

EDIT LANTOS\*

## THE SCOPE AND MORPHOLOGICAL TENDENCIES OF (RE)BUILDING ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCHES IN POST-1945 HUNGARY<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract:** This study presents the pivotal moments in the history of anti-ecclesiastical politics and architectural legislation. Definitive factors in church construction projects, the obtaining of planning permissions, fundraising processes, the identities of designers and the possibilities of designing, the size and quality of building materials have been uncovered through researching archival sources and church media records from that period. Regarding the tendencies of architectural morphology, it is safe to say that where financial conditions made it possible, commissioners insisted on traditional solutions. Highly qualified architects with international experience, Lajos Tarai, Antal Thomas, and Bertalan Árkay, however, identified with the modern ecclesiastical art evolving mainly in 1920s Germany. The detailed introduction of Bertalan Árkay's work provides us with an opportunity to describe Hungarian architectural practice (designing every detail of the building including its interior and the reasons behind the repeated use of certain shapes in the building material), most of which can also be found in the international architecture of the period.

**Keywords:** Modern church architecture, Roman Catholic Church, sacred architecture, post-1945 architecture, 1950s, Bertalan Árkay, Lajos Tarai, Antal Thomas, Ferenc Vándor, Sándor Hevesy, Antal Somogyi, historicism, type design

In March 1945, before the war was over in Hungary, the temporary national government, backed by the Soviet regime, enforced the legislation<sup>2</sup> to eliminate land-ownership. As a result, approx. 90% of land owned by the Roman Catholic Church was nationalized without compensation.<sup>3</sup> After Hungary was declared a republic on January 31<sup>st</sup> 1946, churches lost their public roles and ceased to have a direct say in public legislation.<sup>4</sup> The nationalization of faith schools was voted in on June 16<sup>th</sup> 1948.<sup>5</sup> Ecclesiastical publishers and media were nationalized in 1948–1949.<sup>6</sup> These measures, to all intents and purposes, erased the financial independence, political executive role, educational and cultural significance of almost all denominations. The political police force, under communist leadership, was founded in December 1945. The new body was to

collect data on churches in order to conduct a “revelation campaign” and morally discredit them. Drawn up after a Soviet pattern, the so called “hangman’s law” which was to provide the basis of show trials and the liquidation of alleged or real enemies, came into effect on March 23<sup>rd</sup> 1946.<sup>7</sup> In October 1946, the Home Office founded the Department of State Defense at the Hungarian National Police Force. A unit in this department was dedicated to gathering intelligence on ecclesiastical affairs and prevention.<sup>8</sup> Surveillance, spying, informing, and intimidation have become common practice. The National Office for Ecclesiastical Affairs (NOEA) was founded in 1951. This office had total administrative supervision over churches, its purpose was to exert political influence, keep churches under surveillance and control, and keep them curtailed.<sup>9</sup> The antagonism from the state towards the Roman Catholic Church was all the more pointed since the leaders of this church exerted the most resistance towards the new establishment of power. The settlement on state-church relationships was agreed upon

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with the Hungarian Reformed Church, the Unitarian, Lutheran, and Israelite denominations. The same settlement was not reached with the Catholic Church until August 30<sup>th</sup> 1950. State power used the incarceration of monks, nuns, and sisters in order to coerce the church into submission.

One might well ask how is it even possible to discuss ecclesiastical architecture in the context of political antagonism of this magnitude, taking into account the financial crisis brought about by the ravages of war and the new legislation, and the fear permeating the days not only of church leaders but also those of the laity?

Relying on national and church archival sources and church media records from that period, summaries and fieldwork, my research proves that not only were new churches being built, but the building material constructed after 1945 was significant and inspirational both in terms of numbers and architectural quality.<sup>10</sup> (Although my main focus was on Roman Catholic architecture, I am cognizant of the fact that other denominations were also active in church construction work.) Research shows today that between 1945 and 1989 (the year the socialist party's dominance was broken), 119 existing buildings were con-

verted into Catholic places of worship, and 278 new Catholic chapels or churches were built. In light of the above outlined circumstances, these numbers are astounding and require explanation.

### *Opportunities of church building work*

Naturally, building projects are primarily defined by the building regulations of the time and financial provision. The contradiction between political background and the quantity of the buildings in question make it necessary to investigate circumstances which made these building projects possible. This includes the regulations regarding building permissions, meeting financial requirements (obtaining money for purchasing the site and the materials, paying the workers and the carriers), and we also have to examine the provenance of the designs and the identities of the designers.

My previous research indicates that the era between 1945 and 1989 was by no means unvaried with regard to the factors above. The main time periods are: 1945–1951, 1951–1958/1960, 1960–1970,

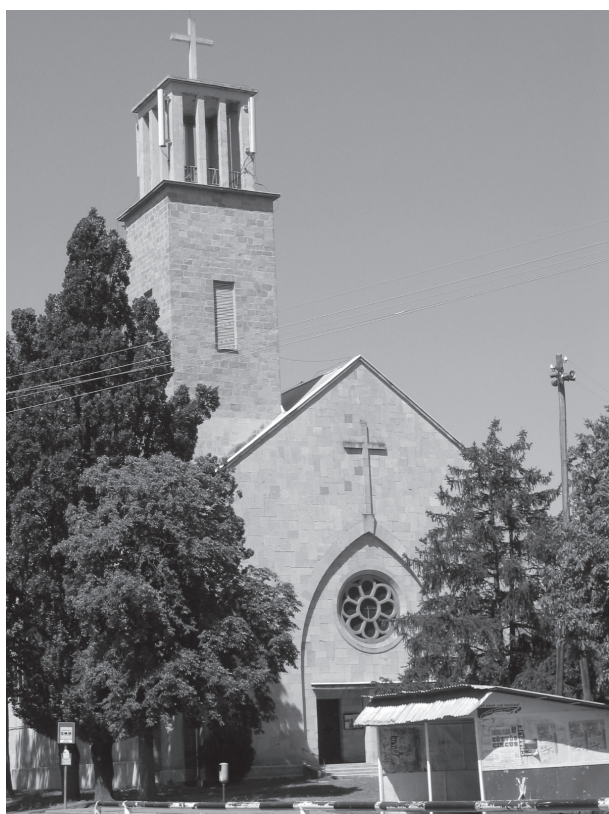


Fig. 1. Béla Márkus: Maklár, Trinity church, 1947–1950, tower: 1977–1978 (photo: Edit Lantos 2004)



Fig. 2. Béla Márkus: Kerecsend, Roman Catholic church, 1948–1962, tower: 1972 (photo: Edit Lantos 2004)



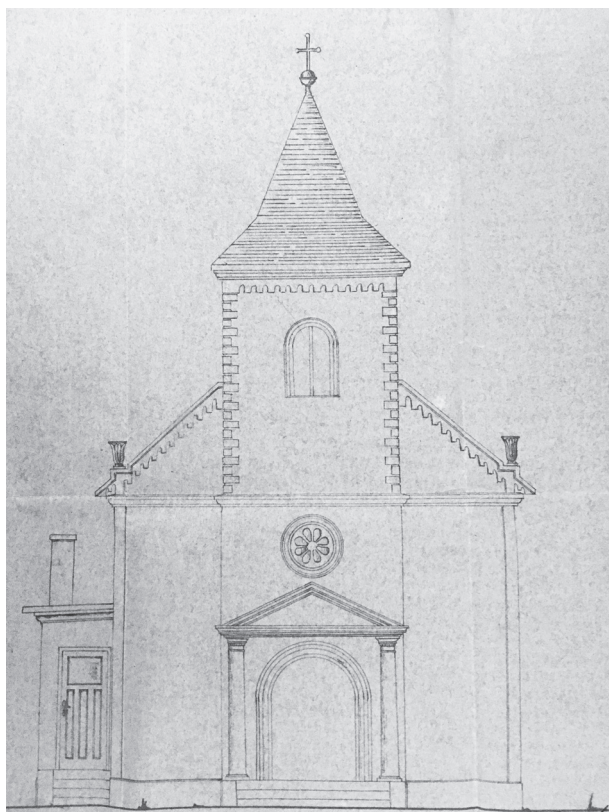


Fig. 3. Imre Festő: Izsófalva, Roman Catholic church, façade plan, 1958. EFL AN AP Par. Ormosbánya 585/1958.



Fig. 4. Imre Festő: Izsófalva, Roman Catholic church, 1958–1959 (photo: Edit Lantos 2005)

and the post-1970 years. The first milestone is 1950, the year the National Office for Ecclesiastical Affairs was started and from which point forwards decisions on building permissions were political ones. The next phase begins with 1958/1960: building permissions for church projects were constrained from 1958<sup>11</sup>, and in 1960 a report by the NOEA stated that the nationwide shortage in building materials “makes it desirable for ecclesiastical construction work to be reduced to the bare necessities. Only in exceptional and well-justified cases should permission be granted for new buildings.”<sup>12</sup> The enforced austerity is indicated by the numbers: compared to the 1950s, building projects were reduced by 50% in the 1960s, with the number of newly built churches reduced by one third. In the 1970s, central state permissions became more lenient, cost restrictions for building work were eased somewhat, and the number of buildings began to increase again.<sup>13</sup>

In this study I explore the building conditions and newly built churches of the post-war period, specifically of the years between 1945 and 1958/1960.<sup>14</sup> My material consists of 59 (1945–1950) and 71 (1951–1960) buildings, i. e. 130 in total.

Architectural history of the time between 1945 and 1950 shows that in some cases, permission from the relevant Diocesan authority for opening a new chapel<sup>15</sup> or building a new church was sufficient (Balsa 1948). Moreover, designs for a new church were also authorized by the county council (Gerjen 1948–1949).<sup>16</sup> In case a church had been destroyed by the war, permission was sought from the Ministry of Reconstruction Work. New constructions practically retrace the route of German troops; church spires in their wake were destroyed by explosives, lest the spire should serve as vantage point to the army units chasing in the German army’s tracks.<sup>17</sup> For instance, the churches of Hort, Csány, Nagytállya, and Maklár were destroyed on November 17<sup>th</sup> 1944, those of Kerecsend and Novaj on the 18<sup>th</sup>, the church of Tófalu on the 19<sup>th</sup>.<sup>18</sup> The new church of Novaj was consecrated in 1947, those of Maklár (Fig. 1) and Tófalu in 1950, Hort in 1954, Kerecsend (Fig. 2) in 1962, the mostly reconstructed church of Csány and Nagytállya in 1949.<sup>19</sup>

The issue was not legalized immediately with the setting up of the National Office for Ecclesiastical Affairs in 1951. However, archival sources indi-

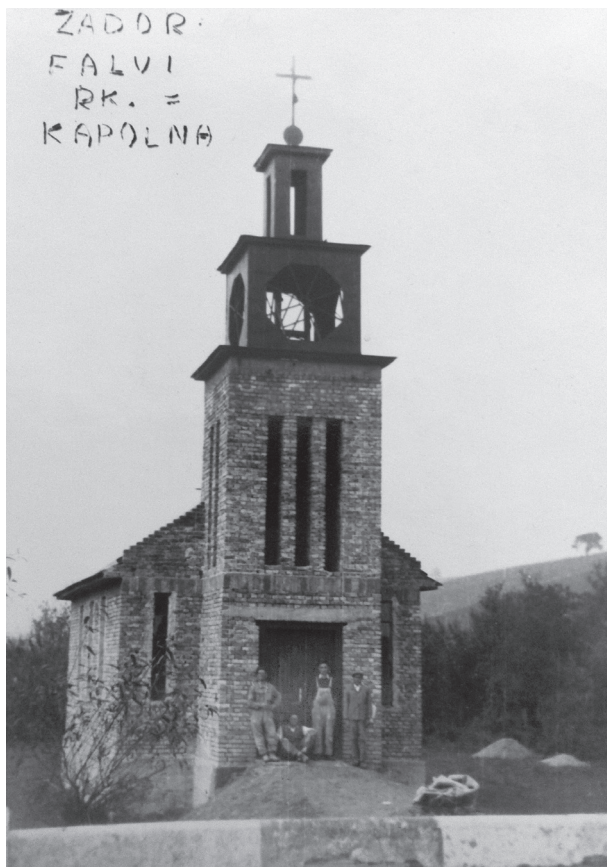


Fig. 5. Zádorfalva, builders, 1955.  
EFL AN AP Kassai Részek Par. Ragály 740/1955.

cate that church planning permissions were submitted to the Office by the dioceses, the Ministry for Construction, and nationwide design firms.<sup>20</sup> Proper legal structures were laid down in 1958. From that point onwards, church building projects could only obtain permission from the local building authority with the NOEA's written approval.

Building permissions after 1945 were mostly granted for reconstruction projects. Later, permissions were mostly sought for local school extensions. Before the war, congregations without a church held their services in the school. A closed-off alcove in the classroom served as tabernacle and chancel, converting the classroom into a school chapel once opened. This practice was allowed to continue after schools were nationalized in 1948, what is more, a regulation<sup>21</sup> stipulated that once a school with such an arrangement had been nationalized, a new location had to be secured for worship. Churches were built to replace the old school chapels at e.g. Kötcsé (1948–1949), Nagycsepely (1949), Kömpöc (1949–1953), and Magy (1958). A new church had to be built also if the old one was dilapidated and dangerous (e.g. Balatonfőkajár 1950–1951, Mórícsgát 1958–1959).



Fig. 6. Vecsés, Andrásy housing estate, builders, 1957.  
VPKL AP Vecsés 1920/57.

In one known case, a national company needed the site where the church was standing. In such cases, the permission process was accelerated significantly. The parish of Izsófalva (1958–1959) bought a building measuring 33 × 12 m in 1939 to house a chapel and vestry, the bigger part of the building was then rented out. After nationalization, the rented part became the property of the Coal Mining Trust of Borsod County which needed the rest of the building from 1957. The parish relinquished their part of the property and in 1958 applied for permission to build a church at a new site belonging to the parish. This permission was granted within a month, and the new church was consecrated by apostolic administrator Pál Brezanóczy on July 19<sup>th</sup> 1959 (Figs. 3–4).

Financial provision for the building work came from three sources: the state, the church, and the congregation.

Provision by the state was secured by the ministry regulation passed in 1945 by the Ministry of Agriculture. The regulation stated that towns had a duty to offer sites for ecclesiastical and educational



**Templom alapköszentelés**

**lesz**  
**Vecsés, Andrásy-telepen 1948 október hó 17-én, vasárnap d. u. fél 4 órakor, amelyet Dr. Kovács Vince**  
 váci s. püspök úr végez.

**Délelőtt 11 órakor püspöki mise.**  
 Szentbeszédet Fenyő István lazarista atya mondja,  
 Délután fél 3 órakor *szen*t olvasó és litánia.

**Alapköszentelés fél 4 órakor.**  
 Az ünnepség 5 órakor, az iskolában lesz.

**M Ű S O R**

Iskolás gyermekek ünnepi száma.

*Közreműködnek:*  
**Szabó Tibor operaénekes, L. Dudás Teri és Bihari József rádióénekes Konferál: Kálmán Attila.**

**BELÉPŐDÍJ NINGS.** Mária Szepőltelen Szívéről nevezett templom javára kis Mária-érmeget vásárolhatnak az előadáson, a hivek amelynek ára 1 Ft. — Ezen alkalommal szeretettel hívja és várja a hiveket az

**Egyházközség Vezetősége.**  
 Felelős klodó: Kovács Alajos

Fig. 7. Vecsés, Andrásy housing estate, leaflet about the ceremony of the foundation stone laying, the evening show and the sale of the Virgin Mary's medal, 1948. VPKL AP Vecsés 6517/a/48.

buildings.<sup>22</sup> The National Council for Land Survey provided parishes in need with nationalized properties: in 1947, the parishes of Fürged and Naszály obtained the local granary to use it as a church. The Greek Catholic and Roman Catholic congregations of Nyírlugos-Szabadságtelep shared the use of a granary on the nationalized estate of the Gencsy family. The wooden structure inside was dismantled and used for the church's furnishings.<sup>23</sup> Examples for financial assistance also exist. Financial support was given for building new churches in 1945–1946 by the Ministry of Reconstruction, in 1947–1948 by the Ministry of Religion and Education, in 1948 by the Ministry of Construction.<sup>24</sup>

Following the settlement with the Roman Catholic Church, finalized in 1950, forms of support changed. In 1951, the Ecclesiastical Fund was started within the jurisdiction of NOEA, for the purpose of managing church-related financial matters. This fund handled the finances for churches' personal and material needs, using the national provision guaranteed by the national



Fig. 8. Szombathely, badge for the reconstruction of the cathedral at Szombathely

budget and the sale of agricultural real estate previously owned by the church.<sup>25</sup> The so-called emergency state assistance was available from the early 1950s. Official communication emphasized that this money was to assist with the reconstruction of war-damaged buildings, but a few new churches also benefited from the emergency funds. For instance, the parish of Ricsé wrote directly to the head of the Hungarian Communist Party, Mátyás Rákosi (1892–1971) who possessed practically unlimited powers at the time, and, in 1951, the parish received 5,000 HUF.<sup>26</sup> As we could see with planning permissions, financial support from the state also started to dwindle in 1958/1960 – from this point forwards, applications for financial assistance were rejected more often, should these be for reconstructing heritage buildings<sup>27</sup> or for the building of new churches.<sup>28</sup>

If building a church was in the national interest (as in the above-mentioned case of Izsófalva), parishes were offered a property exchange or financial compensation.

Financial provision for church construction also came from the church itself. No building project was without some measure of assistance or loan from





Fig. 9. Bertalan Árkay: Magyarok Nagyasszonyáról nevezett ceglédi új r. katolikus plébániatemplom [Queen of Hungary new Roman Catholic parish church in Cegléd], postcard, 1948. VPKL AP Cegléd Újplébánia 2692/48.

church authorities. Sums varied from a few thousands to tens of thousands of HUF.<sup>29</sup> Most of the funding came from offertory collections at big festivals. Tiszaeszlár and Vasmegyer asked for and received money from the collection at All Saints' while the vicar of Ricse received money from the collection at Pentecost. Collections were organized directly for the new church over the diocese or deanery.<sup>30</sup> The so-called intention was a frequent method of payment: the vicar (and fellow priests) commissioning the new church said masses for the intention of the supporters. In 1947, during the construction of the church at Megyaszó (1946–1949) “the Convent of Mary Reparatrix in Budapest made a beautiful baldachin for our church. In exchange, they asked for 200 HUF to be paid and 255 masses to be offered for their intentions.”<sup>31</sup> The vicar, József Gáll, paid for the baldachin with masses. However, most of the time masses were said for the intention of foreign patrons. This was coordinated by the Caritas Internationalis at Vienna, the money thus obtained reached parishes in the form

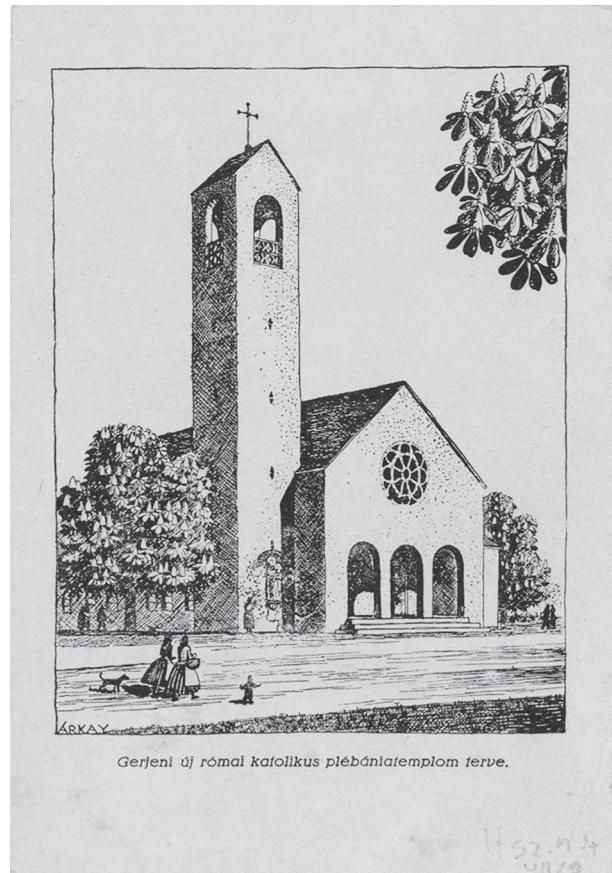


Fig. 10. Bertalan Árkay: Gerjeni új római katolikus templom terve [New Roman Catholic church in Gerjen], postcard, 1948. BTM KM ÉGy VII/9. ltsz.n.4.

of building material through the International Trade Action (ITA). In 1958, during the construction of the church of Terem, Brezanóczy wrote: “stipend for one intention is 1 USD”. Vicar János Homoki confirmed in his response that “our brother priests committed to 250 intentions, the testimony of which I have sent to P. Paulai in Vienna.”<sup>32</sup>

As far as I am aware, the state never prohibited this form of fundraising. Furthermore, a statement from the Ministry of Finance from 1958 informs the Office for Ecclesiastical Affairs that “it is in our interests to transfer financial support from abroad to monetary purposes, in order to better manage our currency.”<sup>33</sup> In other words, there were no obstacles in the way of the above outlined fundraising method or any international support arriving through other official channels.

State authorities were aware of the fact that the church had access to foreign aid. The report from NOEA from 1960, cited above, also observed that “the income of churches today is comprised only of state support, offerings from the faithful, and occasional assistance from abroad.”<sup>34</sup> The choice of word



Fig. 11. László Kreybig: Mária Szeplőtelen Szívéről nevezett Vecsés, Andrásy-telepi építendő római katolikus plébániatemplom [Roman Catholic parish church to be built in Vecsés, Andrásy housing estate, named after the Immaculate Heart of Mary], postcard depicting the first version of the plan, on the back with account number, 1948. VPKL AP Vecsés 4866/48.

“occasional” is interesting as it indicates that despite surveillance, the state had no information of the fact that the Conference of Hungarian Bishops and that of West Germany had an agreement “going back to the early 1950s”, according to which the Catholic Church of Germany regularly provided financial aid to the Hungarian Catholic Church twice a year. One of the four stated purposes of the aid was “the reconstruction of church buildings.” By 1988 “the amount we have received over the past 40 years for this purpose from abroad could be estimated to hundreds of millions”. Patrons received reports on how the money was used. The exhibition opened in 1981 at the Christian Museum in Esztergom, showcasing the churches built after 1945. That testifies to the good management of the German support, as does the album created on the exhibited material. Regular donations also arrived from Vienna, from the *Hilfsfonds* and the *Ostpriesterhilfe* (*Kirche in Not*).<sup>35</sup>



Fig. 12. Ottó Domokos: Vecsési Szentkereszt templom [Holy Cross church in Vecsés], postcard (detail) s. d. VPKL VII. 3. B. V. Vecsés

The Ecclesia Society (selling devotional artefacts and materials), founded in 1951, donated regularly to parishes in need from their last-year’s profit. By 1959, however, their established practice was to “give to each place only once, with regard to the high number of applicants in need.”<sup>36</sup>

The contribution of congregations, the communities behind the new church construction initiative was important in every project. This contribution could be in kind or monetary. The most natural method of the former was participating in the building work and the hauling of material (Figs. 5–6). Members of the congregations all pitched in, men and women, young and old. When the shrine of Győr-Kiskút was being built (1947–1948) even a vacation was proposed so half of the schoolchildren should volunteer to help.<sup>37</sup> For the extension of the church at Pomáz (1946), for example, there were girls among the haulers and women among the mortar stirrers.<sup>38</sup> Donations in this kind included feeding the workers or offerings of material or altar paraphernalia.<sup>39</sup> Not infrequently, the faithful collected the building material from the ruins left by the war (e.g. Andrásy housing estate at Vecsés utilized the church of the Notre Dame de Sion, Fig. 15).<sup>40</sup> A special way of donating building material was the so-called pilgrimage with bricks. In 1946–1947, pilgrims





Fig. 13. Postcard with the photo of the Cave of Lourdes built in Vecsés, Andrásy housing estate, 1949. VPKL AP Vecsés 3594/49.

carried one or two bricks “instead of rosaries” for the rebuilding of the Queen of Angels shrine at Budakeszi or the Paulist cloister on St. Jacob’s hill (Pécs).<sup>41</sup> In 1947, a procession with bricks was held at Győr-Kiskút, advertised by placards to the townspeople.<sup>42</sup> Selling valuables or skills was also a special form of donation. Besides offering family jewels,<sup>43</sup> tickets for special prizes were also advertised at many places. For the reconstruction of the Sacred Heart of Jesus chapel in Budapest, tickets were sold for 3 HUF each; prizes included a full set of bedroom furniture, a motorbike with sidecar, a bicycle for men and one for women, and a 2-week holiday at Kőszeg.<sup>44</sup> Theatre shows and nativity plays were also organized for fundraising at Megyaszó, Szedres, and Terem, among other places.<sup>45</sup>

Another source of funds could be an evening show featuring celebrities. In 1948, opera singer Tibor Szabó, radio singers Teri L. Dudás and József Bihari took to the stage the day the church on the Andrásy housing

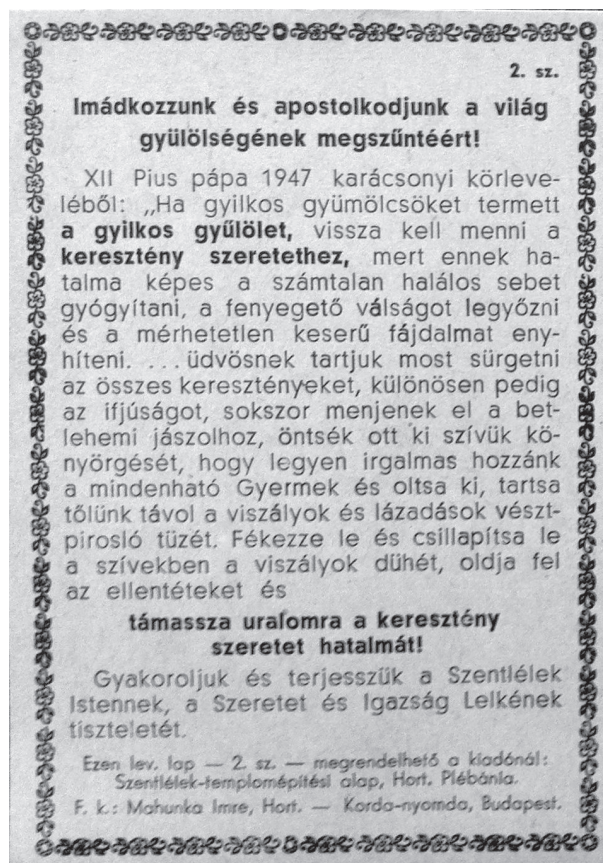


Fig. 14. Hort, Donation seeker card with a quote of Pope Pius XII, 1948. EFL AN AP 1429/1948.

estate at Vecsés (1948–1958) was consecrated,<sup>46</sup> while medals of the Virgin Mary were on sale for 1 HUF (Fig. 7). Two badges were manufactured for the reconstruction of the cathedral at Szombathely (Fig. 8).<sup>47</sup> Postcards featuring the design plan of a church under construction were also sold for fundraising (Figs. 9–12), such as the postcards of the churches at Vecsés-Ófalu or Cegléd. At other places, cards with saints’ images or prayer cards (Figs. 13–14) were used to motivate people to donate, brick-tickets were also sold.<sup>48</sup>

Parishes could ask the congregation for an extra contribution on top of the regular payments, but individual donations were also a regular source of funds. Agile priests turned over every stone to raise money, sometimes contacting friends abroad. The vicar of Megyaszó sent 18 subscription sheets to the US in 1946, and the accounts show that he obtained 777 HUF as a result.<sup>49</sup> István Regőczy – the commissioner of the chapel at Kisvác kápolna (1946), and the churches of Domony (1954) and Szalkszentmárton (1958–1959) – could rely on his friends in Belgium not only for money, but also for help with manual work and transport.<sup>50</sup> Former citizens of German



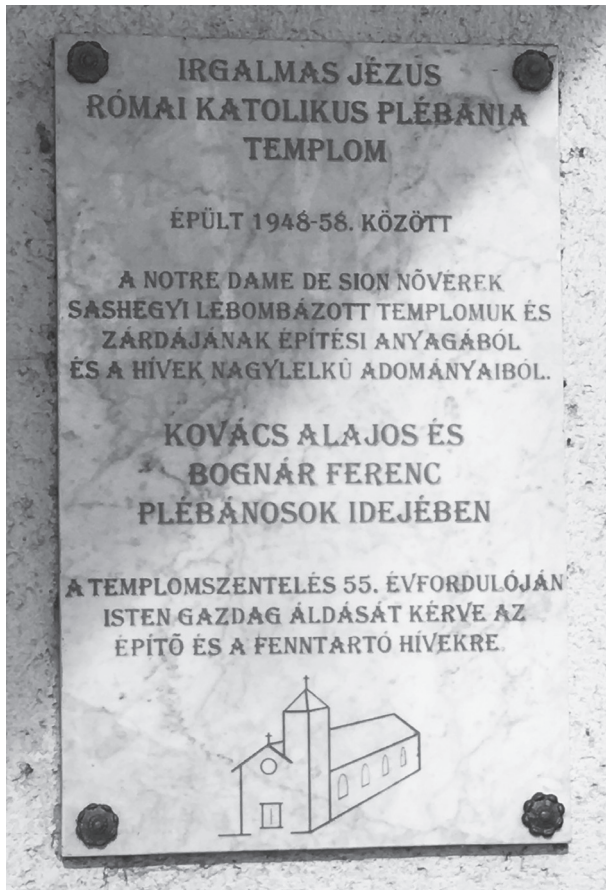


Fig. 15. Memorial plaque about the ruined church of the Notre Dame de Sion and the members of the congregations, Vecsés, Andrásy housing estate, Roman Catholic church, 2013 (photo: Edit Lantos 2017)

nationality (forcibly resettled after the war) were also important supporters, expressing their attachment to their old homeland and hometowns by sending donations to the aid of the church and the parish (Fig. 16).<sup>51</sup>

Naturally, these examples of donation happened within the constraints of increasingly rigorous regulations. In 1946 at Novaj the Ministry of Reconstruction allowed community labor to be used at the church reconstruction works. However, in 1948, postcard printing required permission from the state<sup>52</sup> and soon appeals for donations were banned from being published in the Catholic weekly *Új Ember* (*New Man*). In vain did Ferenc Kónya, the vicar of Móricgát turn to the Office of Ecclesiastical Affairs in 1958, he was not allowed to start up a collection or even advertise for funds.<sup>53</sup> It was only through the touching style of the journalists at *Új Ember* that the paper's readers found places where they could help. Ferenc Magyar wrote three articles about the temporary chapel set up in a stable at Terem while the new church was being built, and László Possonyi contributed another two.<sup>54</sup>



Fig. 16. Memorial plaque to the displaced citizens, Vecsés-Óváros, Roman Catholic church, 1996 (photo: Edit Lantos 2017)



Fig. 17. Terem, consecration of the new church, 1960. EFL Misc Photo Archive Terem

The newspaper even supplied the vicar's address to a patron who contacted them; the same benevolent person travelled to Terem and donated 19,500 HUF for the building project.<sup>55</sup> Despite official prohibitions, people's intent to help could find a way to do so.

What I have discussed so far shows clearly that despite the anti-church spirit of socialist times, the





Fig. 18. Antal Borsa: Győr-Kiskút, shrine. 1947–1948  
(photo: Edit Lantos 2008)



Fig. 19. Antal Borsa: Győr-Kiskút, shrine. 1947–1948.  
Detail (photo: Edit Lantos 2008)

priesthood and the local communities used every opportunity in order to raise funds for building their new churches, fighting obstacles thrown in their way by politics.<sup>56</sup>

After permissions and funding, the third important factor in realizing a building project is design material. The easiest solution was to commission a familiar builder or stone mason to give shape to the ideas of the parish. In such cases (e.g. Pusztaszer 1948, Nyírmeggyes 1952) the designer's identity often remains unknown or is referred to as "local" (e.g.



Fig. 20. Antal Borsa: Győr-Kiskút, shrine. 1947–1948.  
Detail (photo: Edit Lantos 2008)

Tímár 1948–1955, Vasmegeyer 1946–1950). Sometimes, however, the local stonemason or carpenter who drew up the plans is named. The church of Fülöp in 1947–1950 was planned and built by János Nyika, the chapel of Darnó was the work of a stonemason called Pál Kicska in 1958. The tower for the church built from a residential building was planned by stonemason János Hegedüs and carpenter Pál Pirvaren in 1953. The rectangular prism-shaped, stout tower was built with a round-arched windcatcher and windows.

The only known plan for the church of Terem (1958–1960) was signed by stonemason and churchwarden Sándor Lupsa. The single-nave church has a narrow cross-nave, the back of the chancel is rectangular, the windows and the chancel apse are semicircular. Instead of the originally planned ridge framed by a ledge with blind arches, a porticus held by four pillars and decorated with arched niches was built. The farm and cottages of the former Károlyi estate were replaced by a settlement where masses were first held in a makeshift chapel in the stable of the Dohányos cottage. The plan was ready by 1958, but permission was withheld until the town's culture center was finished. Eventually, the foundation-stone was laid ceremonially on July 12<sup>th</sup> 1959. The church, built with



Fig. 21. János Henrik Jager (1768–1784) – József Schall:  
Budakeszi-Makkosmária, Roman Catholic church,  
1946–1950 (photo: Edit Lantos 2009)

significant local cooperation, offering masses, and the support of the readers of *Új Ember* was consecrated by Pál Brezanóczy apostolic administrator on August 14<sup>th</sup> 1960 (Fig. 17).

Quite often the commissioners actively participated in planning. At Horvátkút (1945), the local schoolteacher Aladár Pundor and stonemasons Mihály Mészáros and Imre Papp are listed together in sources as collaborators. The single nave church has a floor area measuring 150 m<sup>2</sup>, the chancel apse is square, and a tower built on the right side. The row of arched windows on three sides of the chancel, besides the arched door and niches in the façade, are unique. At Hács (1951–1953) the commissioner Franciscan friar Antal Balázsy is listed together with stonemason János Heizer and carpenter János Geiszt in the documents. In this village, mass had been celebrated only at high festivals in the school. The congregation was formed in 1907, with a priest appointed in 1952. Students of the Veszprém seminary assisted with site clearance, hauling materials, stone masonry, walling.<sup>57</sup> The walls of the single-nave church with a square chancel apse are interspersed with arched windows and lesenes. The arched windcatcher in the main façade was opened

later, but the base of the tower erected on the right side is the same age as the building.

Plans for the shrine at Győr-Kiskút (Figs. 18–20) were drawn up by interior designer and industrial artist Antal Borsa (1902–1974) but executed by a builder, Sándor Schneidel.<sup>58</sup> Reverence towards an image of the Blessed Virgin, placed on a tree in the park of Kiskút, has been known since 1928. First, a chamber was attached to the tree in 1939, also planned by Borsa, but with the contribution of master builder Alajos Wellanschitz (1877–1962). To protect the holy image which suffered damage during the war, plans were first conceived for a shrine in 1947. The local media published details of the entire building process. Plans were approved by prebendal provost Antal Somogyi (1892–1971) who promoted innovations in ecclesiastical art. Funds were raised at church feasts, and parishes in Győr also organized various events the profit of which was offered for the construction project. Two kinds of postcards were also published. One featured the sacred image, the other the church as it was to be. During the previously mentioned pilgrimage with bricks, collected building material was taken to the site in a procession. Building work commenced on October 13<sup>th</sup> 1947, supervised by stone mason Gyula Szabó. Construction started again in the spring and a procession started also for the laying of the foundation stone, but this time Győr police force banned the congregation from marching on the main road. The work lasted all year, but small jobs were still left to be done in 1949, and the project was prolonged by the arrest of the main organizer. Only two occasions of devotion could be organized in that year, both of which under police surveillance. Collection was taken only inside the church. Sizeable donations landed in the pre-placed money boxes, and a concert was also arranged for the church. The marble altar and altar furnishings, designed by Antal Borsa, were finished in 1950.<sup>59</sup>

Previous planning practice was regulated in 1958 by the ruling of the Ministry of Construction. The ruling stated that churches and their institutions – as they do not qualify as public associations – could only submit plans created by professionals registered on the national list of designers.<sup>60</sup> Church designers, be they architects or builders, had to meet this administrative requirement.

Most designs, however, were drawn up not by stone masons and builders, but by well qualified architectural engineers. Some of them used earlier church designs for post-1945 projects.





Fig. 22. Gáspár Fábián – László Menner – József Gáll:  
Megyaszó, Roman Catholic church, 1946–1949  
(photo: Edit Lantos 2007)



Fig. 24. Gáspár Fábián – László Menner – József Gáll:  
Megyaszó, Roman Catholic church, 1946–1949  
(photo: Edit Lantos 2007)



Fig. 23. Gáspár Fábián – László Menner – József Gáll:  
Megyaszó, Roman Catholic church, 1946–1949  
(photo: Edit Lantos 2007)

The most special case of re-using an old plan is the Queen of Angels church at Budakeszi (1946–1950) (Fig. 21), where the original church designed by Henrik János Jager in 1768–1784 was reconstructed by József Schall (1913–1989), an architect from Budapest. The eighteenth-century church, long left in a dilapidated state, had a name which was to play an important role in the reconstruction works. The rebuilding of this church, originally dedicated to Our Lady of Ransom and built around a former shrine hosting a sacred image alleged to have miraculous powers, was particularly motivated by the fact that families were still waiting for prisoners-of-war to return home or for missing soldiers to be found. The church, restored in its entirety with all its details, consists of one nave, has one tower in the front and its chancel is straight backed. The parapets, windows, the front door, the tower clock, the tower helmet all 's Baroque predecessor.

The original plans for the church of Megyaszó (Figs. 22–24) date from before the war when it was first decided to build a new church. The plans from 1937 were signed by Gáspár Fábián (1885–1953), an architect much in demand before the war, the creator of many Neo-Roman and -Gothic churches.<sup>61</sup> The

church in Fábíán's plans is an ashlar walled, single-nave building with a ground floor measuring approx. 9 × 24 m. The 24.5 m high tower was attached to the left side of the façade with a link corridor. A lower ceilinged vestry and priest's room opened from opposite sides of the chancel.<sup>62</sup> The plans were reworked by architect László Menner from Miskolc. (In some documents, commissioner József Gáll and builder Lajos Kovács are also featured.) The building, eventually, was a single-nave church with a ground floor measuring 30 × 9 m, the chancel apse is semicircular. The corners of the cyclopean walls are decorated with ashlar quoins, the church has one front tower, the main façade is framed by a parapet with blind arches, the portal is surrounded by statues and niches. The building site had been donated by Count György Széchenyi before the war, and this was added during the land reform in 1945. Construction work, however, was not started until 1946. It was in January 1946 that the priest's office was established, the first incumbent was József Gáll, a liberated prisoner of war returning from American captivity. As the village had no church or vicarage, only a school chapel, building work was started that same year. The foundational stone was laid on June 14<sup>th</sup> 1946. During the land reform, the congregation was given the dilapidated country house at Újvilágpuszta, formerly owned by Bart. Sándor Harkányi, and the granary at the puszta of Nagymajos. These buildings were demolished and their stone material was used for building the new church. Roofing was finished by May 1948 and the tower was built up to the roof height. The interior was consecrated on December 8<sup>th</sup> 1949, the altars in 1951. The construction project and the interior furnishings took a long time to finish. Two major changes were made when adapting the original plans. The most conspicuous is relocating the tower to the front from the linking corridor on the left, and the building of a cross nave instead of a vestry and priest's room. The main façade and the interior became more ornate, due to the fact that entire columns of the dismantled country house were used, but other stone elements were used creatively, too. The carved doorways also serve as niche frames, the corbels hold statues, the stone fireplace frames the Holy Sepulchre.

An older plan was used for the building of the church of Alsótelekes (1949–1951) (Fig. 25) because in a letter to the Ecclesiastical authorities, the vicar had specified the requisite size of the church and which churches of the diocese would be "stylish" enough for the congregation. He contacted the vicar of Újlőrinc-

falva on this account, asking for the plans, but as those had perished in the meantime, architect Sándor Hevesy (1902–1985) re-drew them, only making the tower slimmer. Hevesy was town engineer for Eger before World War 2. The foundational stone was laid ceremonially on April 10<sup>th</sup> 1950 and the new church, 24 m long and 7.5 m wide, was consecrated a year later, on July 1<sup>st</sup> 1951. (The pulpit was finished in 1957, based on the plans of Sándor Hevesy and Ferenc Mezey, a carpenter from Eger.) The cross was placed on the tower in July 1958. The single-nave church has a square chancel apse, with 3 ogee arch windows and stanchions between them on each side. On the main façade, the ogee arched door is flanked by niches, and an onion domed tower is rising above the façade structured by a string course and a cornice.

Next to the church of Újlőrincfalva, a third, more ornate version of this building is the church of Eger-Lajosváros (plans dated from 1936). Although not documented as such, the church of Gemzse (Fig. 26) belongs to this type, too. Building this church was started in 1940 but only finished in 1946.<sup>63</sup> The side walls, openings, parapets and hood moulds are structured in a uniform way, with the exception of the apsis which is arched.

Some of the new plans were drawn up by architects employed by the dioceses. Such a position involved, beside planning new buildings, solving daily architectural and technical issues, drawing up plans for reconstructions and extensions, overseeing the execution of these plans, and judging plans coming from other sources. The diocesan architect employed by the Bishop of Pécs was Lajos Tarai (Cacinovic) (1886–1973) who was a well-known builder and architect in the city even before World War 2. After 1945 he designed the new churches of Drávasztára (1948) and Szedres (1948–1956). Many other new projects (e. g. Hercegtöttös, ecclesiastical buildings, 1948) and church extensions (e. g. Hidas 1948) were also led by him.<sup>64</sup>

The parish of Drávasztára decided to have a new church built on September 8<sup>th</sup> 1947 (Figs. 27–28, 65). Up to that point, masses were held in a small makeshift chapel. Most of the building material came from two demolished stables on the former estate of Count Iván Draskovich on Erzsébet-puszta. The material was taken to the building site in the autumn and winter of 1947. The site was donated by the Grazing Association to the parish. Bishop Ferenc Virág helped with raising the necessary funds by ordering those collections taken on a certain Sunday in the churches of the diocese



should be transferred for this project. The Viceroy of County Somogy also gave his permission for fundraising in the county. The forestry donated 1 acre of woodland for clearance, some of the logged wood was kept for building material and the rest was auctioned. The parish applied for a building permission in May 1948, the foundational stone was laid on Holy Trinity Sunday (May 23<sup>rd</sup>). The new church was consecrated by Ferenc Virág in that same year, on October 31<sup>st</sup>. The exterior was plastered by September 1949. The church has three naves, one tower on the front, the chancel apse is straight-backed. Its windows and portal have pointed arches. There are four lines of peak-arched windows of different heights and breadths on the main façade. Inside, the chancel arch and the openings dividing the naves and the chancel are also peak-arched.

Vicar Elemér Marycz of Szedres was instructed by his bishop to have a church built in 1947 (Figs. 29–30, 66–67). Construction work was begun in the summer of 1948 after verbal consent had been given by the Engineering Office of Szekszárd. The foundational stone was ceremonially laid on September 19<sup>th</sup> 1949. The time between 1949 and 1952 was spent with fundraising and building work. The first 5,000 HUF was collected by the children of the parish and surrounding communities, performing nativity plays. The ground walls were laid from the profit raised by young men's theatre productions. No support came from the diocese after 1949. In 1950–1951 the Catholic weekly *Új Ember* drew the faithful's attention to the new church being built and asked for donations, with a new bank account opened for this purpose. In 1951, when the walls were almost up to roof-height, the vicar was arrested and sentenced to two years' imprisonment; he took bricks from a cellar for the demolishing of which permission had been twice given and revoked. The vicar's one mistake was that he did not know the seller was acting illegally. Construction work was halted, but by then the three-arched windcatcher was ready, as were the unplastered brick walls, decorated with quarry stones, with 3 buttresses on each side and 3-3-2 windows with pointed arches. The front wall was built up to the upper line of the rose window and a not much higher tower with wooden structure was also standing. Building was resumed in 1954 and Bishop Ferenc Virág consecrated the church on September 16<sup>th</sup> 1956. The building needed plastering, but its tower, covered with a hip roof was reaching up to the roof ridge. The finished tower was consecrated in June 1963. The church has 3 naves, its chancel apse is square. The arches of the windows, inner niches, the

choir and the chancel are all pointed. The central nave and the chancel are covered by ceiling panels.

In 1949–1950, architect Ferenc Vándor (1911–1966) was employed by the National Building Company of Veszprém County as overseer-manager when the church of Pölöske was planned (1949–1960) and the churches of Kötöcse, Nagycsepely and Hárskút (1949–1950) were being planned and built. He took up a position with the Diocese of Veszprém later.<sup>65</sup>

The churches of Kötöcse and Nagycsepely were among his first projects. At Kötöcse, the new church was built on the site of the old dilapidated school chapel which was pulled down to provide room and material for the new church. Building work started in 1948. Funds were put together from donations of the congregation with a contribution of 3,000 HUF from Bishop László Bánáss and 5,000 HUF from the Ministry of Culture. The roof was finished in 1949, and the single-nave church with a ground floor of 119 m<sup>2</sup> was consecrated by Bishop Bertalan Badalik on November 20<sup>th</sup>. The church took its present-day shape in 1960. The church of Nagycsepely, with a ground floor measuring 48 m<sup>2</sup> and a 15 m high tower, was also built to replace a school chapel. The two churches differ in size, but they are similar in the way their frontal towers, the tower windows, helmets, and parapets are structured. Vándor used similar tower structure for the chapel of Szalapa (1950–1953).

Masses at Hárskút were held in the school chapel before the church was built (Fig. 31). Commissioner Vicar Antal Márton applied for building permission in November 1949. He instigated a collection all over the diocese, asked for loans from his fellow priests, sold his house and radio set and offered all the money obtained for the building project. Most of the material came from the bombed printing house of Veszprém. The finished building was consecrated in the autumn of 1950 by Bertalan Badalik. In 1951, a vicarage was attached to the single-nave church occupying a ground floor of 25 × 9 m, with a straight-backed chancel. The façade accommodates a quarry stone walled, arched windcatcher, and a row of arched windows. Its tower is situated on the right side of the façade. Its windows, the niches in the inside and the chancel are all arched. The altar painting was created by Béla Kontuly (1904–1983), the *al secco* pictures are the works of Mária Hertay (1932–2018), and the statue was made by Béla Ohmann (1890–1968). The church tower is akin to that of Vándor's other church at Pölöske (Fig. 32), on account of its arrowslit windows and use of mixed material. This single-nave church has a floor



plan of  $27 \times 11$  m, with a straight-backed chancel and arched windows. The congregation, founded in 1945, held masses at first in the culture house made from the converted stables on László Teleki's estate. Building a new church was started in 1949. The choir was finished in 1952, the interior was created in 1955, followed by the tower and the paneled ceiling in 1957–1958. The altar, pulpit, and staircases were finished in 1959. The church was consecrated on May 22<sup>nd</sup> 1960. Ferenc Vándor used paneled ceilings in many of his churches. Beside Hárskút and Pölöske, the church of Nagyalásony (1957–1958) also has a paneled ceiling; the church itself is built on a ground of  $16 \times 8$  m, its chancel terminating in a square apse. The plans, dating from 1953, were approved by the county council in 1954 (i.e., they were not approved by the NOEA).

Church designs were also drawn up by architects working full time for a state-owned building company, beside architects employed by dioceses. Bertalan Árkay (1901–1971) belonged to the former group. He was counted as a significant church architect even before World War 2 as the co-author of the earliest and most pivotal building of modern Hungarian church architecture, together with his father, Aladár Árkay (1868–

1932). The Városmajor church of Budapest, built in 1932, was quite unique in an era still preferring historicist forms: this church represented the renewal tendencies of European ecclesiastical architecture with monumental cubic structures (originally made of concrete) and arched glass surfaces (Figs. 33–34).

Bertalan Árkay's biography and other sources of related information indicate that he was working for the Budapest Institute of Architecture (Fővárosi Tervező Intézet) and the Institute of Urban Planning (Városrendezési Intézet) in 1949, while designing churches for the dioceses of Pécs (Gerjen), Vác (Kömpöc), and Eger (Hort 1948–1954). During 1957–1958 he was working for the Planning Institute of Mining (Bányászati Tervező Intézet), which did not prevent him from designing new churches in the dioceses of Győr (Győr-Kisbácsa 1957–1958), Vác (Taksony 1956–1958, Hernád 1957–1958, Inárcs 1958–1962, Móricgát, Szalkszentmárton) and Eger (Újtikos 1957–1959) nor from overseeing the construction works.<sup>66</sup> From 1959, Árkay was employed as leading engineer at the Hungarian Bank of Investments (Magyar Beruházási Bank). Between 1949 and 1959 (he did not specify the dates) he also stated to



Fig. 25. Sándor Hevesy: Alsótelekes, Roman Catholic church, 1949–1951, tower: 1957–1958. EFL AN AP 3080/958.



Fig. 26. Sándor Hevesy: Gemzse, Roman Catholic church, 1940–1946 (photo: Edit Lantos 2005)



Fig. 27. Lajos Tarai (Cacinovic): Drávasztára, Roman Catholic church, 1948 (photo: Edit Lantos 2009)



Fig. 28. Lajos Tarai (Cacinovic): Drávasztára, Roman Catholic church, 1948 (photo: Edit Lantos 2009)

have been working at the Institute of Industrial Planning (Ipari Tervező Intézet) and the Institute of Public Architecture and Engineering (KÖZTI).

This list shows what a prolific architect Árkay was. He designed sixteen churches between 1945 and 1965 from which fourteen have been built. (A number of other projects, including reconstructions and finishing building works begun by others, are also connected to his name.)

The first plans for a new church in post-war Hungary were drawn up for the Queen of Hungary church at Cegléd. Árkay drew up the plans in 1945. Building started in 1948, but the town withdrew its offer of a site in 1949, so eventually the finished parts had to be pulled down in 1957 (Figs. 35–36).

At Gerjen, masses had been held at the school or in private homes. In 1947, Bishop Ferenc Virág suggested that Lajos Tarai, architect to the diocese of Pécs should draw up the plans for a new church, but it was Árkay's plan which eventually received the bishop's permission in May 1948. The foundation-stone was laid on the 9<sup>th</sup> May 1958. The granaries once owned by landowner Jenő Szuprics supplied the material for the roof and 30,000 bricks for the building. The

pseudo-basilican church, consisting of three naves and covered by a saddle roof, was consecrated on June 17<sup>th</sup> 1949 by Bishop Ferenc Virág. The tower, built on the left side of the main façade, is square based with large arched openings in its upper part. The church has a semicircular chancel apse. The main façade is structured by a tripartite arched arcade above which sits the rose window, the sides are structured by pairs of narrow, arched windows (Figs. 10, 37–38, 88).

The church of Kömpöc (Figs. 39–40) has a T-shaped layout, one nave with two square-shaped extensions on both sides of the chancel. The chancel terminates in a building following the lines of the extensions, with three narrow arched windows on each side. There are two round windows in the line of the choir, with tiny, narrow pairs of arched windows underneath them. Building work was started in 1949 and the almost finished church was consecrated on September 20<sup>th</sup> 1953. The red marble altar, designed by Árkay, was set up on August 6<sup>th</sup> 1957, and the diocesan authorities approved the mosaic altar picture made after a drawing by Lili Sztehlo (1897–1959) in 1960. This composition, measuring almost 3 m<sup>2</sup> at 140 × 225 cm, was finished in 1961.





Fig. 29. Lajos Tarai (Cacinovic): Szedres, Roman Catholic church, 1948–1956, tower: 1963 (photo: Edit Lantos 2009)



Fig. 30. Lajos Tarai (Cacinovic): Szedres, Roman Catholic church, 1948–1956, tower: 1963 (photo: Edit Lantos 2009)



Fig. 31. Ferenc Vándor: Hárskút, Roman Catholic church, 1949–1950 (photo: Edit Lantos 2005)



Fig. 32. Ferenc Vándor: Pölöske, Roman Catholic church, 1949–1960, tower: 1957–1958. VFL Kögl photo album I.





Fig. 33. Bertalan Árkay: Heart of Jesus (so called Városmajori) church in Budapest, 1932 (photo: Edit Lantos 2019)



Fig. 34. Bertalan Árkay: Heart of Jesus (so called Városmajori) church in Budapest, 1932 (photo: Edit Lantos 2019)

The church of Hort (Figs. 41–44, 93, 96) consists of three naves, its lighting is basilical, and the chancel is terminated by a square apse. The main façade is defined by the protruding main nave and the hip roofed pair of towers. The sides of the main nave are opened into by seven narrow, high, arched windows, while there are five circular windows in the sides of the side naves. The windows of the main nave are repeated in pairs in the chancel walls, while the back of the chancel is decorated by a large rose window, surrounded by seven smaller circular windows. The main façade is dominated by three arched windows reaching up to the roof, connected to each other with wide cast stone frames in the color of concrete. There is also an ornate cast iron door. Three narrow, high, arched windows are repeated in the upper quarter of each side of the towers. The previous church of Hort was built in the eighteenth century. Plans for the new church were commissioned from Bertalan Árkay by Vicar Imre Mahunka in 1947, and building work began in



Fig. 35. Bertalan Árkay: Queen of Hungary parish church in Cegléd, perspective, 1947. BTM KM ÉGy 68.138.23\_4\_1. VIII/6.



the same year. The building was consecrated in 1954, however, its towers were not finished before 1960.

The church of Taksony (Figs. 45–46, 75, 84, 94) consists of a block 22 m long and 18 m wide, of an elliptical layout and covered by a flat dome. On the narrow side, this block is connected to a low outbuilding by a linking corridor. The low building follows the nave's arch. Opposite a high entrance structure is joined to the main block by a linking corridor. The latter is a rectangular prism, divided into three parts vertically, the central part of which is higher than the others and has an arched closure. This part is slightly receding in the sides and has seven (or, taking into account the extra two in the peak, nine) narrow windows. The interior is undivided, the chancel was created on a raised pulpit opposite the entrance. The floor slopes slightly towards the chancel. The inte-

rior is defined by the large fresco taking up the entire chancel wall and the ten narrow, rectangular windows on both sides. The two rows of pews, consisting of iron structured folding seats, follow the walls' curve on the sides. The entry building and the narrow linking corridor accommodate the windcatcher, the vestibule, and the choir above the latter. In the building opening from the chancel a vestry, oratory, and a storage room are to be found. The chancel flooring is made of red marble from Piszke and yellow marble from Siklós. The main altar, originally designed for the Tridentine Mass, said by the priest turning *ad orientem*, with his back to the congregation. The altar is covered in pink marble from Ruskica, the side altars in red marble from Piszke. The altar base was made of yellow marble from Siena, the same material was used for the baptistry fount and the tabernacle-side table,



Fig. 36. Bertalan Árkay: Queen of Hungary parish church in Cegléd, inner perspective, 1947.  
BTM KM ÉGy 68.138.23\_1\_1. VIII/6.





Fig. 37. Bertalan Árkay: Gerjen, Roman Catholic church, 1948–1949 (photo: Edit Lantos 2009)



Fig. 38. Bertalan Árkay: Gerjen, Roman Catholic church, 1948–1949. Triptych: Lili Sztéhlo – Masa Feszty (photo: Edit Lantos 2009)



Fig. 39. Bertalan Árkay: Kömpöc, Roman Catholic church, 1949–1953 (photo: Edit Lantos 2017)



Fig. 40. Bertalan Árkay: Kömpöc, Roman Catholic church, 1949–1953. Altar-piece: Lili Sztéhlo (photo: Edit Lantos 2017)



too. The painting on the chancel wall (not directly on the wall but on a thin plaster panel) is the work of Jenő Dénes. The old church of Taksony, built in the early nineteenth century, suffered damage during the war. Its reconstruction was started in June 1947, with a contribution of 10,000 HUF from the government. Once the tower helmet was finished according to technical regulations, the cross was put in place on January 11<sup>th</sup> 1956. However, an earthquake the following day caused irreparable damage. The arches of the nave in the freshly renovated church caved in, only the supporting arches remained intact. According to one source, building the new church was started on October 20<sup>th</sup> 1956, another source puts it to Palm Sunday of 1957 (April 14<sup>th</sup> 1957). A nationwide fundraiser was launched. The weekly *Új Ember* also reported on the initiative which set the entire Catholic community in motion. The vice president of the Office for Ecclesiastical Affairs visited the construction site in person and allocated the sum of 100,000 HUF from the state.

The cyclopean façade of the church at Győr-Kisbácsa (Figs. 47–48), topped with a saddle roof, is defined by its cross shaped window and the low, narrow, arched pairs of windows arranged next to the longer part of the cross. The church has two naves, its square chancel apse is closed by a segmental arch. The windows of nave and chancel are both large and rectangular. The parish, previously without a church, started building works on July 24<sup>th</sup> 1957, the foundational stone was laid amidst celebrations on September 8<sup>th</sup>. Part of the church was roofed by December; the first mass was held at the beginning of advent in the side nave. The church was consecrated on September 28<sup>th</sup> 1958.

The church of Szalkszentmárton (Fig. 49) is a single-nave building with a saddle roof, its chancel has a rectangular base. The building's sides are structured by narrow, tall, arched windows grouped in threes. Its ceiling is made up by a barrel with a segmented arch with two panels on either side. Doors and windows are made of iron, the door is a two-winged wrought iron structure. Above the battlements in the front, five arched windows are located, and three narrow ones below. Its chancel apse is square. The narrow, arched windows in the side walls and the chancel wall are in groups of three. Permission was sought for building the new church in January 1958 on account of the ruinous state of the existing building, but the application was only heard in September. Most of the building work was finished in 1959, with a temporary place for masses already created in March. Three plans were

drawn up for the church. One features a church with two naves similar to the one at Kisbácsa, the other is for a simple church with a home-like front, its only ornament being a large quartered rose window above the square, four-winged, wrought iron gate. The saddle-roofed building has one nave, the chancel apse is square. The third plan features the detailed measurements of a façade. The square portal is topped by an ante-roof, the three arched windows followed by five more in the gabled roof. Building history tells us that the first building was too big for the site, it would run from border to border in length. The second plan was deemed by the vicar to be too plain, or rather not church-like enough. It was the third plan that was realized in the gable roofed building.

The church of Hernád (Fig. 50) has a gabled façade, with a single large arched opening, underneath which three narrow arched windows are situated below each other down to the horizontal ante-roof over the square wrought iron portal. Narrow arched windows in groups of three are located in the side walls. The chancel is the same breadth as the nave, its corners are somewhat blunted. As masses had been held at the school and in a makeshift chapel measuring 6 × 4 m, the parish applied for and was granted permission to build a new church in 1957. In August of that same year, the foundation stone of the 25 m long and 9 m wide church was laid. Construction work, running along Árkay's plans and under his supervision, progressed to finishing the plastered, arched ceiling and putting the two-winged wrought iron door in place by the Easter of 1960. Plastering the exterior and painting the interior were postponed. *Új Ember* published a report on the consecration of the chapel on September 4<sup>th</sup> 1960.<sup>67</sup> Árkay designed the altar in 1963; the altar was to be built from red marble from Tardos and white marble from Ruskica.

The façade of the church of Móricgát (Figs. 51–52) is defined by the gable following the angle of the saddle roof, but towering far above it. Three narrow, arched openings are cut into the gable. The square chancel apse closes in a segmented arch, joining the narrow side strips. On September 10<sup>th</sup> 1957, Bertalan Árkay gave his expert opinion on reconstructing the old church dating from 1911. The local council, however, decided to pull down that church and have a new one built, relying on the judgement of another professional. Building permission for a new church, based on the perilous condition of the old one, was only granted after months. Construction was started on September 9<sup>th</sup> 1958, and although money was



Fig. 41. Bertalan Árkay: Hort, Roman Catholic church, 1947–1954, tower: 1960 (photo: Edit Lantos 2004)



Fig. 42. Bertalan Árkay: Hort, Roman Catholic church, 1947–1954, tower: 1960 (photo: Edit Lantos 2004)

tight, *Új Ember* reported on the consecration of the new church in December 1959.<sup>68</sup>

The church of Újtikos is a single-nave building with a square chancel apse, a saddle roof, and a front tower. Building started on August 31<sup>st</sup> 1958 and the new church was consecrated by apostolic administrator Pál Brezanóczy on November 15<sup>th</sup> 1959.

Plans for three more churches fall into the phase ending in 1960.<sup>69</sup> The single-nave church of Inárcs has a semicircular chancel apse, its side walls are structured by pairs of narrow arched windows. The façade is defined by a helmeted tower pairs of arched windows separated by the lines of the cross. The parish, which had only a school chapel previously, started to build a new church in 1956, although building permission was only granted in March 1957. When the foundation stone was blessed on June 22<sup>nd</sup> 1958, walls were already reaching up to the concrete reinforcement beam. The iron roof structure was ordered in January 1959, and the tower was being built in October. Interior plastering was finished by 1960. The church was consecrated on September 9<sup>th</sup> 1962 (Figs. 53–54).

Árkay draw up two series of plans for the church of Vecsés-Óplébánia (Vecsés Old Vicarage; 1960–

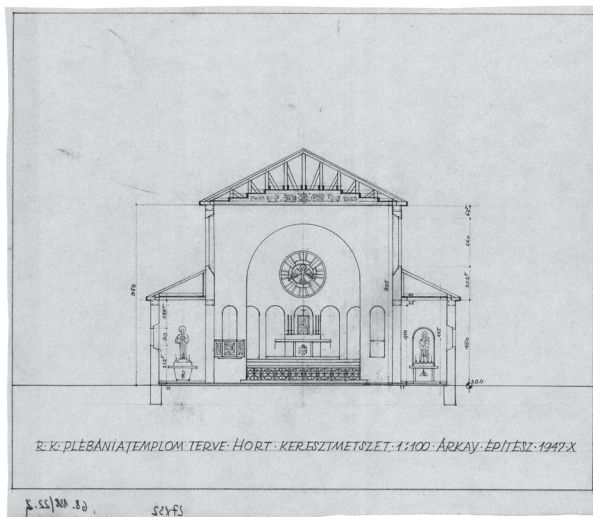


Fig. 43. Bertalan Árkay:  
R. k. plébániatemplom terve Hort, keresztmetszet [Plan of the R. Catholic parish church in Hort, cross-section], 1947. BTM KM ÉGy 68.138.22\_1\_2. VIII/6.

1962) (Figs. 55–56). One is the reworking of Ottó Domokos's earlier plans, the other the plans for a new site permission. After the old church collapsed, a site was provided for a new church to be built on in 1947,



but building works were interrupted in December 1954. By August 1960 it was clear that whatever had been built had to be pulled down and construction was to resume at a new site. Work began on October 4<sup>th</sup> 1960, the church was built over 1961, the iron roof structure was finished by November. The panel ceiling and the mosaic flooring were put in place in the first half of 1962. The church was consecrated on June 3<sup>rd</sup> 1962. The façade of the finished building is dominated by a closed gable with blind arches, at one angle with the saddle roof. On the right side of the nave an arched chapel is located flanked by two niches, the chancel is terminated by a semicircular apse, the windows are large and also semicircular.

Knowing the ways to provide the necessary financial conditions and obtain plans, it is easier to understand the contradiction between political atmosphere and numeric data, or rather, the social background which is made up of more complex processes than those governing regulations and party dictates.

### *Morphological tendencies*

In the following, I want to describe the morphological tendencies of buildings created between 1945 and 1960 and the underlying reasons. Of the morphological solutions and their indications some will be quite trivial, others will be ones less discussed in the history of art. I believe they should be mentioned because they might shed light on daily practice in planning and construction, and to the factors characterizing the architecture of the second half of the twentieth century which might be even independent of their time.

Regarding formal structuring, the most simplistic ones are the churches resembling residential houses with their rectangular floorplans, saddle or hip roofs, (e.g. Sajószentpéter 1948–1949, Tolnanémedi 1954–1955). Their designers are unknown, and building stories indicate that their simplicity is down to the financial circumstances of the parishes. In short, small budgets, available money, material, and plans only afforded



Fig. 44. Bertalan Árkay: Hort, Roman Catholic church, 1960. Eger, Főegyházmezei Múzeum, archívum [Eger Archdiocese Museum Archive], Hort 66-95 (photo: István Valuch 1969)



Fig. 45. Bertalan Árkay: Taksony, Roman Catholic church, 1957–1958 (photo: Edit Lantos 2016)



Fig. 46. Bertalan Árkay: Taksony, Roman Catholic church, 1957–1958 (photo: Edit Lantos 2016)

buildings which did not stand out in the town, or ones within the competency of the local builder.

There are plenty of examples, however, for an ordinary house shaped church being raised above the other buildings of the town by some detail. The entrance of the house-shaped chapel of Ráckeve-Újhegy (1958–1959) is semicircular, its triumphal arch is pointed (designed by the stone mason József Schenk). Such distinction by form also happens when the place of worship is an already existing building converted to such purpose, as the traditional peasant home at Tengelic-Szőlőhegy where the façade was given a new pointed arched window.

What building form is the most suitable for a church, or what the congregation deems most church-like at the period, is best indicated by the most common floorplan employed (a floorplan deviating from that of other buildings). Traditional church floorplans belong mostly to single-nave, saddle roofed churches with square or straight-backed chancel apses. If built without a tower, the façade is ornamented with sacred motifs (cross, windows divided by the lines of a cross) which, together with the height of the building, point to the building's function. Most often, however, the buildings are decorated by windows and doors fashioned according to historical forms, the structuring of lesenes, niches, parapets, or buttresses. The church of Balsa was built in 1948–1949, according to the plans of stone masons Béla Tóth and János Nagy, with ogee arched windows in the side walls and circular windows in the apse. There are two niches and a saddle roofed windcatcher in its simple façade. Churches with this structure can be found at Becsvölgye (1949–1950) and Kántorjánosi (1952–1953) where the façades are ornamented by tripartite semicircular windows, and at Magy where the portico and the circular window are framed by rays. The façade of the church of Pitvaros (1949–1950) is ornamented by wall panels, a niche, and a terraced gable wall. The side walls accommodate circular and semicircular windows and staggered buttresses. The church was designed by builders Imre Szabó, Imre Árgyusi, and Ferenc Csala. A typical ornamentative detail of church fronts without a tower is the bell gable, e.g. the Porciunkula chapel at Jászberény (1950) and, among Bertalan Árkay's churches, e.g. Móricgát.

Examples for a plain village church with a tower in the front can be found at Ond (1946, designed by Ferenc Kurucz), Tófalu (1949, designed by builder József Gömöri), Tiszabercel (1957–1958, János Kovács), Kisbajcs (1958–1959, Gyula Németh) (Fig. 57), and the chapels of Aggtelek (1953) (Fig. 58)



and Zádorfalva (1954–1955) (Fig. 5). The chancel at Ond is octagonal, its windows have pointed arches, and the entrance is a composite arched door. The church of Tófalú has a square chancel apse, its triumphal arch is semicircular, the tower windows and the niche have segmented arches. At Tiszabercel, the chancel has a square apse, the windows are semicircular, the door is composite arched, and the façade is framed by lesenes and divided by stringcourses. The church of Kisbajcs has a floor area of 165 m<sup>2</sup>, its tower is 22 m high, and its chancel apse is square as are the windows which are standing in pairs in the tower wall. The chancels of the chapels of Aggtelek and Zádorfalva are also terminated by square apses, the windows are rectangular, the tower has arrowslit windows grouped in 3's or 2's (their designer is unknown).

The churches of Ond and Kisbajcs, as well as those of Aggtelek and Zádorfalva are without precedent, but the churches of Tófalú (Figs. 59–60) and Tiszabercel echo the preceding buildings which were blown up in 1944. The new church of Novaj (1945–1947) has a similar relationship to its seventeenth-century predecessor. After destroying the old church, reconstruction work was started in 1946 under the supervision of architect and builder József Wágner from Eger. The new church was consecrated on October 12<sup>th</sup> 1947, but work continued for a long time afterwards. Funds were raised from donations, raffles, legacies left by American emigrants, a contribution of 30,000 HUF from the Ministry of Reconstruction, animal and manual labor of congregation. The church has three naves, its chancel apse is square, and both the tower in the middle of the façade and the interior structure evokes Baroque details. The windows in the side naves are circular, those in the main nave are semicircular, and the triumphal arch is ogee arched.

The church of Tázlár (1950–1958) was built after the plans by architect Antal Thomas (1889–1967). The single-nave building's walls are supported by buttresses, the chancel apse is square, the windows have segmented arches, the nave has a barrel vault. The tower built on the left side is connected to the church by an arcade.

Some of the churches with their towers built on the side also have historicist details. The windcatcher of the church of Drávafok (1947–1949, architect Jenő Gyapai) (Figs. 61–62) was built with a triple arcade as were its arched windows and triumphal arch. At Zsana (1948–1952, builder Henrik Menczer) the church's chancel apse is square, the side façade is structured by buttresses, the windows are arched.

Following precedents in terms of shape and form can be explained through attachment to local values. It is more interesting where this is not the case. Such churches feature historical shapes which point to an idealized vision of what a church should be, and also raise the question which historical periods (if any) the commissioner or designer associated the most with the notion of religious worship and the sacred. The above descriptions might already have indicated the answer.

Although Gothic or Baroque details do dominate in some buildings, on the whole we can see multiple periods of architectural history mingle in village church details. Roman buttresses mix with Gothic blind arches, Renaissance window structures, Baroque lesenes, window frames, parapets. All the same, evoking history is evidently a basic characteristic of these Hungarian countryside buildings, no matter in what small detail. The final result was shaped by the accessible plans and building materials, the expertise of local masters, and the commissioners' ideas.

Church architecture, and architecture generally before World War 2 was characterized by planning in a historical style and historicism. Although both used the tools of architectural history, the former followed the solutions and principles of structure of a specific style, both in terms of proportions and details. The latter, however, strives for an ever richer application of the details of a chosen period in architectural history to a typically late nineteenth-century or early twentieth-century building, the proportions and mass structure of which were typical of their age. After 1945, we cannot really speak about these, partly because representatives of the former practice (planning in a historical style), masters with traditional training, have largely disappeared by the post-war period. Another reason is that by this point, churches were characterized by simplicity, which had much to do with the available funds. However, besides financial circumstances, another influential factor was the progression of a pre-war wave of renewal in church architecture, promoted by the books and articles of Antal Somogyi before the war.<sup>70</sup> This trend of renewal can be detected in the church designs of higher standard by the architects of our period (Lajos Tarai, Antal Thomas, and Bertalan Árkay). However, modernizing church architecture, a functional approach towards the buildings, the radical decrease in decorative details and the prominence of the main building structure did not result in the disappearance of all historical elements. Pointed arches feature in modern church architecture as well as semicircles and reduced, cubical geometric shapes.

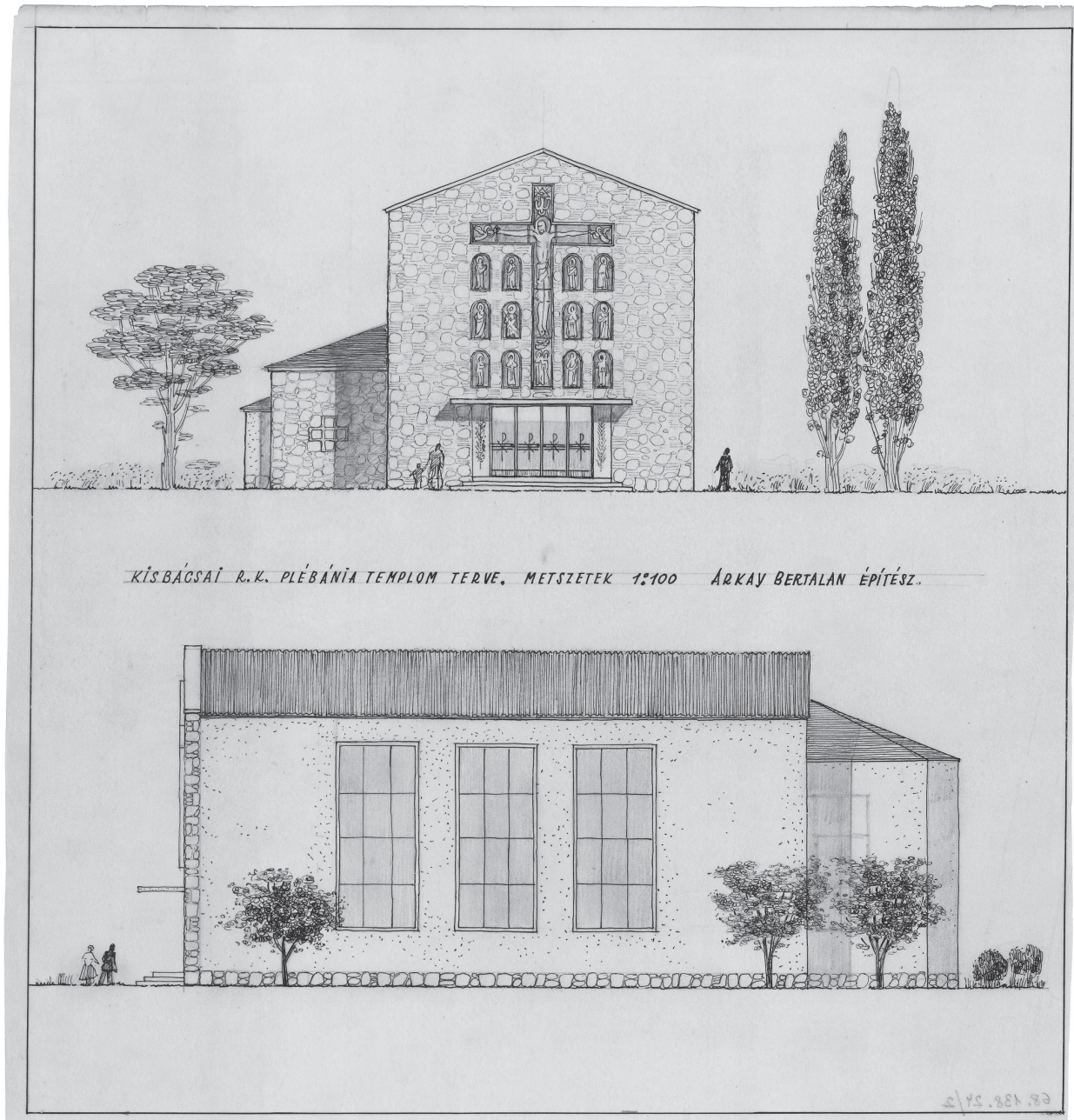


Fig. 47. Bertalan Árkay: Kisbácsai r. k. templom terve, homlokzatok  
 [Plan of the R. Catholic church in Kisbácsa, façades], s. d. BTM KM ÉGy 68.138.24\_2. VIII/6.

In 1933, Somogyi's examples for using pointed arches was Kees van Moorsdelt's *De Onze-Lieve-Vrouw van Lourdeskerk* (Scheweningen), Martin Weber's *St. Bonifatiuskirchét* (Frankfurt), and church images of Georg Buchner's in Obermeinzing, Dominicus Böhm's in Bischofsheim (Christkönig) (Fig. 63) and Jos Wielders's in Heerlen-Schandelen (*Hart van Jezus*) (Fig. 64).<sup>71</sup>

The churches of Tarai, Thomas and Árkay are all characterized by a simplified building structure, but the designers differed in their preferences for the

Gothic style or for details of more generic historical associations. Windows and triumphal arches with pointed arches can be found in the churches of Dráva-sztára (Fig. 65) and Szedres (Figs. 66–67), designed by Tarai, and also in the church of Tabdi designed by Antal Thomas (1957–1960). In 1957, the parish was given permission to build a church based on plans dating from 1950, to replace the schoolroom used in the past. The church was consecrated on November 20<sup>th</sup> 1960. The church has three naves, the chancel



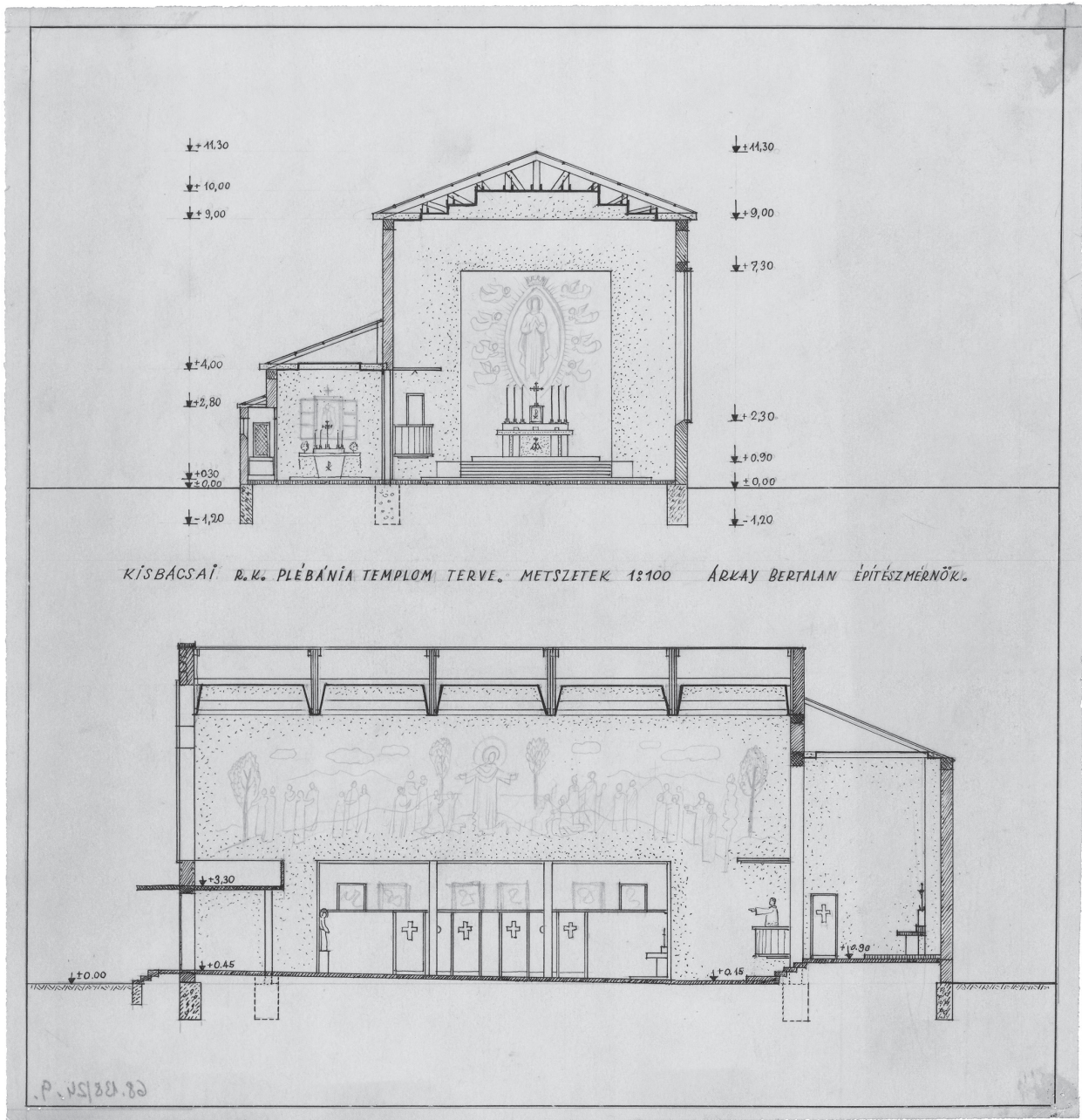


Fig. 48. Bertalan Árkay: Kisbácsai r. k. templom terve, metszetek  
 [Plan of the R. Catholic church in Kisbácsa, cross-sections], s. d. BTM KM ÉGy 68.138.24\_9. VIII/6.

apse is square, the triumphal arch, the windows above the entrance, in the side naves, and the tower all have pointed arches. The granaries at Dunatetőlen and Érsekharta-Nagykékés (Figs. 68–69) were also converted based on Antal Thomas's plans (both in 1949), their windows, triumphal arches, niches, and choirs all have pointed arches, with portals for doors.

Frequent features of Roman or Romanesque architecture, semicircular windows, doors, arcades appear in simplified form at the shrine of Győr-Kiskút (Figs. 18–20). The building, built on an arch

segment shaped floorplan, has a chapel in the middle with the holy image and altar. The triumphal arch over the open chancel and the three arcades on both sides are semicircular. The building is covered by a flat roof the small tower in the back of the chancel has a hip roof.

A detailed exploration of Lajos Tarai's and Antal Thomas's work<sup>72</sup> is yet to be written, but the size and legacy of Bertalan Árkay's life's work makes it possible to explore his connections to historicism and international trends in architecture.



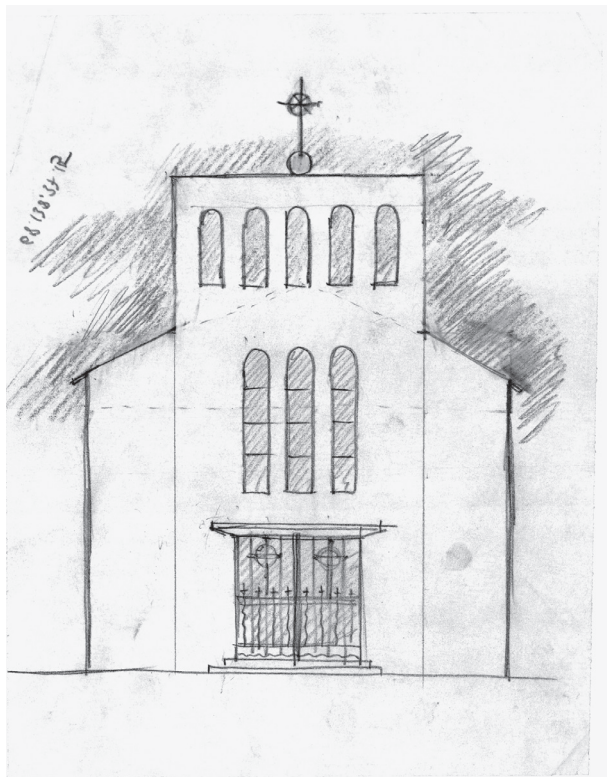


Fig. 49. Bertalan Árkay: Roman Catholic church in Szalkszenmárton, façade, s. d. BTM KM ÉGy 68.138.37\_15. VIII/6.



Fig. 50. Bertalan Árkay: Roman Catholic church in Tiszaeszlár (actually: Hernád), façade, s. d. BTM KM ÉGy 68.138.36\_6. VIII/6.

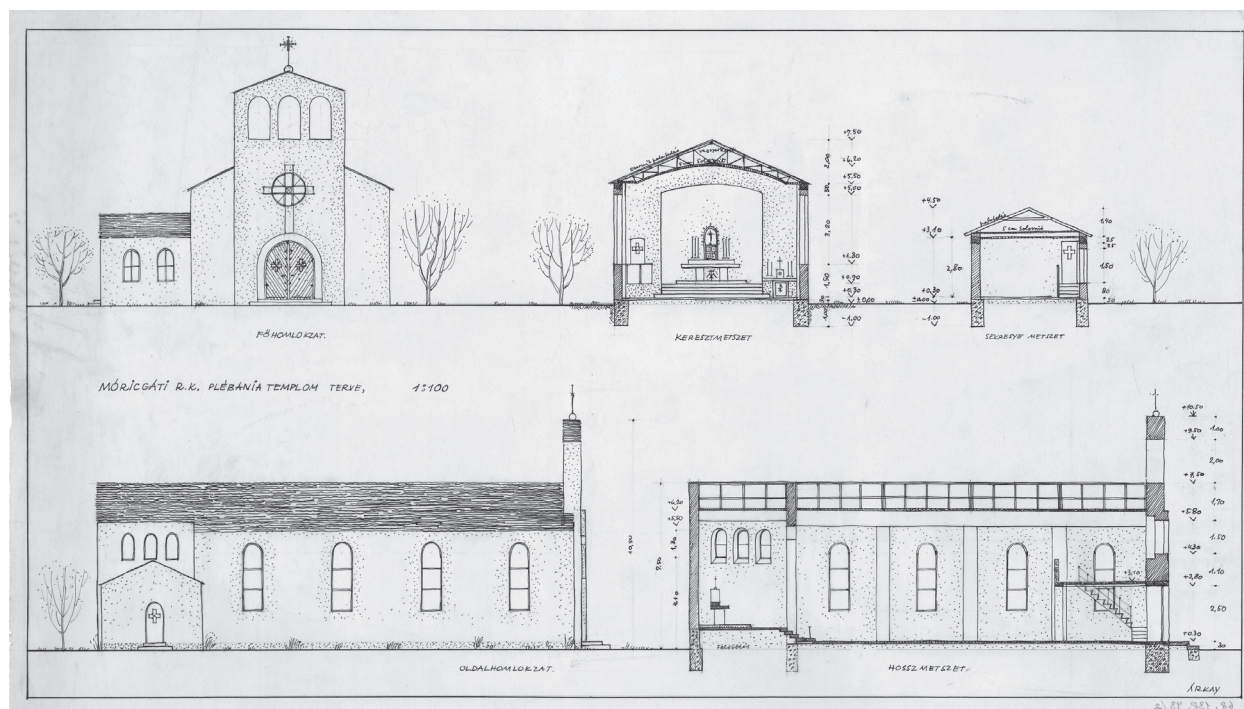


Fig. 51. Bertalan Árkay: Móricgát r. k. plébánia templom terve [Plan of the R. Catholic parish church in Móricgát], s. d. BTM KM ÉGy 68.138.43\_2. VIII/6.





Fig. 52. Bertalan Árkay: Móricgát Roman Catholic church, 1958–1959. VPKL VII. 3. B. V. Móricgát



Fig. 53. Bertalan Árkay: Inárcs, Roman Catholic church, 1957–1962 (photo: Edit Lantos 2017)

My purpose here is not the tracing of the pre-figurations of certain buildings. This would necessitate a more accurate knowledge of Árkay's readings, travels, his opportunities to gather information. There are barely any documents in his estate, and no drawing of his is of an identifiable building he might have seen during his travels. Only one of his sketches can be associated with a journey to Salzburg or a church he read about, based on the relevant correspondence (this is a pencil drawing from 1971, now in the custody of the Diocesan Archives of Eger). His brief biographies only mention the names of countries he visited. Thus we can only tell that he visited Czechoslovakia 1956, the Soviet Union in 1957, East Germany in 1960, and Paris in 1958, 1960, and 1961. He also travelled to Austria, Switzerland, Italy, and France "to study the new architecture" and surveillance reports from the Home Office indicate that he maintained personal connections with architects who had emigrated to the west.<sup>73</sup> We know little of his reading, but we can be sure that he knew Antal Somogyi's "Modern Catholic Art" published in 1933. I am positive that Árkay was familiar with this work because it was here that Somogyi published and evaluated at length the church of Győr–Gyárváros (1928) and published the

church of Budapest-Városmajor on which he had worked together with Bertalan Árkay's father.<sup>74</sup> Examples published here in illustrations or descriptions were certainly known to him, and he may well have taken them further mentally. It is quite probable that Somogyi's morphological analyses and interpretations influenced him, too.

On a closer look at Bertalan Árkay's buildings post-1945, two groups can be distinguished both in terms of size and structure. Besides the larger churches of Gerjen, Hort and Taksony, 11 smaller buildings make up the second group.

Gerjen and Hort are buildings with a traditional floorplan, three naves, and a composite structure. In terms of aesthetics, Gerjen comes off worse than Hort or Taksony, on account of the spared ornaments and the quality of execution. Good overall proportions, the quality solutions of the interior and its details (lights, the laborious geometric pattern of the floor, the red marble covering in the chancel) do not compensate for the overall dominating effect of the yellow gritted exterior and the bare white surfaces of the walls of the main nave, the faux-vaulted ceiling, and the side naves.

The church of Hort (Figs. 70–71) takes a prominent place in Árkay's oeuvre on account of its quality





Fig. 54. Gyula Kaszás: Virgin Mary with saints and the parishioners. Inárcs, Roman Catholic church, 1961 (photo: Edit Lantos 2017)



Fig. 55. Bertalan Árkay: Vecsés-Óváros, Roman Catholic church, 1960–1962 (photo: Edit Lantos 2017)

structure, well-proportioned and lit interior space, and the elaborate details (using quality materials and effort). Several pictures, published by Antal Somogyi, offer international parallels. One of these is the Frauenfriedenskirche of Frankfurt (1927–1929), designed by Hans Herkommer (1887–1956), which is particularly reminiscent of the façade featuring a row of arched windows over tall, slim entrances (Fig. 72). The façades of Heiligenkreuz (1928–1929) at Frankfurt-Bornheim, designed by Martin Weber (1890–1941) (Fig. 73), and of Christ König Kirche at Leverkusen-Küppersteig (1927–1928) designed by Dominikus Böhm (1880–1950) feature trios of monumental semi-circular openings. Narrow, semi-circular openings cut into the upper part of the tower can be found on the towers of St. Bonifatius at Frankfurt–Sachsenhausen (1925–1927) designed by Weber, and of Hubertuskerk at Maastricht (1925) designed by Jules Kayser (1879–1963).<sup>75</sup>

In order to find the prefigurations of the church of Taksony, it is worthwhile to open Antal Somogyi's book (1933) again. An illustration published of the church of Blankensee, Maria Grün (Sankt Maria Himmelfahrt Kirche, 1929–1930) (designed by Cle-



Fig. 56. Bertalan Árkay: Vecsés-Óváros, Roman Catholic church, 1960–1962 (photo: Edit Lantos 2017)



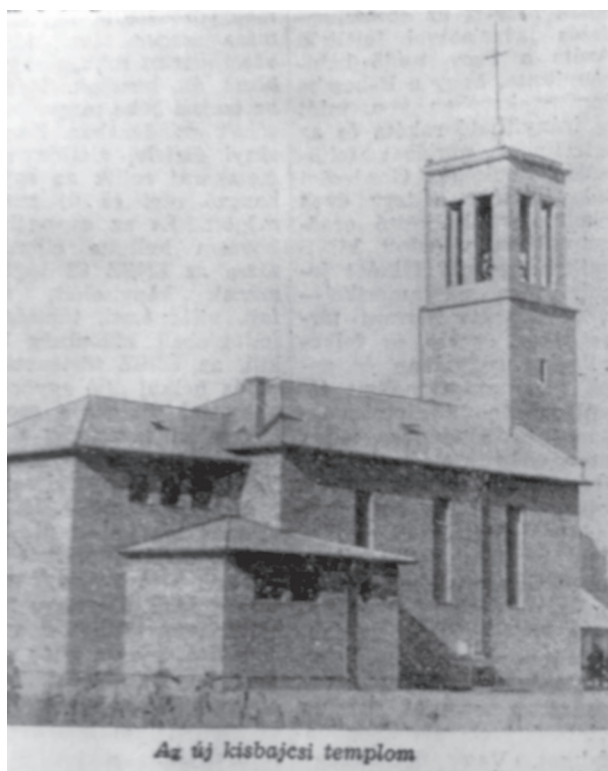


Fig. 57. Gyula Németh: Kisbajcs, Roman Catholic church, 1958–1959. [s. n.]: Az új kisbajcsi templom. *Katolikus Szó* 3. 1959. 24. 2.



Fig. 58. Aggtelek, Roman Catholic church, 1953, tower: 1955. EFL AN AP Kassai Részek Par. Ragály 740/1955.

mens Holzmeister, 1886–1983) seems to be the obvious connection to Árkay's church at Taksony. The entrance, covered with an ante-roof, is situated in a tall rectangular prism, connected to the arched main building by a low linking corridor. The dome's arch, narrow windows, the choir and pews all echo the structures of the church of Taksony (Figs. 74–75). From the description<sup>76</sup> it is clear, however, that Maria Grün is a church with a circular ground plan, with the entrance building connected with a link corridor to the circular nave, and the chancel opposite to the entrance. The circles of the nave and chancel intersect, the altar was placed in this intersection, which means it can be approached from all sides.<sup>77</sup> In his descriptions, Somogyi often dealt with oval ground plans. One of these comes right after the description of the Maria Grün church: the church of Frillendorf, (1923–1928) designed by Edmund Körner (1874–1940) is noted as the “repeated use of the old, central arrangement.” Somogyi writes: “As the altar constitutes the focus of the church, its status can only be expressed in a fully circular ground floor arrangement if the altar is positioned into the center or if we make a direction dominant in the church. The former solution comes with considerable difficulties, therefore Körner opted

for the latter, placing emphasis on one main direction. His church has an oval floorplan. The longer line of this is made longer still by the vestibule, the narthex and the choir above it, the baptistry chapel and the storage room situated to the right or the left of the entrance. In the other end, stairs lead up to the sanctuary from the oval space of the main nave.”

Somogyi discusses the significance of the oval floorplan when he comes to Holland architecture, too: “It was a practical, liturgical consideration which led some architects to bring back the centrally arranged church forms with domes. [...] The mode of straight lines might be dominant today, and the dome is regarded by many as an outdated architectural element, the use of which would be much easier now than in the past, considering that we now have the technical possibilities for its development. The time is very near when modern architecture casts off extremes and exaggerations, bringing back the arch with the arrow, the curved surface with the cube.”<sup>78</sup>

Another parallel from the pre-1945 period is offered by Farkas Molnár's Holy Land church, the first



Fig. 59. Tófalú, former catholic church, 1776. Postcard (detail) Zempléni Múzeum, Szerencsi Képeslapgyűjtemény [Postcard Collection of Zemplén Museum in Szerencs]



Fig. 60. József Gömöri: Tófalú, Trinity church, 1949–1950 (photo: Edit Lantos 2005)

plans for which, dating from February 1938, feature an elliptical floorplan, an oval dome, and extensions arranged as the wings of a fan (Fig. 76). The composition with its arched lines was a novelty not just within the context of Molnár's work, but also in the church architecture of the time.<sup>79</sup> Although different in size and details from the church of Taksony, this building shows the planner's intentions to modernize Hungarian church architecture. The modernization's lateness can be attributed to the war, the changed political circumstances, and the commissioners' inclinations.<sup>80</sup> Antal Thomas planed a church with a circular ground plan in 1938 as well (Fig. 77). Also in 1938 Rudolf Schwarz published his ideas of round and oval church layouts in his book *Vom Bau der Kirche* (Fig. 78).<sup>81</sup>

It is conceivable that by 1956, Árkay thought the time was right for starting a new phase in ecclesiastical architecture with the church of Taksony, after the one opened by the Városmajor church (Figs. 80–81). The plans for the Csörsz cinema (Fig. 82) from 1949 indicate that Árkay was interested in oval floorplans and covers, in connecting a curved building to buildings of different floorplans and/or heights, and the fact that he was also interested in the sloping floors. Eighteen sketches survived, seven of these depict the

tower block, four the domed space. The cinema with an egg-shaped floorplan can be seen on two sketches. On a more developed version three elliptical shaped buildings at right angles with each other (tower block, vestibule, ante-room) are connected to the egg-shaped cinema space.

In Taksony, by extending the oval church with an oratory, Árkay realized the central space: the congregation could now not only see the altar from the nave but also surround it. The sloping floor also aided a better view of the service at the altar, which contemporaries interpreted as promoting modern pastoral practice (Fig. 84).

Connections to the international tendencies in church architecture are further indicated by a number of oval churches built abroad in the 1950s–1960s. We can find only three domed churches built between 1945 and 1960 in a manual on Roman church architecture, created in a research project run by architectural, ecclesiastical and lay cultural institutes.<sup>82</sup> One of these is the Santi Sette Fondatori (Alberto Tonelli, 1955–1956),<sup>83</sup> where the center of the slightly oval shaped church is surrounded, in a tulip-formation, by the lower side nave and the elevated chancel. The other is the San Giovanni Bosco, designed by Gaetano





Fig. 61. Jenő Gyapai: Drávfok, Roman Catholic church, 1947–1949 (photo: Edit Lantos 2009)



Fig. 62. Jenő Gyapai: Drávfok, Roman Catholic church, 1947–1949 (photo: Edit Lantos 2009)



BUCHNER: OBERMEINZINGI TEMPLOM KÜLSEJE ÉS BELSEJE.



Fig. 63. Georg Büchner: Church in Obermeinzing. SOMOGYI 1933, op cit. (see note 70), s. p. [21] table





Fig. 64. Jos Wielders: Church in Heerlen-Schandelen. SOMOGYI 1933, op cit. (see note 70), s. p. [30] table

Rapisardi at the same time as Árkay built the church of Taksony (1953–1958). Here the main building is rectangular, covered by a bigger dome over the nave and a smaller dome over the chancel. The floorplan of the Gesu Divin Lavoratore (Raffaele Fagnoni, 1957–1961)<sup>84</sup> is slightly egg-shaped, the elevated chancel is situated on the narrower end. The ribs of its dome

arch run down to the blade walls. Utility rooms were added to the building off the chancel. Although these Roman parallels date approximately from the time when Árkay was planning the oval floorplan and the dome, there are some buildings which precede them. The Eglise-Saint-Pierre in Yvetot (Figs. 79, 83), France was built between 1949 and 1956 (building work was prolonged due to financial difficulties and plan modifications). The church was designed by Pierre Chiról (until his death in 1953), Robert Flavigny and Yves Marchand.<sup>85</sup> The 20 m high circular building has a diameter of 40 m, its walls are broken up by narrow windows almost the height of the wall, containing more than 1,000 m<sup>2</sup> lead glass altogether. Its façade is latticed, the door is two-winged.

The St. Felix und Regula Kirche, designed by Metzger,<sup>86</sup> has an oval floor plan, to which the façade and two rectangular extensions are connected, the latter from each side on the chancel. The St. Franziskus Kirche (Riechen), also from 1950, has a nave with a fan-shaped floorplan, and an oval chancel. The entrance opens from a rectangular extension. The



Fig. 65. Lajos Tarai (Ćacinovic): Drávasztára, Roman Catholic church, 1948 (photo: Miklós Puskás 2015)





Fig. 66. Lajos Tarai (Cacinovic):  
Szedres, Roman Catholic church, 1948–1956,  
tower: 1963 (photo: Edit Lantos 2009)



Fig. 67. Lajos Tarai (Cacinovic):  
Szedres, Roman Catholic church, 1948–1956,  
tower: 1963 (photo: Edit Lantos 2009)

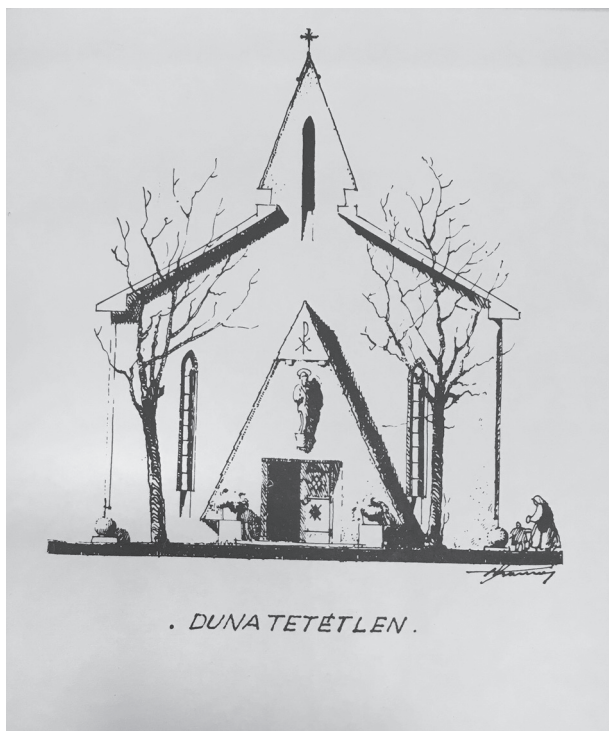


Fig. 68. Antal Thomas: Dunatetetlen,  
Roman Catholic church, 1950.  
HADIK–RITOÓK 1988, op cit. (see note 72), 37.



Fig. 69. Antal Thomas: Érsekharta-Nagykékés,  
Roman Catholic church, 1949.  
HADIK–RITOÓK 1988, op cit. (see note 72), 35.



Fig. 70. Bertalan Árkay: Roman Catholic church in Hort, façade version, s. d. BTM KM ÉGy 68.138.24\_14. VIII/6.

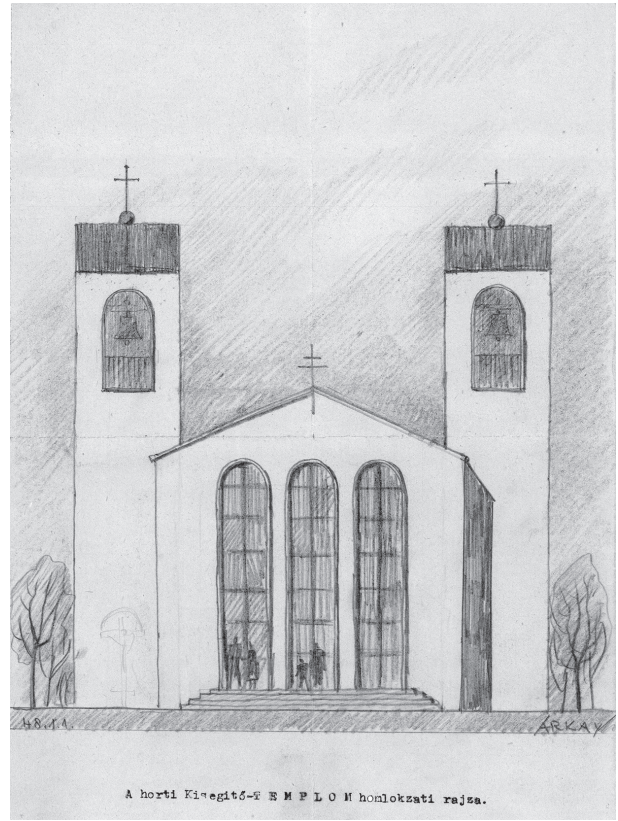


Fig. 71. Bertalan Árkay: Roman Catholic church in Hort, façade version, s. d. BTM KM ÉGy 68.138.22\_20. VIII/6.

façade is divided into three parts: between two monolith blocks, a regressed wall accommodated a wind-catcher with an ogee arched wall above the entrance is a window of five panels. A square based, slim campanile is standing next to each church. Although the buildings show some slight likeness to Árkay's first plan for Taksony, Metzger's church has no arched oratory behind the chancel. Sint Annakerk, built in 1952–1953,<sup>87</sup> connects an arch-backed entrance building to the octagonal, domes nave. We find a square backed entrance building, taller than the nave and with three axes, at the Chiesa di Nostra Signora Santissimo Sacramento e Santi Martiri Canadesi (1952–1955) in Rome, planned by Bruno M. Apolloni Ghetj (1905–1989).<sup>88</sup> Here, the interior is cross-arched, the floor is rectangular, and the chancel apse is square.

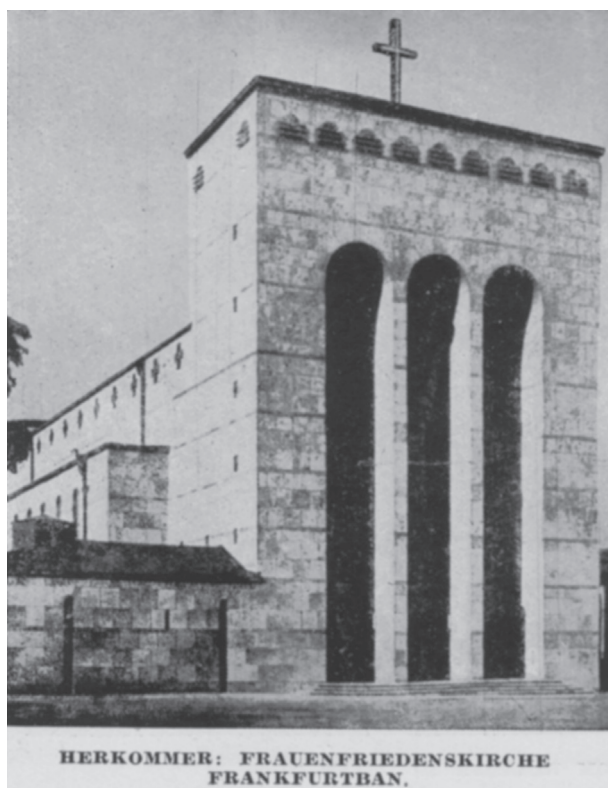
The chapel of Eero Saarinen Massachusetts Institute of Technology (Cambridge, 1953–1955) has a circular floorplan.<sup>89</sup> The barrel shaped building is lit by an oculus, its walls are wave-shaped. The altar, set on a circular pedestal, stands opposite the entrance. Chairs are used instead of pews. The traced façade of the church of Wilhelm Gilges St. Martinus (Kaarst,

1957)<sup>90</sup> can also be connected to a plan for Taksony. The Sint-Raphaelkerk in Hengelo (Hermann Wissen, 1959) with its barreled mass, flat dome, the square frame of its entrance, even the flat roofed lower extensions and the tower ornamented with concrete panels echo a plan for the church of Taksony.

Through his churches of Gerjen and Hort, Árkay gives a more cautious answer to the period's query: how is it possible to create modern church spaces through rephrasing individual building components, the traditional church floorplan, and the building *en masse*. Taksony is a more daring answer to the same query.

Most of the churches designed by Bertalan Árkay are of a smaller scale, both in terms of form and execution. Regarding spatial distribution, the church of Kisbácsa has two naves, the others are single-nave churches. He designed a large single-nave church at Hernád. In the plans, most chancel apses are square, however, the finished buildings usually have polygonal chancel apses. The windows of Árkay's churches are mostly arched, usually arranged in pairs or groups of three, rarely standing by themselves. Their width is usually in inverse proportion to their number. The walls of the nave are often structured by pilasters.

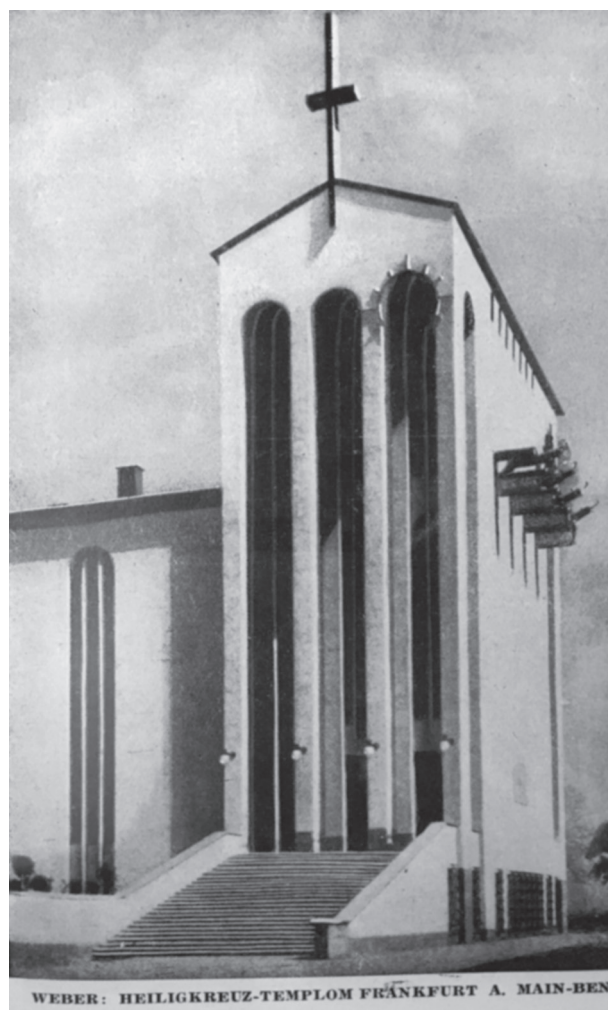




HERKOMMER: FRAUENFRIEDENSKIRCHE  
FRANKFURTAN.  
Fig. 72. Hans Herkommer: Frauenfriedenskirche,  
Frankfurt, 1927–1929. SOMOGYI 1933, op cit.  
(see note 70), s. p. table [22]

The façades of the finished churches have three varieties: tower in front, gable façade, and pediment. The churches of Gerjen, Kömpöc, Inárcs, Újtikos (and Tiszaeszlár) all have a tower built over the main façade. Although the realization deviated from the plans, the churches of Kömpöc and Újtikos were originally meant to have a tower similar to that of the Gerjen church. Only two churches, at Pátroha and Parádsasvár, have gable façades.

Churches with bell gables / parapets were built at Szalkszentmárton, Vecsés-Óplébánia, Móricgát, and Hernád. Three out of blade walls connected to the façade follow the angle of the saddle roof, the fourth one is squared off. The church of Vecsés alone has blind arches, while the façade of the Hernád church has one semicircular opening, Móricgát church has three and Szalkszentmárton five. Such openings also appear elsewhere in the plans: a façade with one opening, like the one at Hernád, can be seen in the plans for Pátroha, two openings are planned for the façade of Vecsés-Óplébánia, and the churches of Nyárás and Tiszalök are also characterized by designs seen at Szalkszentmárton. From the similarities between buildings and plan varieties we can see that Árkay



WEBER: HEILIGKREUZ-TEMPLOM FRANKFURT A. MAIN-BEN.  
Fig. 73. Martin Weber: Heiligenkreuz Kirche,  
Frankfurt-Bornheim, 1928–1929.  
SOMOGYI 1933, op cit. (see note 70), s. p. table [5]

had a preference for certain morphological solutions. Through examining these we can become familiar with the architectural toolkit typical of Árkay, and also his working methods.

The most conspicuous is a liking for semicircular arched windows and openings which can be found on most façades designed by Árkay. Large semicircular openings feature on towers (Gerjen, the postcard plan of Móricgát (Fig. 52), Kömpöc, plans for Újtikos) and bell gables (Hernád [Fig. 50], plans for Pátroha), narrow openings in groups of three or five (Móricgát, Szalkszentmárton (Fig. 49), plans for Tiszalök and Nyárás) (Figs. 85–86), windows on the main façade (Hernád, Szalkszentmárton). His estate contains a large number of variations on this theme. On flat and saddle roofed bell gables we find broader and narrower variations, stand-alone ones or rows, even openings forming a column are known.

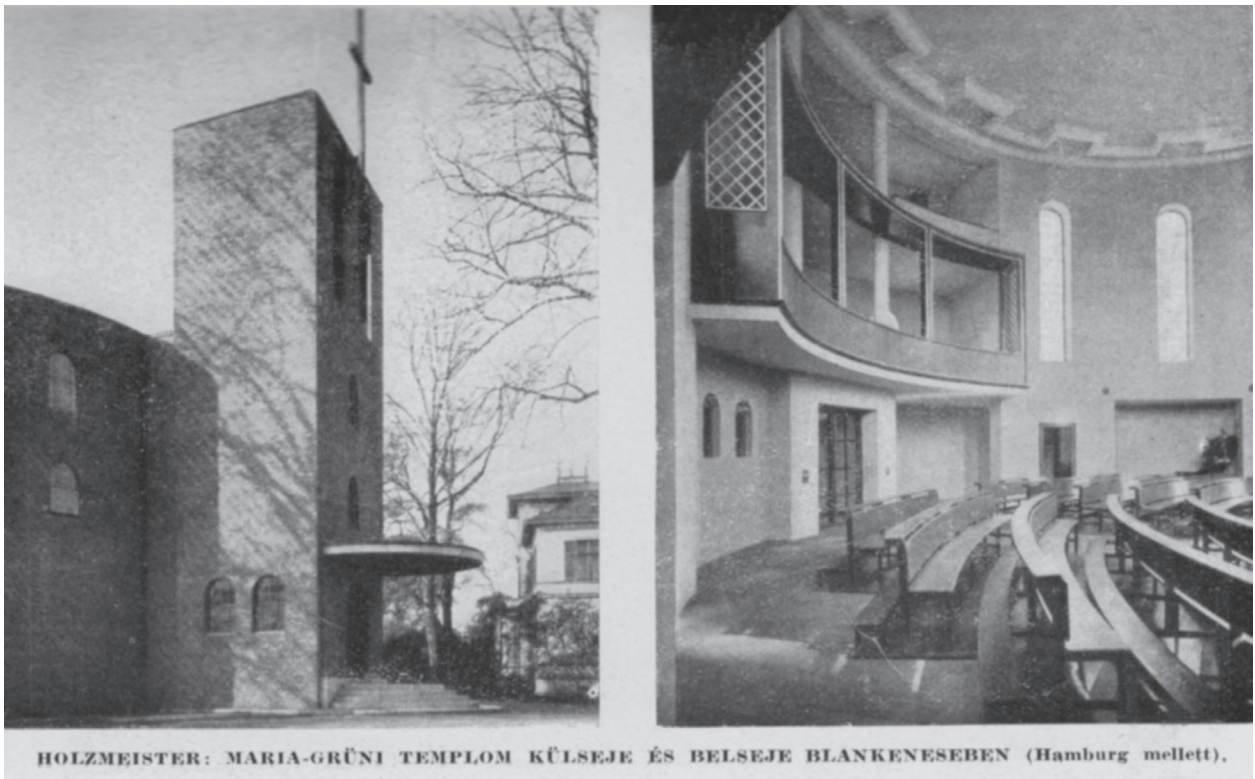


Fig. 74. Clemens Holzmeister: Sankt Mariä Himmelfahrt Kirche, Blankensee, 1929–1960.  
SOMOGYI 1933, op cit. (see note 70), s. p. table [32]



Fig. 75. Bertalan Árkay: Taksony, Roman Catholic church, 1957–1958 (photo: Edit Lantos 2006)



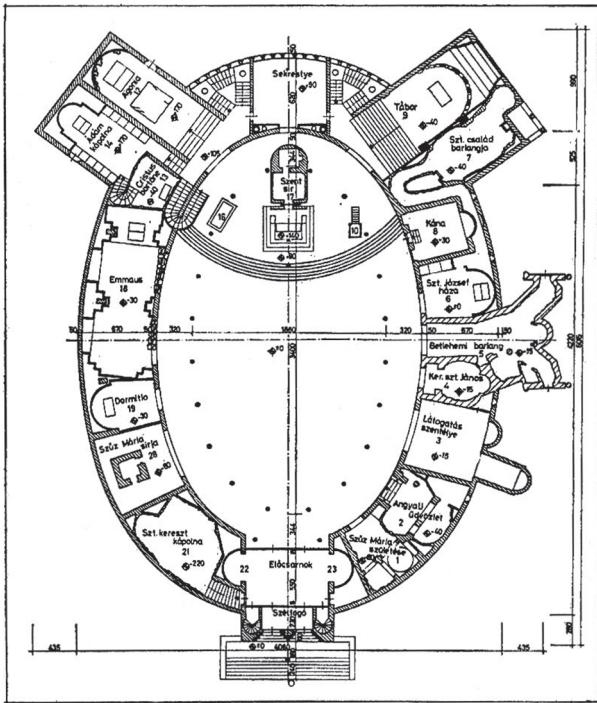


Fig. 76. Farkas Molnár: Holy Land church, ground-plan. Mezei Ottó: *Molnár Farkas*. Budapest, 1987. fig. 65

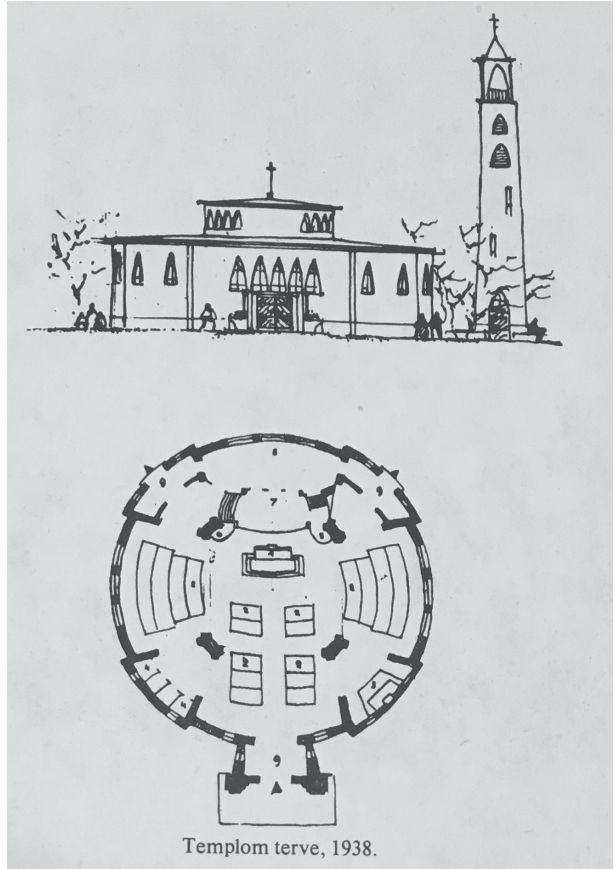
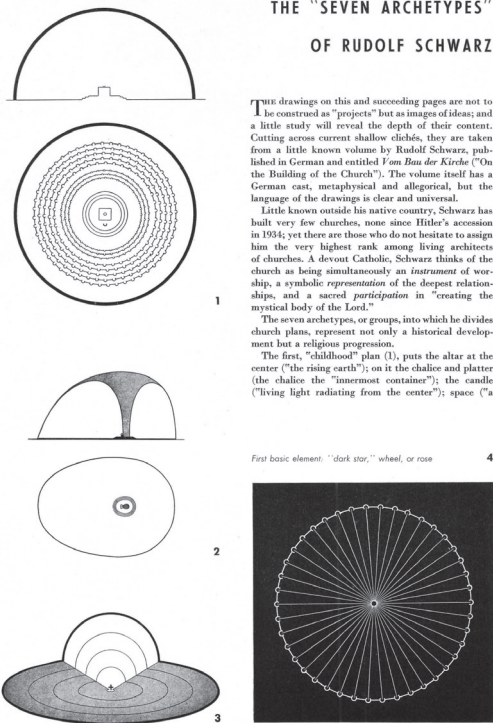


Fig. 77. Antal Thomas: Plan of a church, 1938. HADIK-RITOÓK 1988, op cit. (see note 72), 31



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Fig. 78. The „Seven archetypes” of Rudolf Schwarz. *Architectural Record* 1948. 6. 117–119, 117

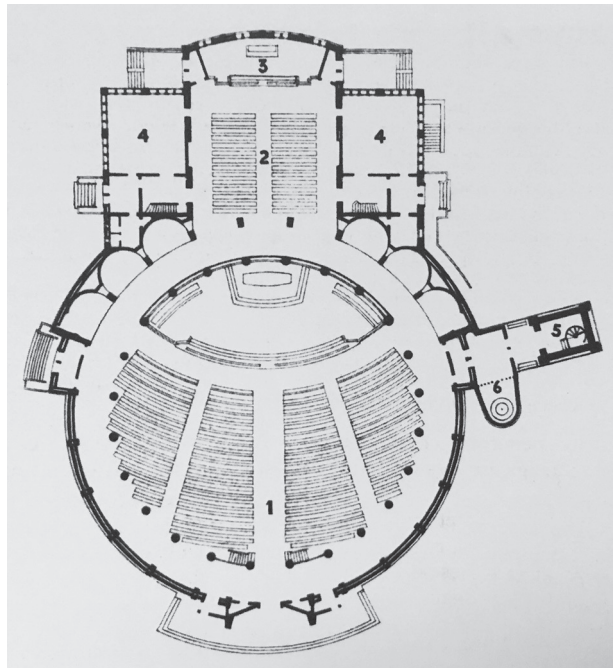


Fig. 79. Yves Marchand: Church in Yvetot, 1950–1954. PICHARD 1960, op cit. (see note 94), 50

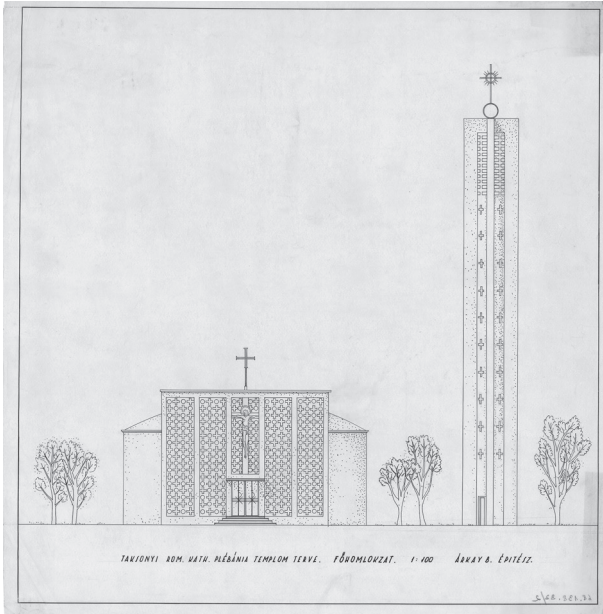


Fig. 80. Bertalan Árkay: Roman Catholic parish church in Taksony, façade, 1956–1957. BTM KM ÉGy 68.138.32.2. VIII/6.



Fig. 81. Bertalan Árkay: Roman Catholic parish church in Taksony, façade, 1956–1957. BTM KM ÉGy 68.138.32.23. VIII/6.

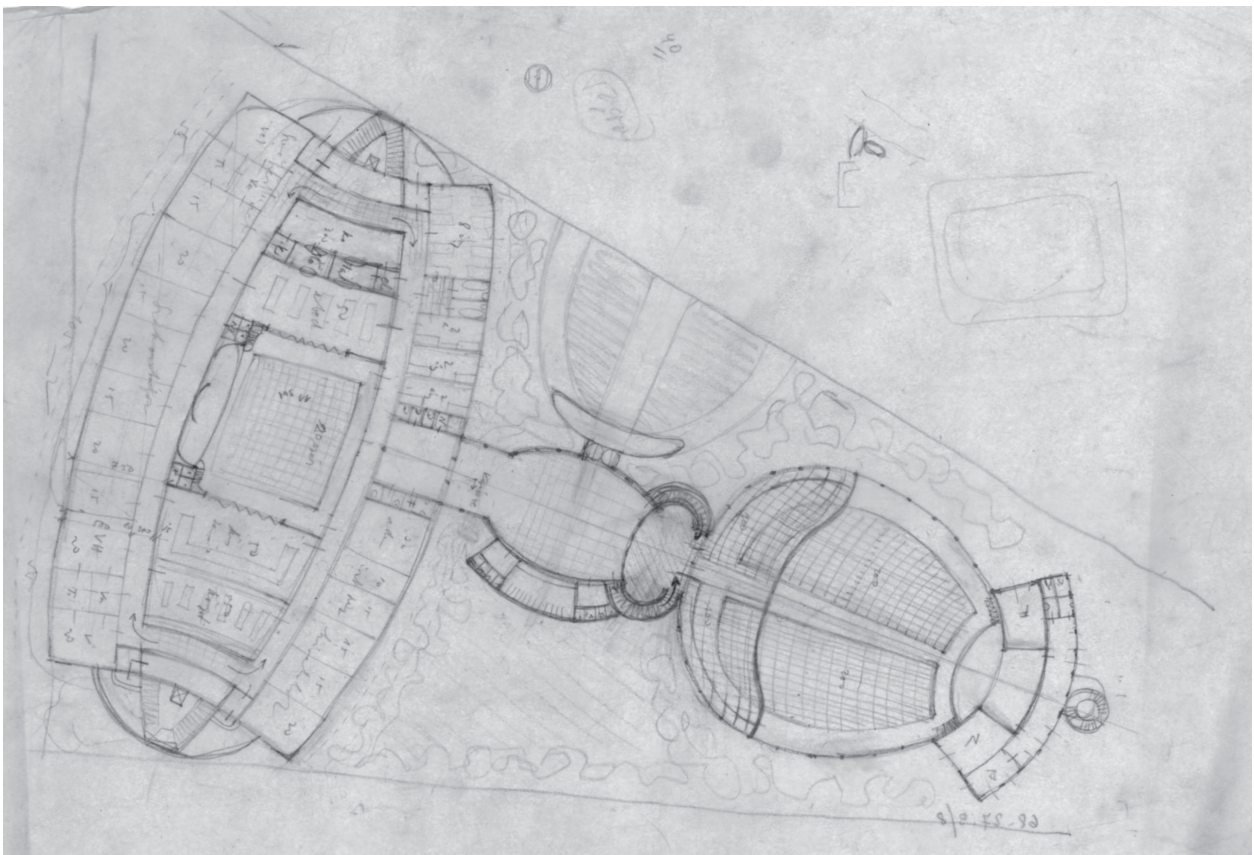


Fig. 82. Bertalan Árkay: Plan of the Csörsz cinema, ground-plan, 1949. BTM KM ÉGy 68.27.9\_8. VII/2.





Fig. 83. Yves Marchand: Church in Yvetot, 1950–1954. PICHARD 1960, op cit. (see note 94), table 33



Fig. 84. Bertalan Árkay: Roman Catholic church in Taksony, 1957–1958 (photo: Edit Lantos 2016)



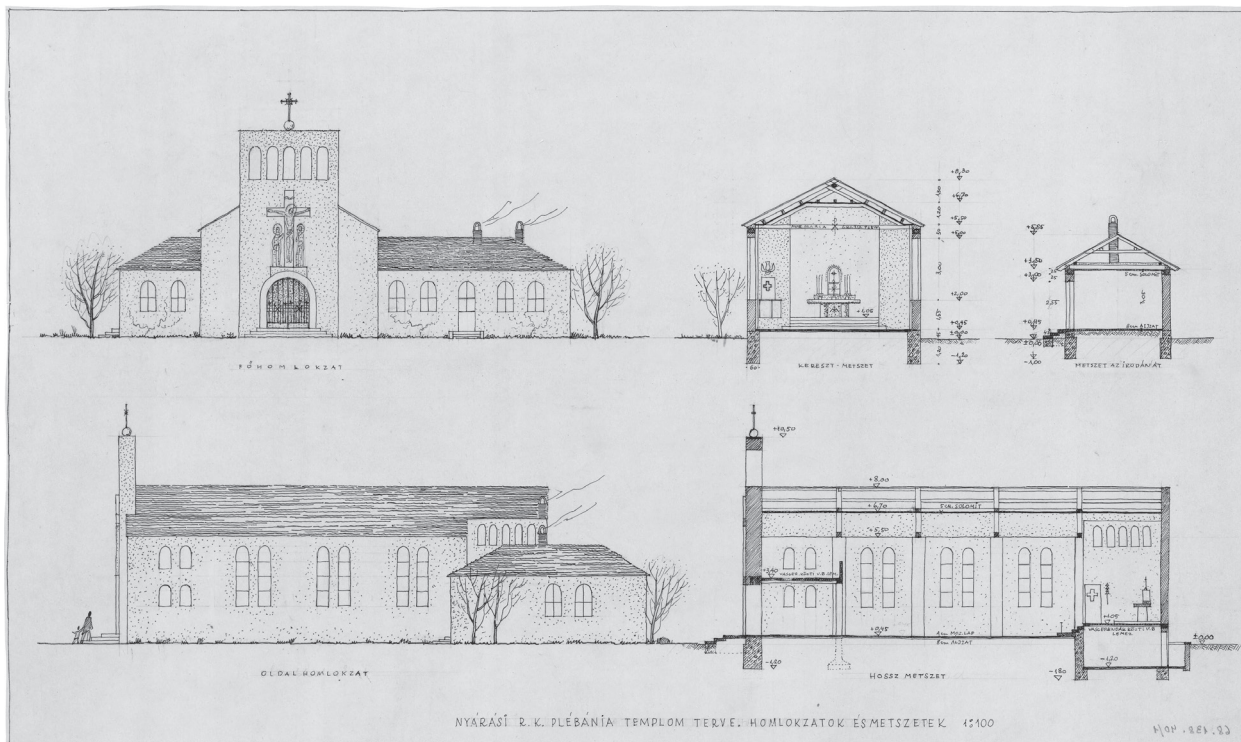


Fig. 85. Bertalan Árkay: Nyárási r. k. plébánia templom terve, homlokzatok és metszetek [Roman Catholic parish church in Nyárás, façades and cross-sections], s. d. BTM KM ÉGy 68.138.40\_1. VIII/6.

The most unique motif on Árkay's church façades is arranging windows or niches around lines of a cross. (Kisbácsa, Inárcs, the first plan of Szalkszentmárton). According to evidence in the estate this is not without precedence, either: it shows up in the plans of the church at Alag (1933), Budapest, Soroksári út (1934), in the sketches from 1942 for the church of Balatonlelle, and several undated sketches too (e.g. Győr, Fig. 87). The same pattern appears in 1941, on the wall behind the altar in the church interior Árkay designed for the Ecclesiastical Art Exhibition.<sup>91</sup>

The rose window in the façade of Gerjen church (Fig. 88) with three arched openings can seem familiar on the bird's-eye drawing which has been identified as of a church in Sopron. Similarly, we can find a triple-arched entrance on some of the drawings for Balatonlelle (Fig. 89). The large, cross-structured, arched window in the façade of Pátroha church (a window with such wide frames it is reminiscent of a portal), with the square door underneath, is a smaller version of the entrance of Balatonlelle church. The round window, divided by a Roman cross, appearing on plans for Móricgát, Parásasvár, Újtikos, Pátroha and Vecsés-Óplébánia, also shows up on sketches made for the design competition at Csorna (Fig. 90) and on sketches for the Balatonlelle church, and on several other drawings, too.

Besides the above, certain patterns repeat themselves for presumably practical reasons. Among these are the handsome execution of the choir railings and the wooden gate with Greek cross-windows cut into it, seen in the plans for Gerjen, Kisbácsa, and Parásasvár (Fig. 91), or the drawing of a confession box at Cegléd and many earlier plans. Practical reasons explain why the detailed, calibrated drawings of the doors of the Balatonlelle church and the Memorial Church of Mohács were used multiple times. (Craftsmen to work on the beautiful building details already had the drawings ready to guide them.) It was also practical to have the fixtures on the doors (handles, handle plates, door plates) repeat themselves. The heart-shaped door plates of Móricgát and Gerjen are twins, and a simpler version of their fish-shaped doorhandles can be seen on the church doors of Hernád and Hort. The handles, wrought iron gates – with their shorter, twisted and straight rods ending in a cross, the laurel wreathed Roman cross motifs at eye level, the plates studded (Hort) and applied with a ship ornament (Taksony, Szalkszentmárton, Hernád) appear on the door of Vác cathedral's undercroft (Figs. 92–95). The plans were created by Árkay, the master's inscription is visible on the door at Vác: Béla Kedvek ironmonger, who also crops up in the building stories of Hort and Kömpöc



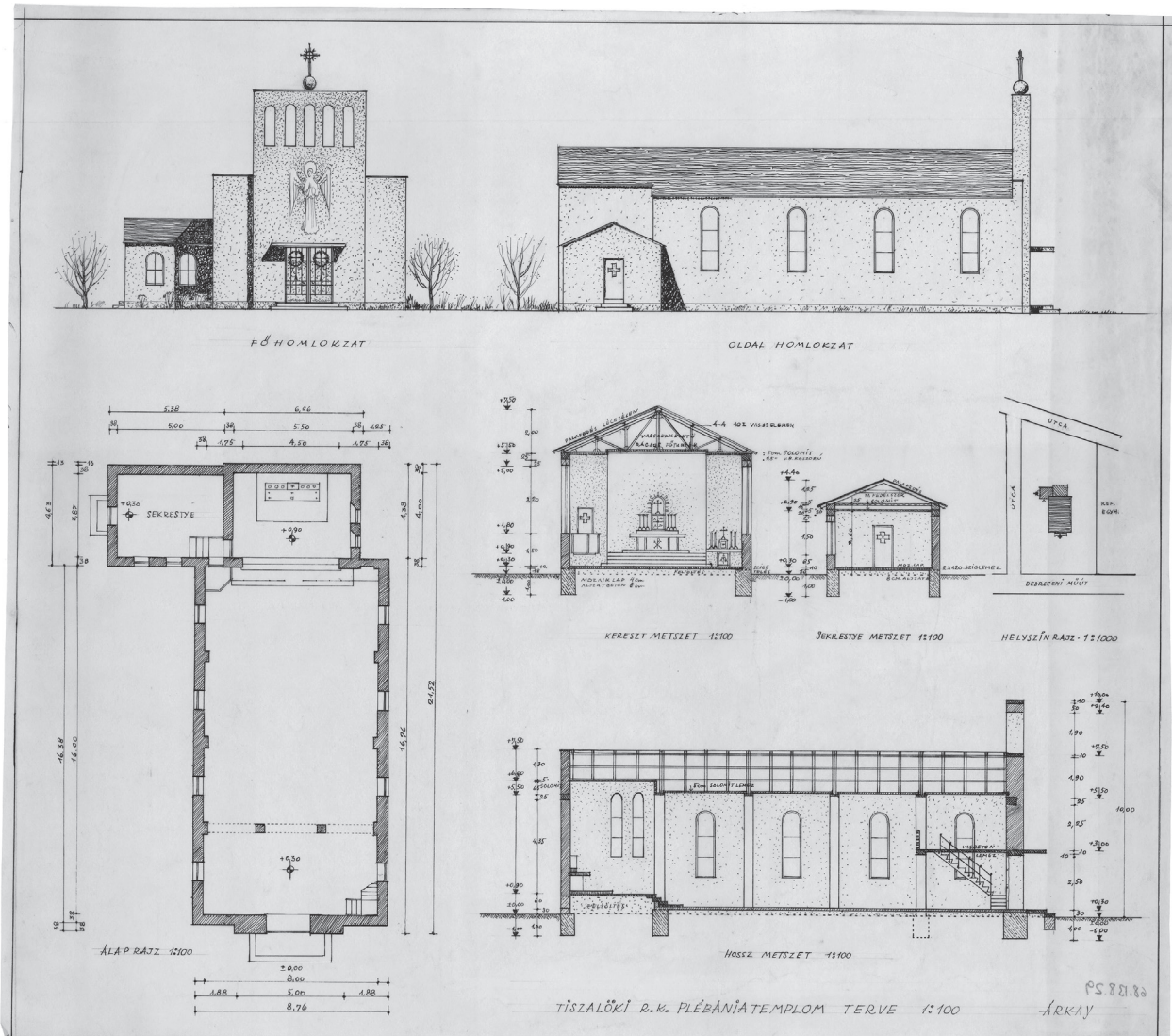


Fig. 86. Bertalan Árkay: Tiszalóki r. k. plébániatemplom terve [Plan of the Roman Catholic parish church in Tiszalök], s. d. BTM KM ÉGy 68.138.29. VIII/6.

as the creator of the gate, the tower crosses, and the altar rails. What we can see here is the repeated use of a fortunate gate or gate detail design solution (in a more or less ornate version, tailored to the congregation's budget), and the repeated employment of a craftsman whose quality of work has been tried and proven.

Besides building details, Árkay's estate also includes a number of plans for interior furnishings, some of them also appear in churches. One example is the ray-framed candle holder at Hort, secured to both sides of the triumphal arch above eye level like a wall sconce. This item is an exact copy of the eternal flame in the church of Balatonlelle, hanging in a niche at the right side of the triumphal arch. The sanctuary lamp at Gerjen is a simpler version. Similarities are present on larger details, too: the ceilings of Balatonlelle and

Hort (Fig. 96), Gerjen and Móricgát, or Inárcs and Hernád show that Árkay used the same solutions for their design.

The repetition of forms and shapes is also explained by the fact that Árkay was working for state-owned companies and dioceses at the same time. According to a report for the Home Office<sup>92</sup>, and several letters in the diocesan archives of Vác Árkay was "architectural expert" to the diocese. At the same time, in a letter to the Institute for Mining and Planning Árkay states: "I am attending to the matter above as a favor, for they have nobody to put through a request for building materials." Whatever his actual employment status may have been, it is proven that he was involved in other architectural activities besides planning churches. In a letter dated 1958, Árkay gives an



Fig. 87. Bertalan Árkay: Plan of the Roman Catholic church in Győr, s. d. BTM KM ÉGy 68.138.11. VIII/4.

update to the Diocesan Office of Vác on the status of the church building projects at Inárcs and Hernád, and also his progress on the plans for a new (iron) structure for the tower helmet at Pestszentlőrinc. He also confirms that the “plans for a new roof for the exploded church of Pestszentimre are in hand.” Repairing the brick cladding of Jászkarajenő church was also in progress, at Taksony “the church walls are up together with the inner reinforced concrete structures, only the doom base is left for the spring.” Repair jobs turned up on a regular basis: having proven himself with building the church at Kömpöc, he was entrusted with repairing the exterior of the church of neighboring Kiskunmajsa in 1958.

Árkay was a competent worker, no matter what was required of him: planning or repairing a roof structure (Maklár), designing an altar of church in Baroque (main style of the St. Anne parish church) or contemporary style (Kömpöc, Hernád, Fényeslitke), planning a façade in accordance with heritage preservation regulations (Polgár) or rethinking the original designer’s work (Vecsés, Andrásy housing estate), pews, wall sconces, or candle holders. No wonder that Árkay being overwhelmed is a recurring topic in the correspondences about planning and constructing. The arguments above may seem terribly prosaic, but we cannot ignore the simple chronological fact that Árkay

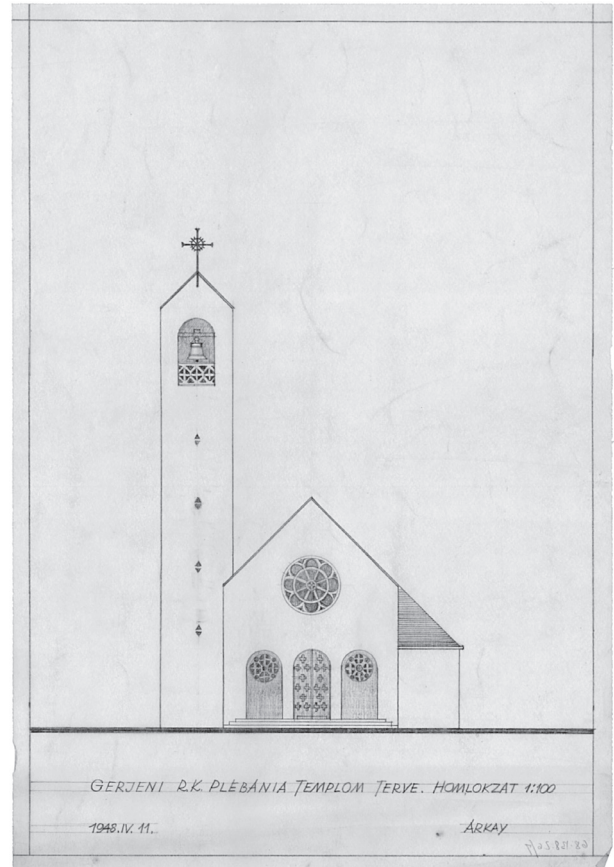


Fig. 88. Bertalan Árkay: Roman Catholic parish church in Gerjen, façade, 1948. BTM KM ÉGy 68.138.26\_7. VII/2.

was a full-time employee of a state-owned company in 1957 when the groundwork was being laid for Taksony church. Plans were commissioned at this time for the churches of Móricgát, Szalkszentmárton, and Inárcs. In 1958, Árkay was busy with plans for Újtikos and Hernád, plan variations for Szalkszentmárton, finishing the church on Vecsés, Andrásy housing estate, and (among a number of small repair jobs), with the construction of the Kisbácsa church. In 1959, he was drawing up plans for Tiszalök and working on the extension plans for the heritage church of Héhalom while construction (Kerecsend, Polgár, Inárcs, and Újtikos) and reconstruction work (Kiskunmajsa) was ongoing. He also completed plans for the tenement block at 49 Filler utca in Budapest, for the Bank of Investments. Considering all this, the similarities between plans and buildings become more understandable.

Recycling floorplans, building structures, and details make up the bulk of Árkay’s church architecture work. Naturally, this can be put down to a preference for the same motifs (even if they date from 20-25 years before), to financial constraints, or the repeated employment of the same tried and trusted craftsmen.



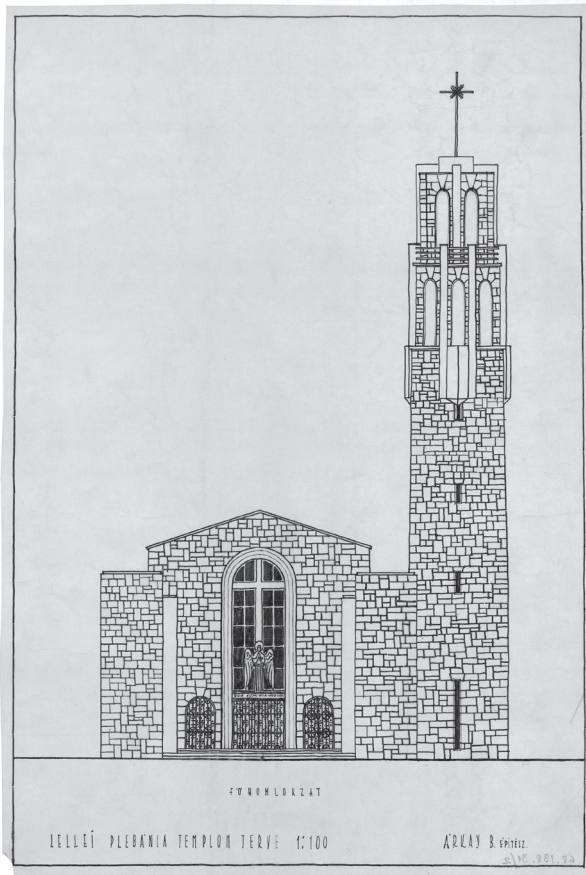


Fig. 89. Bertalan Árkay: Lellei plébánia templom terve, főhomlokzat [Parish church in Lelle, main façade], 1942. BTM KM ÉGy 68.138.31\_2. VII/7.

Varieties on the same theme can be the result of a creative rethinking of the same form in itself, in its proportion to itself and the whole building, in its material.

It is obvious now, that Árkay was not affected by the post-war wave of radical renewal in church architecture, hallmarked by the Ronchamp chapel by Le Corbusier. Each work of his shows an insistence on the traditional toolkit of ecclesiastical architecture.

The first modernization movement in church architecture started in the 1920s. It campaigned either for the radical rejection or a gradual reduction of building ornaments, traditional structures, and historical forms. From Árkay's post-1945 work, the churches of Gerjen and Hort illustrate the latter effort, retaining the floorplan and bulk structure. However, he also used traditional architectural details in his later, smaller churches. Can we encounter such phenomena in other post-war European countries? The church of Breda, designed by M. J. Granpré Molière in 1951–1953, is reminiscent of Gerjen church in the special structure of its three naves and in its details, too.<sup>93</sup> The square tower walls on the façade, on the



Fig. 90. Bertalan Árkay: Roman Catholic church in Csorna, perspective, 1934. BTM KM ÉGy 68.138.1. VIII/4.

long end of the church, have three and two arched openings, a feature familiar from the fronts of many churches designed by Árkay, such as the Móricgát church, where the tower wall has three openings, but follows the saddle roof's angle, or the tower walls (or plans) of Szalkszentmárton, Nyárás, and Tiszalök which are also square, but have five openings.

The St James church at München (1955–1957),<sup>94</sup> designed by Friedrich Haindl (1910–2002), has three naves, its flat-ceilinged chancel is terminated by three sides of an octagonal apse. It has stronger modernist features in its exterior and the concrete grids of the nave windows, but its interior – like Árkay's churches – contain simplified architectural elements. The Santa Barbara in Rome, designed by Tullio Rossi (1955–1957), has three naves, arcades, a semicircular triumphal arch, its lighting is basilical.<sup>95</sup> Also in Rome, the San Fernando Re, designed by Amelio Schivaro (1957–1958),<sup>96</sup> is also a variation of the traditionally structured single-nave church with a polygonal chancel apse, containing only a few modern details (e.g. the square windows).

The Sant' Ignazio d'Antiochia church in Rome, designed by Tullio Rossi in 1953–1957, is akin to the Árkay's churches from the 1950s which are structured

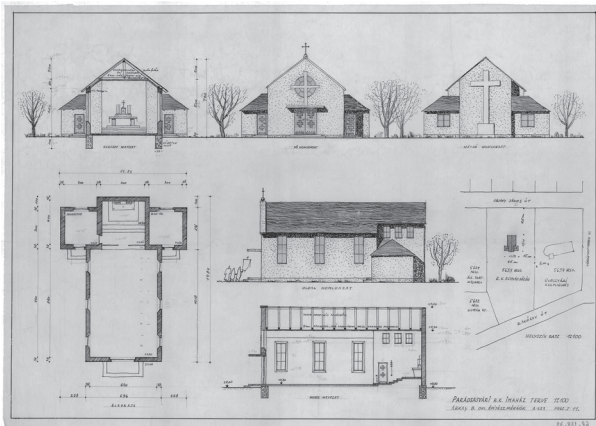


Fig. 91. Bertalan Árkay: Parásasvári r. k. imaház terve [Plan of the church in Parásasvár], 1962. BTM KM ÉGy 68.138.39. VIII/6.

by trios of narrow, arched openings.<sup>97</sup> The single-nave building, covered by an ogee-arched vault, stretches of walls are structured by pilasters, and beside the window-trios, the narrow side recesses are also familiar from Árkay's church naves. The windows are reminiscent of the churches of Hernád and Szalkszentmárton, the narrow side recesses of Vecsés-Ófalu and Kisbácsa. Ernesto Vichi opens up the façade with a trio of arched



Fig. 92. Bertalan Árkay – Béla Kedvek: The door of Vác cathedral (photo: Edit Lantos 2017)

windows in a strip of ashlar in the San Raimondo Nonnato church in Rome (1957–1958).<sup>98</sup>

The semicircular openings in buildings are of historical importance, so are the pillars and lesenes, frequently used by Árkay (Fig. 98). These also appear in international examples. Among the most significant designers, Emil Steffann planned arched windows and buttresses for the walls of St. Laurentius<sup>99</sup> (Fig. 97) and St. Bonifatius churches, as well as the St. Elisabeth church. Karl Band also added buttresses to the side ashlar walls of St. Joseph church in Königswinter-Thomasberg (1949), and a semicircular, deeply arched opening to the façade. The lower half of this opening is a gate with a narrow ante-roof, the upper part is a window divided into nine parts.

Árkay's churches with two naves also have international parallels. The St. Jean Baptist church in Saulcy-sur-Meurthe was designed by François Boleslas de Jankowski (1889–1972) in 1962–1964. Jankowski



Fig. 93. Bertalan Árkay – Béla Kedvek: The door of church in Hort (photo: Edit Lantos 2009)





Fig. 94. Bertalan Árkay – Béla Kedvek: The door of church in Taksony (photo: Edit Lantos 2016)



Fig. 95. Bertalan Árkay – Béla Kedvek: The door of church in Hernád (photo: Edit Lantos 2017)

added a side nave to the left of the rectangle based church, covered with a segmented arch vault.

The guide on the architecture of Rome indicates tendencies similar to the ones ongoing in Hungary. There are examples for the plainest, almost frumpy building looking almost like a residential house, and for more experimental forms. The restricted opportunities in the post-1945 period<sup>100</sup> are succeeded by attempts at reinterpreting traditional church types in diverse ways in the 1950s. Tullio Rossi reframes the ancient Christian basilica in the San Pio V. (1952) and San Raffaele Arcangelo (1948–1957) churches.<sup>101</sup> So does Gorelli in the Sacra Famiglia a Villa Troili church in 1956–1957,<sup>102</sup> but without arches, thus creating an altogether more modernist result. After his definitely historicist churches<sup>103</sup> Francesco Fornari is experimenting with keeping the bulk structure but using new designs for the façade and its details (columns, pilasters, lesenes, ledges) in the Santa Silvia church (1963–1968).<sup>104</sup> Gorelli's square arcades, puritan interior are careful breaks from history and tradition,

just like the ones made by Árkay e.g. at Kisbácsa. Fornari's marked inner wall pillars, open truss, and square windows echo the unrealized plans of Árkay.<sup>105</sup> Rome's buildings prove that breaking free of historical forms was a slow process. The intention to bring about architectural reform and the end result (presumably because of the ecclesiastical patron's expectations) are not necessarily in agreement. The Santa Maria Regina degli Apostoli alla Montagnola church, built 1947–1954 is a classicist building in its overall effect and details. The Santi Protomartiri Romani church, also designed by Francesco Fornari and built 1966–1968, is also timeless with its Greek cross shaped floorplan, octagonal tambour held up by pillars.<sup>106</sup>

A review of the material in the book discussing the churches of Rome and France as heritage, it is obvious that Bertalan Árkay's buildings, in terms of architectural quality, compare to ones created in the spirit of transition from traditional to modern forms.

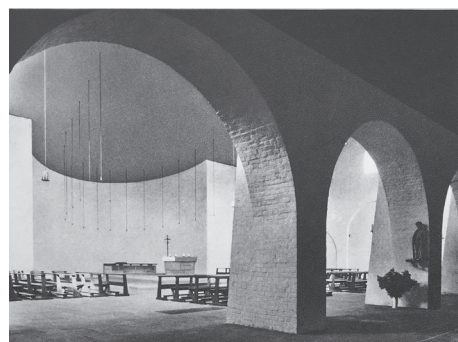
The above described works of Sándor Hevesy, Ferenc Vándor, and Bertalan Árkay point out that



Fig. 96. Bertalan Árkay: The ceilings of Roman Catholic church's at Balatonlelle (1947) and Hort (1954) (photo: Edit Lantos 2007, 2015)



Fig. 97. Bertalan Árkay: Roman Catholic church in Balatonlelle, 1942– 1957, tower: 1972 (photo: Edit Lantos 2007)



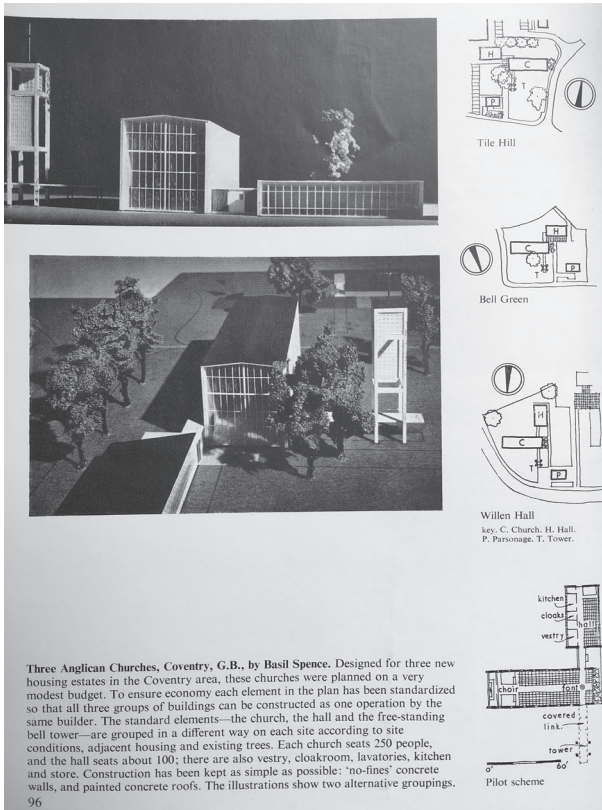
**65**  
St. Laurentius.  
Munich.  
arch. Emil Steffann.  
1957.



**66**  
St. Elisabeth.  
Oppladen. Allgemane.  
arch. Emil Steffann.  
1957.

Fig. 98. Emil Steffan: St. Laurentius church in München and the St. Elisabeth in Oppladen, 1957. PICHARD 1960, op cit. (see note 94) tables 65–66

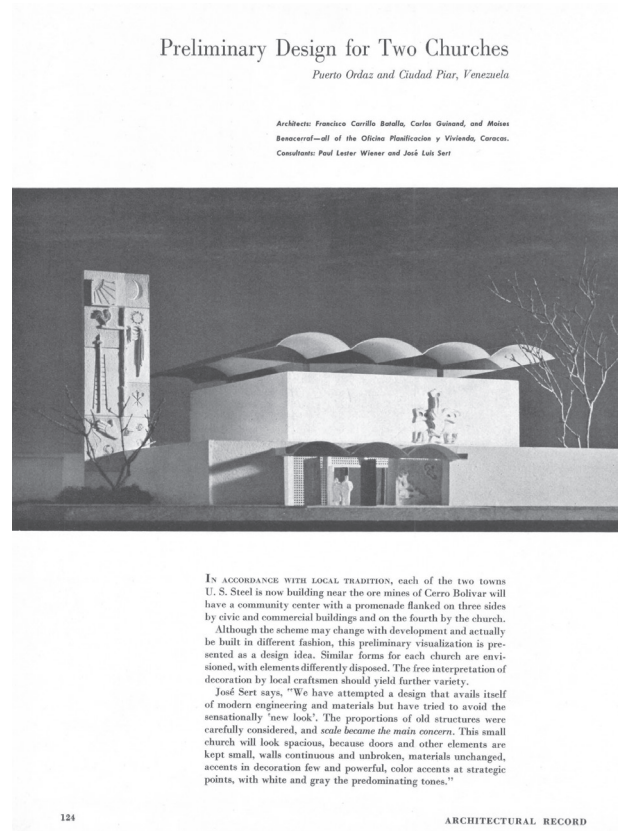




Three Anglican Churches, Coventry, G.B., by Basil Spence. Designed for three housing estates in the Coventry area, these churches were planned on a very modest budget. To ensure economy each element in the plan has been standardized so that all three groups of buildings can be constructed as one operation by the same builder. The standard elements—the church, the hall and the free-standing bell tower—are grouped in a different way on each site according to site conditions, adjacent housing and existing trees. Each church seats 250 people, and the hall seats about 100; there are also vestry, cloakroom, lavatories, kitchen and store. Construction has been kept as simple as possible: ‘no-fines’ concrete walls, and painted concrete roofs. The illustrations show two alternative groupings. 96

Fig. 99. Three Anglican churches, Coventry, G. B. by Basil Spence MILLS 1956, op cit. (see note 107), 96

these architects used identical building elements and similar plans to fulfill commissioners’ requirements. This architectural practice, uniform planning, has been little discussed in Hungarian architecture history, and is evaluated differently in the professional literature of today and the post-war period, both in Hungary and abroad. Edward Mills, Albert Christ-Janer and Mary-Mix Foley took a relaxed approach to the uniform church design plans of Sir Basil Spence or Francisco Carrillo Batalla and Carlos Quinand,<sup>107</sup> and discussed the possibility of adopting a successful building.<sup>108</sup> Joseph Abram and Pierre Lebrun did not question whether the repeated forms in Georges-Henri Pingusson’s plans or the uniform designs of Jean Prouvé belong to the history of church architecture of the time.<sup>109</sup> Neither contemporary, nor current architectural history takes it into account whether a building plan has been realized once or more times. With the introduction of similar solutions and uniform designs, Abram and Lebrun recognize the fact that this technical solution satisfies the requirements of the building-lithe period on an appropriate level.



IN ACCORDANCE WITH LOCAL TRADITION, each of the two towns U. S. Steel is now building near the ore mines of Cerro Bolívar will have a community center with a promenade flanked on three sides by civic and commercial buildings and on the fourth by the church. Although the scheme may change with development and actually be built in different fashion, this preliminary visualization is presented as a design idea. Similar forms for each church are envisioned, with elements differently disposed. The free interpretation of decoration by local craftsmen should yield further variety. José Sert says, "We have attempted a design that avails itself of modern engineering and materials but have tried to avoid the sensationally 'new look'. The proportions of old structures were carefully considered, and scale became the main concern. This small church will look spacious, because doors and other elements are kept small, walls continuous and unbroken, materials unchanged, accents in decoration few and powerful, color accents at strategic points, with white and gray the predominating tones."

Fig. 100. Preliminary design for two churches at Puerto Ordaz and Ciudad Piar, Venezuela. F. C. Batalla, C. Guinand and M. Benacerraf. *Architectural Record* 1953. 12. 124

The Sir Basil Spence archives regard the St. Chad, St. Oswald, and St. John Divine churches built in the outskirts of Coventry, as rightful parts of a renowned architect’s life’s work (Fig. 99). Spence was commissioned in 1954 to draw up plans for a low-budget church. The buildings, erected after the same plan, are made unique by varying the format of the towers and the interiors.<sup>110</sup> The architectural practice of N. F. Cachemaille Day also designed the churches of St. Peter, St. Michael, and All Angels in Stevenage (UK) after a uniform pattern.<sup>111</sup> In 1962, Joseph Belmont drew up plans commissioned by the diocese of Cambria for a church seating 200 people, with a budget capped at 20 million francs. The church was built of pre-fabricated trussed rafters with a traditional façade.<sup>112</sup> Works on local history, architectural archives, and professional literature openly discuss the recyclable plans as an integral and useful part of daily architectural practice, and so does the literature of the period. In his book, published in 1956, Mills included technical and permission descriptions. He intended the illustrations of individually commissioned or uniformly designed buildings in

his book to be models for future work (Fig. 100). Contemporary journals, such as the *Architectural Record* and the *Arquitectura* Batalla write about the Venezuelan churches of Quinand and Benacerraf,<sup>113</sup> the *Builder*, the *Architectural Review* and the *Architect & Building News* discuss Spence's churches.<sup>114</sup> This puts the above discussed repetitions in a wider context.

\*

My study reviewed the scope and formal tendencies of Hungarian church architecture between 1945 and 1960. It has been proven that building new churches was possible even in the anti-ecclesiastical political atmosphere, even though obtaining building permissions and raising the necessary funds was difficult throughout these 15 years. Legal restriction on permissions did not happen immediately as the Communist Party stepped into power; only much later, in 1958 and 1960. Funds were obtained from state and ecclesiastical sources, but the bulk of fundraising was done by the faithful themselves. Designers could be local builders who worked individually or under the supervision of their commissioner, the vicar or the schoolteacher. Pre-war plans were also uncov-

ered and used after smaller or bigger modifications. Most planners were trained architects, including the diocesan architects (e.g. Lajos Tarai, Ferenc Vándor) who worked in the church's employ. Part of the plans was drawn up by architects also working for state-owned companies. Bertalan Árkay, having planned and completed 14 churches after 1945, is of pivotal importance.

The formal tendencies indicate the persistence of traditional church shapes (single-nave church with square chancel apse, front tower, church with three naves and basilical lighting). The churches of Lajos Tarai and Antal Thomas show features of the Gothic direction of the German reform movement from the 1920s. Árkay's churches are typically more modest in form. After the traditional floorplans of Hort and Gerjen, Árkay was the first in post-1945 Hungary to experiment with oval floor plans and domes. Contemporary European buildings testify that Árkay's church in Taksony stands comparison with international examples. The contemporary parallels of his smaller churches fit into the tendencies of the period. The use of historical elements, the accommodation of commissioners' preferences are also present in international ecclesiastical architecture.

## ABBREVIATIONS

### *Archives, institutions*

BTM KM ÉGy	Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, Kiscelli Múzeum, Építészeti Gyűjtemény / Budapest History Museum, Kiscelli Museum, Architecture Collection, Budapest
EFL	Egri Főegyházmegyei Levéltár / Archives of the Eger Archdiocese
EFL AN AP	Egri Főegyházmegyei Levéltár / Archives of the Eger Archdiocese: Archivum Novum Acta Parochiarum
ÉM ÁB D	Magyar Építészeti Múzeum, Budapest: Árkay Bertalan Dokumentumai / Hungarian Museum of Architecture, Budapest: Documents of Bertalan Árkay
KMA	Keresztény Múzeum, Esztergom: Cséfalvay Pál Adatgyűjtése 1980–1981 / Christian Museum, Esztergom: Archivum of Pál Cséfalvay 1980–1981.
MNL OL	Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Budapest / National Archives of Hungary, Budapest
MNL PmL	MNL Pest megyei Levéltár / National Archives of Hungary Pest County
PEL	Pécsi Egyházmegyei Levéltár, Pécs / Episcopal and Chapter Archives of Pécs
VPKL	Váci Püspöki és Káptalani Levéltár / Episcopal and Chapter Archives of Vác
VPKL AP	Váci Püspöki és Káptalani Levéltár / Episcopal and Chapter Archives of Vác: Acta Parochiarum



## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> This study is the updated version of part of my PhD dissertation, defended in 2019: LANTOS, Edit: *Római katolikus templomépítészet Magyarországon 1945–1970* [Roman Catholic Ecclesiastical Architecture in Hungary 1945–1970], PhD értekezés: Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, Filozófiai tudományi Doktori Iskola, Művészettörténet Program [PhD Thesis: Eötvös Loránd University, Faculty of Arts and Humanities, Doctoral School of Philosophical Sciences, Art History Program], Budapest, 2019. (Available from 2020 via this URL: <https://edit.elte.hu/xmlui/handle/10831/5>) Please refer to this dissertation for the source of my references to architectural history unless indicated otherwise.

<sup>2</sup> 600/1945. ME. sz. r. *Magyarországi Rendeletek Tára* 1945. 79. 1946. I-IV. 55.

<sup>3</sup> CSERHÁTI, József: A magyar katolikus egyház anyagi helyzete, in TURÁNYI László (ed.): *Magyar Katolikus Almanach, II. A magyar katolikus egyház élete 1945–85*, Budapest, 1988, 678–696, 680; BALOGH, Margit: „Isten szabad ege alatt” – az egyházak Magyarországon 1945 és 1948 között, in BALOGH, Margit (ed.): *Felekezetek, egyházpolitika, identitás Magyarországon és Szlovákiában 1945 után*, Budapest, 2008, 49–60, 51.

<sup>4</sup> A 1946. évi I. tc. Az egyház közéleti szerepének megszűnéséről. BALOGH 2008, *op. cit.* (see note 3), 52–53.

<sup>5</sup> 1948. évi 33. tv. BALOGH, Margit: Szabadlábban fogolyként, *Vigília* 65. 2000. 6, 412–416, 403; BALOGH 2008, *op. cit.* (see note 3), 57.

<sup>6</sup> BALOGH 2008, *op. cit.* (see note 3), 55.

<sup>7</sup> HORVÁTH, Attila: Az 1946. évi VII. tc. A demokratikus államrend és a köztársaság védelméről, *Pro Publico Bono – Magyar Közigazgatás* 2018, 1. 94–109, 96.

<sup>8</sup> SZABÓ, Csaba: A katolikus egyház állami ellenőrzése és korlátozása az ötvenes években, *Valóság* 45. 2002. 1, 87–96, 94–95.

<sup>9</sup> KISASSZONDY, Éva: Bevezető, in *Az Állami Egyházügyi Hivatal Jegyzékei. I. Adattár*, Budapest, 2005, 7–20, 7.

<sup>10</sup> Hungarian studies on the topic, in the absence of basic research, do not give an exact picture of the numbers (165–309). The detailed critical evaluation of these (e. g. ERDŐSSY, Béla: *Korunk magyar egyházművészete*, Budapest, 1983; RÉV, Ilona: *Templomépítészetünk ma*, Budapest, 1987; KOVÁCS, Dániel: Modern templomépítészet Magyarországon a II. világháború után, in WESSELÉNYI-GARAY, Andor (ed.): *A mindenség modellje*, Debrecen, 2010. 17–24.; VUKOSZÁVLYEV, Zorán – URBÁN, Erzsébet: Magyarország templomépítésze 1945–1964 között. Vázlat az alkotóművészi értékeléssel megállapítható építészeti folytonosságról, *Építés – Építészettudomány* 44. 2016. 3–4. 247–315.) can be found in LANTOS, Edit: *Logikai készlet. Új építésű római katolikus templomok (1960–1970)*, *Ars Hungarica* 44. 2018, 2. 163–191, 135–136.

<sup>11</sup> Építési minisztériumi rendelet: É. M. 3.196/1958. sz. r. LANTOS, Edit: *Római katolikus templomépítészet Magyarországon 1945 után. Az 1945 és 1957 közti időszak, Művészet-történeti Értesítő* 58. 2009. 2. 223–244, 226.

<sup>12</sup> MNL OL XIX-A-21-d 0032/1960/Eln.

<sup>13</sup> VÖLGYESI, Máttyás (ed.): *Egyházi vonatkozású fontosabb jogszabályok kivonatos gyűjteménye*, Budapest, 1975, 42–43.

<sup>14</sup> As a sequel to this study, an article on the period between 1960 and 1969 is also planned. That article is to discuss the renewal of Hungarian church architecture and also the planners' opportunities for international study.

<sup>15</sup> For example: in 1946, the Mission Society asked permission for opening a chapel at Dunaföldvár. PEL 116/116/1946.

<sup>16</sup> MNL OL XIX-A-21-b 1959. Tolna 76.997/1959.

<sup>17</sup> LANTOS, Edit: „Szabad vallásgyakorlatot biztosít alkotmányunk minden becsületes dolgozónak.” Az egyházi építkezésekre vonatkozó kérelmek, érvelések, azok alapja és háttere 1957 és 1960 közt, *Korall. Társadalomtörténeti Folyóirat* (64.) 2016. 90–109, 61. 39. jegyzet.

<sup>18</sup> [s. n.]: *Lerombolt és újjáépült templomok, Katolikus Szó* 4. 1960. 7. 2.

<sup>19</sup> [s. n.]: *Katolikus Világ, Új Ember* 5. 1949. 49. 4; KMA Nagytálya.

<sup>20</sup> MNL OL XIX-A-21-b ÁEH Általános iratok 2543-2/1955; 1956, 1957. Csoportszámok szerint iktatott iratok, *Építkezés*.

<sup>21</sup> Vallás és Közoktatásügyi miniszter 8000/1948. rendelet 8. §. DANCS, Istvánné (ed.): *Dokumentumok a magyar közoktatás reformjáról 1945–1948*, Budapest, 1979, 809.

<sup>22</sup> 1945 évi 2.400/1945. F. M. sz. rendelete 8. §. *Magyarországi* 1945. 79. I-IV. 1946. 264. Vecsés-Óplébánia obtained a building site in this way in 1947. MNL OL XIX-A-21-b 1960.

<sup>23</sup> KMA Nyírlugos, István Répási vicar's letter, nr. 78/1981.

<sup>24</sup> Novaj, Megyaszó, and Balsa received support in this way. EFL AN AP Novaj 1156/1946; Kassai Részek Megyaszó 2255/1948; Vencsellő 3274/1948.

<sup>25</sup> A 170/1951. (XI. 15. ) MT számú rendelet a Vallásfelekezeti Alap létesítéséről. KÖBEL, Szilvia: *Oszd meg és uralkodj! A pártállam és az egyházak*, Budapest, 2005, 54.

<sup>26</sup> MNL OL XIX-A-21-d 0029/1960/Eln.; PAPP Kálmán: Békés építő munkánk, *Új Ember* 8. 1952. 22. 1; MNL OL XIX-A-21-b 138.332/1958.

<sup>27</sup> E. g. Kisújszállás, Magyarszeceőd. MNL OL XIX-A-21-b 1958. 139.197/1958, 138.176/1958.

<sup>28</sup> EFL AN AP Szatmári Részek Terem 330/1960: 308/1959.

<sup>29</sup> Megyaszó in 1947 2,000, Tófalu in 1949 1,500 HUF (EFL AN AP Kassai Részek Megyaszó 2369/1947, 1225/1948; Par. Kápolna 2138/1949), Vecsés, Andrásy-estate in 1958 10,000, in 1959 15,000 VPKL AP Vecsés 190/1958; 197/1959), Tiszaeszlar received in 1965 50,000 HUF. EFL AN AP Tiszaeszlar 535/1965, 2303/1965.

<sup>30</sup> PEL 1224/1948; EFL AN AP Par. Perkupa 866/1953. Pál Brezanóczy's letter, nr. 190/2954.

<sup>31</sup> EFL AN AP Kassai Részek Megyaszó 1848/947, 274/1949.

<sup>32</sup> Eventually, they received 15,000 HUF for masses said. EFL AN AP Szatmári Részek Terem 330/1960: 2/1958, 391/1959.

<sup>33</sup> MNL OL XIX-A-21-b 1958. Kaskantyú 76.469/5-16/1958.IV.a.

<sup>34</sup> MNL OL XIX-A-21-d 0029/1960/Eln.

<sup>35</sup> CSERHÁTI 1988, *op. cit.* (see note 3), 686, 688.

<sup>36</sup> [s. n.]: *Kegyszer beszerző és árusító szövetkezet alakult, Új Ember* 7. 1951. 37. 1; [s. n.]: Tizenhét egyházközségnek nyújt segítséget az Ecclesia Szövetkezet, *Új Ember* 15. 1959. 26. 2.; EFL AN AP Szatmári Részek Terem 330/1960: 308/1959.

<sup>37</sup> PERGER, Gyula: A kisküti zarándoktemplom története, in ARATÓ György – NEMES Gábor (eds.): *Primus inter omnes*.

*Tanulmányok Bedy Vince születésének 150. évfordulójára*, Győr, 2016, 557–594, 582–583.

<sup>38</sup> s. f.: A hősök csontjai felett, *Új Ember* 5. 1949. 12. 3; ÖLBÉY, Irén: Épül a pomázi templom, *Új Ember* 2. 1946. 33. 7.

<sup>39</sup> EFL AN AP Kassai Részek Megyaszó; 1750/1946; Tó-falu; Par. Kápolna 4114/1950.

<sup>40</sup> VPKL AP Vecsés Andrassy-telep 6865/48.

<sup>41</sup> [s. n.]: Csak egy téglát Makkos-Mária Kegyeplom felépítésére, *Új Ember* 2. 1946. 47. 12; [s. n.]: Cserkészek, diákok építik újjá a pálosok pécsi anyamonostorát, *Új Ember* 3. 1947. 33. 10.

<sup>42</sup> PERGER 2016, *op. cit.* (see note 37), 583–584.

<sup>43</sup> [s. n.]: Új templomtípus Budapesten a boulevard-templom, *Új Ember* 1. 1945. 18. 8.

<sup>44</sup> [s. n.]: Jézus Szíve, *A Szív* 1947. jún. 21. 10.

<sup>45</sup> EFL AN AP Kassai Részek Megyaszó 2255/1948; MARYCZ, Elemér: Akik egy ember sorsáról döntenek. A szedresi templom téglái. Börtönéveim, in T. MURÁNYI, Erika (ed.): *A szedresi templom téglái*, Szekszárd, 2005, 17–78, 45; EFL AN AP Szatmári Részek Terem 330/1960: 93/1957.

<sup>46</sup> VPKL AP Vecsés Andrassy-telep 6517/a/48.

<sup>47</sup> LICHTSCHEIDL SÁRAY, Ferenc: Székesegyházi emlékeim, in LENDVAI, Rezső – KOLTAY, Ferenc (eds.): *A szombathelyi székesegyház bombázása és újjáépítése*, Szombathely, 2015, 133–139, 136–137.

<sup>48</sup> VPKL Fotógyűjtemény Vecsés Ófalu; VPKL AP Cegléd Újplébánia 2692/48; EFL AN AP Kassai Részek Ricse 434/1952; VPKL AP Vecsés Andrassy-telep 4866/48.

<sup>49</sup> EFL AN AP Kassai Részek Megyaszó 1750/1946, 2255/1948.

<sup>50</sup> REGÓCZI, István: *Isten vándora*, Budapest, 1988, 367.

<sup>51</sup> MNL PmL XXIII. 23-b Feljegyzések, jelentések. UDVARDY János – BAI László: A katolikus egyház hitéleti aktivitása, a liturgikus reform tapasztalatai Pest megyében. 1971. 3.

<sup>52</sup> EFL AN AP Novaj 1156/1946; EFL AN AP Hort 1067/948.

<sup>53</sup> MNL OL XIX-A-21-b 1958. Móricgát 138.537/1958.

<sup>54</sup> MAGYAR, Ferenc: Dohányos tanyától Teremig, *Új Ember* 14. 1958. 29. 3; „...Rongyos istállócskában”, *Új Ember* 15. 1959. 3. 2; A Dohányos-tanya ököristállójától a teremi új kápolnáig, *Új Ember* 15. 1959. 30. 4; POSSONYI, László: Isten kezében – Szabolcsi tájakon, *Új Ember* 14. 1958. 46. 3; Pusztaterem nem pusztá többé, *Új Ember* 16. 1960. 37. 3.

<sup>55</sup> EFL AN AP Szatmári Részek Terem 330/1960: 50/1960.

<sup>56</sup> LANTOS 2016, *op. cit.* (see note 17), 61, 64, 66, 69.

<sup>57</sup> [s. n.]: Kispapok a templomépítésnél, *Új Ember* 7. 1951. 39. 3.

<sup>58</sup> One more church designed by Sándor Schneider is known from this period, built at Töltéstava, 1947–1952. LANTOS 2019, *op. cit.* (see note 1), 237.

<sup>59</sup> PERGER 2016, *op. cit.* (see note 37), 580–588.

<sup>60</sup> 3/1958/X.29/ É. M. MNL PmL XXIII.23-a Pest megyei Tanács VB egyházügyi előadójának iratai 1950–1989. 1959. 27/1866.

<sup>61</sup> FÁBIÁN, Gáspár: Dr. Fábrián G. egyházi építkezései, *Magyar Építőművészet* 34. 1934. 6–7. [http://misc.bibl.u-szeged.hu/16401/1/mepito\\_1934\\_006\\_007.pdf](http://misc.bibl.u-szeged.hu/16401/1/mepito_1934_006_007.pdf) (Last accessed: 2019. 06. 04).

<sup>62</sup> EFL AN AP Kassai Részek Megyaszó 95/1958.

<sup>63</sup> KMA Gemzse.

<sup>64</sup> [s. n.]: Új tervezési és építési vállalat, *Dunántúl* 15. 1925. 14. 8. LANTOS, Edit: Épülhettek-e katolikus temp-

lomok Magyarországon 1945 után? És ha nem, akkor mennyi? in *Örökség, történelem, társadalom*, eds. SZIVÓS, Erika – VERESS, Dániel, Budapest, 2020. [in publication]

<sup>65</sup> VARGA, Béla: *Veszprém megyei életrajzi lexikon*, Veszprém, 1998, 531–532.

<sup>66</sup> ÉM ÁB D: bibliographies dating from 1962, applicable up to 1964; for sources for the here listed churches of Árkay refer to LANTOS, Edit: Bauhaus? Modern barokk? Árkay Bertalan Horton (1954) és Taksonyban (1958) épült templomainak építéstörténetei és tervei, *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 65. 2016. 2. 319–343, 320–322; LANTOS, Edit: Enumeratio és ékesség. Árkay Bertalan 1945 utáni (usque) 12 temploma, *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 66. 2017. 2. 243–272, 245–252, 261–262.

<sup>67</sup> U. A.: Kápolna megáldás Hernádon, *Új Ember* 16. 1960. 38. 2.

<sup>68</sup> LANTOS 2017, *op. cit.* (see note 66), 251–252. [s. n.]: Móricgáton... *Új Ember* 15. 1959. 46. 4.

<sup>69</sup> Of his other three churches, the one at Pátroha (1961) is a single-nave church with a square chancel apse and a large semicircular window above the main entrance. The church of Parádsasvár (1962) is similar in its bulk, only the size of the windows and the round window on the façade is different. At Tiszaeszlár (1963–1965) he planned a single-nave church with a square chancel apse and a tower on the front on the base of the old church.

<sup>70</sup> E.g. SOMOGYI, Antal: *A modern katolikus művészet*, Budapest, 1933; SOMOGYI, Antal: *Modern magyar egyházi építészet. Szépművészet* 2. 1941. 3. 54–57.

<sup>71</sup> SOMOGYI 1933, *op. cit.* (see note 70), 3, 6, 21, 23, 30. tables

<sup>72</sup> For a first attempt at this, refer to: HADIK, András – RITOÓK, Pál: *Thomas Antal (1889–1967) építész emlékkiállítás*, Budapest 1988.

<sup>73</sup> LANTOS, Edit: A Salzburgi vázlat és a csonkolt téglatest. Két esettanulmány Árkay Bertalan (1901–1971) és Csaba László (1924–1995) életművéből, *Ars Hungarica* 43. 2017. 2. 215–233, 219.

<sup>74</sup> SOMOGYI 1933, *op. cit.* (see note 70), 124–126.

<sup>75</sup> SOMOGYI 1933, *op. cit.* (see note 70), 22, 5, 24, 6, 17. tables

<sup>76</sup> SOMOGYI 1933, *op. cit.* (see note 70), 32. table

<sup>77</sup> Looking at Holzmeister's drawings, the intention to join the arches and the long axis is obvious. URL: [http://sammlungenonline.albertina.at/?query=Inventarnummer=\[CLHA6/11/1\]&showtype=record](http://sammlungenonline.albertina.at/?query=Inventarnummer=[CLHA6/11/1]&showtype=record) and [http://sammlungenonline.albertina.at/?query=Inventarnummer=\[CLHA6/11/2\]&showtype=record](http://sammlungenonline.albertina.at/?query=Inventarnummer=[CLHA6/11/2]&showtype=record) (Last accessed: 2016. 07. 24.)

<sup>78</sup> SOMOGYI 1933, *op. cit.* (see note 70), 106, 70.

<sup>79</sup> FERKAI, András: *Molnár Farkas*. Budapest, 2011, 334–335.

<sup>80</sup> Ferkai emphasizes that the commissioner “didn’t want a modern church, but a »narrative« building from Molnár who was ‘crushed in the struggle with the commissioner.’” FERKAI 2011, *op. cit.* (see note 79), 342.

<sup>81</sup> This book's thesis and illustrations were cited in the post-war literature. e.g. The „Seven archetypes” of Rudolf Schwarz. *Architectural Record* 1948. 6. 117–119.

<sup>82</sup> MAVILIO, Stefano: „I Soliti Ignoti”, in MAVILIO, Stefano (ed.): *Guida all'architettura sacra Roma 1945–2005*, Milano, 2006, 7–10.



- <sup>83</sup> MARINO, Natalizia: Santi Sette Fondatori, in MAVILIO 2006, *op. cit.* (see note 82), 107–108.
- <sup>84</sup> ANTONELLIS, Sara: San Giovanni Bosco; Gesu Divin Lavoratore, in MAVILIO 2006, *op. cit.* (see note 82), 135–136; 212–213.
- <sup>85</sup> French churches: whole issue, including churches at Yvetot (circular nave), Caen (oval), Saint-Sulpice (square), Royan (hanging roof), Ouezzane (N. Morocco), Pont-l'Abbe-Picauville (for psychiatric hospital), & many others. *Architecture Française* 1956. 161–162. 1–95.
- <sup>86</sup> Special issue. Roman Catholic church architecture and art, *Werk* 1951. 8. 225–256.
- <sup>87</sup> KUIPERS, Marieke: Verzuiling, in *Toonbeelden van de wederopbouw. Architectuur, stedenbouw en landinrichting van herrijzend Nederland*, Zwolle, 2002, 80–93, 82–83.
- <sup>88</sup> MARINO, Natalizia: Nostra Signora SS. Sacramento e Santi Martiri Canadesi, in MAVILIO 2006, *op. cit.* (see note 82), 54–55.
- <sup>89</sup> Buildings in the round. MIT completes two of today's most talked about buildings – a cylindrical chapel and a domed auditorium, *Architectural Forum* 104. 1956. Jan. 116–121.
- <sup>90</sup> BOLLENBECK, Karl Josef (ed.): *Glaube und Raum. Neue Kirchen im Rheinland 1945–1995*, Köln, 1995, 68.
- <sup>91</sup> SOMOGYI 1941, *op. cit.* (see note 70), table after nr. 54.
- <sup>92</sup> Állambiztonsági Szolgálatok Történeti Levéltára (Historical Archives of the Hungarian State Security, Budapest) 3.1.5 O-14963/1/127; 3.1.5. O-14963/1/278–279.
- <sup>93</sup> Tribute to the Dutch architect M. J. Granpré Molière (...) “De kerk op de Heuvel” (The Church on the Hill) at Breda, Roman Catholic church; Designed by: Molière, *Forum* 1953. 11. 384, 394–401.
- <sup>94</sup> PICHARD, Joseph: *Les Église nouvelles à travers le monde*, Paris, 1960, 84. 72. picture
- <sup>95</sup> MARINO, Natalizia: Santa Barnaba, in MAVILIO 2006, *op. cit.* (see note 82), 123–124.
- <sup>96</sup> ANTONELLIS, Sara: San Fernando Re, in MAVILIO 2006, *op. cit.* (see note 82), 130.
- <sup>97</sup> ANTONELLIS, Sara: Sant' Ignazio d'Antiochia, in MAVILIO 2006, *op. cit.* (see note 82), 144.
- <sup>98</sup> ANTONELLIS, Sara: San Raimondo Nonnato, in MAVILIO 2006, *op. cit.* (see note 82), 159–160.
- <sup>99</sup> New church architecture in Germany. (...) St. Laurentius, Munich; E. Steffann & S. Ostreicher. (...) *Architectural Record* 1962. 6. 125–140; PICHARD 1960, *op. cit.* (see note 94), 83–84. 65. picture; BOLLENBECK, 1995, *op. cit.* (see note 90) 55. 128.
- <sup>100</sup> CRISPICIANI, Luiciana: San Giustino. (Francesco Fornari, 1951–1955), in MAVILIO 2006, *op. cit.* (see note 82), 89.
- <sup>101</sup> CORVI, Vittorio: San Pio V.; Antonellis, Sara: San Raffaele Arcangelo, in MAVILIO 2006, *op. cit.* (see note 82), 246. 247–248.
- <sup>102</sup> VILLANI, Paola: Sacra Famiglia a Villa Troili, in MAVILIO 2006, *op. cit.* (see note 82), 250–251.
- <sup>103</sup> CRISPICIANI, Luiciana: Ascensione di Nostro Signore Gesu Cristo. (1948–1955); Santa Maria Immacolata a San Vincenzo de' Paoli. (1949–1950), in MAVILIO 2006, *op. cit.* (see note 82), 114, 152.
- <sup>104</sup> ANTONELLIS, Sara: Santa Silvia, in MAVILIO 2006, *op. cit.* (see note 82), 248–249.
- <sup>105</sup> BTM KM ÉGy 68.141.5\_41a, 42a.
- <sup>106</sup> CORVI, Vittorio: Santi Protomartiri Romani, in MAVILIO 2006, *op. cit.* (see note 82), 252.
- <sup>107</sup> MILLS, Edward D.: *The Modern Church*, London, 1956, 88–89, 96.
- <sup>108</sup> CHRIST-JANER, Albert – FOLEY, Mary Mix: *Modern Church Architecture: A Guide To The Form And Spirit Of Twentieth Century Religious Buildings*, New York – Toronto – London, 1962, 52.
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