretary, Catholic Education Council in letter (17 Feb 1981)

In Scotland since the 1918 Act when Catholic schools became part of the State system (but with safeguards re approval of teachers by the Church, Catholic identity etc) and in particular since 1945, the Church has borne no expenditure as regards school buildings.

Information from J M Tulley, Secretary, Catholic Education Commission-Scotland in letter (4 Apr 1983)

In Ireland ownership and management of schools is a 'complicated and rather delicate balance of public and private', the private element being largely represented by the various Churches. And while for historical reasons large numbers of schools are actually owned or controlled by religious orders or diocesan clergy, the State pays for over 80% of capital and running costs. In the majority of cases the State pays 80-90% of the capital costs and from 75-100% of the running costs. Up to the late 1960s the only fully State owned and financed schools were the 250 vocational schools, run by local vocational education committees.

Information from Br D Duffy, General Secretary, Secretariat of Secondary Schools in letter (18 Apr 1983) in which cf Murphy C School Report: A Guide to Irish Education for Parents, Teachers and Students (1980) pp101/119

23. In Scotland, churchbuilding programmes are first determined by the local bishop and his advisers, and then delegated to clergy to realise.

24. In most dioceses churchbuilding is the concern of individual parish priests. Some may be required to submit plans to their Bishop or to go before a diocesan Board to obtain approval of plans and estimates of costs. Broadly speaking however, the value and scope of a church building project depends on hos much a priest and his parishioners are able to afford.

Beck Rt Rev G A 'Costs and Cost Allocations' Catholic Building Review (1961) Northern Edition p159

In the above article Archbishop Beck wondered whether architects and parish priests organised their churchbuilding programmes on the most economical lines, and referred to the recommendations made by the Robertson Committee on tendering procedure, and of the Simon Committee on the placing and management of building contracts, both published by the RIBA and the Joint Consultative Committee of Architects, Quantity Surveyors and Buildings.

In 1974 the Advisory Committee on Sacred Art and Architecture to the Episcopal Liturgical Commission of Ireland published Guidelines for Diocesan Commissions for Sacred Art and Architecture, of which article 4.4 provides a useful distinguishing comment:

> Commissions for Sacred Art and Architecture should not be confused with Building Committees which have existed in many dioceses for a considerable time. Such Committees have an important but distinct and continuing function, of a basically economic nature, in studying the social, educational, and other needs of the diocese in terms of building accommodation and in assessing the financial and technical implications of specific building projects. The type of expert knowledge and the approach required of members of Building Committees is different from that required of members of Commissions of Sacred Art and Architecture and it is unlikely that enough people of sufficient diverse ability could be found to be able to operate effectively in a dual capacity.

The number of dioceses in Ireland which operate a system using a Commission for Sacred Art and Architecture and a Building Committee has not been sufficiently verified in returns to letters of enquiry; similarly for Scotland, and England and Wales.

25. Report in the South Wales Evening Post (17 November 1966) on the building of the church of the Blessed Sacrament, Gorseinon near Swansea:

> The original estimate of £73,000 now looked like topping £80,000. With the balance at an estimated £18,000, Father Hiscoe wrote 'For our 250 parishioners on their own, this is frantically impossible'. But he added in a letter to benefactors and friends, 'With Almighty God's help, and your continued support, the impossible will be achieved'.

26. Beck art cit <u>Catholic Building Review</u> (1961) Northern Edition p159

27. The new churches whatever else they may be, whatever their shortcomings, represent a new hope, new life. Europe at its best looks at the new architecture and the new arts as a means of solving a pastoral problem (which is where the emphasis ought to be) and not as a matter of tastes.

Meinberg G OSB 'The New Churches of Europe' <u>The Furrow</u> (June 1957) pp371/2

28. <u>Catholic Building Review</u> (1962) Northern Edition p162; Southern Edition p246

29. <u>Wiseman Review</u> No 492 (Summer 1962) pp155/167

30. Cf Hammond P <u>Liturgy and Architecture</u> (1960) p105; Pevsner N <u>The Buildings of South Lancashire</u> (1969) p51

31. Hammond (1960) pxiii

32. Cf Spence B <u>Phoenix at Coventry</u>: The Building of a Cathedral (1962) p4

33. The (Smithsons Coventry Cathedral project) was compared by David Sylvester to the Dome of Discovery, chiefly in terms of a supposed lack of axiality in the internal planning, but it was never so 'Festival' as the design which actually took first prize in the Coventry Cathedral competition, by Sir Basil Spence. Planned in a manner remarkably like his Sea and Ships pavilion on the South Bank, and detailed in an expensive 'butch' version of the manner that Lionel Brett had suspected of effeminacy, it carried the Festival Style deep into the sixties, but this was less an example of long-term influence than a fossilized survival.

Banham R 'The Style: 'Flimsy ... Effeminate'?' Banham M & Hillier B edd <u>A Tonic to the Nation:</u> The Festival of Britain 1951 (1976) p194

34. Mills E D <u>The Modern Church</u> (1956) p16

35. Cf Hammond (1960) p148

36. Cf Smithson A & F 'Design for Coventry Cathedral' <u>Churchbuilding</u> No8 (Jan 1963) pp5/17

37. A period generally considered as most fruitful with regard to modern religious architecture and which stretches from 1945 to 1965 will soon appear as a brilliant and deceitful parenthesis. The true revolution began in the thirties, disappeared during the war, then remained for more than twenty years in a kind of half light to rise today with the new distinctiveness.

Debuyst F OSB ed <u>Art d'Eglise</u> (?) quoted Hurley R 'The Elements of Church Design' an unpublished paper given at Mount St Anne's

Liturgy Centre, Ireland (19 February 1976). Cf also Debuyst 'Vers une Reevaluation des 'Classiques'' Espace 11 (1981) p46: '... one can only cast a stunned look at the pretensions, both symbolic and architectural, of so many of the churches built between 1950 and 1965 ...'

38. Banham in Banham & Miller (1976) p197

39. Mills (1956) p16

40. Hammond P ed Towards a Church Architecture (1962) p10

41. Cf Edwards D 'A Consumer's View of Ecclesiastical Architects' Lockett W ed Church Architecture and Social Responsibility (1968) p5:

> Six years ago the New Churches Research Group published a symposium, Towards a Church Architecture ... thrilled with the conviction that the form of a modern church must result from its function as the 'eucharistic room' of the priest and congregation together. The function of the church as a building seemed as clear as the function of the Church as a community; and the New Churches Research Group seemed contemptuous of the lack of aesthetic or theological integrity which marked lesser breeds.

42. Jencks C Modern Movements in Architecture (1973) p99

43. Genesis 28,17

44. Jencks (1973) p105

45. Cf Clements S . A Short History of the War Damage Commission : 1941 to 1962 (1962) p51 an unpublished document compiled by staff of the Commission.

46. Cf 'The Vernacular Can't Be Copied' The Architect's Journal (21 Jul 1976) p105 part report of the RIBA 1976 Conference

47. Cf Murray K 'Material Fabric and Symbolic Pattern' Hammond ed (1962) p83

48. Ibid p82

49. Cf 'A Modern Church on Liturgical Principles' Architectural Review (Dec 1960) quoted in Hammond (1962) p165

50. Maguire R 'Meaning and Understanding' Hammond ed (1962) p66

51. Cf Miller S 'Sacred Space in a Secular Age' Theology Today XIX No2 (Jul 1962) pp212/223

52. Cf Hinton D 'The Pastoral Role of the Architect' Cope G ed Christian Ministry in New Towns (1967) reviewed Cantwell C Churchbuilding No23 (Jan 1968) p25

53. Hammond (1962) p84

54. Ibid p80

55. Cf Ibid p88:

When architectural values are subordinated to the values implicit in the life of the Church they may be creative. When they dominate and are set above the value of worship they are frequently destructive.

56. Maguire R & Murray K Modern Churches of the World (1965) p10

57. Hammond (1962) p248

58. Wright L 'Church Design: A Reappraisal' The Month Vol 29 (1963) pp133/9

59. Melhuish N 'Three Country Churches' Clergy Review (Sep 1970) pp745/752

60. Art cit p139

61. Letter (1 Aug 1978)

62. Zucker W M 'Religious Building and Philosophical Aesthetics' Churchbuilding No15 (Apr 1965) pp17 & 18

63. Fleetwood-Walker C 'The 'Invisible' Church' Churchbuilding No 20 (Jan 1967) p18 reprinted from the Clergy Review (Jun 1966)

64. Quinn P J 'The Symbolic Function of Church-Building' Churchbuilding No10 (Oct 1963) p3

65. Quinn P J 'Whither Church Building? An American Perspective' J G Davies ed Looking to the Future (1976) p53

66. Cf Hammond P 'Contemporary Architecture and the Church' The Listener (23 May 1957) pp824/6

67. Cf Regamey P-R Religious Art in the Twentieth Century (1952 tr 1963 in particular chapter 13 'The Achievements of Our Age' which refers to Pere Couturier's initiatives in engaging Bonnard, Rouault, Matisse, Braque, and Leger (also Richier, Chagall, Lipchitz, Lurcat, and Bazaine) for the churches at Assy (1947), Audincourt (1950), and the chapel at Vence (1951)

68. The Visual Arts Week became reduced to a week-end and then finished altogether in 1973. Conrad Pepler OP was warden of Spode House from 1953 to 1981; he was the son of Hilary (originally Douglas) Pepler, hand-printer and co-founder with Eric Gill of the Ditchling Community in the 1930s.

In letters (13 Sep 1976 and 17 Mar 1979) Pepler refers to the occasion when there was advance notice of the sale of the 'acres' opposite Westminster cathedral occupied by the Watney Brewery. 'The members (attending a Visual Arts Week) worked out a magnificent design for a Centre for Catholics in general but with special facilities for the Arts - it was the combined work of the architects, artists and craftsmen who were here (Spode House) for the week - and a model was made and presented to Archbishop Godfrey at Westminster - who wouldn't take it seriously - so now those towering office blocks frown down on the Cathedral!'

69. Cope G Symbolism in the Bible and the Church (1959) p249

70. Ibid p240

71. Hammond art cit Listener (23 May 1957) p826

72. Hammond (1960) p91

73. Hammond art cit Listener (23 May 1957) p826

74. Mention ought also to be made of the conferences organised in 1959 and 1962 by the Rev William Lockett of the Department of Extra-Mural Studies in the University of Liverpool. Cf Lockett W ed The Modern Architectural Setting of the Liturgy: papers read at a conference held at Liverpool/September 1962 (1964) Contributors included: J G Davies, Charles Davis, Gilbert Cope, W E A Lockett, Frederick Gibberd, Edward D Mills, George G Pace, and F W Dillistone who wrote in the Foreword:

> Few things have been more encouraging in church life over the past five years than the emergence of individuals, groups, and now institutes prepared to give time and thought to examining afresh how the great building programme of the next ten or fifteen years can be more closely related to the liturgical, sociological, and aesthetic demands of our time.

75. Wright L 'Architectural Seriousness' Hammond ed (1962) p233

76. Cope (1959) p252

77. Ibid p257

78. Cf Cope G The Architects Journal (December 1973) p614

79. Davies J G The Secular Use of Church Buildings (1968) p237

80. Ibid p236

81. Davies J G 'The Role of the Church in the Twentieth Century' Churchbuilding No 19 (Oct 1966) p15 For full text of Professor Davies' paper given at the RIBA Conference in Dublin in September 1966 see Research Bulletin (1967) pp5/8. For a resume see the RIBA Journal (Nov 1966) pp511/2.

82. Cope G 'Church Building in the Twentieth Century' Research Bulletin (1967) p8 For synopsis and resume see Churchbuilding and RIBA Journal as above.

83.
> ... I was very surprised to see this idea put forward as something new, as this approach to church building has been accepted by nonconformist churches for many years, and, in fact, no post-war Methodist churches have been built in any other way ...
>
> In my Paper at the Conference on the Modern Architectural Setting of the Liturgy, held in Liverpool in 1962, I said:
>
> 'The free churches have always anticipated a seven-day week for their buildings, class rooms, club rooms and community

facilities, which have always been an essential part of our buildings, acknowledging always the central position of the room for worship, believing that what it represents is basic to our faith, but at the same time declaring that prayer and action are two sides of the same coin. We must at once more visualise our churches at leaven in the bread, and at the centre of the life of the community. Nonconformist and Anglicans alike should seek to establish 'cells' in the heart of the vast housing complexes arising in every city in England.'

This approach to church building may well be new to Anglican or Roman Catholic communities in this country but many examples can be quoted which have been in existence for over 25 years both in this country and abroad ...

Mills E D Extract from letter in Churchbuilding No 16 (Oct 1965) p22

84. See footnote 81 above

85. Other new building projects in which the Institute for the Study of Worship and Religious Architecture has been involved, and of which it has published reports and appraisals in its annual Research Bulletin, include:

Woodgate Valley Church Centre, Birmingham : Davies (1973) pp54/60; Wells-Thorpe (1975) pp38/41; Waterfield (1983) pp22/41
Highgate Baptist Church Centre, Birmingham : Hinton & Brown (1967) pp30/55; Granelli (1970) pp33/6

St Michael's Anglican Methodist Church Centre : Cope; Chamberlain (1972) pp42/9

86. 'The Hodge Hill Project - First Report' (1966); 'The Hodge Hill Project - Second Report' (1967); 'Church and Community - The Hodge Hill Survey' (1968); 'Service Centre at Hodge Hill' (1968); 'Church Seating - The Hodge Hill Solution' (1968); 'The Multi-Purpose Church - A Critical Consideration' (1968); 'An Impression of Hodge Hill' (1969); 'The Multi-Purpose Church - A Clarification' (1969); 'A Comment On 'The Multi-Purpose Church: A Critical Consideration'' (1969); 'The accoustics of New Churches and the Hodge Hill Project' (1971); 'The Multipurpose Church, Hodge Hill - St Philip and St James' Special Bulletin (1971); 'The Silence Of Sounds - Hodge Hill Revisited' (1974); 'Contemporary Christian Presence and Ministry - An Appraisal of Hodge Hill Multipurpose Church' (1975); 'Some Thoughts On Recent Church Building and Its Future' (1975).

87. Cf Smith P F Third Millenium Churches (1973) pp76/7 Even more apposite is the comment made in the first diocesan quinquennial report on the fabric of the building in 1974:

Flexibility implies that the way the building is used will go on changing throughout its life. At Hodge Hill, spaces had changed their function before they were occupied; others

> have changed in the ensuing years. The physical effects of this are that the general fabric must be capable, both physically and aesthetically of accepting change, and unless great care, restraint and sensitivity are to be practised by the occupants, the building will take on the appearance of an experimental arts workshop than the 'high art' architecture associated with ecclesiastical buildings. Perhaps this is to be welcomed. There are signs of it happening at Hodge Hill, especially in the most 'secular' spaces.

Quoted in Purdy M 'Some Thoughts On Recent Church Building and Its Future' Research Bulletin (1975) p57

88. Cf Melhuish N 'An Impression of Hodge Hill' Research Bulletin (1969) p32

89. Cf Ede D 'Contemporary Christian Presence and Ministry - An Appraisal of Hodge Hill Multipurpose Church' Research Bulletin (1975) p52

90. Cf Melhuish art cit (1969) p30

91. Grisbrooke W J 'The Multi-Purpose Church: A Critical Consideration' Research Bulletin (1968) p73. Grisbrooke was quoting Cope art cit (1967) p12

92. Davies J G 'The Multi-Purpose Church : A Clarification' Research Bulletin (1969) p52

93. Purdy M 'Some Thoughts on Recent Church Building and Its Future' Research Bulletin (1975) p58

94. Dogmatic Constitution on the Church: Lumen Gentium (1964) art 31

95. Cf Guardini R The Spirit of the Liturgy (1921 Eng tr 1930) p139/140

> ... When the believer no longer possesses any fundamental principles, but only an experience of faith as it affects him personally, the one solid and recognisable fact is no longer a body of dogma which can be handed on in tradition, but the right action as a proof of the right spirit. In this connection there can be no talk of spiritual metaphysics in the real sense of the word. And when knowledge has nothing ultimately to seek in the Above, the roots of the will and of feeling are in their turn loosened from their adherence to knowledge. The relation with the supertemporal and eternal order is thereby broken. The believer no longer stands in eternity, but in time, and eternity is merely connected with time through the medium of conviction, but not in a direct manner. Religion becomes increasingly turned towards the world, and cheerfully secular. It develops more and more into a consecration of temporal human existence in its various

aspects, into a sanctification of earthly activity, of vocational labour, of communal and family life, and so on.

96. Cf Debuyst art cit (1981) p47

97. Debuyst F OSB Modern Architecture and Christian Celebration (1968) pp9 & 10

98. Gelineau J The Liturgy Today and Tomorrow (1978) p96

99. Debuyst (1968) p12

100. Today, we tend to begin the planning of the church with a prearrangement of the main poles of the liturgy (the chair of the celebrant, the ambo, the altar) at supposedly privileged fixed places. When this is done to the satisfaction of experts, we try (so to speak) to construct the whole building 'around' these poles. In some official documents, this method is even presented as the right way to act in the spirit of the Liturgical Movement. The result is frequently a highly artificial building, lacking humanity and therefore lacking also real architectural value. Some of the most famous modern churches, especially in Germany, may be considered to be of this kind.

Debuyst (1968) p22

101. Ibid p46

102. This view was particularly expressed by Lance Wright cf 'Conclusions: A Pattern for Living' Architectural Review: Manplan 5: Religion (Mar 1970) p230

103. Gelineau's preference was for assemblies of a hundred to a hundred and fifty people (1978) p32); a figure reminiscent of that quoted by Debuyst as being reported by a French National Congress of Churches in 1965 (Colloque National francais pour l'implantation des lieux de culte). The report apparently showed that for each new urban unit of 30,000 to 50,000, the tendency was to provide five or six apartment churches situated within larger buildings. Ideally, each apartment church included a celebration room for a hundred and fifty people, and a few 'pluri-functional' spaces. The whole network would be subordinated to a great parochial complex situated in each urban centre, and in the immediate vicinity of other public buildings and areas. A large church for 1,000 and even 1,500 would provide a place of celebration for the great events of parochial life, such as confirmation, ordination, etc.

Debuyst had personal reservations about such a plan being sociologically - and liturgically - sound. His preference was for a parish-centre complex for each parish; the celebration area (possibly 'pluri-functional') accommodating about 200 to 300 people.

Apart from its liturgical fitness, this kind of little centre offers the most interesting possibilities for the creation of

interrelated buildings on a human scale, well oriented, well proportioned, having peaceful access, etc - in one work, for the very kind of 'places' our growing cities are particularly lacking.

Debuyst (1968 p40

104. Debuyst (1968) p55 Church at Willebroek (1963); p56 Church at Ezemaal (1964); p57 Church at Aarschot (1965); p58 Church at Westmalle (1967)

105. St Pauls at Waterloo (1967); Church at Neuville (1971) cf following

106. Debuyst F OSB 'Recent Church Building in Belgium' Papers Read at the Inaugural Conference of the Department of Art and Architecture of the Liturgy Commission of the Bishops' Conference of England and Wales (1978) p17

107. Debuyst (1968) p53

108. Debuyst (1978) p19

109. Cf Zucker art cit Churchbuilding No15 (Apr 1965) pp17/18

110. Cf Debuyst (1968) pp42/53

111. Hurley R 'Recent Developments' (28 Jan 1975) p4

112. In the above paper and in another (Architectural Philosophy - Rudolf Schwarz' given (17 Feb 1975) also at Mount Saint Annes Liturgy Centre, Co Laois), Hurley refers heavily to Schnell H Twentieth Century Church Architecture in Germany (Eng tr 1974), which contains references to Die Schildgenossen (pp21, 35, 38, 48). Die Schildgenossen was edited by Guardini, Emonds, Helmig, and Schwarz, and was published from 1921 to 1941.

113. ... (It) is my belief that I must consciously provide variety in order to satisfy, not only the conscious response of the human brain, but also the unconscious primitive limbic response which accounts for most of our feelings about the built environment. There was a time when many believed that if an object did not register in consciousness, from the perceptual point of view, it could be regarded as non-existent. Now the opposite seems to be true. This non-conscious perception, or what is called the limbic system, can often determine mood and attitude in a way that is all the more profound precisely because it is outside conscious control ...

Hurley R 'The Elements of Church Design' (19 Feb 1976) p6 (Another unpublished paper given at Mount Saint Annes)

Hurley's emphasis on limbic response is reminiscent of the emphasis placed by P F Smith on a physiological and psychological understanding of human behavioural response to the built

environment Cf his 'Habituation: Friend or Foe of Architecture?' The Architects' Journal (25 Sep 1974) pp739/46

114. Comment in letter (2 Aug 1978)

115. Hurley (19 Feb 1976) p11

116. Cf Cantwell W 'Sacred Art and Architecture in Ireland' Papers Read at the Inaugural Conference of the Department of Art and Architecture (1978); and 'The Church: Sacred or Profane' Position Paper No 15 (Mar 1975) pp169/73

117. Cantwell (1978) p4

118. Cf Position Paper No 50 (Feb 1978) pp675/6

119. Cantwell W Community Centre Churches in Holland: Report Prepared for the Advisory Committee on Sacred Art and Architecture to the Episcopal Liturgical Commission of Ireland (1973) p2

120. Cantwell (1973) art2.7 p4

121. Cf Cantwell (1978) p4

122. Cantwell (1978) p3

123. For example, in 1972 the Most Rev Cahal B Daly then Bishop of Ardagh and Clonmacnoise (now of Down and Connor) and Chairman of the above Advisory Committee, wrote in the Foreword to the revised Pastoral Directory of the Episcopal Liturgical Commission of Ireland, Building and Reorganisation of Churches:

> The Directory is an Irish Pastoral Directory. It seeks to reflect as well as to renew the Irish spiritual and devotional tradition. In the spirit of the Vatican Council, it believes that true renewal is based on a return to the original and authentic sources. Convinced that there is an authentic Irish heritage and a vitally Irish way of 'praying upon beauty', the authors of the Directory hope that the text may help to strengthen still further the revival which is already happily in progress of a distinctively Irish liturgical architecture and art. This aspiration is neither chauvinist nor archaeologist; it is a search for roots - and this is true radicalism and offers hope of real revival.

124. Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy: Sacrosanctum Concilium (1963) art 8

125. Paul VI 'A Future Life Awaits Us' L'Osservatore Romano (6 June 1974)

126. Hurley (19 Feb 1976) p8

127. The Rev Canon J G McGarry (d1977)

Chapter Three

Chapter Three

Damage, Development and Redundancy

Introduction

The final chapter of this Section outlines a number of contiguous factors bearing in on the churchbuilding process, and on the buildings themselves. It is only an outline description and brief consideration of such factors, and not all factors are even included. Developments in construction techniques, in comparative building costs and costing procedures, require an expertise that is neither available, nor ventured, here. Perhaps though, that excuse is not the real reason why such factors are being considered in a less exhaustive way than other factors. After all, preceding considerations have ventured into the realms of theology, liturgy, archeology, ecclesiology and aesthetics without apology. Maybe then, the real reason lies implicit in the term 'contiguous', in a regard for such factors as having proximity and a certain determining influence, but not being the primary defining intentions of churchbuilding. Maybe too, it lies in a regard for such factors as being 'contingent', as being dependent upon some other condition, as being conditional. Certainly, in the introduction to this Section, the term 'contingent' was used, and not 'contiguous', but in effect both terms are highly relevant to the description sought for the factors dealt with here. They are conditional and apposite.

The purpose of this chapter then, is to finally funnel the considerations made in those preceding it, towards a structured survey of a number of actual buildings, in the last Section. Its scope ranges from the workings of the War Damage Commission and of the Churchs' Main Committee, through the policy thinking of two dioceses in respect of new churchbuilding concepts to meet the needs of new-town developments, and the thinking associated with the ecumenical sharing of church buildings, to the

controversial issues arising from the desires to demolish, or conversely, to conserve, buildings of an architectural and/or historical significance, as expressed by certain tendentious interest groups.

War Damage

The Public Record Office suggested that the best course of enquiry regarding war damage to Catholic churches in the British Isles, would be to approach each diocesan authority. Access to the surviving files of the War Damage Commission was not possible as they were subject to 'closure beyond the normal 30 year period, under the Public Records Act of 1958' because of the confidential nature of the Commission's transactions.[1] Unfortunately, surviving diocesan records of churches damaged and destroyed in World War II, of compensation received, and of how it was used, seemed minimal and equally inaccessible.[2] However, records had survived in the Finance Office of the RC Archdiocese of Southwark, and the Secretariat of the Churches' Main Committee possessed a rare copy of A Short History of the War Damage Commission (1962),[3] both of which have been utilised.

The Churches' Main Committee came into existence in 1941 to deal with a specific problem: war damage. The War Damage Act (1941) provided for the setting up of a War Damage Commission, and from its inception the Commission recognised the Christian Churches Main Committee (as it was first called)[4] as the representative body for the principal Christian Churches with which to consult about payment for damage to churches and ancillary church buildings.[5] It was also consulted by the (then) Board of Trade about the insurance of church furniture and fittings under Part II of the War Damage Act. The Committee dealt with war damage to church buildings only in the sense that it advised denominations on the arrangements for compensation, and negotiated the necessary procedures with HM Government. It did not handle claims. Claims were made direct,

and in the case of Catholic churches, it would seem that as there were then no central diocesan funds for accounting purposes, transactions with the Commission would be carried out by the individual priests concerned.[6]

In 1943 the Committee's activities were extended, when it made representations to the Minister of Town and Country Planning about the provision of sites for churches and other Church buildings in development and re-development areas. Planning concerns also involved it in the protection of historic buildings, and with compensation. At the Minister's suggestion, the Committee initiated local 'Area Inter-denominational Committees' to effect liaison with local planning and development authorities. Subsequently these have been replaced in many cases by local ecumenical committees under the aegis of the Consultative Council for Local Ecumenical Projects (CCLEP) on which the Churches Main Committee is represented. Over the years since 1943 these inter-denominational and ecumenical liaison committees have increased in number, and have played an important role in making known to local authorities the Churches' concerns, needs, and experience.

The Churches Main Committee has not been concerned with religious, social or moral issues (which it leaves to the British Council of Churches, and the competent authority of individual Churches), nor with education (which it leaves to the educational authorities of member Churches - such as the Catholic Education Council), but it has been concerned with secular matters relating to the thirty-eight Christian Churches and other religious authorities presently represented on it. In recent years it has made representations concerning land compensation, community land legislation and development land tax, and value-added tax on the repair and maintenance of church buildings. The Committee regards

itself as having 'no views or competence on architectural matters as such', and as not seeking 'to exercise any influence in this sphere, which is left to the denominations and their professional advisers'.[7] However, where church buildings are to be shared between Churches, the Committee gives advice about the sharing agreements, but is not concerned with the contents and design of the buildings themselves.

In 1941 the principles upon which the War Damage Commission decided to exercise a discretion in relation to churches and certain other buildings erected and used for ecclesiastical and charitable purposes (such as 'the relief of poverty and sickness and the advancement of education and religion')[8] were embodied in the whole or partial relief from payment of war damage contributions,[9] and in a special 'Church Scheme' of compensation payments.[10] As such buildings were not normally sold on the open market[11] and therefore presented difficulties in determining a valuation; and as the pledge had been made that charities would not be treated worse because they had paid a reduced, or no, contribution, and would even, in 'suitable places and in proper places' be restored as far as possible, it was generally accepted that the Churches presented a special problem. It was therefore, the task of a small sub-committee of the Christian Churches Main Committee known as the Churches Committee, to work out with the War Damage Commission the general principles upon which payments might be computed.

> The Churches Committee and the War Damage Commission were agreed that the Government's object would not be attained if some churches received a full cost of works payment for identical (and perhaps unnecessary) reinstatement, while others received a value payment which fell short of the cost of erecting even a modest church. Accordingly a 'Church Scheme' was evolved which provided, except where the damaged building was of such special architectural, historic or other interest as to justify exact reinstatement of the fabric, for a 'church payment' to be assessed as either the reasonable cost of 'plain repair' of the damaged church, or the reasonable net cost of building a 'plain substitute church', whichever was the lower. The word 'plain' implied omitting unnecessary ornamentation and making

> allowance for undue size and serious structural defects in the older building. The general formula for 'plain repair' was to be 'patching involves matching' and a 'plain substitute church' was defined broadly as the standard the denomination would have adopted if they were neither unduly rich nor financially embarassed; as if ... they were paying the bill themselves after damage by civil fire instead of a bomb. 12

The original signatories to the Church Scheme represented twenty-one denominations including the three hierarchies of the Roman Catholic Church in Great Britain and Ireland, as compensation was paid out for damaged and destroyed churches in England, Wales, Scotland, and Northern Ireland.

In deciding on the making of payments in respect of war damage, it was necessary to determine whether a damaged or destroyed item was 'land' or 'goods', if the former, a claim was dealt with by the War Damage Commission under Part I of the War Damage Act; if the latter, then a claim was dealt with by the Board of Trade under Part II. For the purposes of the Act the statutory definition of 'land' meant land in its ordinary sense and

'any buildings or works situated on, over or under land and certain plant and machinery'.[13] An example of the sort of distinction that these criteria led to, was recorded (24:3:41) in the Minute Book of the RC diocese of Southwark when an official reply to a query made it clear that

organs were regarded by the Board of Trade as contents, but altars were to be included with the fabric of the building. A later entry (26:5:1941) referred to an organ as a 'costly but a luxury article'; the earlier entry (24:3:1941) had mentioned that church contents could be insured as 'chattels'; while another entry (28:4:1941) queried whether damage to side altars was to be regarded as being claimable under Part I or Part II of the Act. The Minute Book also made an early (20:1:1941) reference to Town Planning controls over Charitable Trustees rebuilding as they would wish.

Under the Church Scheme it was left to each Church authority to decide how best to use the compensation; it could be used for repair and rebuilding

on the original site, or it could be used for building a church elsewhere. Where the payment was 'transported' to a new site, it was agreed that if the new site was worth more than the old one, the 'profit' to the recipient should be deducted from the amount of compensation. The broad principle of the Scheme was 'a church for a church' but, in order to meet the denominational needs, and the exceptional building conditions in the post-war period, the Commission seemingly raised no objection to a large payment for a single church being used for building two or more churches, or to two or more payments being 'ported' to one new church. But if the blitzed church had been redundant at the time of its destruction or damage, then no payment was due.

The total number of churches damaged and destroyed in the United Kingdom was about 12,000; by 1962 in the administration of the Church Scheme the War Damage Commission had paid out over £40 million pounds.[14] (Included in that amount was the £1 million paid towards the total cost of £1.25 million for the new cathedral at Coventry.) As the apportionment of the compensation to Churches was based on the relative proportion of their church buildings existing in 1939, Sir Harold Hood[15] calculated in 1950 that the Catholic Church received on average just under 10 per cent. That would then mean that some £4 million was paid to the Catholic authorities in the United Kingdom for compensation for the damage and destruction of some 1,200 church buildings.[16]

In his article 'London's Bombed Catholic Churches' Hood pleaded the case for a higher priority in building licences being given to Catholic churches. Clearly he was expressing a widespread feeling among the Catholic community at that time, that preference was being given to other Churches, and to other public projects, such as football stands.[17] Apart from any new building in development areas, the total amount of licences required for

war damaged churches in the three dioceses in the Metropolitan area (Westminster, Southwark and Brentwood), was calculated as being at least £1,600,000. Even if the licences were granted, and no other building work was undertaken, Hood reckoned that it would take eighteen years to work off the major repairs, and that, to him, seemed 'utterly unreasonable' in a country which claimed to have a Christian civilisation. With only £6,820 of the £70,000 a month allowed by the regulations and an estimated expenditure of £720,000 to replace the totally destroyed churches in Westminster alone, the sentiments expressed by Hood seemed justified. The Church of England was obtaining 54 per cent, the Free Churches 27 per cent, and other denominations (including the Salvation Army), 6 per cent. The general position that Hood described was one of the Catholic Church being able to undertake maintenance repairs and small building schemes, but being quite unable to embark upon any major schemes.

War damage and maintenance repairs of less than £100 were not subject to licence, but schemes up to £10,000 came out of a diocesan allocation, and applications had to be made through the diocese. If approval were given, the application was forwarded to the Metropolitan Area Reconstruction Committee for Churches. For schemes of over £10,000 approval had to be sought directly from the Ministry of Works, and Hood refers to only one such scheme having been approved, at Blackheath. In the Metropolitan area of the Archdiocese of Westminster, twelve churches had been totally destroyed, and six others had suffered major damage. The greatest expense in their replacement would be £100,000 in each case for the churches of Our Lady of Victories and the Carmelite Church in Kensington. Altogether in the archdiocese 58 churches had been damaged or destroyed. In the Archdiocese of Southwark, six churches had been totally destroyed, including the cathedral church of St George. The estimated rebuilding cost of these would be £500,000. And in the Metropolitan area of Brentwood diocese,

while only two churches were mentioned as having been destroyed (at Canning Town and Stratford) at an aggregate rebuilding cost of some £40,000, it was the demands of the new building programme for the three new LCC housing estates at Hainault, Harold Hill, and Debden at a cost of £130,000, which created a sense of urgency - as indeed, Hood argued, it did for many other localities in the Metropolitan area that he mentioned.

All three dioceses maintained that they were unable to build new churches on the growing LCC housing estates, except by using part of their licensing quota. Prior to the Government policy in force in 1950 of cutting capital expenditure, the dioceses had been able to build halls instead of churches. But where licences had been granted for such halls, no other repair or rebuilding work could be undertaken for several months (eg a hall for 500 could mean a delay of 5 months). In 1945 the Archdiocese of Southwark had already recognised the need for considering 'types of sectional building with a life span of ten years (such as Nissen and Romney huts), as it was unlikely that building would be undertaken before then in view of housing problems'.[18] On the new housing estates necessity produced several temporary and ad hoc solutions, and some schemes were radically cut in cost by nearly a third to £10,000 in the hope that a building licence might be more readily granted.

What Hood described in the dioceses of the London Metropolitan area, could also be described elsewhere in the United Kingdom. New housing estates were not only begun after the war, but were continued where the war had interrupted their development. At Speke, in 1937, Liverpool Corporation had begun a housing scheme, and in 1939 the RC Archdiocese approved plans for a hall which would serve as church and school at a cost of £6,000. War stopped its realisation; instead, the first Mass was held in a marquee, and after that a prefabricated wooden hut with canvas roof was used until the erection in 1941 of a temporary building at a cost of £500. This was

enlarged and in 1957 finally replaced by the church proper at a cost of over £90,000.[19]

Great schemes of churchbuilding may have been hampered by war, but fanciful desires to build 'a little sister of a cathedral' seem, perhaps, to have been fostered, rather than frustrated, by the embargo, when 'the slender loveliness' of 'pinnacles and spires' could be seen in the glowing embers of at least one presbytery hearth, overlooking Liverpool.[20]

Modernist Aesthetic and New Building Technology

Somewhat more realistically, though, in 1947 J L S Vincent was using churches in Liverpool and the surrounding area especially, to describe The Present Trend in Roman Catholic Churches in England,[21] which was one of greater simplicity expressed generally in some variation of the Romanesque style, rather than of Gothic Revival.

Vincent, like E I Watkin in his Catholic Art and Culture (1942/7), and Dom E Roulin in his Modern Church Architecture (1938/47), recognised the need for the Church to come to terms with the exigencies of the modern world - which World War II had served to exacerbate. The conditions prevailing in the modern world, together with the tangential cultural route, which the Church had generally taken since the collapse of Baroque Catholicism at the end of the eighteenth century, meant that there was no real matrix favourable to an exclusive and universal Catholic culture. What they therefore attempted to do was to conduct a critical analysis of the art and architecture of the Modern Movement in the light of Catholic tradition, needs, and practice, and to formulate a revised modernist aesthetic imbued with an objective Catholicity. Watkin believed that a new Catholic art had made its appearance, which was not content to reproduce the past, however skilfully, nor even make variations upon it. He believed it employed a new and contemporary idiom, that was 'tentative and undertain', and 'liable to fail badly', because it was 'too often the bare and stark

idiom of a mass civilisation'.[22]

That the 'stark idiom' of certain 'scientific' buildings (eg hospitals, factories) which, while giving a design lead for secular architecture, were regarded as being 'inadequate media for the expression of religious faith', was discerned by Vincent. And Roulin's condemnation of 'those builders of churches who go for their inspiration to airplane hangars, swimming pools, markets, theatres', as being a sign of the Catholic intelligentsia having lost their faith to an advancing pantheism and paganism, has already been quoted.[23] But by 1965 five Catholic dioceses in the South East of England, faced with a forecasted population explosion, were apparently actively interested in pursuing not only a modern idiom in the design of their buildings, but also a 'rationalised church building programme using standard components and materials', and doing so in conjunction with thirteen Anglican dioceses and seven Methodist districts.[24] And the argument used as the fostering basis for such a venture was that it should be no more difficult to erect a virtually prefabricated structure for churches than it was for 'schools, factories and other purposes ... with speed and reasonable economy'.[25] The Catholic Church was indeed having to come to terms with the exigencies of not only the aesthetics and structural techniques of modern architecture, but also the costs of considerable programmes of churchbuilding required by urban development schemes, and the price of doing so alone without co-operation with other Churches, and a more centralised co-ordination of its own administration.

In 1965, when considering 'Church Building and New Construction Techniques', J A Wells-Thorpe (who was a prime initiator of the above strategic survey of forecasted churchbuilding in the South East) referred to a thousand Anglican church buildings that had been erected since 1945 at a cost of £17 million, and to a forecasted further eleven hundred buildings that were

to be built in the following decade at an estimated cost of £20 million - figures which did not take into account an equally substantial sum being spent by the Catholic Church.[26] While such expenditure might seem vast, its actual application seemed invariably characterised by a certain parsimony, but that, as S E Dykes Bower argued, was no excuse for taking less trouble with the design process. Yet because modern architecture seemed bedevilled by a need to be 'untraditional' and 'original' it seemed to discard rather than assimilate the 'accumulated store of generations of human skill and experience'.[27] Opposing 'modern' or 'rational' with 'traditional' was futile in his opinion. What concerned him more was the premature deterioration and generally non-restorable nature of much modern building, and the effect that had on a sense of permanence, in design attitudes. What both he and Wells-Thorpe argued for, was the new building category concept of a 'semi-permanent building' designed to a rigorous specification, but with a limited life span.

The need to use prefabricated buildings as an emergency measure both during and immediately following the war, had, by the mid-sixties, developed into another kind of need. Urban redevelopment which initially followed the war, demonstrated the problem of churches made redundant when populations shifted from the surrounding districts; while development of the new urban areas demonstrated the problem of erecting the right building at the right time. Together, as John Wells-Thorpe discerned, the two situations begged the concept of the 'right church in the right place at the right time <u>for the right length of time</u>',[28] with the essential corollary of a more effective co-ordination of all kinds of data, briefing and design procedures. The need then was for churches which could be inexpensively built, easily added to, or subtracted from, as congregations increased or decreased, and as easily re-arranged internally as liturgical changes

occurred. Traditional types of church buildings using methods of construction with traditional materials did not (according to Wells-Thorpe) lend themselves easily, as part of their design specification, to such fluctuations, but 'industrialised prefabricated construction systems', such as C.L.A.S.P.,[29] did - the only problem was that hardly any of the systems (and the number available apparently ran to three figures) - had yet produced a building whose design was the result of a serious study of current thinking on the architectural setting of the liturgy.

Ignoring the traditional 'one off' design as being of an expensive and cumbersome construction and inflexible plan, Wells-Thorpe described four procedures by which churches ought to be designed: First, 'rationalised traditional' which was still a specific design for a specific site, but it made maximum use of standardised structural components and fittings. Secondly, 'consortia systems' which presupposed that a building would use a prefabricated modular co-ordinated system, such as the CLASP system, completely. Though Wells-Thorpe maintained that the use of such a system did not imply 'standard overall plans but standardised components only', he admitted that the 'existing consortium system was basically developed for building types other than churches, and a library or gymnasium would, in most cases, be the nearest building type that could be used as a starting point'.[30] Thirdly, 'diocesan consortium system' which presupposed that a group of dioceses would form their own consortium and produce a system to satisfy more precisely the design needs of church-building. Initial study and development groups would need to be set up, and certain critical information would be needed regarding the size of projected building programmes, its continuity, the optimum size of buildings required, and some definite decision on the desirability of

'permanence' - not least because of the distinction in canon law between 'consecration' (which is a setting aside for all time) and 'dedication' (which is setting aside for an unspecified time).

Fourthly, the last procedure Wells-Thorpe referred to was 'private manufacturers proprietory church buildings systems'. A number of so-called 'specially designed' buildings for church use were already being marketed, and a number had been considered as 'near misses', failing, apparently, because they were not the product of any serious study of recent thinking on church design. The possibility of the church-building authorities most directly involved commissioning a report from the study group that had initiated the strategic survey of the South East, or of them commissioning some academic body, did not seem feasible. What seemed more feasible was an approach to existing manufacturers of 'church buildings' in order to initiate a 'development study financed by the manufacturers, with the object of producing more acceptable building types that were liturgically viable and at the same time met the various criteria of cost, permanence and appearance'.[31] Of all the alternatives, Wells-Thorpe considered this to be the most realistic as a good deal had been learnt over a period of twelve months of the difficulties inherent in forming consortia, and the sort of delay that was likely if the Churches were to act collectively.

The response by manufacturers to an invitation to apply, modify, or develop, their proprietory building systems for church building purposes, was not encouraging.[32] The A75 Metric System manufactured by A H Anderson Ltd seemed to be the one which featured most prominently, and was subjected to the greatest critical attention.[33] Criticism was reservedly favourable, but the point was made that if the Church adopted system-building it should do so for the same reason that others use it, viz: that it was the best available means of satisfying a building need in terms of price, speed of

erection, and value for money. And put to the test in 1965, it was argued that there was no clear evidence at that time, that system-building always cut costs - rather the reverse it was thought, because contractors were reluctant to price small projects such as church buildings. As a matter of choice, therefore, it seemed that the Church would have little to gain from system-building - 'except that very desirable modesty of design which is otherwise obtained only by humility and self-discipline';[34] points which Gilbert Cope also made in his investigative article 'Industrialised Church Buildings: What Is The True Cost?'[35] But as others pointed out, the Church might have to accept system-building as 'Hobson's Choice' because the building industry in general was increasingly committed to using it. Expansion (or recession) in the industry might cause it to turn to churchbuilding to take up spare capacity; and that, in turn, might cause traditional builders to tender competitively.

Comparative building costs analyses are fraught with just about as many variables as user studies. As a footnote to the system-building concept it is perhaps worth noting as an example of this, that in 1969 the Buildings Study Group of the (Anglican) diocese of Chichester in the personal guise of Wells-Thorpe, designed and erected at Keymer, Sussex, a structure that has been variously known as the 'Movable Church', the 'Relocatable Church', and 'Chichester's Five Year Church'.[36] Unfortunately the Building Adviser to the diocese had to report that the contract figure of £7,892.12.4d included 'exceptionally high foundation costs owing to the proximity of a large culvert'.[37] As, at the time, the whole question of system-building and demountable structures was the subject of extensive study in Buildings and Breakthrough (jointly published in 1966 by the Institute for the Study of Worship and Religious Architecture and the Buildings Committee of the Diocese of Chichester and edited by

Wells-Thorpe, such a project seemed sound - both pastorally and economically. But as Cope wrote in 1974 in a review of the project at Keymer, the response from the beginning had been disappointing and other dioceses and denominations had been unco-operative. System building was justifiably cheaper but only if considerable quantities were produced (as in the case of schools) and if the economic viability of relocation over the life-span of the building was not jeopardised by escalating costs.[38]

In the title of his review - 'The Immovable' Church' - the final irony of the outcome of the project, if not the concept of system-churchbuilding itself, was expressed, because by popular demand the church was not to be re-located, but was to become the parish hall to a new additional church alongside. It seemed, in dialectical terms, to be 'the negation of the negation'.

> The Keymer experiment (as we must now call it) has demonstrated inter alia, that a small multi-purpose church can be too successful! Or, if it leads backwards from an integrated sacred-secular church centre to a two-building church plus hall complex, that 'smallness' is itself disadvantageous, or even destructive, in relation to the proper role of the Church today. 39

It had obviously been felt by those associated with the project, that, despite 'confusing cross currents of theological opinion',[40] the building had given clear expression to the 'proper role' of today's Church; that, despite questions about whether it was important to be either theologically or architecturally preoccupied with visual identity, the overall profile of the design had paid attention to the problem. Nevertheless, such opinions and doubts about whether it was possible to design a multi-purpose and ubiquitous building which retained a distinct identity as a church, remained after the Keymer project was completed.

New Towns and Urban Redevelopment

In 1966 in Buildings and Breakthrough it had been strongly argued that church buildings should be much more closely related to the life-span of the surrounding residential, educational, and commercial complexes that they served. The argument was, that society was becoming increasingly mobile and that buildings erected for a more static society were becoming pastorally irrelevant. As demographic ebb and flow quickened, there was less certainty whether existing and new housing areas would be re-designated for residential purposes when they came to be replaced. So it was felt that a church of more lasting permanence than the surrounding housing could not be justified. The planning and design of churches needed more than ever, to take into account the dynamics of urban development, and to do so by studying twentieth-century town planning theory. In 1970 John Wells-Thorpe was one of the two Planning Consultants for the Joint Churches Working Party at Milton Keynes, and recommending a 'solution ... in the shape of a movable, multi-purpose building known as a Relocatable Church ...'.[41]

The other Consultant at Milton Keynes was the Catholic architect Desmond Williams, who had been engaged by the diocese of Northampton originally to act as Consultant for the provision of Catholic schools in the new town area. While it was later claimed that the recommendations contained in Buildings for the Church in Milton Keynes, (1970), 'chiefly had relevance to the situation of the Anglicans and the Free Churches',[42] and was mostly the work of Wells-Thorpe, Williams certainly had more influence on a report presented in 1969 by a working party under the direction of Bishop Grant of Northampton and Bishop Grasar of Shrewsbury, which had been formed to 'investigate the various arrangements available to the Church for the religious and social activities of parishes in new and

expanded towns having due regard to the limited financial resources which exist'. Though eleven years later, one of the key members of the working part believed he should find it 'rather an embarassment' and doubted its influence on the churchbuilding policy of the Diocese of Northampton, Church Building for Roman Catholics in New and Expanded Towns (1969) is useful for its content, and significant for its rarity as a policy-related document on Catholic churchbuilding.[43]

The 'Grant and Grasar Report' took as its basic proposition that the traditional form of parish development with church, presbytery, schools, and social hall had become prohibitively expensive. The simplification of buildings by the use of 'multi-purpose' designs, or by sharing with others, together with the phasing of building programmes and expenditure, were the broad suggestions followed in the three parts of the Report, dealing with ten alternative design models, finance, and pastoral considerations. However, the 'simplification' evident in the ten models was manifestly derived from the cost-effective disposition of room spaces on plan, and from varying degrees of integrated or 'multi-purpose' use of the principal spaces based on pragmatic rather than theological criteria. 'Simplification by sharing' was qualified as being likely to take several forms, the most important and potentially beneficial to financial resources being an arrangement for groups of 'parishes' to share a central church and to restrict each 'satellite' parish to dual purpose buildings. 'Other forms of sharing eg joint use with the other Denominations (were) not likely to result in any great saving in cost', the Report maintained.[44]

As the value of the Report lay not in any architectural design merit, but in the utterly pragmatic way it approached the planning and financing factors in churchbuilding, it is worth setting out some of the comparative

figures it gave for eight of the models:

a) Church liturgically planned to give ample sanctuary space and several aisles necessary in the various church shapes.

16 sq ft per place : £8 - £10 per sq ft : £128 - £160 per place

b) Church built on simple lines with adequate sanctuary space and not more than three aisles.

13 sq ft per place : £6 - £7 per sq ft : £78 - £91 per place

c) Permanent building with a small chapel (to seat 10% of congregation) opening into a hall which may also be used for social occasions.

13 sq ft per place : £6 - £7 per sq ft : £78 - £91 per place

d) Permanent building with a larger chapel (to seat 35% of congregation) opening into a hall which may also be used for social occasions.

16 sq ft per place : £6 - £7 per sq ft : £96 - £112 per place

e) Permanent chapel to seat half of congregation annexed to school hall to seat other half.

9 sq ft p/p (ex hall) : £6 - £7 per sq ft: £54 - £63 p/p (ex hall)

f) Addition of social amenity areas (toilets, cloaks, kitchen, chair store) to above arrangements c, d, or e.

1.5 sq ft per place : £6 - £7 per sq ft : £9 - £10.5 per place extra

g) Social hall in permanent construction with a permanent chapel (to seat 35% of congregation) opening off hall.

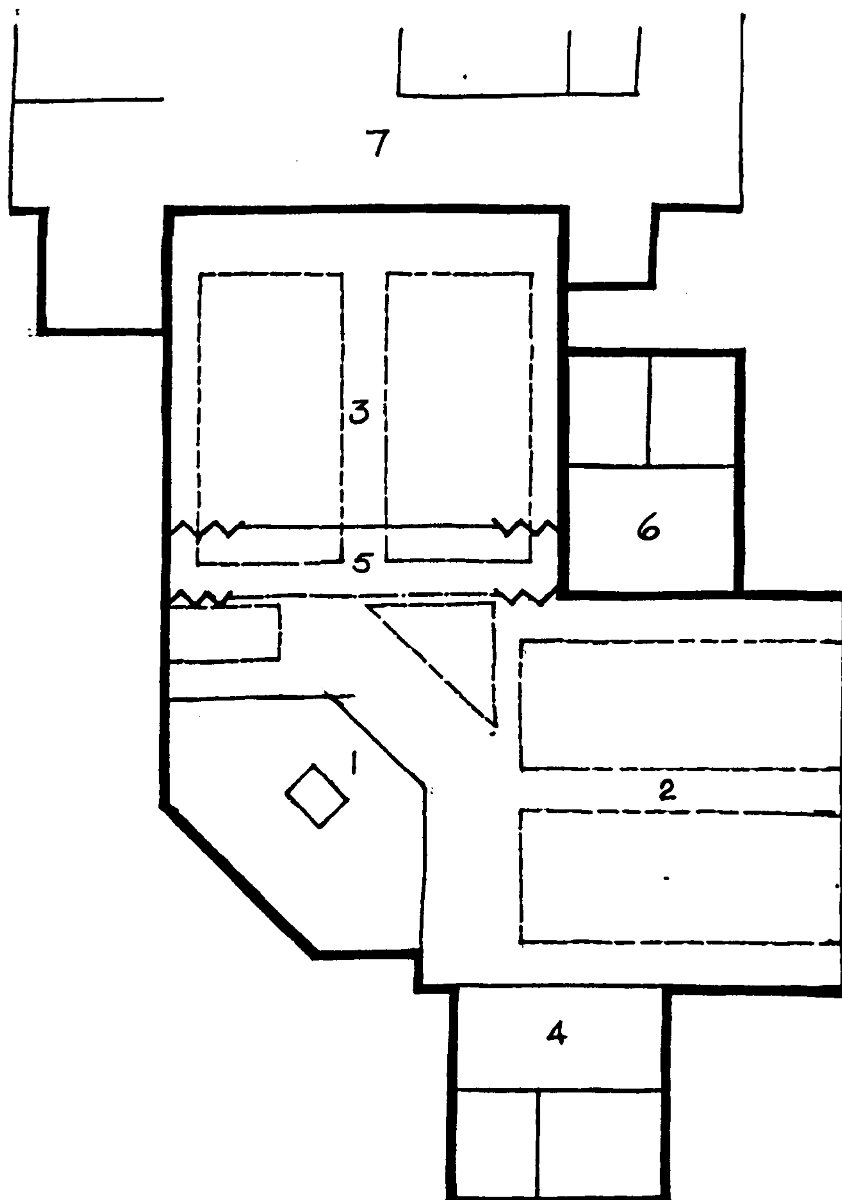
10 sq ft per place : £5 - £6 per sq ft : £50 - £60 per place

h) Social hall in permanent construction.

9 sq ft per place : £5 - £6 per sq ft : £45 - £54 per place

The figures clearly indicate that a 'liturgically planned' church would be the least attractive in cost-effective terms, and that model _e_ (even with social amenities and maybe a proportionate cost of the hall added) would be likely to be the most attractive. In fact the estimated average cost for model _e_ given by the Report, was £29,000 (excluding furniture and professional fees), which, it was reckoned, showed a

Fig 5



1 Sanctuary 2 Chapel: Permanent Seating
3 School Hall: Movable Seating 4 Sacristies
5 Sound Barrier/Chair Storage 6 Entrance
7 School

Scheme 5 Proposal from *Church Building for Roman Catholics in New and Expanded Towns* Report (October 1969) p 12 Cf Fig 34

saving of over £10,000 on a comparable scheme not making use of a school hall (Fig 5). In 1972 the model was used by the Ellis/ Williams Partnership for the design of St Edmund Campion, Wellingborough, but has not been used again. While Desmond Williams recognised that there were some 'draw-backs' in the use of the building (eg the need to regularly change the seating in the school hall to suit the purposes of children and adults; occasional incompatibility of usage either side of the double screens which had not proved to be as soundproof as hoped for), the probable explanation why the model had not been re-used was one of a reasoned and influential bias against all models of a 'multi-purpose' kind in the Diocese of Northampton; and of a lack of a sufficiently effective central mechanism to implement the thinking behind it in the Diocese of Shrewsbury.

It could therefore be concluded, as Williams did, that 'unless there is a strong central organisation on a Diocesan level, with a good deal of discipline, any such overall policy has little chance of implementation';[45] but it could also be concluded from this joint diocesan venture, that where there is a strong central organisation, but one that essentially disagrees with certain models of churchbuilding, then there is also little chance of implementation. Consequently, the attitude which was expressed in the decisions taken concerning Catholic churchbuilding in Milton Keynes, which is in the Diocese of Northampton, as <u>ad rem</u> to this discussion.

In their Report on <u>Buildings for the Church im Milton Keynes</u> (1970) the two consultant architects, Williams and Wells-Thorpe, tackled the task of analysing the architectural implications of the recommendations contained in the <u>Report of the Joint Churches Working Party on Milton</u>

Keynes (11.4.69), which was itself to be understood in the context of the Plan for Milton Keynes: Volumes I & II (1970) - an interim form of which had been published earlier in 1969. The Plan opened by stating that it provided a strategic framework in which the city could be developed, by defining the main aims, while retaining flexibility to allow adjustment to new situations as they developed. Though the Development Corporation might have its own views on the built form of places of worship, it did not regard itself as having the task of insisting on them when disposing of its land to the various religious organisations in Milton Keynes.[46] So it was up to the Churches to work out their own building strategy and design criteria, within a fluid and uncertain matrix. In an article in The Clergy Review (January 1970) Wells-Thorpe expressed his view of this situation:

> At least in the days of the first postwar new towns there were distinct Neighbourhood Units which had an accepted and understandable formula for the provision of shops, public houses, churches, schools and places of public assembly. However it has become evident in the later new towns - particularly at the new city of Milton Keynes - that planners are still seeking afresh a formula which provides an overall framework for future growth but does not dogmatize over the detail to an extent which stifles ideas when developed more fully later ... It is very likely, therefore, that in view of ... continuing ecumenical progress and a host of related factors, one should not be thinking in terms of finding permanent sites for finite consecrated buildings to be called either 'churches' or 'halls' but more in terms of buildings to house activities arising from various types of specialized ministry (in the form of educational, industrial, or residential chaplaincies arranged in team ministries). [47]

In their Report Williams and Wells-Thorpe accounted for 44 existing churches within the new city boundary, four of which were Catholic, three having been built in the post-war period.[48] They considered it 'economically essential, historically important and generally desirable' that as much use as possible was made of this stock of buildings.[44] As it happened, the initial phase of concentrated development left many of

these existing buildings strung out along one side or other of it making them unlikely to be at a 'local' distance from the residential areas. By 1981 the projected number of newcomers would be 70,000, and by the early 1990s, a further 150,000, bringing the total population to 250,000. On a statistical ratio of 9.3 Christians per 100 of population these figures certainly meant that before the first Ten Year Plan for the city started, there was a substantial over-provision of church 'plant' of one kind or another, but there was uncertainty as to whether they should be retained, restored, improved, enlarged, altered or disposed of.[50] Certainly the number and capacity of denominational buildings was not in direct ratio to recently collated Sunday attendance figures,[51] but as the prevailing theological opinion ran counter to 'evangelising people into buildings' preferring inter-denominational and specialist team ministries to various social groups which used other people's buildings, there was a belief that any churchbuilding would be imprudent - at least in the short term. Any existing buildings which could with any certainty, be declared redundant, ought to be designated an alternative use, or be demolished and the site redeveloped according to one of the three usual possibilities, viz:

a) commercial development of the site by a developer retaining part of the scheme for new church accommodation (which would be self-financing)

b) as a) above but entirely commercial and/or residential with the entire proceeds going to Church funds to be allocated elsewhere

c) establishment of a Church-sponsored Housing Association to re-develop the site for small dwelling units suitable for those who are not catered for sufficiently well in the 'open market', eg elderly persons, single-parent families, and students etc.

Despite the doubts about new churchbuilding the Report firmly recommended that consideration should be given to a complementary set of new buildings (owned, leased or rented) to help the Churches 'with the minimum of

administrative worry'.[52] In the context of the Plan for Milton Keynes the main focal points of interest to the Churches were: first, the 200 or so local 'activity centres' located where pedestrian routes cross the road grid, and comprised shops, pubs, first schools, bus stops and so on. Here it was proposed to have the small-scale 'pastoral centres' which were not primarily for worship, but a base for a specialist ministry, and would probably be part of a building owned by another body. Secondly, sites associated with the educational campuses and health clinics servicing catchment areas of about 30,000, which could be developed 'as the community matures and as the relationship of the denominations deepens' but for the time being it was recognised that Catholics would require a separate provision. Lastly, sites in the city centre (and two sub-centres) where the Churches' central administration, information and promotion agency (incorporating a small chapel) would be housed, and subsequently developed, as the city grew.

The Report examined the range of church building possibilities from two points of view: 'first, their degree of relative permanency; and second, their range of use between single and multiple function'.[53] Its survey included two types more familiar on the Continent: the 'house-church', which integrated discreetly with the domestic scale of residential areas; and, 'church centres' (or 'community centre churches' as Wilfrid Cantwell called them in his Report to the Irish Episcopal Liturgical Commission in 1973)[54] which were the product of thinking by the Dutch Reformed Church in many of the expanding areas of Amsterdam, where basically the accommodation comprised social rooms at lower ground floor and worship rooms at upper ground level. Other considerations included proprietory portable structures, inflatable structures (particularly suited to a short-term requirement for shelter of one to twelve months), and the 'extendable church' which was generally a concentric type of plan with a method of

construction that allowed organic growth around a constant nucleus.[55] Inevitably the Report also included mention of the 'relocatable church' as used in the Anglican diocese of Chichester; and the 'multi-purpose church' at Hodge Hill which was designed as a singular manifestation of Professor J G Davies' thinking in The Secular Use of Church Buildings (1968). And lastly, it described recent examples of 'pastoral centres' which could vary from 'a self-contained, separate structure through additions to existing structures, right down to the simple facility of temporary shop premises or dwelling - and in the last instance, use of a room with a table and telephone'. (The Report also dealt with 'clergy housing' and the 'crematorium' - separately!)

In its consideration of a provision for Voluntary Schools, the Report recognised that at Milton Keynes these would be restricted to Catholic provision, and reference was made to the project at Wellingborough which showed the way a church could be integrated with a school hall. Reference was made, though, to a pastoral way of using facilities in Local Authority schools too.

Williams and Wells-Thorpe as Joint Consultants then, described in their Report a wide range of structures and arrangements, which could be available to the Churches in Milton Keynes. In addition to the pastoral benefits of most of these options, there were distinct financial savings to be made, in their opinion. Churchbuilding costs had risen even more steeply than most other building costs, because they were generally based on 'one off' contracts. However, comparative costs for a 'church and a 'relocatable church' (recognising all kinds of likely qualifying factors) were quoted as £8.67 per sq ft and £4 per sq fit respectively, but even these in the medium- and long-term, would probably rise even further above the average, because of an inflationary effect of the tendering 'climate' in the new development.

More than once in the Report, it was made evident that a considerable amount of work was still needed to be done by the Joint Sponsoring Body 'and its superiors, particularly in the direction of joint acquisition of land and existing property; the joint financing of projects; and the holding of collective freeholds and leaseholds'[56] (notwithstanding the Sharing of Church Buildings Act (1969) to which detailed reference was made). Williams and Wells-Thorpe felt that they could make more detailed recommendations regarding the siting and design of specific structures, only when the Joint Sponsoring Body had decided on the allocation of manpower and method of organising its work in the new city. The usefulness of their proposals, they stressed, was directly related to the kind and degree of collaboration between the Churches.

If to the varying degrees of tentativeness which characterised the collaboration prevailing between the Churches, were added the uncertainties of the open-ended development strategy favoured by the Milton Keynes Development Corporation, and the less determinate form of the 'multi-purpose' church building, then a situation might arise where essential provisions were too delayed or too ill-defined, because of a lack of joint planning experience and design familiarity - a situation where reasoned and influential criticism biased towards more familiar solutions, might produce a quite different set of arguments.

Pastoral, planning and other considerations made by the 'Diocesan Officer forAreas of Expansion' of the Diocese of Northampton[57] in reaction to the Report submitted by Williams and Wells-Thorpe, and to some degree contained in Part 3 of the 'Grant and Grasar Report', embodied a set of arguments that clearly ran counter to those used in the Reports, and yet have been the more influential in determining planning and design policy for Catholic churchbuilding in Milton Keynes (and in Peterborough and Weston Favell, which also lie within the Diocese).

Beginning strategically, there was the argument against the abolition of all existing ecclesiastical boundaries within Milton Keynes, and the recognition of the new town boundary as defining a single administrative area for the Churches equivalent to a Deanery or Circuit. It was accepted that a revision of boundaries was inevitable and desirable, despite certain consequences for existing Catholic communities; but it was not accepted that the Churches in Milton Keynes should regard it as being axiomatic that the situation required the Churches' traditional structures to be discarded, and the lack of a pastoral or administrative subdivision lower than the Deanery/Circuit was regarded as being inherently weakening in terms of ministry and of community identity among the local Churches. The units of 30,000 defined within the Corporation's general development strategy, offered a much greater possibility for a sense of ecclesia than a single ecclesiastical unit of 250,000, and (if wariness of 'traditional terminology' permitted) ought to form the base unit of a parish with its parish church or churches (for the different denominations, so far as they required to be separate) - but with the proviso that there should be a lessening of parochial autonomy in the interests of efficient mission and pastoral care for the new-town as a whole.[58] Conversely though, while recognising that the autonomy of a parish was already being compromised by a more mobile society, whose social groupings were more frequently being characterised by centres of interest away from the home community base, the continuing assumption of government administration (as in the 'Redcliff-Maud Report') was one of territorial units of division, of which the home was basic. The parish was made up of homes and gave implicit support to the family. As a territorial grouping the parish resulted in a society more heterogeneous than that comprising exclusive interest groups, and so was more fitted to be the microcosm of God's whole family.

So the Catholic preference was for a number of parish community centre churches servicing a complex of parishes within the greater boundary of the Deanery of Milton Keynes.

In addition, it was also felt more likely to be 'influential' if churches were sited at key community centres and not hidden among housing or in other buildings. Certainly, the hope was strongly expressed, that the Christian Church in Milton Keynes would symbolise its presence in the central urban complex by something more uniquely Christian than a suite of offices. There was a distinct preference for whatever was built for Catholic use, to be clearly characterised as a 'church', and even if circumstances demanded otherwise, it was considered better to have a 'church' which was adapted to other occasional use, than to have a social centre adapted for church use. And there was a preference for having a 'church' and making use of rooms built within its supporting complex, for denominational, ecumenical, and other purposes, rather than having a more pluri-functional building whose central purpose was not architecturally clear. The same desire for clarity of purpose was also behind a criticism of the 'shared liturgical site' concept as being an 'artificial construction', and the declared preference to abandon it. Besides, it was argued, it would probably be more advantageous, in the interests of greater dispersal and better uniform coverage of an ecumenical pastoral service, to separate rather than group, denominational centres.

The sharing of churches with other denominations in Milton Keynes was seriously considered; but, in order to cope with the expected Mass attendance developing, it seemed that Catholics would require the exclusive Sunday use of a building. Also, the liturgical, devotional, and pastoral use of a Catholic parish church over and above its primary use for Sunday worship, during the week, would make regular demands;

and the case of the one ecumenical centre (at Stantonbury) which had been mainly financed by the Anglicans and Baptists, but used for Sunday worship mainly by Catholics, as a temporary Mass-centre until their own church was built, was cited. So the bias against 'shared liturgical sites' was held to be pragmatic and not theological; there was no theological objection to shared ownership or shared use (as examples in the Diocese demonstrated).

In retrospect, an added comment was made concerning the elaborate church-building proposals of certain non-Catholic Church authorities, that had tended to hinder flexibility of response, and consequently seemed to have produced very little. Catholic strategy may not have been set out in published programmes or discussion documents (to the possible chagrin of subsequent researchers), but by not doing so, it did make the continual revision that was necessary in a dynamic situation of new-town growth, that much less inhibited, and the evidence was to be seen in a number of vigorously functioning new parish churches. To those responsible for this strategy it seemed to vindicate the observation that what people looked for was the parish church or its equivalent, whatever other buildings might be deemed desirable by theories of churchbuilding. Proposals such as those made in the recommendations of the Report by Williams and Wells-Thorpe served only to make an essentially simple (but formidable) planning task, complicated. A new-town was not the best place for novel experiments; in a situation of social disorientation pastoral concern required the provision of churches with recognisable and familiar features, without advocating any stylistic imitations of past models.

As for the advocacy to build 'multi-purpose' and 'relocatable' churches; the ethical and social arguments employed were thought insufficiently convincing. Economic necessity might force upon the Church great

austerity, but that was distinctly different from a niggardly lack of generosity.[59] Sound stewardship of resources there had to be. That was why buildings which sought to serve many purposes but could fall short of serving any purpose adequately - especially that of worship; and buildings which sought to be economic short-term solutions but could engender too great a reliance on temporary provisions and dissipate resources for the ultimate development, had to be rejected.

So to the preference for parish churches with a degree of architectural familiarity, there was added the preference for such buildings to be single purpose (ie for worship - other spaces being annexed to the church for more diverse purposes), and for them to have a single denominational owner and usage (others being able to share the annexed facilities especially, notwithstanding).

Shared Use

The preferences adopted by the Diocese of Northampton were based on sound pragmatic considerations of what planning and design criteria were required for church buildings being erected within a framework (however loose) of the Churches belonging and working together. Though they may be criticised for not being wholly consistent with the recommendations of Williams and Wells-Thorpe, and with the implicit expectations of the Churches' Provisional Sponsoring Body for Milton Keynes, they were not inconsistent with the view expressed in 1972 in a Report prepared for the Roman Catholic Ecumenical Commission for England and Wales, that accepting 'the basic principle that 'we belong together' does not involve any pre-judging of such questions as the relative merits of multi-purpose buildings and of places designed specifically for worship'.[60]

The Sharing of Resources updated an earlier Report prepared by the Ecumenical Commission, Shared Premises and Team Ministry (1970) and was

particularly seminal in the development of a greater awareness of the pastoral implications of an advancing ecumenism, and of a need for Catholic involvement in order to help shape it. There was also a realisation that major shifts in social make-up were providing a flux of opportunities for the Churches to share in a common and fundamental reappraisal of their role. Such a sharing was seen as being possible anywhere, but the Report concentrated on the new town and overspill areas, because they constituted a priority. This it did within a context of greater public involvement in planning decisions, and the framework of recent Government legislation including the New Towns Act (1965) which covered the designation, building, and management of new towns; the Sharing of Church Buildings Act (1969) which facilitated sharing agreements; and the Pastoral Measure (1968) which eased the disposal and demolition of redundant Anglican church buildings.

One of the most evident consequences of the growth of the new towns and overspill areas, was the 'ordered dispersal' of inner-city populations with its inevitable effect on church buildings in those areas. The Report argued that it would be necessary for the Churches to examine their use of resources and manpower in urban redevelopment areas in relation to the needs and function of their pastoral strategies in the new areas and towns. It cited the situation in Teesside where there were 158 churches (51 Anglican, 36 Methodists, 29 Catholic, 42 Others), which included, for instance, Stockton, where there were 22 churches in the older parts for 15,000 people, while in the new areas there were 10 churches for 70,000.[61] The urgency for the Churches was exacerbated by the even larger developments such as Milton Keynes, and Central Lancashire, where an area covering Preston, Leyland and Chorley, would become one city of 430,000 by 1993. For all 22 new towns, apart from 'subsequent natural increase', the

proposed final population figure was 2,014,100.[62] A realistic pastoral strategy designed to meet the demands of these national trends, seemed inevitably to require a much more over-all co-ordinated set of initiatives by the Churches. The same factors were affecting them all with equal force, and so from the late 1960s, the response of the Catholic Church has to be seen increasingly in the ecumenical context.

In both the 1970 and the 1972 Reports to the Ecumenical Commission, there was an axiomatic belief that ministry was a more basic consideration than the 'buildings erected for ministerial purposes', and that ecumenical team ministries were thsu 'more fundamental than the question of shared premises'.[63] It was a belief particularly inherent in the 'specialist ministries to sectors of society' which generally operated in places other than church premises. The Bishop of Portsmouth (now Archbishop of Liverpool) was mentioned as having been particularly active in the promotion of specialist ministries to education, prisons, hospitals, industry, etc. by diocesan clergy. Such ministries were not new, but in their organisation as teams, and in particular as ecumenical teams, they produced a new threefold definition of ministry that was denominational, ecumenical, and specialised. The importance of such peripatetic ministries being fully integrated with the residential parochial clergy was stressed;[64] while one clergyman in eight was in a specialised ministry at the time of the 1972 Report, and parish ministries were passing through considerable changes, there could be no doubt that a ministry to people on a geographical basis would remain the pattern for the foreseeable future.[65] And the corollary of that was, that each local Christian community would continue to need a church building.

If a consequence of specialised ministries was a potential loss of

geographical 'centre', then a consequence of sharing ecumenical centres was a potential loss of denominational discipline and doctrine. In 1969 a report to the British Council of Churches from its Department of Mission and Unity on The Designation of Areas of Ecumenical Experiment classified degrees of local ecumenical collaboration under the headings: Ecumenical Cooperation; Shared Churches; Areas of Ecumenical Experiment. The latter were defined as being areas where, 'under responsible authority', certain denominational traditions would be suspended for a period so that 'new patterns of worship, mission and ministry' could be undertaken. While Catholics were able to accept a qualified suspension of traditional discipline and administration, they could not accept a situation which involved the merging of participating groups into an 'ecumenical congregation' with an integrated pattern of worship and some degree of intercommunion.[66] And in fact, the Sharing of Church Buildings Act (1969) stipulated that the normal worship in a shared church must be denominational, and that each participating denomination maintained its identity and membership roll.[67] Nevertheless, there was pressure for further changes in parliamentary legislation to allow the forming of 'ecumenical congregations'; a development which would make participation even more difficult for Catholics. So it was recognised that the situation called for a more active and accepting Catholic involvement in order to help shape its progress, and the 1972 Report cited the increased number of shared-church schemes in England in which there was Catholic involvement.[68]

One important lesson learnt was that there was no one model for a shared church building. Disparity of numbers, differing worship requirements, varying financial capacities, and a tendency for such schemes to be combined with local authority plans for social centres, meant that the architectural brief for each scheme would almost invariably produce a range of solutions.

The briefing process would also lead to a mutual examination of practices and assumptions that were often left implicit in denominational plans. The results might be different from inherited notions of church design and use, but they would tend to be better placed strategically than buildings on solely denominational sites, and so serve the general community better while reflecting the distinctiveness of the Christian community. Because of the novelty of their design, the full potential of multi-purpose shared-use churches, would best be revealed by a step-by-step approach to their use, which in turn meant that their design should allow for possible changes without exorbitant expense, in order to prevent the Churches involved becoming frozen at a particular stage of ecumenical development. Any such provisional design features were to be regarded as integral to the intention, and ought not to give rise to criticisms of such schemes as being 'second rate' or 'last resort' churches. The evidence in 1972 was that attitudes towards sharing of churches were changing, but that a recurring difficulty for Catholics concerned the reservation of the Blessed Sacrament; a difficulty made all the more complex because of an Anglican increase in the practice.[69]

In 1974 the Catholic Ecumenical Commission received a special report on the Joint Reservation in Shared Churches, which dealt with the matter in its historical, theological and pastoral contexts, and assessed the possible modes of its architectural accommodation. And as the architect Nigel Dees has shown, the difficulty has been surmounted in several variations of the four modes described in the 1974 report, viz: two separate self-contained denominational side chapels; two separate tabernacles or aumbries near or within the sanctuary; one tabernacle or aumbry with two abutting compartments and separate doors; the same but with no external visible distinction - all being capable of discreet

concealment, if needs be, when the church was used by others. Such solutions were not the outcome of capricious design, but the local result of a serious joint exploration of Eucharistic doctrine throughout the 1970s by the Anglican/Roman Catholic International Commission.[70]

Catholic involvement in shared churches in the British Isles seems to be more common in England than in Wales, Scotland, or Ireland. In Wales the authoritative Catholic view of ecumenism thought that there 'were those so ecumenically minded in their worthy desire to shake hands with their non-Catholic brethren that they were leaning dangerously over the side, and threatening to fall overboard or capsize the (Barque of Peter)' launched by Vatican II into the open sea.[71] Archbishop Murphy of Cardiff certainly thought that shared churches could be helpful in many ways (eg sharing financial burden of initial building; subsequent upkeep; relieving local authorities of the burden of providing sites for ecclesiastical projects at 1/6 housing values), but none of which really touched or promoted ecumenism, and ecumenism ought not to be invoked in its favour. In fact, it could militate against ecumenism through disputes about planning, due to different liturgical demands and practices; about size due to varying sizes of congregation; and about preferential times in the schedules of use. While there were extenuating circumstantial reasons for sharing church buildings, the Archbishop would not contemplate building a shared church for permanent use. With churchbuilding decisions in Wales influenced by such firm views, the recommendation made by the Anglican-Catholic conference at Carmarthen in 1972 'that in any new building areas, new churches should be shared between the Church in Wales and the Roman Catholic Church' had little effect.[72]

In Scotland, the diocese of Aberdeen in which there has been such an extensive shift and increase in population due to the development of the

North Sea oil fields, evidence of sharing is confined to four Episcopal churches being used for Mass, and one Catholic church being used for Episcopal services.[73]

In Ireland, Bishop Cahal Daly, Chairman of the Committee for Sacred Art and Architecture of the Irish Episcopal Liturgical Commission, felt that any notion that shared-use and joint-ownership church buildings were 'the only concept applicable for a Church that is committed to the ecumenical ideal' could quite seriously be questioned, and even rejected by Churches completely committed to the 'ecumenical ideal'. It was in Northern Ireland that the 'shared use' concept ought to have its greatest relevance, yet it was precisely the territory where it was most unacceptable. The largest Protestant denomination in Northern Ireland, the Presbyterian Church, had deliberately adopted an anti-ecumenical stance, withdrawing, for instance from the World Council of Churches, and had in turn influenced adherents to the Church of Ireland. Housing areas which had been developed in the 1960s with the intention of mixing the communities, were once again almost totally religiously segregated. In practice, wherever it had been adopted outside Ireland, recourse to the 'shared-use' concept seemed to have been motivated more by economic duress than by ecumenical zeal. Bishop Daly believed that the better ecumenical thinking of today would argue for the preservation of all that is positive in the different traditions, rather than the creation of an 'ecumenically neutral' space, in which no tradition would find its 'full and connatural expression'. Ecumenically 'swept and garnished' churches would leave many Catholics feeling impoverished and deprived in their forms of worship, and denigrating them as 'second best'.[74]

In England the emergence of the black-led Pentecostal Churches has raised questions concerning the availability of places for them to meet and

worship, and has become a crucial test in their relations with white-led Churches. In 1978 a report on Building Together in Christ was prepared for the British Council of Churches in order to discuss the questions, and to offer clear guidance on how the sharing and transfer of church buildings were best handled.[75] It recognised that negotiating such transactions were frequently fraught with emotion since 'church buildings symbolise for us all the depths of commitment and faith in God that we express in worship'.[76] Black Christians have tended to consider that a church was built for the worship and service of God, so that if the original community no longer needed it, they should make it available to those who do. Whereas, white Christians - and their legal advisers - have tended to see the original intention being fulfilled by selling the premises, and using the money obtained to build new denominational buildings elsewhere. Overspill and new-town developments, with their corollary of inner city depopulation, have faced the Churches with the need to rationalise and transfer their surplus resources. However, the report heavily underlined the recommendation the Council made in 1974 to its members in the report on The Community Orientation of the Church:

> As an overriding consideration, Churches with premises should demonstrate to the full their particular fellowship with and care for minority Christian groups (such as the so-called Black Churches) in need of places of assembly for their worship and/or other purposes, by making churches and other premises available to them, even when this involves financial sacrifice by the host community. [77]

While the Catholic Church was not party to either of those reports (as it was not a member of the BCC), the 1978 report did refer to the publication of a survey produced for the British Council of Churches in 1973, Church Property and People, which examined the use, and attitudes towards the use, of church buildings including those owned and used by the Catholic Church, in the three multi-racial, multi-faith areas of Bradford, Derby and Lambeth.[78]

It provided a more systematic basis to the assumptions made in its parent document, The Use of Church Properties for Community Activities in Multi-Racial Areas : An Interim Report (1972). Just how influential the report has been in Catholic circles is difficult to determine. Certainly though, at least one diocesan curia (Leeds) sought a synopsis of, and comment upon, the report's salient points.[79]

In the survey areas, the report concluded that there was a great deal of Church-owned property, and that most of it was grossly under-used and a burden in several ways. A sense of responsibility for this 'sacred trust' diverted too much time, energy and funds for its maintenance, and these demands, together with the presence of the buildings themselves, over-influenced the activities and concerns of the Churches, and the attitudes of the wider community to them. Instead of a key question being 'What is our role as a local Church?', the more common question was 'What should we do with our buildings?' What the report described was what has been referred to elsewhere as a 'bathetic and struthious neurosis'; it was a sense of betrayal of the past and a fear of letting down some future revival, which provoked a defensive posture that was all but ineffectual. What the economic realities of possessing and maintaining church buildings, together with their dubious significance and measure of influence as effective instruments, seemed to require, was a radical reappraisal of the relationship between theological principle and events on the ground. However, as it was evident that much of what goes on in the Churches was more of an ad hoc mixture of inheritance and emotional response, than being the evidence of a systematically worked out strategy, it further seemed to require a reappraisal of attitudes - including those towards church buildings.

The report measured attitudes as a set of responses to a series of

questions related to various hypothetical users and usages, tabulated under the following headings:

Church Youth Club performing play in sanctuary	Table 18
Local Authority holding public meeting in sanctuary	Table 19
Photographic society holding film show in sanctuary	Table 20
Seventh Day Baptist (Adventist) use of sanctuary	Table 33
Communist Party meeting on housing in church hall	Table 27
National Front meeting on immigration in church hall	Table 28
Meeting on play facilities in church hall	Table 29
West Indian discotheque in church hall	Table 30
Greek Orthodox use of church hall for children's instruction	Table 32
West Indian Pentecostalists in church hall for youth rally	Table 34
Sikh use of church hall for social evening	Table 36
Muslim use of church hall for religious festival	Table 37
Hindu marriage ceremony in church hall	Table 38
Use of redundant church for such a purpose as housing	Table 39
Redundant church as community centre	Table 40
Redundant church for use by commercial firm	Table 41
Sale of church for local authority purposes	Table 42
Sale of church to other Faiths	Table 43
Sale of church to other Christians	Table 44

The categories and percentage levels for each Church and of the whole sample (in brackets) were as follows: 80

	Anglican	Baptist	Congregational	Methodist	Catholic	Others
Very happy	30 (5.0)	20 (3.2)	33 (5.3)	35 (5.7)	24 (3.9)	11 (1.8)
Happy	20 (3.2)	28 (4.6)	29 (4.8)	30 (4.9)	24 (3.8)	27 (4.4)
Fairly happy	18 (3.0)	17 (2.8)	21 (3.5)	12 (2.0)	11 (1.8)	18 (2.8)
Unhappy	17 (2.7)	23 (3.7)	10 (1.6)	11 (1.7)	13 (2.1)	20 (3.2)
Very unhappy	15 (2.3)	11 (1.8)	7 (1.0)	11 (1.8)	28 (4.6)	24 (4.0)

What the report deduced from the survey analysis were distinct suggestions of psychological security being at risk if 'sacred' buildings were 'threatened' with significant changes of use, particularly in inner-city areas; but there were indications that when the situation moved from hypothesis to reality, responses tended to be more liberal and generous,

rather than less so. The apparent defensiveness was thought to be symptomatic of a continuation of many traditional activities more because no good reason could be thought of for stopping them, than for any 'well thought out, positive reasons for giving them priority'.

Table 17 of the report indicated the percentage of distinction made by each responding Church between the sanctuary and the rest of their buildings:

Anglican	Baptist	Congregational	Methodist	Catholic	Others
25	7	17	6	93	-

Sanctuary was defined as the 'church proper, the areas built specifically for devotional activity, that is, the main fixed worshipping areas'. The report commented that it was difficult to establish a correlation between attitudes to the sanctuary and other attitudes. since there were so many counterbalancing factors involved in such attitudes. While, for instance, the Salvation Army did not discriminate between any one part of their building and another, they had explicit restrictions on the use of any part of it. On the other hand, Roman Catholics made the sharpest contrast between the sanctuary and the rest of the church whilst having the least restrictions on the building in general.[81] As throughout, the report was critical of any inability to articulate a 'rationalisation' of any distinctions between 'the holy and the profane' due to a 'rather emotional conditioning process', as part of which it obviously regarded the 'precise meaning' that <u>sanctuary</u> ordinarily had for Catholics. Not surprisingly, one of the report's conclusions was that more common understanding ought to be developed between the Churches in the use of basic terminology such as 'sanctuary', 'holiness', 'sacredness', 'consecration'; together with greater precision in the use of 'non-Christian', 'un-Christian', and

'anti-Christian'.

Regarding the use of church buildings by political or quasi-political groups, the nature of the organisation wishing to use the premises was of key importance, rather than approval of content or purpose. As with the use by other Faiths, the report believed that the Churches faced an 'enormous problem in attempting to resolve the tension between freedom of thought and action, and propogation of a specific Faith'. Did letting appear to condone and even encourage non-Christian Faiths, or to uphold the right to freedom of worship, regardless? What the report concluded was that there was a need to identify areas of possible co-operation through dialogue, compatible with retaining Christian integrity.

The Catholic position on a relationship with other Faiths was ably dealt with in the survey report's parent document The Use of Church Properties for Community Activities in Multi racial Areas (1972), and in particular, in its reference to the Declaration on the Relation of the Church to Non-Christian Religions: Nostra Aetate (1965) of Vatican II which included the following statement:

> The Catholic Church rejects nothing which is true and holy in these religions (Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam) ... The Church therefore has this exhortation for her sons; prudently and lovingly, through dialogue and collaboration with the followers of other religions, and in witness of the Christian faith and life, acknowledge, preserve, and promote the spiritual and moral goods found among these men, as well as the values in their society and culture. 82

The citing of only 2 Catholic instances of accommodating outsiders (including other Faiths) by comparison with 92 instances from the other five Church categories could be construed as poor community; but with a relatively greater percentage of its church buildings in regular use, and with a larger church-going population to minister to,[83] the report should

have made an evaluation of these and other probable extenuating reasons. However, the report's comment apropos an irony in the probability of a greater willingness to see church buildings used for other purposes if the Churches were flourishing and the buildings were consequently under no threat of redundancy, would need to be taken account of.[84]

Redundancy and Redevelopment

The B.C.C. survey on attitudes towards redundancy clearly indicated that churches were regarded as spiritual and cultural witnesses of the Christian faith and life. Few respondents were opposed to the use of redundant churches for such social purposes as housing, or a community centre, or for the purposes of another Christian denomination or sect. Where opinion was more closely divided was on their use by commerce or by adherents of another Faith. But more than any other proposition, the one idea which permeated the section was the view that it was better to pull down redundant churches and redevelop the sites, than convert the existing buildings to some other use, because that could be offensive, and, symbolically, a failure of the Church.

In 1972, the wide debate on the conversion and disposal of church buildings prompted by the Anglican Pastoral Measure (1968), was well collated by the Institute for the Study of Worship and Religious Architecture in its special publication on Problem Churches; and in 1977 the problem was even more extensively illustrated and discussed in an exhibition at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, dealing with Change and Decay: The Future of Our Churches.[85] But whereas the discussion in both these formats was biased towards alternative use and conservation, an argument in favour of demolition and redevelopment, was being actively promoted by Peter F Smith in his concept of 'Church Rebuilding Financed by Housing Associations', within the context of The Secular in the Sacred.[86] It was an argument which has had a quite recent relevance in Catholic circles

apropos redundant inner-city churches.

Dr Smith's design rationale was utterly opposed to what he referred to as the 'Jerusalem temple archetype'. Church buildings had become obsolescent because they had been dominated by a symbol system that had lost its significance. What was now required was for a new significance to be discovered in the ordinary and the secular, devoid of ecclesiastical cliches. A shurch should be a discreet secular building, designed around the activities and meeting of people, of which the Eucharist was the climax. And its location in the urban built-environment should not be set apart, but fully integrated, with its inner complex of spaces reflecting an outer diversity of concern on the part of the commissioning Christian community. Where church buildings had become virtually redundant and unrelated to their neighbourhood, there was a challenging opportunity to signify a caring concern for the local community, by redeveloping the site with housing, and a church building that was more approachable and usable.

It was possible for churches in urban areas to have their site sold to a housing association or society, for the redevelopment of a substantial part of the site as housing. The housing association ought preferably to be formed from within the Christian community concerned, so that an active involvement was maintained in the development of the project both before and after completion. Where it was not possible to form an association (sponsored by Local Authorities and with a loan repayment period of 60 years), it was possible to still obtain a 100% loan by forming a society (sponsored by the Housing Corporation, but with a loan repayment period of 40 years). Besides having to satisfy church managers and trustees, the Charity Commissioners, the Department of the Environment and the Local Authority also have to be satisfied as to the

terms and values of the sale, the amenity requirement and the cost yardstick to be observed, and the application of a rent rebate scheme in return for a nomination rate. Initially though, any proposals were dependent on the District Valuer's informal valuation and feasibility assessment of whether there would be sufficient return on surplus land allocated to housing to finance the church complex redevelopment. As there was a tendency for pricing to be influenced by a regard for churches as prestige buildings, opinions varied widely on the feasibility cost of the church element, but it could be demonstrated that 'good environment for worship' could be achieved for less than £40 per place (in 1972).

Given the right scheme, the result would be that the church and housing would be built with little or no expenditure being required on the part of the commissioning Church. The money from the sale of the site to the housing association would provide the funds to build the new church, and money from the rents of the housing units would go to meet the mortgage repayments. And the classification of the whole development as a public building would mean that ancillary accommodation in the church complex, would be available for communal use, and especially by the tenants.

Projects undertaken by Dr Smith have been for Methodist, Baptist, Anglican and Presbyterian/URC clients. During the eleven years since 1972 there would seem to have been no case where a Catholic church has been specifically demolished in order to redevelop the site for sheltered housing, though there are instances where convent chapels and property have been.[87] Religious orders have been generally more involved in housing association projects, than diocesan authorities - probably because they have had more redundant property to dispose of. Servite Housing has been active in various parts of England and Wales, and recently absorbed CHALICE Housing Association, which was a Catholic Housing Aid Society venture of the early seventies, that enabled religious orders to sell 'surplus' land for

housing, following strong encouragement from the hierarchy to do so. (It may also have been an initiative prompted or given impetus by the Development Land Tax Act (1976)). The Catholic Housing Society (CHAS) was founded in 1957 and has from time to time taken initiative in the housing field. One of its former directors (now Bishop of Galway) was a founder of Shelter. The Society also helped to form the Family Housing Association, which subsequently went 'secular'.[88]

Local Churches have also formed trusts and associations; for instance, in a report to the Catholic bishops of England and Wales in 1972,[89] the Ecumenical Commission referred to the Coventry Churches' Housing Association. The then Secretary of that association (and later, its Chairman) was the sociologist and Jesuit, Ronald Darwen. In the late seventies, after being moved to the Everton district of Liverpool, Fr Darwen was involved in detailed proposals for the redevelopment of a listed church building site, which would have involved two housing associations, but which were abandoned when it became apparent that the ensuing issues might become a cause célèbre.

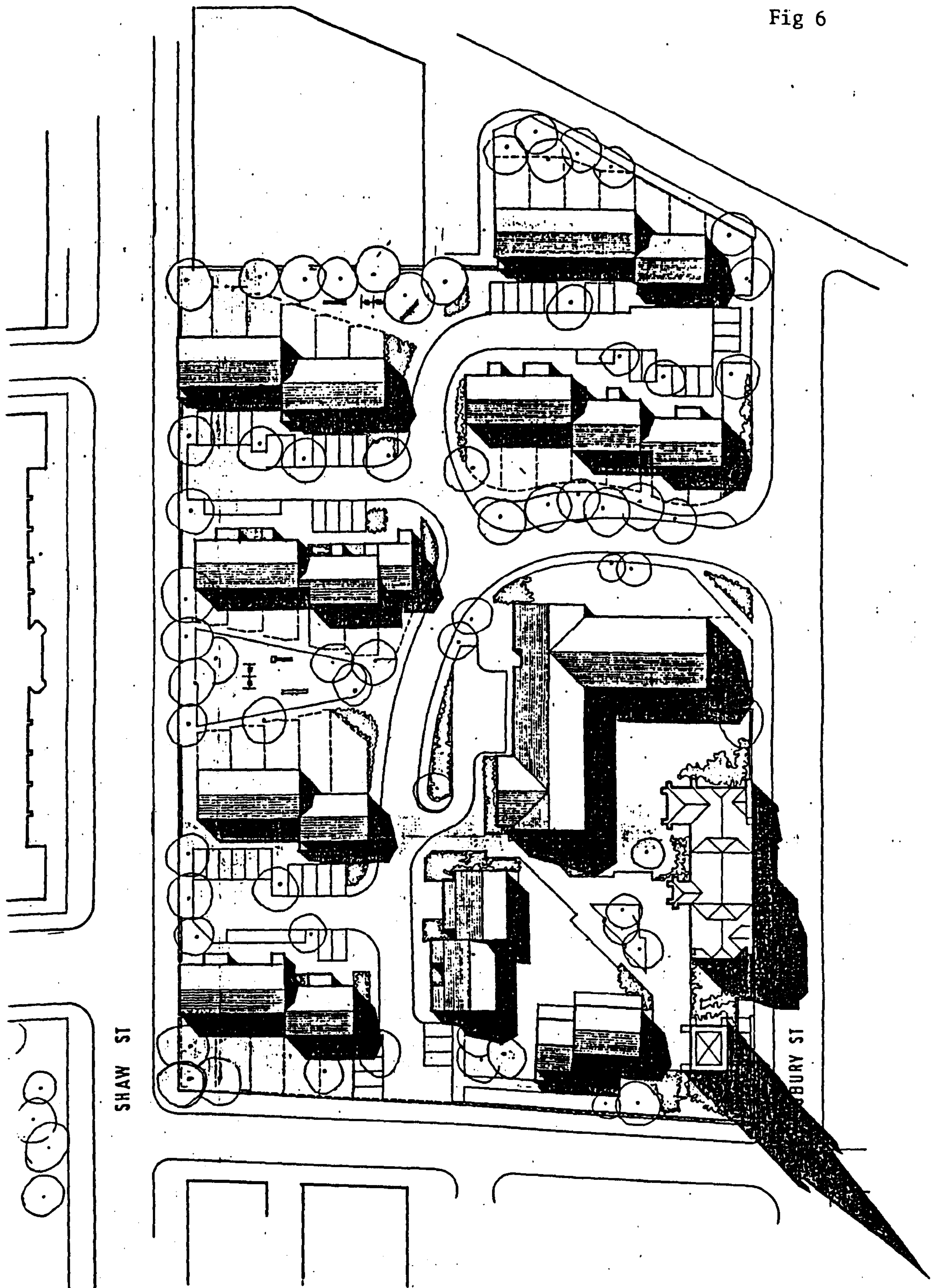
In 1976 Fr Darwen carried out a sociological analysis of the eleven parishes which the Archbishop of Liverpool had proposed should form the 'Northern Sector' of an inner-city team ministry,[90] He found that the general decline in the city's population, and the effects of urban redevelopment schemes, meant that whereas in 1930 the area of some two square miles had a Catholic population of over 80,000, in 1976 it had only 20,000 - but was still being catered for by eleven churches! Fr Darwen's own parish of St Francis Xavier had once had over 13,000 parishioners in 1930, but by the mid 1970s had less than 1,000, of which only 450 attended Sunday Mass regularly. At the same time it was just about able to meet its annual financial commitments, which then stood at £19,000, of which £5,500 was spent directly on the heating and maintenance of the church building.

St Francis Xavier (1845-49) was built to the design of J J Scoles, who was one of the leading rivals of A W N Pugin. Scoles rejected the strict 'archaeological' approach of Pugin, together with the other's preference for a medieval plan. At St Francis Xavier (as at the great Jesuit church at Farm St, London, and elsewhere) he used an essentially Tridentine plan, ingeniously adapted to the Gothic style. A broad nave, combined with a short but high chancel, unobstructed by a screen, provided large congregations with a clear view of the High Altar. The church was designed to seat 1500 and to be a glorious expression of the Jesuit order. From the time of its completion, it was increasingly adorned with altars, stained glass, statues and other bondieuseries which have made it 'one of the most complete and moving repositories of Victorian Catholic art in the country'.[91] Several fittings were designed over the years by E Kirby, who, in 1885-7 also added the Lady (or Sodality) Chapel.

Forming part of a complex of property attached to the church were several large school buildings, one of which was a listed building designed by Henry Clutton (1819-93) and had originally been St Francis Xavier's College. The schools were scheduled to close finally in 1981, and in his 1976 analysis Fr Darwen speculated that that would be the time, when thought was being given to the disposal of the whole site, to consider the fate of the church. However he obviously felt that the size of the church apropos its current congregation, the expense of its upkeep, and the location of the parish on the edge of the proposed 'Northern Sector', would perhaps mean that the whole site could be redeveloped for housing.

Seeking to formulate a plan of implementation for the Archbishop's 'Pastoral Plan' for the northern area of the inner-city, a proposal was made as early as 1976 that four of the eleven parishes should cease to exist, and a process was begun in order to make a case for the redevelopment of the

Fig 6



Proposed Redevelopment of Site of St Francis Xavier's Church and Adjoining Schools, Everton, Liverpool for Sheltered Housing (1980), Weightman & Bullen

whole of the site of St Francis Xavier's for housing. In December 1979 the Harrison Partnership survey of the church building estimated repair costs totalling £30,000, and cleaning costs totallling £100/200,000. Together with detailed descriptions of the state of the parish, these figures were sufficient to persuade the Superior General of the Jesuit order in Rome that redevelopment of the site for housing was a wholly justifiable option. During 1980 meetings were held with Messrs Weightman and Bullen, the architects, that included discussions on listed building consent. But no really 'weighty' opposition to any redevelopment proposals were foreseen. The following year some reservation was expressed by the Housing Corporation, however, concerning the scale and expense of the proposed demolition. (The tender received from Hart Gilmore Associates (Quantity Surveyors) estimated the total volume of rubble as 7320 cubic metres; while the favoured tender from J Doyle & Co estimated demolition costs of £95,761 - £180,438. On such a scale it was felt that any housing scheme would be too big for one organisation, so two were invited: Maritime Housing Association Ltd (to redevelop 14,125 sq yds of the site); and Servite Housing Ltd (to redevelop 3009 sq yds). By August 1981 when Campion school moved from the Clutton building, everything seemed poised for the commencement of the housing scheme.

The site redevelopment plan in late 1981 envisaged the demolition of all the school buildings (including the listed Clutton building), and of a substantial part of the church, leaving only the tower and spire and Sodality chapel standing.* At this point the Save Britain's Heritage group became involved and threatened to obtain a court injunction if the archdiocese were to offer no assurance re staying of demolition. SAVE believed that the Jesuit order and the Archdiocese of Liverpool took the view that Listed Building Consent was not required for the proposed

* (Fig 6)

demolition of most of the church. While total demolition would undoubtedly have required such consent, demolition under the guise of 'alteration' would not if the building were technically to continue in ecclesiastical use. SAVE however considered that the proposals comprised demolition not alteration. While it recognised that the archdiocese had some need to rationalise the number of churches in the area it regarded it as 'tragic' that no account had been taken of the relative architectural merits of the buildings involved.

Interestingly, the Jesuit order had expressed two views apropos of the consideration being given to the possibility of total demolition, prior to 1981: the then Provincial believed that as the loyality of the people was still to a certain extent to bricks and mortar, it would be advisable that no churches were demolished;[92] but the then Superior General (in Rome) believed that total demolition would be justified, particularly if it would raise sufficient to build an adequate chapel and small residence, thus allaying any apprehension that the Church was abandoning the inner city.[93]

The upshot was, however, quite different to what the Jesuits and the archdiocese had hoped for. In 1982 the 'Friends of St Francis Xavier's Church' was founded, and in its October newsletter reported that the City Planning Officer had made an offer of £60,000 towards the cleaning and restoration of the exterior because the building lay within the Erskine Street Environmental Improvement Area. (It was £10,000 more than any other grant offered by the Council to a city centre church.) The 'Friends' naturally became the most vociferous of the campaigners for the retention of the church, and at times exchanges with the archdiocese were quite vitriolic. Naturally too, the archdiocese did not feel that it had an immediate obligation to meet the substantial sums estimated for

essential and major repairs. However, the 'Friends' were keen that an early application should be made to the Historic Buildings Council; and the Council were equally keen to make an offer to a Catholic church, and especially to one in the North (as most of the applications for grants under the State Aid for Churches in Use scheme were coming from the Church of England, and from the Southern parts of the country). In December 1982 the HBC offered £12,290 towards the costs of immediate remedial work, with the possibility of further grant-aid.

In 1983, in an estimate of essential external roof and dry rot repairs, prepared by Messrs Weightman and Bullen for the archdiocese so that it could advise the Friends of SFX as to what sum it would have to raise, the cost was calculated as £45,539. Of this £24,950 would earn a grant of £18,436 from the Department of the Environment, leaving £6,514 to be added to the non-grant-earning sum of £20,589, making a grand total of £27,103 to be found by the 'Friends'. The wrangling between the 'Friends' and the archdiocese continued with the 'Friends' claiming in August that the archdiocese had failed to take up the D o E grant by July 25. However, as in other matters, the claim was based on a misunderstanding; the offer had been taken up, and work began in October. Nevertheless, a difference of opinion remains between the archdiocesan estimate of the chief repairs (£45,539) and that obtained by the 'Friends' (£25,000).[94]

The key issue which triggered the action by the conservation lobby in the case of St Francis Xavier's church, was the possibility that the device of retaining only part of a church for future use might reach ridiculous limits and be used to secure the demolition of other listed churches. The issue turned on an interpretation of whether what was proposed was partial or total demolition, under the relevant provision of the Town and Country Planning Act (1971), viz:

Section 55 Control of works for demolition, alteration or extension of listed buildings:

(1) Subject to this Part of the Act, if a person executes or causes to be executed any works for the demolition of a listed building or for its alteration or extension in any manner which would affect its character as a building of special architectural or historic interest, and the works are not authorised under this Part of the Act, he shall be guilty of an offence.

and

Section 56 Provisions supplementary to Section 55

(1) Section 55 of this Act shall not apply to works for the demolition, alteration or extension of -

(a) an ecclesiastical building which is for the time being used for ecclesiastical purposes or would be so used but for the works. 95

The right of Church authorities to undertake works of demolition or alteration without recourse to listed building consent, has also been challenged by the Victorian Society. In the Society's 1981 Annual a former Chairman, John Maddison, discussed the whole issue of 'Ecclesiastical Exemption: Church Buildings and the Law'. While he regarded the exemption as a very useful aid to pastoral reorganisation and liturgical change, he believed it could and did act against the best interests of historic church buildings.

Historic churches of the Church of England that have continued to be used for worship, have been exempted from secular restrictions since The Ancient Monuments Consolidation and Amendment Act (1913); an exemption endorsed by subsequent Town and Country Planning Acts. As the wording did not restrict the exemption to the Church of England, and as it did not specify a limit to the historical period of its concern, subsequent case law has established that church buildings of all denominations, and of quite recent periods, are, while they continue to be used for worship, exempt. The right to decide the future of their redundant churches without listed building consent was, however, a privilege enjoyed solely by the

Church of England, for which the procedures of the Pastoral Measure (1968) had specifically been designed, and given approval in The Redundant Churches and Other Religious Buildings Act (1969). (Controls affecting churches in use were embodied in the Faculty Jurisdiction Measure (1964).) The Anglican exemption was initially granted on the understanding that the effectiveness of its own internal controls would inspire confidence of itself. Ironically, other Churches have been benefiting from the exemption, without any serious obligation to develop their own internal regulations.

While the Faculty Jurisdiction Measure was beneficial in many ways that the Victorian Society approved of, the introduction of the State Aid for Churches in Use scheme in 1975, through the Historic Buildings Council, and applicable to certain churches of all denominations in use for public worship, has been made conditional upon a review of the operation of the Measure. Contingent upon such a review, the key changes envisaged by the Society related to greater involvement of amenity bodies so that the ecclesiastical system could adopt some of the 'strengths' of its secular counterpart. If these changes were not accepted then it would press for the abolition of exemption for Anglican churches in use.

The Victorian Society has also been forceful in making known its views over the arrangements for redundant Anglican churches as operated in connection with the 1968 Pastoral Measure. The Society believed that its concern was shared by the then Secretary of State for the Environment when, in 1975, he had requested the facility to hold public enquiries for particularly contentious demolition proposals for a listed church or church in a conservation area. The Society firmly believed that if redundant Anglican churches were to be subjected to listed building control (with its attendant enforcement powers, statutory enquiries and full involvement of amenity bodies and the general public) there would be a

dramatic improvement in standards of maintenance, a more aggressive marketing of redundant buildings and more in suitable alternative use. And it also believed that fewer churches would be made redundant, particularly in urban areas, because dioceses would not be nearly so ready to relieve individual parishes of the burden of upkeep by closing buildings, if the repairs powers of the local authority could compel a diocese to meet the cost of maintenance.

In Catholic circles too, there has been a strongly-felt need to withdraw the exemption and to enforce a statutory control over demolitions and alterations. Feelings in Catholic circles have been particularly aroused by a destruction of furnishings and decorations, purportedly carried out in accordance with the requirement to re-order church interiors to suit the renewed liturgy following Vatican II. James Lees-Milne, in the catalogue to the Change and Decay exhibition at the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1977, was typically vociferous in his condemnation of 'The Sale of Treasures from Catholic Churches'.[96] Among Catholic conservationists it has been strongly felt that the Government has witnessed twenty years of 'spirited iconoclasm' without lifting a finger to prevent it; and that the Catholic Church in England and Wales, though ostensibly having advisory bodies, has minimised their existence and effectiveness. Consequently, the conservationist lobby has felt itself obliged to resort to well-publicised protests, and the organisation of protectionist groups such as the 'Friends of St Francis Xavier's Church' in Liverpool.

Conclusion

The already-cited list of matters of concern to the Churches Main Committee make it obvious that there are many other factors and issues bearing in on churchbuilding, than those dealt with here. Though the issues and situations referred to in this chapter have related primarily to England, it is no less the case that churchbuilding in the remainder of the British Isles is affected by contingencies of one kind or another. Perhaps though, of all the countries included in this survey, Eire has been the least affected by the issues dealt with. It has experienced little or no war damage (not even from terrorist acts of recent years, which are restricted mainly to the Northern Ireland province), few extensive suburban or new town rehousing and development schemes (though more have been evident of late), little 'planning blight' from urban redevelopment schemes, little or no ecumenical sharing, little or no dealings with concentrated ethnic minorities, and little or no bother from highly assiduous amenity groups.

What this chapter has attempted to demonstrate, then, is that whatever high aspirations churchbuilding might have in terms of theological meaning, liturgical practice and cultural form, it has become increasingly hedged around with legal, social, political, technical, theoretical and other factors, many of which can only be dealt with by adverse expediency. By implication it has also therefore demonstrated that in coming to terms with expediency over the past thirty years, the Catholic Church in the British Isles in its churchbuilding schemes has increasingly been prepared to recognise itself within a post-religious, multi-cultural and multi-racial society, but that in doing so, it is having to consider very carefully the degree to which it allows itself to relinquish responsibility for its patrimony. Just what architectural shape those aspirations, expediences and considerations have assumed during the post-war development of Catholic churchbuilding in the British Isles, will be described and discussed in the following third and final Section.

Footnotes

1. Letter from the Public Record Office (31 Dec 1976 Ref NGC/mm)

2. Permission obtained (25 Jan 1977) for access fo the war damage claims files in the Finance Office archives of the Archdiocese of Southwark. The files were inspected in February 1978.

   Original enquiry to the Department of the Environment forwarded to the archdiocese via the Churches Main Committee (see below).

   Several other dioceses, contacted directly, replied that they did not have, or did not know the whereabouts of, any information relating to war damage and war damage claims (see reference to letter from the Diocese of Leeds below).

   The Catholic Record Society was also unable to assist.

3. Clements S ed A Short History of the War Damage Commission 1941-1962 (A combined operation by various members of staff) (1962?) The document has no Preface or Foreword qualifying its status. In addition to a descriptive history it contains an appendix of nine statistical tables.

4. The Christian Churches Main Committee first met in January 1941 in the Central Hall, Westminster. It included representatives of the Church of England, the Free Churches and the Roman Catholic Church. As its membership grew it became known as the Churches Main Committee. In 1951 it was extended 'to afford affiliated membership to religious bodies desiring to join whose activities covered any part of Great Britain and Northern Ireland'. Its Executive Body was and is known as the Churches Committee.

   In two leaflets (The Churches Main Committee: Its Origins, Constitution and Functions Church Commissioners (1953) and The Churches Main Committee (31 Dec 1972) the membership total was cited as being twenty-nine and included the Jewish Community. In a letter from the Secretary (2 Oct 1980) the membership total was cited as being thirty-eight.

   Recent matters with which the Committee has been involved include the previous Government's community land legislation and the introduction of development land tax ; also, value-added tax and its effect on the repair and maintenance of church buildings. It has also advised on sharing of church buildings agreements between several denominations.

   The Churches Committee, representing the seven largest denominations, usually meets once a quarter, and representations are made as necessary to government departments, nationalised industries, Parliament, and others. The Committee keeps in touch with other charities through the National Council for Voluntary Organisations and the Legislation-Monitoring Service for Charities.

5. From the inception of the Churches Main Committee the Bishop (from 1965 the Archbishop) of Southwark has been a key representative of the Catholic hierarchy in England and Wales. In 1941 Bishop Amigo was the first such representative.

6. Information supplied by Rev M B Shaw, Finance Department, Leeds Diocesan Curia (15 Jan 1977).

7. Letter from S Parnis, Secretary of the Churches Main Committee (2 Oct 1980).

8. Clements ed (1962) p49

9. Cf Section 69(2) of the War Damage Act (1943)

10. Cf Clements ed (1962) pp 50/54 Details of the Church Scheme were contained in a pamphlet The Churches and War Damage published by the Church Information Board.

11. Costs and values for all calculations were based on those ruling at 31 March 1939.

12. Clements ed (1962) p51

13. Ibid p7

14. Ibid p53

15. Hood H J 'London's Bombed Catholic Churches; Their Case for a Higher Priority in Building Licences' The Tablet (8 Jul 1950) pp 26/27

    In 1950 Hood was Assistant Editor of The Catholic Directory.

16. The projected number of Catholic churches damaged and destroyed, cited here, would seem too high. 1,200 cases for the 29 dioceses of the United Kingdom would provide an average of 40 per dioceses. As Westminster was reckoned to have been quite exceptionally the worst affected with 58 churches damaged and destroyed, an average of 40 would therefore seem much too high.

    However, the surmised compensation total of £4 million would seem to be approximately correct. Based pro rata on the compensation calculated by Hood for Westminster, the sum would allow for some 232 cases (ie approximately 6 cases per diocese, on average, in the United Kingdom outside of Westminster).

17. > Her Majesty the Queen was laying the foundation stone ... for the rebuilding of St Columba's, Pont Street, for the Church of Scotland, and we hope it will not be long before some Catholic foundation stones are put in hand. The Minister was holding out great hopes the other day of starting repairs to football stands, and when their turn comes can the Catholic Church be far behind?

    Hood art cit (1950) p26

18. From a minute book of administrative meetings of the Diocese of Southwark (entries for 1 and 8 Oct 1945).

19. Information from brochure published to commemorate the opening of St Christopher's Church, Speke (July 1957)

20. Cf Warner C M 'The Story of St Joseph's. Upton' in the brochure published to commemorate the opening of the church (1954).

21. Unpublished dissertation in the library of the Royal Institute of British Architects, London (XMS 726.51:282(42))

22. Watkin E I Catholic Art and Culture (1942/47) p173

23. Cf Section 2 chapter 1 p119 footnote 12

24. Cf 'Church Building: A Survey and Questionnaire' Churchbuilding No 14 (October 1964) p10

25. Dykes Bower S E 'Prospects for Future Church Building' Churchbuilding No 14 (October 1964) p17

26. Cf Wells-Thorpe J A 'Church Building and New Construction Techniques' Churchbuilding No 14 (October 1964) p11

    Wells-Thorpe's reference to 1,000 Anglican church buildings having been erected since 1945 at a total cost of £17 million, and to a further 1,100 church buildings forecasted for the next decade at an estimated cost of £20 million, makes an interesting comparison with another set of figures offered by Denys Hinton in his article on 'Church Building in the Next Decade' published in the same edition of Churchbuilding (P4).

    Hinton refers to the period 1954-1964 as representing an expenditure on churchbuilding that does not deviate much from a total of £5 million per annum, and to the period 1964-74 as representing a fore-casted expenditure of £60 million.

    The figures used by Wells-Thorpe are quoted as being obtained from estimates reported by the Church Information Office. Those used by Hinton seem to have been extrapolated from figures compiled by the R.I.B.A.

27. Dykes Bower art cit (1964) p19

28. Wells-Thorpe art cit (1964) p14 Cf also Wells-Thorpe J A 'Relevance in Church Building' The Clergy Review (January 1970) p82

29. Cf Wells-Thorpe art cit (1964) p12 Also Harris S 'Design Entry for a System-Built Church' Churchbuilding No 16 (October 1965) p21

30. Wells-Thorpe art cit (1964) p13

31. Cf Cope G 'The Legal Consequences of "Consecration" in the Church of England' Research Bulletin (1968) Institute for the Study of Worship and Religious Architecture, University of Birmingham

32. Cf 'Design Entry for a System Built Church' Churchbuilding No 15 (April 1965) and McLachlan H and Seely & Paget 'Designs for System Built Churches' Churchbuilding No 17 (January 1966) pp12/16

33. Cf Harris art cit (1965) and Seely & Paget art cit (1966); Also cf 'Church of St Francis Duston' Churchbuilding No 20 (January 1967) pp9/10 and Buchanan E 'User Report St Francis Duston' Churchbuilding No 25 pp29/30

34. Harris art cit (1965) p21

35. Cf Cope G 'What is the True Cost of Industrialised Church Buildings?' Church of England Newspaper (10 Feb 1967) pp8/9

36. Cf Wells-Thorpe J A 'The Movable Church: Idea and Reality' Research Bulletin (1969) and Way A H 'Chichester's Five-Year Church' Research Bulletin (1970) I.S.W.R.A. University of Birmingham

37. Way art cit (1970) p82

38. Cf Cope G 'The "Immovable" Church' Research Bulletin (1974) pp98/99

39. Ibid p98

40. Wells-Thorpe art cit (1970) p88

41. Wells-Thorpe J and Williams D Buildings for the Church in Milton Keynes: A Report to the Churches' Sponsoring Body (November 1970)

In June 1969 the Anglican Bishop of Buckingham, as Chairman of the Milton Keynes Ecumenical Working Party, confirmed instructions to the joint planning consultants to:

> Analyse the architectural implications of our pastoral strategy as contained in our Recommendations (dated 11.4.1969) and relate them to existing buildings, new buildings (temporary or permanent) and site requirements in Milton Keynes.
>
> Obtain from the Milton Keynes Development Corporation the necessary information to make a programme of implementation consisting of a timetable and measured capital expenditure.

In September 1969 the joint planning consultants submitted a preliminary report to the Joint Churches Working Party. This attempted to relate the Working Party's Recommendations to the Interim Report on Milton Keynes prepared by Messrs Llewellyn-Davies, Weeks, Forestier-Walker & Bor published earlier in the year.

The final version of the Plan for Milton Keynes: Volumes I & II was published early in 1970. Particular attention was drawn by the joint planning consultants to Sections 252-255 in Volume I, and Sections 985-991 in Volume II, which contained full reference to the Churches.

The Vice-Chairman of the Joint Churches Working Party was The Very Rev Canon N Burditt. He is the Diocesan Officer for Areas of Expansion in the Diocese of Northampton, and has provided comment and information apropos Catholic and Ecumenical ministry and churchbuilding in Milton Keynes during the preparation of this study.

In 1969 Wells-Thorpe was appointed by the Anglican Diocese of Oxford as a Consultant; at about the same time Williams was employed by the Diocese of Northampton as Consultant for the provision of Catholic schools in Milton Keynes.

42. Letter from Canon Burditt (27 Jan 1978)

43. A draft of this document was kindly loaned by Desmond Williams of the Ellis/Williams Partnership, Manchester; a copy of the final version was kindly loaned, with episcopal permission, by the Diocese of Shrewsbury.

    The document is described as:

    > A report by a Working Party of Church Officials and professional advisers under the direction of the Right Reverend C A Grant LCL BA Bishop of Northampton, and the Right Reverend W C Grasar DCL STL Bishop of Shrewsbury, to investigate the various arrangements available to the Church for the religious and social activities of parishes in new and expanded towns having due regard to the limited financial resources which exist. (October 1969)

44. Church Building for Roman Catholics in New and Expanded Towns (1969) p2

45. Letter from D J Williams (9 Sep 1980)

46. Letter from D Ritson, Assistant General Manager, Milton Keynes Development Corporation (28 Oct 1980)

47. Wells-Thorpe art cit (Jan 1970) pp86/7

48. Wells-Thorpe and Williams op cit (1970) pp 48/9

49. Ibid p9

50. Ibid p54 Recommendation 4.2 called for a 'halt to all present plans for major alterations to existing buildings, sale of existing buildings and sites and construction of new buildings on old or new sites', pending publication of the Master Plan in 1970.

51. Ibid p11

52. Ibid p11

53. Ibid pp21/26

54. Cantwell W Community Centre Churches in Holland A report prepared for the Advisory Committee on Sacred Art and Architecture to the Episcopal Liturgical Commission of Ireland (1973)

55. Cf also 'Expandable Churches' Churchbuilding No 17 (January 1966)

56. Wells-Thorpe and Williams op cit (1970) p19

57. The Very Rev Canon N Burditt

58. BurdittN Boundaries, Sites and Buildings Some Comments on the Recommendations of the Milton Keynes Ecumenical Working Party (undated; circa late 1970) p1 Paper loaned by Canon Burditt.

59. Canon Burditt commented that it pained him to find Christians using the argument that the needy and the homeless would be better off for a greater austerity in churchbuilding, and thus 'unwittingly making their own the argument of Judas Iscariot; 'Whereunto this waste? It could have been sold and the money given to the poor'. (John 12.4)

60. Hocken Rev P and Coventry Rev J S J The Sharing of Resources A Report Prepared for the Roman Catholic Ecumenical Commission of England and Wales (1972) para 111 p25

61. Ibid paras 8/11 p9

62. Ibid para 23 p6

63. Ibid para 30 p8

64. Ibid para 103 p23

65. Ibid para 99 p22

66. Ibid paras 31/39 pp8/9

67. Ibid para 44 p10

68. Ibid paras 48/63 pp11/13

69. Cf Joint Reservation in Shared Churches A Report Received by the Roman Catholic Ecumenical Commission of England and Wales and published for discussion (September 1974) in One in Christ No 4 (1974)

Also Dees N 'Building Shared Churches' Catholic Building Review (1977) and Pastoral Statement on the Setting of Catholic Worship (Supplement IV) Ecumenical Shared Use Churches prepared by Nigel Dees for the Department of Art & Architecture of the Liturgy Commission of the Bishops' Conference of England and Wales (1982)

70. Cf The Final Report of the Anglican-Roman Catholic International Commission, Windsor (September 1981)

71. Murphy J A Archbishop of Cardiff 'Catholic Confidence' Position Paper 50 Adams & Connolly, Dublin (February 1978) p675

72. Hocken & Coventry op cit (1972) para 74 p15

73. Information provided by the Rt Rev M G Conti, Bishop of Aberdeen in letter (22 Jul 1980) Cf Appendix 4.32

74. Comments from the Rt Rev C Daly, Bishop of Ardagh & Clonmacnois (since 1982, of Down & Connor) contained in letter (10 Jan 1981) Cf Appendix 4.22

75. Building Together in Christ Second Report of the joint working party between white-led and black-led Churches to the British Council of Churches (1978)

Coming Together in Christ First Report of the joint working party (1974)

Second Report also refers to:

Building a Better Community: advice and architectural blueprints for making maximum use of church buildings for community purposes. Community Work Resource Unit (undated)

Carver G A Place to Meet Survey of the use of church premises in Birmingham and Bristol. Community and Race Relations Unit (1978)

Gerloff R et al Partnership in Black and White: A Test Case for the Mission of the British Churches. Methodist Home Division (undated)

76. Building Together in Christ (1978) p11

77. Ibid p9

78. In December 1971, the Administrative Committee of the British Council of Churches approved a proposal by the Board of the BCC Community and Race Relations Unit to appoint a Working Party with the following terms of reference:

    1. To seek evidence of the policies and practices of Churches, both centrally and locally, in regard to making church properties in multi-racial areas available for community activities (including policies and practices relating to the disposal of redundant property;

    2. To report to the Board, with a view to the issue of an advisory publication.

    Through the Board the Working Party presented to the BCC at its half-yearly meeting in October 1972, The Use of Church Properties for Community Activities in Multi-Racial Areas: An Interim Report. The Council commended it to the member Churches for study, action and report back to the Working Party by October 1973, with a view to a final report in the Spring of 1974.

    Church, Property and People gives the results of a study undertaken by Mrs Ann Holmes at the Working Party's request, and forms Appendix H of the above Interim Report.

    In 1973 Mrs Holmes was Senior Lecturer in Social Studies at the Architectural Association's School of Architecture.

79. Cf Appendix 4.1 The synopsis was prepared by the writer who was then a member of the Leeds Diocesan Liturgy Commission.

80. Footnote deleted

81. Though the BCC Report does not refer to it, there does appear to be a certain dichotomy of thinking in those cases where the cost of building 'sanctuaries' has been offset by an income or an interest-free loan from sources, activities and agencies other than the parish community and its collections.

In the Archdiocese of Liverpool, for example, huge debits have been incurred in order to build churches, schools and halls. These are still being paid off. Church collections have been apparently inadequate to meet these bills and many parishes are said to have become dependent on a revenue derived from football pools, bingo, one-armed bandits and bar profits promoted and earned by their clubs. An impression (in 1979) was that the majority of Catholic clubs were tied to breweries by a variety of contracts (eg in return for furnishing or interest-free loans).

One justification for such involvement was that these activities bound the parish together, and sometimes provided leisure activities in a Catholic atmosphere. Increasingly in recent years, it would seem that some clergy, especially the younger ones, have questioned the propriety of devoting time to such activities. In particular, it has been argued that these activities have created moral problems in parishes (alcoholism, gambling etc).

The dichotomy is particularly acute with the 'multipurpose' type of building where an area, used at times for worship, could be said to have been paid for (wholly or partially) by the proceeds from bar profits and/or an interest-free loan from a brewery.

In the Archdiocese of Liverpool (as in other dioceses (eg Westminster) where queries were also raised in connection with this study) the issues arising from such dichotomy have been frequently ventilated, and have led to more explicit guidelines and controls being published in the diocesan Vade Mecum.

82. Art 2 Cf Flannery A ed Vatican Council II: The Conciliar and Post Conciliar Documents (1975) p739

83. Cf Prospects for the Eighties From a Census of the Churches in 1979 undertaken by the Nationwide Initiative in Evangelism, Bible Society (1980) p23 which gives the following comparative statistics for England:

Adult Church Membership		Adult Attendance	
All Churches	6,739,000	All Churches	3,850,000
All Protestant	3,114,000	All Protestant	2,533,000
Roman Catholic	3,530,000	Roman Catholic	1,310,000
Orthodox	95,000	Orthodox	7,000

84. Cf Holmes op cit (1973) p48

85. Cf Binney M and Burman P ed Change and Decay: The Future of Our Churches (1977)

86. Cf Frost B ed The Secular in the Sacred (1972) pp13/14

87. In response to an enquiry seeking information apropos the redevelopment of Catholic Church property, the architect Austin Winkley (of Williams & Winkley) replied (10 May 1983):

> Where the RC Church has under-used property, there is a chance that much needed housing can be provided ...

Our Church's track record is not brilliant but most of our clergy are run off their feet dealing with 'normal' parish pastoral work ...

The Catholic Housing Aid Society (CHAS) has from time to time taken initiatives in the housing association field. Itself founded in 1957, it later helped to form the Family Housing Association, which spawned all over the country and went secular leaving, I believe, only FHA Birmingham and FHA South London still run by CHAS groups. Religious orders have been involved and Servite Housing is active in several parts of the country ... It has recently absorbed CHALICE Housing Association, a CHAS venture of the early seventies which enabled religious orders to sell 'surplus' land for housing after our bishops encouraged the idea. The present director of CHAS knows of no case in the past 11 years where an RC church has been demolished or altered to accommodate housing.

... However, I do know of a convent which became a parish school attached to the Church of the Holy Rood, Watford - by J F Bentley (and very special) where listed building consent has been given to demolish the school hall (which was once the convent chapel) to enable the main 'street elevation' part of the old convent to become part of a housing scheme. This may be sponsored by Warden Housing (a secular organisation) who, if it comes off, will be responding to an enlightened parish council request to make housing available to certain under-privileged people's needs ...

88. The Most Reverend Eamonn Casey DD

89. Hocken & Coventry op cit (1972) para 94 p20

90. Darwen R SJ A Report on St Francis Xavier's, Liverpool (6 Nov 1976)

91. This description was written by Mr Ken Powell, the Northern Secretary of SAVE Britain's Heritage and appeared on the cover of the SAVE 'report' on SFX (Aug 1981). In a letter (28 Jan 1984) Mr Powell supplied the information that the 'Friends' of SFX had contacted SAVE in order to stop work proceeding on the glazing-in of the Sodality chapel. However, he also commented that the 'authorities' were within their legal rights in proceeding with such work without listed building consent; that the Historic Buildings Council had seen and approved the plans; that there was some sense in making the chapel a self-contained unit for weekday services; and that the glass screen was designed to be removable and had worked 'well enough' elsewhere (eg Farm St church, London).

92. Letter from the Very Rev W F Maher SJ Farm St, London to the Most Rev D Worlock, Archbishop of Liverpool (12 Apr 1977)

93. Letter from the Very Rev P Arrupe SJ Curia Praeposti Generalis Societatis Jesu, Rome to the Rev R Darwen SJ, St Francis Xavier's, Liverpool (12 Apr 1979).

94. The files referring to St Francis Xavier's are now housed in the neighbouring parish of St Mary of the Angels. Indebtedness is due to Fr Darwen SJ (now Masterof Novices, Birmingham) and Fr Woodhall SJ, for permitting access to the files.

95. Cf Halsbury's Statutes of England Third Edition Vol 41, Continuation Vol 1971, London (1972) p1653 and p1655.

96. In 1980 the Archbishops of Canterbury and York and the Standing Committee of the General Synod of the Church of England appointed a Faculty Jurisdiction Commission. The Commission's Report The Continuing Care of Churches and Cathedrals was published in 1984. Its reasoned conclusion was that 'the exemption of churches in use from listed building control is sound in principle and that, subject to certain reforms in the faculty jurisdiction, its continuance would be beneficial both to the Church and to the wider community', para 67 p 26.

The Report contained a 'Minority Report' by Marcus Binney (Architectural Editor of Country Life and Chairman of Save Britain's Heritage). In it Binney argued for 'the abolition of the faculty jurisdiction, and for the introduction of listed building control ... By this (he meant) full listed building control as it applies to secular buildings and a complete end to any exemption for ecclesiastical buildings in ecclesiastical use', p188.

97. Binney & Burman ed op cit (1977) pp148/9