Constructing a Modern Image. The Representation of Post-War Churches in Belgian and French Periodicals (1955-1970)

ARTICLE

Post-War Churches, Periodicals, Building Actors, Innovative Building Materials, Construction History

/Abstract

This article examines the representation of post-war churches in 6 Belgian and French periodicals during the 1950s and 1960s, namely Art d'Eglise: Art d'Eglise, Art Chrétien, La Maison, L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui, La Technique des Travaux and Techniques et Architecture. By unravelling how the architectural, liturgical, and material dimension of post-war churches tied together in the discourse on religious architecture, this article article investigates the dual the dual meaning of the 'constructed image' throughout these publications. We both look at the construction of the modern church made visible through the lens of these issues, as well as at the actors that played a vital role in the actual construction of the church. Hence, this article deconstructs the the portrayal of the modern church by looking into the complexity of this large building campaign to comprehend how the material dimension of post-war churches contributed to shaping this image of religious modernity.

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Stephanie Van de Voorde Vrije Universiteit Brussel - Department of Architectural Engineering Stephanie.Van.de.Voorde@vub.be https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8302-7265 Chiara Kuijpers joined the Architectural Engineering Lab of the VUB in 2023, where she examines the construction history and heritage value of roof structures of post-war churches. This PhD research, called "Meaning and Material", is funded by FWO, in collaboration with Femke Van der Meulen (KU Leuven) and under supervision of Prof. Stephanie Van de Voorde (VUB) & Prof. Sven Sterken (KU Leuven).

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Introduction

In the aftermath of the Second World War, thousands of churches were built in sprawling suburban areas across Western Europe. In Flanders alone, for example, more than 400 churches were built between 1945 and 1975.¹ This massive church building campaign aimed not only to serve the faithful, but also to project the image of the modern church: one that stood closer to its community and adapted to the rapid changes in modern society. This vision was reflected in the architecture of post-war churches: an open floorplan was introduced, physically manifesting the liturgical renewal that was confirmed by the Second Vatican Council in the 1960s.² To realise these open interiors, novel construction techniques and building materials like reinforced concrete, laminated timber, or steel space frames were utilized. These structures were often left explicitly visible in the interior as symbols of modernity.

The growing focus of periodicals on construction materials and techniques almost coincided with the advent of modern church architecture in Belgium, marked by two influential events in the late 1950s: Expo 58 in Brussels³ in 1958 and the Pro Arte Christiana competition for a church in Mortsel (Antwerp)⁴ in 1959. These events initiated a wave of liturgical and architectural renewal in Belgium, supported by ingenious construction methods. This phenomenon, in turn, encouraged further experimentation and innovation with new building materials in post-war churches. While the liturgical and architectural dimension of this endeavour already received ample attention, it is striking that the material aspect has not been profoundly acknowledged in existing literature on post-war architecture.

This article explores the dual narrative of the "construction of the modern church" in post-war Western Europe, particularly examining how the image of the Belgian church was shaped by and reflected in liturgical, architectural, and technical periodicals from 1955 until 1970, both national and international. Firstly, the article examines how these periodicals portrayed the innovative

¹ During the post-war period, Belgium was divided in two main regions: Flanders and Wallonia. Although new churches were built all over the country, the large increase in church buildings is particularly striking in Flanders, partly due to the suburbanisation and population growth at the time. Due to the strong presence of the Catholic faith in this area, almost exclusively Catholic churches were built. This church building campaign was especially encouraged by the archdiocese Mechlin-Brussels, in line with the religious, architectural, social and political trends of the time. For more info, see Sven Sterken, "A House for God or a Home for His People? The Domus Dei Church Building Action in the Belgian Archbishopric", *Architectural History*, no. 56 (January 2013): 401-402; Sven Sterken, and Eva Weyns, eds., *Territories of Faith. Religion, Urban Planning and Demographic Change in Post-War Europe* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2022), https://lirias.kuleuven.be/3678849?limo=0; Anne-Françoise Morel and Stephanie Van de Voorde, "Rethinking the Twentieth-Century Catholic Church in Belgium: The Inter-Relationship between Liturgy and Architecture", *Architectural History*, no. 55 (2012): 269-297; Marc Dubois, "Primal Image of all Architecture. Churches in Belgium and the Netherlands after 1950", in *Europäischer Kirchenbau 1950-2000*, ed. Wolfgang Jean Stock (München: Pretsel Verlag, 2002), 112-127.

² Morel and Van de Voorde, "Rethinking the Twentieth-Century Catholic Church in Belgium", 292.

³ Rika Devos, Mil De Kooning and Geert Bekaert. *Moderne Architectuur Op Expo 58: Voor Een Humaner Wereld* (Brussel: Mercatorfonds, 2006).

⁴ The Pro Arte Christiana competition was the first competition ever organised in Belgium on the topic of religious architecture, initiated by Franciscan monk and painter Geroen De Bruycker and in collaboration with the financial diocesan organization *Domus Dei*. Several architects were invited to design a parish church for 500 people in a suburban district near Antwerp. (See The editorial board of *Art d'Eglise*, "Le concours d'architecture 'Pro Arte Christiana'', *Art d'Eglise*, no. 111 (April 1960): 315-322; Sterken, "A House for God or a Home for His People?", 407.

construction techniques integral to architectural and liturgical renewals, questioning whether these depictions accurately reflected the main contributors or if they were contextualised for broader narratives. Secondly, the article analyses the portrayal of these innovations in periodicals and their impact on both public and professional discourses. The discussion aims to unravel the complex interplay between the constructed image of modern churches in print and their physical manifestation, shaped by a vast network of stakeholders and professional building actors. In doing so, the article highlights not only the material, technical and structural dimension of church renewal in Belgium after the Second World War, but also the role of media in shaping and disseminating architectural and cultural narratives.

To (de)construct this two-fold narrative, the article employs a selected framework of six periodicals for quantitative and qualitative analyses. The findings from these analyses are interpreted across the three domains central to this research: the liturgical, architectural, and technical discourse. This approach not only elucidates the relationship between each type of periodical and the architectural practices, but also illuminates how printed media served as a critical interface between theoretical architectural concepts and their practical applications, ultimately shaping the modern church's role as a central community space in a fast-modernizing society.

Methodological Framework: a Study of Periodicals

Periodicals played an essential part in spreading the image of a modern church. As easily accessible and widespread mediums of information, periodicals were written and read by many stakeholders involved in church building, such as architects, ecclesiastical authorities, and also engineers. Consequently, periodical literature significantly contributed to the broad dissemination of knowledge on the typology of the modern church. By publishing and reflecting the debate surrounding modern church architecture, periodicals provided a continuous stream of inspiration for all concerned actors. Stakeholders learned about recent projects through the texts and images that circulated in the publications, even if these provided only a limited narrative or perspective compared to the insights gained from a real-life visit to the actual building.

Despite most of these periodicals ceasing publication since the 1970s, they remain a crucial resource in understanding the post-war church-building campaign. Due to their fast-paced publishing, these periodicals serve as valuable witnesses that closely followed developments in religious architecture and the post-war building culture around it.⁵

Not only did they present numerous modern church buildings in a very brief period, they also offered various reflections on the liturgical and architectural innovation within post-war church architecture. These reflections were

⁵ Marc Dubois, "Architectuurtijdschriften – een fragmentair beeld", in *De beschikbare ruimte: reflecties over bouwen*, ed. Pieter Uyttenhove (Tielt: Drukkerij-Uitgeverij Lannoo, 1990), 131-141.

obviously shaped by the background and viewpoint of each periodical.

Since both Belgian and French periodicals were frequently read across Belgium, the analysis includes six periodicals: three Belgian (*Art d'Eglise, La Maison,* and *La Technique des Travaux*) and three French (*Art Chrétien, L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, and *Techniques et Architecture*), each with a liturgical, architectural, or technical focus. Although the Belgian publications were all written in French,⁶ they originated from different regions: *Art d'Eglise* was Flemish, *La Maison* was based in Brussels, and *La Technique des Travaux* was established in Wallonia. Despite their regional backgrounds, their content and focus were driven more by discourse than location. Typically, these Belgian publications were limited in scope, primarily covering national projects, with the exception of *Art d'Eglise*, which frequently expanded its focus.

Including French journals in the analysis allows to better situate Belgian architectural projects within the wider international debate on church architecture, a topic only sparsely covered in Belgian publications. French journals like *Art Chrétien, L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, and *Techniques et Architecture* provided a broader perspective on both national and international trends in religious construction. These French periodicals, easily accessible to a Belgian audience due to France's proximity and the shared language, enriched the Belgian discourse with diverse images and reflections on modern religious architecture, offering context and inspiration for Belgian projects. Belgian periodicals indeed often made brief textual references to French examples to position Belgian church buildings within the broader contemporary discourse on religious architecture. Occasionally, French examples were also explicitly featured in Belgian periodicals, serving as significant inspiration for the Belgian audience.⁷

Three Complementary Discourses

Naturally, churches were regularly featured in liturgical periodicals such as *Art d'Eglise* and *Art Chrétien. Art d'Eglise* was well-known in ecclesiastical circles for its numerous publications on developments in religious art and architecture. As the first Belgian liturgical periodical, emerging in 1926 and published by the Benedictine monks of the Sint-Andries abbey in Bruges (Flanders),⁸ it served as an important reference point when modern church building became a topic in architectural circles. From 1958 onwards, the writings of Dom. Frédéric Debuyst,⁹ the editor-in-chief, attracted much international attention as he frequently reported on international and national developments in church architecture and liturgy.

⁶ Until the post-World War II era, French was the dominant language in government, education, and business in Belgium, which by the end of the sixties started to create tensions with the growing sense of Flemish identity and the use of the Dutch language in Flanders.

⁷ Examples: Joseph Pichard, "Les églises-témoins", *La Maison*, no. 9 (September 1958): 323-325; Pierre Blanchard, "La Basilique du Sacré-Cœur à Alger", *La Technique des Travaux*, no. 7-8 (July 1962): 218-232.

⁸ Dubois, "Primal Image of all Architecture," 113.

⁹ Frédéric Debuyst (1922-2017) was the editor-in-chief of *Art d'Eglise* and a Benedictine monk of the Sint-Andries Abbey where the periodical was published. A collection of his writings for *Art d'Eglise* can be found in Frédéric Debuyst, *Architecture moderne et célébration chrétienne* (Bruges: Biblica, 1966).

Other international figures, like Dom. Hans Van Der Laan¹⁰ and Joseph Pichard,¹¹ also occasionally contributed to the periodical. Pichard was also the director of the French periodical *Art Chrétien*: he used the periodical intensively as a platform for his own theoretical reflections and to document and represent the numerous church constructions across various French dioceses.¹²

Widespread architectural periodicals, such as the Belgian La Maison and the French L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui, began covering trends in modern church architecture somewhat later than their liturgical counterparts. Within the architectural discourse, La Maison was an important reference for recent architectural developments in Belgium. Founded in Brussels in 1945 by a large interdisciplinary committee that was largely associated with the modernist school for architecture and applied arts La Cambre,¹³ articles on church architecture were mainly authored by André Lanotte,¹⁴ a central figure in the reconstruction period in Wallonia. Dom. Frédéric Debuyst and Dom. Grégoire Watelet¹⁵ also occasionally wrote for the periodical. In 1968, La Maison reached a peak in its coverage of modern churches by launching two special issues on modern religious architecture, including lists of church projects, articles on church architects, and theoretical reflections by the Belgian art and architectural critic Geert Bekaert.¹⁶ Despite these efforts, the representation of modern religious architecture remained relatively low compared to L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui, the French architectural periodical established in 1930 by sculptor, architect and engineer André Bloc in

¹⁰ Dom. Hans Van Der Laan (1940-1991) was a Dutch monk and leading figure in religious architecture during the post-war period. (See Lambertus Moonen, "Biography. Dom Hans van Der Laan, Life and Works." *Dom Hans van Der Laan* (blog), 2001-2018, https://domhansvanderlaan.nl/nl/biografie/.) His article in *Art d'Eglise* can be found in Dom. Hans Van der Laan, "Déterminations naturelle sou surnaturelles pour LA FORME DE L'ÉGLISE", *Art d'Eglise*, no. 1 (January 1955): 1-4.

¹¹ Joseph Pichard (1892-1973) was a theologist, philosopher, and the director of the liturgical periodical *Art Chrétien*. His articles for *Art d'Eglise* are Joseph Pichard, "Les nouvelles églises en France," *Art d'Eglise*, no. 2 (1957): 145-149; Joseph Pichard, "Les nouvelles églises de la région Parisienne," *Art d'Eglise*, no. 115 (April 1961): 46-57.

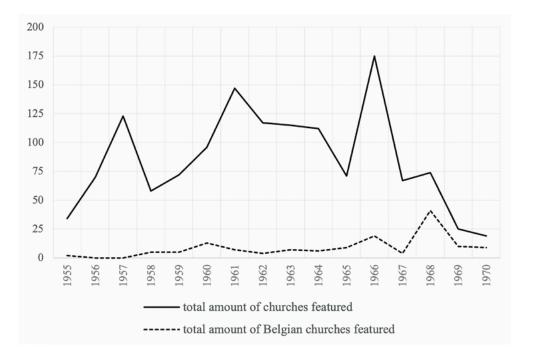
¹² Art Chrétien took over the periodical Le Christ dans la Banlieue, which documented the constructions of the diocese of Paris, in 1959. This influenced the content greatly as they portrayed many practical reflections on building so many churches on such a large scale. See the short entry in Art Chretien, no. 16 (October 1959): 9.

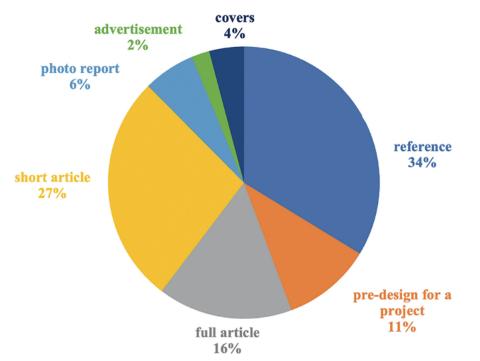
¹³ *L'École Nationale Supérieure des Arts Visuels de La Cambre* is a renowned art and design school in Brussels, founded in 1927 by the architect Henry van de Velde. It offers interdisciplinary programs in visual arts, design, and architecture, emphasizing creativity, innovation, and critical thinking. The architecture program is particularly esteemed for integrating artistic and technical education. See Jacques Aron, *La Cambre et L'architecture: Un Regard Sur Le Bauhaus Belge* (Brussels: Mardaga, 1982).

¹⁴ Canon André Lanotte (1914-2010) was the secretary of the *Commission Royale des Monuments et des Sites* (Royal Commission of Monuments and Sites) and *Commission de Surveillance pour la Restauration des Edifices Religieux* (Supervisory Commission for the Restoration of Religious Buildings). The fact that he was present in several church commissions gave him the possibility to develop his vision on church architecture completely. He often gave advice on the reconstruction of churches and could choose the architect for this project. More than 750 churches were restored with his help. See Zsuzsanna Böröcz, "A Remarkable Continuity between 1930s Ideas and Reconstruction after the Second World War", *Living with History*, 1914-1964: *Rebuilding Europe After the First and Second World Wars and the Role of Heritage Preservation*, ed. Nicholas Bullock and Luc Verpoest (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2021), 175-187.

¹⁵ Dom. Grégoire Watelet (1918-2007) was an architect and writer for both *La Maison* and *Art d'Eglise*. His articles for *Art d'Eglise* are Grégoire Watelet, "Transformations à l'église abbatiale", *Art d'Eglise*, no. 108 (July 1959): 209-213; Grégoire Watelet, "Concours d'architecture pour le monastère de Wavreumont", *Art d'Eglise*, no. 121 (October 1962): 230-241.

¹⁶ Geert Bekaert (1928-2016) was a well-known architecture critic and a former Jesuit who intensely reflected on the role of the church in modern society. He had written several books and often appeared in Belgian and international periodicals. He often discussed the sacrality in daily life, the role of religion in modern society and the 'dwelling church', a notion he shared with Marc Dessauvage. See: Geert Bekaert, *In een of ander huis. Kerkenbouw op een keerpunt* (Tielt: Lannoo, 1967); Geert Bekaert, "Het sakrale is het alledaagse", *La Maison*, no. 11 (November 1968): 444-449; Geert Bekaert, "Eglises de Marc Dessauvage", *La Maison*, no. 12 (December 1968): 474-479.





collaboration with architect Pierre Vago. With prominent figures like Le Corbusier and Auguste Perret on its editorial board, the periodical gained international recognition from early on.¹⁷ Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* published four special issues on religious architecture, together with numerous short articles on various French and international projects.¹⁸

Fig. 1 Quantitative representation of each church that is discussed through all six periodicals (made by the authors).

Fig. 2

1

2

Ratio of types of articles on post-war churches through the six periodical (made by the authors).

¹⁷ André Bloc (1896-1966) was an architect, sculptor and engineer. As he had developed several interests, he founded several periodicals, such as *Revue de l'ingenieur* in 1922 and *Art d'Aujourd'hui* in 1940. See: "La Revue: l'Histoire d'AA", L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui, March 17, 2017. https://www.larchitecturedaujourdhui.fr/aas-history/?lang=en.

¹⁸ The four special editions of *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* are no. 71 (April 1957); no. 96 (June 1961); no. 108 (June 1963); no. 125 (April 1966).

As post-war churches often used modern building materials, they were also sporadically featured in technical periodicals such as La Technique des Travaux (Wallonia) and Techniques et Architecture (France). La Technique des Travaux, established by the Liège-based foundation firm Pieux Franki¹⁹ in 1925, focused on public buildings in reinforced concrete that were typically constructed using the firm's patented foundation system pieux Franki. Although they did not specifically concentrate on modern church buildings, engineers authored articles that paid close attention to the material aspects of church construction, including the dimensioning of reinforced concrete elements, on-site assembly, and force distribution within the structure. In contrast, Techniques et Architecture, despite its limited publications of modern religious architecture, focused on general construction and the discourse around larger (French) projects. WIth renowned architects and church builders like Le Corbusier and Auguste Perret on its editorial board, the periodical emphasizedd the international discourse around church architecture, while briefly mentioning the implemented construction methods and the enterprises involved.

While each periodical maintained a specific focus - be it liturgical, architectural, or technical - at times there was an underlying interplay between these domains, leading to overlaps and exchanges in their discourses. Furthermore, the discourse - be it one-sided or more interdisciplinary - was not only a result of the journal's specific angle but also closely tied to the composition of its editorial board. For instance, Pichard and Debuyst, both experts in their fields, were the sole editors of Art Chrétien and Art d'Eglise, respectively, using their specialized church knowledge to shape the periodicals' content. In contrast, La Technique des Travaux also relied on specialized knowledge, but from a more technical point of view, giving space to architects and engineers to write extensive articles on church projects, with only brief references to architectural and liturgical aspects. This interplay of architectural, technical and liturgical discourses was more pronounced in periodicals like La Maison, Architecture d'Aujourd'hui, and Technique et Architecture, which benefited from interdisciplinary editorial boards that included architects, urban planners and engineers. Furthermore, articles by critics and clergy, such as Grégoire Watelet, Frédéric Debuyst, Geert Bekaert and André Lanotte in La Maison, added further depth to the discussions.

The flourishing of architectural periodicals in the post-war era closely aligned with the revival of church construction. Yet, despite the new energy in the publishing landscape during the 1950s and 1960s, most of these periodicals (had) ceased publication in the 1970s, leading to a decline in publications on religious architecture.²⁰ [Fig. 1] *Art Chrétien* already stopped publishing in 1966, despite

¹⁹ La Compagnie Internationale des Pieux Armés Frankignoul or shortly, Pieux Franki, was established in 1911 in Liège by Edgard Frankignoul, two years after his system for foundation poles was patented. See "History. More than 100 years of international experience in foundation solutions", Franki Foundations, s.d. https://www.ffgb.be/ en/about/history/.

²⁰ Publications began to decline at the end of the 1960s, partly due to a general economic crisis that put pressure on the profession of the architect and, indirectly, on the operation of these magazines. In addition, there was a growing demand for Flemish autonomy, demanding more publications written in Dutch. Therefore, as the

its ambitious and prominent position. Three years later, in November 1969, *Art d'Eglise* appealed to its readers to pay their subscriptions, already facing financial struggles until its eventual demise in 1980. *La Maison* also ceased publication in 1970, marking marking the end of both the church building campaign itself as well as the prominent periodicals that presented this endeavour.

Hence, this research focuses on the period from 1955 (as a lead-up to Expo 58 and the 1959 competition Pro Arte Christiana) to 1970. Every publication on a church building in these six periodicals between 1955 and 1970 was collected, resulting in 900 projects.

Before the sharp decline in publications on post-war churches in 1966, several peeks are detectable within the analysed period. These often coincide with special issues featuring the broader debate on religious architecture. However, not every project was generously featured. Most churches were only published in brief formats, such as short articles or references within larger theoretical articles [Fig. 2]. This research thus focuses on the projects portrayed more extensively and larger articles reflecting on recent developments within religious architecture.

The examined periodicals also revealed several key figures who played crucial roles in shaping the modern church's image. As the building sector evolved throughout the 1950s and 1960s, a complex network of stakeholders was involved in this grand church-building campaign: architects, ecclesiastical authorities, engineers, general contractors, the community, manufacturers, labourers, etc. Not every actor of this network was equally visible: while some actors were broadly acknowledged in these periodicals, the importance of others was often marginalized. This research will further examine the publication of post-war churches through the perspective of three types of actors, parallel to the three domains: the ecclesiastical authorities, the architect, and the actors responsible for the actual construction of the building. By retracing how different actors are presented in each periodical, this article tries to identify how the three thematic domains influence one another.

Ecclesiastical Drivers of Post-war Church Building: from Local Church Fabrics to High-ranking Authorities

The large-scale church building campaign of the post-war period gradually initiated new liturgical tendencies, consolidated by the Second Vatican Council in the 1960s.²¹ This renewal drastically changed the layout of post-war churches, thereby influencing their architecture and construction. Ecclesiastical authorities reflected extensively on the liturgy, prompting a widespread church building

number of periodicals decreased, fewer churches were published. There was also a declining interest, that was further encouraged by a wave of secularization that was taking place throughout Western Europe. See: Anne Van Loo, ed., *Repertorium van de architectuur in België van 1830 tot heden*, (Antwerpen: Mercatorfonds, 2003), 208; Jannière Hélène, Sornin Alexis, Vanlaethem France, eds., *Revues d'architecture dans les années 1960 et 1970: Fragments d'histoire événementielle, intellectuelle, matérielle / Architectural Periodicals in the 1960s and 1970s: Towards a Factual, Intellectual and Material History.* Montréal: CCA, IRHA. 2009.

²¹ Morel and Van de Voorde, "Rethinking the Twentieth-Century Catholic Church in Belgium", 292.



campaign. This campaign was driven both locally by the church fabrics (Dutch: *kerkfabrieken*) and nationally, by figures such as the archbishop and cardinals, who spearheaded modernizations in the regional church building efforts.²² By encouraging these liturgical changes during the construction of individual churches or entire regions, these figures ensured that church architecture remained aligned with recent societal changes, facilitated by modern construction methods.

Church fabrics are the smallest organisational units responsible for managing individual churches in Belgium.²³ Usually established by a handful of volunteers, they manage and maintain church property, finance, and administration. Church fabrics play an essential role in ensuring the continuity and functioning of the church community. In some projects by renowned church architect Marc Dessauvage, they were presented in the periodicals indirectly as the client.²⁴ In other articles, they were given an active role, as part of the community using the church space, seen in several projects of the architect Roger Bastin like his church of Beauraing.²⁵ [Fig. 3] In the case of the Clarissenklooster in Ostend, by the professor and architect Paul Felix, the active role of the abbess of the monastery was explicitly recognized as essential. Her involvement in the organisation and materialisation of the project resulted in a building that aligned with the liturgical views of their order, creating a modest but remarkable monastery.²⁶ The contribution of religious orders was often acknowledged in periodicals, for instance in the article on the monastery of La Tourette by Le Corbusier in Techniques et Architecture.²⁷ The recognition of the church fabric and/or the larger religious community as active decision-makers in the construction of post-war church buildings varied however depending on the periodical and the project.

²² Sterken, "A House for God or a Home for His People?", 393-400.

^{23 &}quot;Kerkfabrieken" are specific for the maintenance of churches in Belgium because of a combination of historical, political, and legal factors. The concept was established during the Napoleonic period and was adapted by the Belgian state after independence in 1830. The Belgian Constitution of 1831, which guarantees freedom of religion and state support of worship, plays a crucial role. In addition, Belgium has a strong Catholic tradition and a complex administrative structure with strong local governments cooperating with church fabrics. This unique combination of circumstances has led to the survival and specific functioning of church fabrics in Belgium.

^{24 &}quot;Eglise Saint-Joseph à Vosselaar (Dessauvage)", *La Maison*, no. 12 (December 1968): 477; "Eglise Saint-Croix à Willebroek (Dessauvage)", *La Maison*, no. 12 (December 1968): 478.

²⁵ André Lanotte, "Eglises de Roger Bastin", La Maison, no. 11 (November 1968): 458-465.

²⁶ Frédéric Debuyst, "Le monastère des Clarisses d'Ostende", Art d'Eglise, no. 107 (April 1959): 177-195.

²⁷ Dominique Izoard and Jean Claude Arati, "La lumière au couvent de la Tourette", *Technique et Architecture* 29, no. 4 (August 1968): 92-95.

Nouvelles SI CHANTIERS SONT EN COURS OU EN PROJET des Chantiers ÉGLISES PAROISSIALES IMPLANTATIONS NOUV of Cyville de Charanne ofpry - Netro-Dome de Saud-F-(P. .50, run de Metture) williers - Baled-Paul - Sa at Masiy) pas d'Enghise) art - Balat.flat nde 1960 qui purattre le Reise de M Bautova Patere des Sainte Accele (Porte Passhet) Beulevard Ney - R. Manb Beulevard Ney - Rae Hen Saland) Scine to date consulte d a. LE 6 hoven be 1979 serai avec vous jusqu'à la fin des temps Cotte I hai an orith Seine-et-Marne un attel! E Christ in restera present à hote grande litt que si Valci le programme que nous communique Mar Romain. L'église de TOURNAN a été constituit et achèvé avec les dommages de guerre. L'église de VILLEPARISIS n'à pas encore recu son mobilier et il faut y ajouter un effort I'une ampleus cousitirable MEAUX, une des cinq MEAUX, une des cinq ncó. Villes-satellites, au nouveau quartier des Pierris, une chapelle provisoirris. Le Elle a de 430 à 300 places, et, partagée en trois par des cleisens mobiles. A conductiones nour les 400 ou 500 entants du quartier. Il faudra cons de chopelle les mi soter d'églines and the r ou trois années qui viennent, relle ville de 30.000 à 35.000 habita de de MEAUX à TRILPORT, pou de de MEAUX à TRILPORT, pou va commence melle il faut Jouples, qui entourent la Capitale! a cipital, contendent conversion una pareitata modera a des Jennas, etc., et qui pourna contratismento no esta de unas, etc., et qui pourna contratisment toutes has exectaux. A conte église principale, il faudra ajouter au moment, d'unas grandes contratistatas, etc., for caury ai refor Do. Commente, entreprotecta, des particitations entre aporter au moint équite autre églisme transmission de la construcción de l in Can I Talta Ant. A Pasis Verdier, les Chantiers du Cardi construction d'églises nouvelles tiers du Cardinal n'a cessé de cr banlieue et la c tâche des Cham ...M. le Curé, ne pouvant trouver les terraiss qui odeste chapelle construite près de la gare. Les nouvelle et une chapelle. t d'être construite dans le secteur Nord. Elle a ants de ces nouveaux quartiers sont déjà inscrits itre suivant le rythme de la construe ent la Présence du Christ dans 157 églises, édifiées exclusive oyers leur d 41

In this respect, it is interesting to take a closer look at Domus Dei. Established in 1953 in the archbishopric of Mechlin, Domus Dei was a crucial diocesan organisation responsible for financing, planning and promoting the construction of many churches in the post-war period, for instance by holding public fundraising campaigns and door-to-door money collections.²⁸ It is however remarkable that its numerous advertisements and folders never appeared in any of the Belgian periodicals, not even in *Art d'Eglise*. Domus Dei was only sporadically mentioned as financial contributor to projects or, for instance, as co-organiser of the 1959 competition Pro Arte Christiana competition.²⁹ In some instances, its involvement was even perceived negatively, as it imposed its choice of architect on the projects it funded, according to André Lanotte in *La Maison*.³⁰ Yet generally, it remained out of sight in these periodicals, which paid little attention to financial aspects. This contrasts with publications like *Art Chrétien* and *Technique et Architecture*, which gave considerable thought to how the construction of postwar churches was financially supported.³¹

Ecclesiastical authorities with a prominent position played an important role in managing and directing the church building campaign within their designated

Fig. 4 List of the 51 ongoing church constructions and state of affairs in the parish of Seine-et-Marne (source: *Art Chrétien*, no. 16, 1959, 41-42.

²⁸ Sterken, "A House for God or a Home for His People?", 398-400.

^{29 &}quot;Le concours d'architecture 'Pro Arte Christiana", 315.

³⁰ In this article, Lanotte portrays the projects funded by Domus Dei as the negative opposite of those of Bastin. With Roger Bastin, the client always chose the architect deliberately. This is in contrast to the churches of Domus Dei, where the organisation themselves strongly advised for the choice of certain architects. See: Lanotte, "Eglises de Roger Bastin", 459.

³¹ Examples: "Orsay (Seine-et-Oise) le monastère la Clarté-Dieu", *Technique et Architecture 16*, no. 3 (September 1956): 106-111; Joseph Pichard, "Actualités", *Art Chretien*, no. 14-15 (1959): 17-21.

areas.³² These figures are, however, hardly acknowledged in Belgian periodicals. A prime example is the relation between church architect Marc Dessauvage and the archbishop of Mechlin-Brussels: while academic research extensively highlights the appointment of Dessauvage as the (unofficial) church architect for the archdiocese, this relationship was only once referred to in the periodicals.³³ Internationally, this involvement was more evident. Periodicals like Art Chrétien provided insights into the decision-making processes that fuelled the church building campaign [Fig. 4], especially highlighting the strong involvement of ecclesiastical authorities and giving them a voice through introductory articles. Notable high-ranked figures included Cardinal Feltin, the archbishop of Paris, Paul Winniger, the abbot of Strasbourg, and S.E. Mgr. Dupuy, the auxiliary bishop of Lyon.³⁴ In other French periodicals, ecclesiastical authorities were consistently featured in articles on larger projects. For instance, in articles about the Cathedral of Lourdes in L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui, Pope Jean XXIII, Cardinal Roncalli, and Msg. Théas were all mentioned or portrayed in photographs.³⁵ Their presence indicated the prestige of these grand projects and underscored the progressive stance and modernization of the Catholic Church.

While ecclesiastical authorities took great pride in their endeavours to construct more church buildings during the post-war era, this sentiment is reflected in all six analysed periodicals, albeit in a different way. Internationally, periodicals paid significant attention to these important figures through broader articles on liturgical changes, large building campaigns or iconic projects. These grand endeavours were thus acknowledged on an international level, particularly showcasing the influence of high-ranking ecclesiastical figures, while the contribution and influence of local clergy in small-scale initiatives was hardly ever visible. In contrast, in Belgium, the involvement of ecclesiastical authorities was mostly visible on a local scale, with projects by more prominent church architects like Dessauvage, Bastin, and Felix. Reflections on liturgical renewal by higher-raking authorities were limited in the Belgian context, apart from the writing of Debuyst and Bekaert.³⁶ This contrasts with the international periodicals, that paid more attention to these important figures in broader articles or introductions about changes in liturgy.³⁷ This was often in broad publications about these larger campaigns or projects. While these grand endeavours were

³² See Sterken, "A House for God or a Home for His People?", 387-425; Sterken and Weyns. Territories of Faith. Religion, Urban Planning and Demographic Change in Post-War Europe.

³³ Frédéric Debuyst, "L'art religieux moderne en Belgique. À propos de quelques expositions recentes", Art d'Eglise, no. 120 (July 1962): 195.

³⁴ Examples: Paul Winniger, "La construction d'églises bon marché dans les nouveaux quartiers et banlieues. Un appel aux cures, architectes et entrepreneurs", *Art Chrétien*, no. 8 (1957): 5-6; Paul Winninger, "Comment se pose le problème des églises à construire", *Art Chrétien*, no. 9 (1958): 9-15; Cardinal Feltin, "Les Chantiers du Cardinal du Paris,» *Art Chrétien*, no. 17 (1960): 38; S.E. Mgr. Dupuy, "Les Chantiers de Lyon", *Art Chrétien*, no. 17 (1960): 44-46.

³⁵ Pierre Pinsard, "Naissance et évolution d'un projet", *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, no. 81 (December 1958 – Janruary 1959): 48-52.

³⁶ Bekaert, "Het sakrale is het alledaagse", 444-449; Debuyst, "L'art religieux moderne en Belgique. À propos de quelques expositions recentes", 195; Frédéric Debuyst, "Églises nouvelles après la concile-I", *Art d'Eglise*, no. 134 (January 1966): 273-274.

²⁷ Examples: Mgr. Giovanni Fallani, "Art et liturgie dans l'église", *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, no. 71 (April 1957): 30-31; Mgr. Charles Alexander Renard, "Des églises pour le règne de dieu", *Art Chrétien*, no. 33-34 (1964): 14-15.

thus acknowledged on an international level, the influence of local initiatives was hardly ever visible.

The Prominent Role of Architects in the Discourse on Modern Churches

In response to new liturgical developments, modern church architecture continued to evolve rapidly in the post-war period. In the first issue of Art Chrétien in 1955, Joseph Pichard referred to these buildings as "the churches [that] don't have a name yet".³⁸ This early period was marked by numerous discussions on the form of 'modern' churches and experiments in their design, facilitated by modern building materials. Eventually, these developments solidified, resulting in buildings that responded to contemporary changes in society and liturgy. New typologies emerged, which led to more led to more reflective comments on the development of style. For instance, in a 1968 article on a new church in Stockel (Brussels), it was stated: "In religious style, it is difficult to innovate suddenly because a church is above all the outcome of a long tradition. This is how the desire to express, in contemporary forms, the spirit of an old tradition has determined the architectural part of the new church".³⁹ In L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui engineer René Sarger reflected on the notion of style, noting that it takes time to develop a style out of new techniques.⁴⁰ In these periodicals, this process was largely attributed to architects, whose success and reputation seemed to play a decisive role in the debate on religious architecture [Fig. 5].

In *Art d'Eglise* and *La Maison*, famous Belgian church architects like Marc Dessauvage, Roger Bastin, Lucien Kroll, and Paul Felix received ample attention, with their work being featured in several articles throughout the years as well as in theoretical discussions by the editors.⁴¹ Dessauvage became renowned for his 'dwelling churches', characterised by their small scale, a subtle division of sacred and profane zones, impressive interplay of light, and use of simple materials.⁴² Although Dessauvage had been developing this concept since the late 1950s, it was only explicitly mentioned in the periodicals after the Second Vatican Council.⁴³ His close relationships with Geert Bekaert and Dom. Frédéric Debuyst were essential in promoting this idea. The impact of those personal relationships is evident through articles from both *Art d'Eglise* and *La Maison*. In *La Maison*, Bekaert highlighted Dessauvage's work as humble and modest yet progressive – emphasizing their shared vision on the church building as a

³⁸ Joseph Pichard, "Les églises d'aujourd'hui", Art Chrétien, no. 1 (January 1955): 7-12.

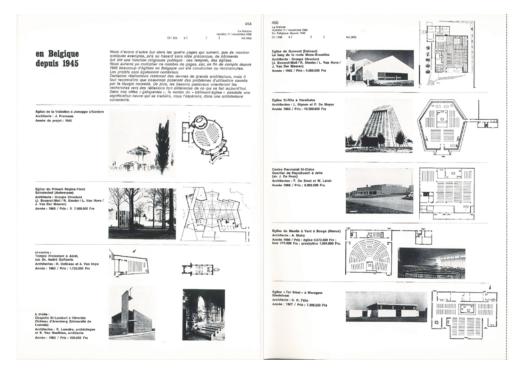
³⁹ Léonide Novgorodsky, "Léglise Notre-Dame de Stockel", La Technique des Travaux, no. 7-8 (July 1968): 203-209.

⁴⁰ René Sarger, "Cathédrale d'Alger", L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui, no. 108 (June 1963): 64-65.

⁴¹ Piere-Louis Flouquet, "Roger Bastin. Architecture et Poésie", *La Maison*, no. 8 (August 1966): 232; Bekaert, "Eglises de Marc Dessauvage", 474-479; (See *Art d'Eglise*, no. 107 (April 1958); no. 108 (July 1959); no. 112 (July 1960); no.120 (July 1962); no. 124 (July 1963); no. 130 (January 1965); no. 131 (April 1965); no. 134 (January 1966); no. 135 (April 1966); no. 137 (October 1966); no. 143 (1968); no. 148 (July 1969); no. 152 (July 1970); *Art Chrétien*, no. 26 (1962); *La Maison*, no. 5 (May 1960); no. 8 (August 1963); no. 8 (August 1966); no. 9 (September 1966); no. 11(November 1968); no. 12 (December 1968); *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, no. 96 (1961)

⁴² Sterken, "A House for God or a Home for His People?", 413.

⁴³ Bekaert, "Eglises de Marc Dessauvage", 474-479; Debuyst, "Églises nouvelles après la concile-1", 273-274.



home.⁴⁴ Dessauvage also actively promoted his projects in *Art d'Eglise*,⁴⁵ where Debuyst portrayed his architecture as honest and raw, further emphasizing the concept of the dwelling church. He even went as far as to describe the work of Dessauvage as a new dimension to modern church architecture on an broader level, comparing him with examples in France and Germany [Fig. 6].⁴⁶

Modesty is also a key feature in the work of Roger Bastin. Active since the late 1940s in the diocese of Namur, Bastin frequently reconstructed old churches through his partnership with André Lanotte.⁴⁷ Bastin blended modern building techniques with the historical and geographical context by using local materials.⁴⁸ Known for this regional and modest approach, Bastin's 'sensitive constructions' were often featured in *Art d'Eglise* from 1959 onwards.⁴⁹ Instead of inventing a new style or typology of churches, Bastin focused on addressing the specific needs of each project, earning high praise from Lanotte for his thoughtful approach. Lanotte even compared Bastin's church in Beauraing to the many cathedrals built during this period, highlighting the international relevance of Bastin's work.⁵⁰

50 Lanotte, "Eglises de Roger Bastin", 461.

Fig. 5

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Overview of most prominent examples of post-war churches built in Belgium (source: *La Maison*, no. 11, November 1968, 454-455).

⁴⁴ Bekaert, "Eglises de Marc Dessauvage", 474-479. More about their collaboration can be read in Dirk Van der Perre, "Positie tegenover Bekaert", *Op de grens van twee werelden. Beeld van het architectuuronderwijs aan het Sint-Lucasinstituut te Gent in de periode 1919-1965/1974*, ed. Dirk Van der Perre (Wetteren: drukkerij Eramus nv, 2003): 155-163

⁴⁵ Marc Dessauvage, "Cinq réalisations de Marc Dessauvage", Art d'Eglise, no. 134 (January 1966): 275-297.

⁴⁶ Debuyst, "L'art religieux moderne en Belgique. À propos de quelques expositions recentes", 195-197; Debuyst, "Églises nouvelles après la concile-l", 273-274.

⁴⁷ Later on, Lanotte wrote an entire book on Bastin's œuvre: André Lanotte, *Roger Bastin Architecte 1913-*1986 (Sprimont: Mardaga, 2001).

⁴⁸ Bastin's notion of being embedded in the historical and geographical structure is beautifully documented by the photographs of his daughter, Christine Bastin, for example for the church of Sart-en-Fagne, under the title 'The church in the Village'. See "Église Notre-Dame de Sart-en Fagne", *Art d'Eglise*, no. 148 (July 1968): 346-352.

⁴⁹ André Lanotte, "Contribution à la recherche d'un plan d'église", Art d'Eglise, no. 131 (April 1965): 189-191. (See also Art d'Eglise, no. 108 (July 1959); no. 112 (July 1960); no. 131 (April 1965); no. 148 (July 1969).)



Similarly, the use of modest materials is also characteristic for the work of Paul Felix. He combined the notion of an honest and sober architecture with an exploration of the relationship between form and function. For his religious projects, he often collaborated with Jan Tanghe, an architect, urbanist and editor of *La Maison* since 1968.⁵¹ However, this collaboration was not visible in the sparse publications of his work in this journal, nor was his close friendship with Geert Bekaert.⁵² Felix's projects were mostly discussed in *Art d'Eglise*, although his Clarissenklooster in Ostend gained international acclaim as the only postwar religious Belgian project featured in *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*.⁵³

Finally, the fourth architect that featured regularly in articles on modern church architecture is the architect and urbanist Lucien Kroll.⁵⁴ During the late 1960s, several of Kroll's projects were featured in both *Art d'Eglise* and *La Maison*. Kroll's presence in these periodicals was largely due to his prominent position within the architectural press, as a member of the editorial board of *La Maison*. In the two special issues on modern religious architecture published by *La Maison* in 1968, nearly half of the content was devoted to reflections and projects by Kroll. He often wrote these articles himself and did the same for *Art d'Eglise*. In a note about the temporary chapel for Linkebeek, Kroll explicitly promoted his significant role as the architect: "he was asked to "embellish" this solution!".⁵⁵ He also showcased some of his projects in Rwanda, underscoring his international connections.⁵⁶

Fig. 6 A spread of an article on Dessauvage, written by Geert Bekaert (source: *La Maison*, no. 12, December 1968, 474-475).

⁵¹ Jan Tanghe was an urbanist, architect, and part of the editorial board of *La Maison* from 1968 on. He was also a professor at the Université de Mons, and part of the then famous Group Planning (Dutch: *Groep Planning*). See "Tanghe, Jan", April 30, 2019. https://inventaris.onroerenderfgobe/personen/4712.

⁵² Geert Bekaert was the co-author of the monography of Paul Felix following his passing in the eighties. See: Geert Bekaert, Ronny De Meyer and Paul Felix. *Paul Felix: architectuur, 1913-1981* (Tielt: Lannoo, 1981).

^{53 &}quot;Monastère des Clarisses d'Ostende, Belgique", L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui, no. 96 (June 1961): 62-65.

⁵⁴ Lucas Brusco and Martial Résibois, "Lucien Kroll", CLARA, no. 5 (2018): 188-217, https://doi.org/10.3917/ clara.hs5.0188.

⁵⁵ Lucien Kroll, "Chapelle à Linkebeek (1963)", Art d'Eglise, no. 152 (July 1970): 78-79.

⁵⁶ Lucien Kroll, "Proposition pour organiser une église rwandaise", La Maison, no. 12 (December 1968): 494-495;



While other Belgian architects were involved in church architecture as well, it is remarkable that the (architectural) press often depicted the work of the same four architects.⁵⁷ However, the repeated highlighting of a limited number of specific architects was not unique to Belgium. In international periodicals like *Art Chrétien, L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* and *Techniques et Architecture*, renowned church architects like Pierre Pinsard, Pierre Vago, Guillaume Gillet, and Le Corbusier were also prominently and repeatedly featured.⁵⁸ These architecture, each with a clear and defined vision of what a modern church should be. *Art Chrétien*, in particular, provided a platform for several prominent French architects to debate the essence of a modern church, publishing these discussions in full.⁵⁹

Most of these Belgian projects were always placed in an international framework regarding religious architecture. The international discourse on modern church architecture, which was also reflected in Belgian periodicals to contextualize the work of local architects, is marked by the focus on Le Corbusier's work, particularly the Notre Dame du Haut de Ronchamp in 1955. His influence resonated through *Art Chrétien, La Maison, Art d'Eglise* and *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*. Due to his close relationship with André Bloc, Le Corbusier was

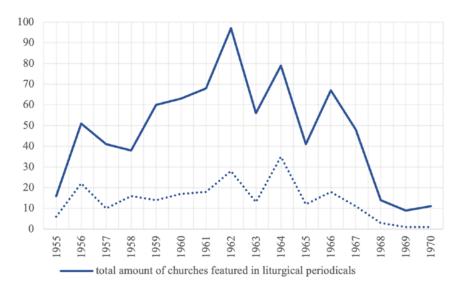
Fig. 7 Letter by Le Corbusier to the bishop of Besançon. This is the first time the chapel appeared in the six examined periodicals (source: Art Chrétien, no. 1, 1955, 14-15).

Lucien Kroll, "Monastère de Gihindamuyaga (Rwanda) salle de réunion-chapelle", La Maison, no. 12 (December 1968): 496-497.

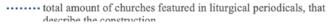
⁵⁷ Stephanie Van de Voorde and Ronny De Meyer, "Naoorlogse Kerkbouw in België. Architecturale en constructieve analyse van het werk van Adolf Nivelle", In *Kerken Bouwen Langs Maas En Rijn Na 1945*, ed. Antoine Jacobs (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2019), 245-263.

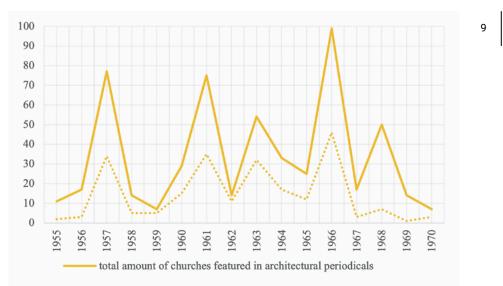
⁵⁸ See Art Chrétien, no. 1 (1955); no. 4 (1956); no. 8 (1957); no. 10 (1958); no. 11 (1958); no. 14-15 (1959); no. 10 (1960); no. 20 (1960); no. 21-22 (1961); no. 23 (1961); no. 27-28 (1962); no. 30 (1963); no. 33-34 (1964); no. 38 (1965); *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, no. 60 (June 1955); no. 61 (August 1955); no. 64 (February 1956); no. 71 (April 1957); no. 81 (December 1958-1959); no. 87 (December 1959-1960); no. 91-92 (September 1960); no. 96 (June 1961); no. 108 (June 1963); no. 113-114 (April 1964); *Techniques et Architecture 15*, no. 2 (September 1955); vol. 18, no. 4 (August 1958); vol. 22, no. 6 (September 1962).

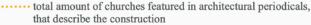
⁵⁹ Examples: "Débat sur les Eglises dans les cites Nouvelles", *Art Chrétien*, no. 16 (1959): 31-32; Pichard, "Enquête sur le caractère à donner aux nouvelles églises", 24-26.



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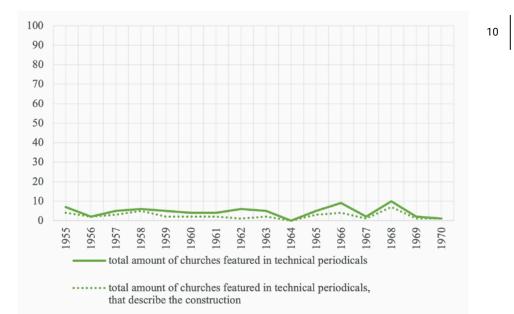


Fig. 8, 9, 10 Quantitative representation of each church that is discussed in each type of periodical, compared to how often the construction of the church was discussed (made by the authors). part of the editorial board of both *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* and *Techniques et Architecture*. However, given his international renown, one may assume that the wide coverage was not solely due to his editorial positions. It is remarkable that, despite his status as star architect, Le Corbusier acknowledged other actors involved in the construction of the chapel in Ronchamp [Fig. 7]. Nevertheless, *Art Chrétien* still placed him, the architect, at the forefront of this project.⁶⁰ Similarly, French periodicals paid much attention to prominent large-scale projects, such as the Saint Pie X in Lourdes by the renowned architect Pierre Vago or the Notre-Dame de Royan by Guillaume Gillet.⁶¹ Yet, these projects were frequently featured not only because of the involvement of prominent architects, but also due to the debates questioning the necessity of such large places of worship.

While the field of architectural history mostly focuses on the work of (renowned) architects, the contributions of other actors are often overshadowed. This representation is evident in both international and national articles on post-war church buildings, despite the fact that the construction of these religious projects required a complex network of many different actors. Church architects were prominently featured, not only because of their unique voice within this discourse, but also due to their position and close relationships. Many architects were either close to several writers and editors or were part of the editorial board of a periodical themselves. This research thus confirms the prominent role of these figures in defining the architectural discourse on church architecture, while the influence of these other actors and connections is seldom made explicit.

Material Matters: Acknowledging the Role of Manufacturers, Contractors and Engineers

To achieve the open plans and new architectural layouts that corresponded to the liturgical developments, large spans were necessary. This required the use of modern building materials, such as reinforced or prestressed concrete, laminated timber, and steel space frames. In the post-war period, these novel materials enabled the cost-efficient construction of churches, aligning with Pichard's belief that "churches should be simple and economic, not modest".⁶² Despite a growing awareness of these materials, articles on churches did not frequently mention the materiality or construction methods used [Fig. 8-10].

Though Bastin's and Dessauvage's architecture received significant attention within the liturgical and architectural periodicals in Belgium, the specifics of their construction methods did not. While *La Maison* and *Art d'Eglise* described

⁶⁰ In general, the emphasis is still too often on architects within architectural historiography, and much less on other actors. However, it is well-known now that architectural projects develop through collaborative practices between architect, engineer, general contractor, client, labourers, etc.

^{61 &}quot;Lourdes 1959", L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui, no. 81 (December 1958-1959): 46-57; "Royan – reconstruction de l'église Notre-Dame", Techniques et Architecture, vol. 15, no. 2 (September 1955): 100-102.

See: Art Chrétien, no. 4 (1956); no. 2 (1957); no. 10 (1958); no. 27-28 (1962); L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui, no. 60 (June 1955); no. 61 (August 1955); no. 87 (December 1959-1960); no. 91-92 (September 1960); no. 113-114 (April 1964); Techniques et Architecture 18, no. 4 (August 1958).

⁶² Pichard, "Actualités", 17-19.



Dessauvage's work as radically modern, they did not elaborate on the use of concrete.⁶³ *La Maison* mentioned Bastin's use of traditional materials, including bricks, concrete and steel. Bastin avoided using overly 'radical' materials, as he aimed to stay true to the historical context of his projects rather than reinvent the vocabulary of religious buildings.⁶⁴

On the other hand, *La Technique des Travaux* focused on church buildings from the perspective of the construction and materiality, rather than the architect. In consequence, this technical periodical documented entirely different examples compared to *La Maison* and *Art d'Eglise*. For instance, it was the only periodical to praise la Notre Dame de Stockel, in particular for its use of in situ and prefabricated reinforced concrete, achieving a symbiosis of past and present.⁶⁵ The building was even used as a reference in advertisements by CBR, the company responsible for the cement for the in-situ concrete of the church **[Fig. 11-12]**.⁶⁶ However, nicknamed *Ia Notre Dame du Béton*, the overwhelming presence of concrete was not appreciated by everyone in the local community.⁶⁷

The example of CBR demonstrates that manufacturers and suppliers of building materials and components – who were not mentioned in the factual articles on the churches – promoted their work through advertisements. Explicitly referring to the churches described elsewhere in the journal, which often showed only the completed building, they included a picture of the raw material to portray themselves as key actors in the entire process, contributing significantly to the success and identity of the finished building. A similar strategy can be seen in the advertisements by De Coene, a manufacturer of timber building prod-

Fig. 11, 12 Two fragments of advertisement of CBR (source: *Architecture*, no. 80, November 1967, 830).

⁶³ Debuyst, "Églises nouvelles après la concile-l", 273-274; Dessauvage, "Cinq réalisations de Marc Dessauvage", 275-297; Bekaert, "Eglises de Marc Dessauvage", 474-479. See also Art d'Eglise, no. 120 (July 1962); no. 124 (July 1963); no. 130 (January 1965); no. 135 (April 1966); La Maison, no. 9 (September 1966).

⁶⁴ Lanotte, "Eglises de Roger Bastin", 458-465.

⁶⁵ Novgorodsky, "L'église Notre-Dame de Stockel", 203-209.

⁶⁶ See: Architecture, no. 80 (November 1967): 830. Architecture: revue bimestrielle d'architecture et d'urbanisme is another Belgian architectural periodical that circulated in the 1950s and 1960s. This periodical isn't included in our quantitative research, as *La Maison* was more widespread among the general public.

⁶⁷ Luc Deveen, clerk of the Dutch-speaking part of the parish of Stockel, in a conversation with Julie Kimpe, KU Leuven student, Stockel, Brussels, March 8, 2024.



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ucts and furniture. Although a household name with a longstanding history, it was not until 1955 that the company first advertised in *La Maison*, featuring a temporary church in Lokeren, near Ghent, alongside their glulam arches used to construct it **[Fig. 13]**.

Over the next two years, De Coene's advertisements for this church and a similar one in Brussels appeared in both *Architecture* and *Art d'Eglise* as well **[Fig. 14-15]**.⁶⁸ In these advertisements, De Coene explicitly portrayed the glulam arches. Although still a relatively new technology in Belgium at the time, it quickly found its way into various building types, including churches.⁶⁹ Despite being a temporary structure, the visibility of the church in Lokeren in periodicals provided the momentum for De Coene to build another fifteen churches in Belgium, Germany, and France over the next 10 years.⁷⁰ The technology and professional expertise by De Coene not only guaranteed a quick execution and low costs but also played a crucial role in shaping the overall architectural effect, atmosphere and image of the church. In *La Maison*, the church was also explicitly celebrated for its use of wood. Nevertheless, De Coene was only briefly mentioned as manufacturer of the glulam construction at the end of the article.⁷¹

Although consistent with the general trend in architectural history, it is nevertheless remarkable how little credit is given to building companies, be they manufacturers, suppliers or contractors, despite their crucial contribution to the successful realization of these projects. Some Belgian periodicals, such as

⁶⁸ Shown in the advertisement sections at the beginning or end of the periodical, the church in Lokeren is featured in *Art d'Eglise*, no. 4 (October 1955); *Architecture*, no. 19 (September 1956); *La Maison*, no. 6 (June 1955). The church in Brussels is shown in *Art d'Eglise* no. 3 (July 1957).

^{69 &}quot;Renaissance Du Bois: interview de l'architecture Victor Bourgeois", *La Maison* no. 7 (July 1955): 190; "Le Bois, La Nature et l'Homme: extrait de l'Allucation de l'Architecte Renaat Braem", *La Maison* no. 7 (July 1955): 190-220. The development of laminated timber with a synthetic glue in the 1930s reversed this story. See Maryia. Rusak, "Wooden churches, managers, and Fulbright scholars: Glued laminated timber in the 1950s in Norway", *History of Construction Cultures*, vol. 2, Proceedings of the 7th International Congress On Construction History (7ICCH 2021), July 12-16, 2021 (Lisbon, Portugal), 735-742.

⁷⁰ Frank Herman, Terenja Van Dijk, *Kortrijkse Kunstwerkstede Gebroeders De Coene: 80 Jaar Ambacht En Industrie: Meubelen, Interieurs, Architectuur* (Kortrijk: Groeninghe, 2006); Kaj-Wolf Depuydt, "Assessing glulam roof structures. A historical and typological analysis of post-war church roofs" (Master Thesis, Vrije Universiteit Brussel, 2023).

^{71 &}quot;Le Concours National d'Architecture: organisé par le Bureau National de Documentation sur le Bois", *La Maison*, no. 6 (June 1955): 183; "Eglise a Lokeren", *La Maison*, no. 7 (July 1955): 195-196.



La Maison and La Technique des Travaux, listed key contributors at the beginning of an article, functioning as a sort of ID-card. Unsurprisingly, the architect was always mentioned, while the engineer and general contractor were only sporadically noted. This was the case, for instance, for projects such as the Eglise de Beauraing by Roger Bastin [Fig. 16], as well as projects by Dessauvage, Felix and Kroll, among others. Despite this acknowledgement, the contributions of contractors were not further elaborated upon in the articles, prompting them to pay for additional space in the advertisement section to highlight their association with famous church architects. Besonhé, the general contractor for the church of Beauraing by Bastin, even strategically mentioned being located in the same village as the church [Fig. 17]. Although the choice for a local contractor was never specified in the articles, it likely offered many advantages: in addition to reducing transportation and logistical costs, by relying on a solid network of local companies, they were able to manage budget constraints while maintaining high constructing quality. Even if operating mostly locally, such advertisements, and the explicit link with a 'church architect' who was active more widely, could nevertheless pave the way for future assignments in the religious sphere.

Fig. 13 Advertisements of De Coene (source: *La Maison*, no. 6, June 1955).

Fig. 14 Advertisements of De Coene (source: *Art d'Eglise*, no. 3, July 1957).

Fig. 15 Advertisements of De Coene (source: *Art d'Eglise*, no. 4, October 1955).

Beauraing. Eglise du pèlerinage / 1964 Architecte : R. Bastin. G. Van Oost, architecte collaborateur. C. Charlier, ing.-conseil. Entreprise générale : Besonhé à Beauraing. Esquisse de la Vierge à l'Enfant : Maurice Rocher, 1968. 6.000 places. Coût 20 millions maximum, y compris hall d'accueil (40 m x 12 m), rampes et abords.

Likewise, engineers seldom received appropriate acknowledgements for their work in these periodicals. Engineer C. Charlier⁷², who assisted Bastin through several of his projects, was only credited by means of a simple mention **[Fig. 16]**. Even in the case of the Notre Dame de Stockel, despite the project undergoing a turbulent process with multiple changes in engineers and design adjustments, the engineers were not mentioned.⁷³ Furthermore, in contrast to contractors, engineers only rarely promoted their work through advertisements, as they often functioned as small-scale businesses relying on individual connections with clients and architects.

In contrast to the Belgian periodicals, construction aspects featured more prominently in international publications. Protagonists, such as Joseph Pichard and André Le Donné, voiced a technical discourse parallel to the architectural renewal of that period.⁷⁴ In these articles, the roles of the engineer and contractor in the design and execution of the building were central. Since the end of the 19th century, the contractor and engineer increasingly differentiated themselves from the architect and had been an integral key figures in the building sector, providing technical and practical expertise that complemented the architect's role. Engineers provided the necessary

calculations and insights on materials, while contractors ensured the quick and efficient execution of the building. Their collaboration assured a fast completion of a building, which was very needed in the post-war period to compensate the huge destructions and the huge demographic boom. See Stephanie Van de Voorde, "Ingenieurs, architecten en aannemers op de drempel van een nieuwe tijd (1850-1890)", (course hand-out for *Architectuur- en 19^{de} en 20^{ste} eeuw*, Vrije Universiteit Brussel, Brussel, received October 15, 2023). Remarkably, this focus was mainly highlighted in discussions on the role of cathedrals and basilica in the changing society of the 1950s and 1960s.

'entreprise générale de	
l'église de architecte : Roger Bastin	e Beauraing
été confiée aux	
ENTREPR	ISES M. BESONHÉ Travaux publics et privés
à BEAURAING	téléphone : 082/718.92

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Fig. 16 General information on the church of Beauraing (source: *La Maison*, no. 11, November 1968, 461-462).

Fig. 17 Advertisement for the contractor of the church of Beauraing (source: *La Maison*, no. 11, November 1968).

⁷² Charlier was mentioned in articles of following projects: André Lanotte, "Eglise de Villers/Lesse", *La Maison*, no. 8 (August 1966): 255; André Lanotte, "Chapelle du Pensionnat des Soeurs de Marie a Jambes", *La Maison*, no. 8 (August 1966): 259; André Lanotte, "Beauraing. Eglise de pèlerinage", *La Maison*, no. 11 (November 1968): 461-462; André Lanotte, "Gênes (Hodister). Chapelle St-Isidore", *La Maison*, no. 11 (November 1968): 462-463.

⁷³ Mediha Lökçe, "Divine Shelters, Temporal Sorrows. Exploring a Post-War Concrete Construction Project through Its Different Phases and Collaborations" (Master Thesis, Vrije Universiteit Brussel, 2023).

⁷⁴ Pichard, "Actualités", 17-19; André Le Donné, "Le role de la technique dans l'oeuvre de l'architecture", L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui, no. 81 (December1958-January 1959): 53-55.

Following the examples of Royan and Lourdes, La Basilique du Sacre Coeur in Algeria proved to be an excellent example of successful collaboration between architect and engineer. Art Chrétien called the cathedral one of the best examples of reinforced concrete, due to the strong partnership between architects Paul Herbé and Jean Le Couteur and engineer René Sarger.⁷⁵ The latter was even invited to write an entire article in Architecture d'Aujourd'hui about this project, in which he reflected upon the synergetic development between technical innovations and architectural style.⁷⁶ One of the requirements set by the diocesan committee was for the cathedral to be sufficiently cooled,⁷⁷ a problem Sarger solved by developing a 'refrigerating tower', inspired by coal mines and previous industrial projects he had worked on.⁷⁸ Besides Sarger, Enterprise Perret played an essential role in this endeavour.⁷⁹ Perret relied on its extensive network of companies and collaborators, both in Algeria and across Europa, supplying him with the required labour force, cranes and formwork for this large-scale project. However, and although being a household name, Perret only received a brief mention for his contributions.

The Medium of the Periodical: a Critical Analysis

The analysis of how modern churches and the contributions of various key stakeholders are depicted in the journals, reveals a diverse presentation on both content and format. Graphical representations ranged from preliminary sketches and models to detailed drawings and pictures of the final result. The selection and combination of these 'images' varied depending on the article's focus. Periodicals like Art Chrétien, which covered the broader scope of the church building campaign, often dedicated only one or two pages per project, never showing the churches in depth in both words and images. Here, the photograph was the sole representation of the project. In contrast, articles that emphasized the design process featured a richer scope of visual elements. Sketches, architectural plans, and photographs of the finalised buildings were presented side-by-side, offering readers a more comprehensive understanding of the project's evolution. To convey the architectural splendour of the completed church, multiple images of the interior of church were arranged to recreate the sacral atmosphere of the building for the reader. These arrangements were not arbitrary; they were deliberate choices that shaped the viewer's perception of modern religious architecture.

In more extensive articles that covered multiple pages per project, the construction process was brought to life through descriptions, technical drawings

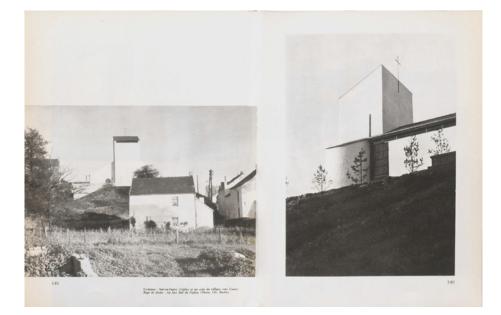
⁷⁵ Pichard, "La Basilique Sacré Cœur à Alger", 30-40.

⁷⁶ Sarger, "Cathédrale d'Alger", 64-65.

^{77 &}quot;Concours pour l'Edification d'une Basilique à Alger", L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui, no. 64 (February 1956): 11-17.

⁷⁸ Pichard, "La Basilique Sacré Cœur à Alger", 30-40.

⁷⁹ Blancard, "La Basilique du Sacré Cœur à Alger", 219-232. This contractor firm was established by the brothers Perret, one of which was Auguste Perret.



and construction photographs.⁸⁰ The human scale was often emphasized in these images, highlighting the 'grandeur' of these projects both literally and figuratively. The role of the photographers in these instances was crucial; they needed to capture not only the physical characteristics, but also the texture, spatiality and experience of the buildings. Occasionally, the photographer's familiarity with the architect or project influenced the framing and focus of these images **[Fig. 18]**.⁸¹ Despite this variety, the visual narrative often remained incomplete: contributions of all key actors were not fully attributed, nor was the entire construction process depicted in its entirety.

Throughout the visual and written narrative, architects unsurprisingly took central stage. Contractors and manufacturers were only marginally included, often portraying themselves in the advertisement pages of the periodicals,⁸² by using their church project as a reference, while engineers barely got a voice, except for large-scale projects or when they authored an article in *La Technique des Travaux*. Perhaps most surprisingly is the relative absence of ecclesiastical authorities. Both high-ranking official such as the archbishop or the cardinals, who initiated post-war church building campaigns in Belgium, and local church fabrics as immediate clients played essential roles – not least in relation

Fig. 18

⁸⁰ Roland May, "Some introductory remarks on Architects, Engineers, Modes of Cooperation between them, and the Importance of the Interwar Period for All This", in *Architects and Engineers: Modes of Cooperation in the Interwar Period*, 1919-1939 (Birkhäuser Verlag GmbH, 2022), 14-15.

⁸¹ However, the study on on-site and construction photographs and the collaboration with photographers deserves a more in-depth research. See: Elizabeth Edwards and Janice Hart, *Photographs Objects Histories. On the Materiality of Images* (London: Routledge, 2004); Anthony Presland, "Picturing Construction, Constructing Identities: The Photographic Archive of John Laing & Son Ltd. London" (PhD. Diss., The Bartlett School of Architecture, 2023).

⁸² Examples: *Art d'Eglise*, no. 4 (October 1955); no. 3 (July 1957); *Art Chrétien* no. 21-22 (1961); no. 30 (1963); no. 33-34 (1964); no. 43-44 (1966); no. 6 (June 1966); no. 8 (August 1966); no. 4 (April 1967); no. 11 (November 1968); no. 7-8 (July-August 1969); *La Maison* no. 6 (June 1955); no. 7 (July 1961); no. 9 (September 1962); *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* no. 80 (October-November 1958); no. 88 (February 1960); no. 104 (October 1962); no. 108 (June 1963); no. 115 (June 1964); no. 134 (October 1967); *La Technique des Travaux*, no. 1-2 (January-February 1961); no. 7-8 (July-August 1968); *Techniques et Architecture*, vol. 18, no. 4 (August 1958); vol. 22, no. 2 (April 1964); vol. 29, no. 2 (June 1968). Sporadically they would elaborately be mentioned in an article. An example of this is: Le Donné, "Trois Prototypes", 19-34.

A spread of the article of the Notre-Dame de Sart-en-Fange from Roger Bastin, with pictures taken by his daughter Christine Bastin (source: *Art d'Eglise*, no. 148, July 1968, 348-349).



to financial aspects, but also in the construction of these buildings and in the management of the overall process.

Many other stakeholders besides the architect, or even the less documented actors discussed above, played crucial roles, such as the community of churchgoers and the municipal authorities. A particularly overlooked group was the labourers who physically built these churches, crafting the appearance and therefore the image of the church. Only occasionally were they shown, typically in staged construction site photographs. Even in these instances, the focus often shifted to the scale of the building, with labourers appearing as mere background elements, inadvertently minimizing their contribution while highlighting the project's grandeur [Fig. 19].

Construction photographs primarily emphasized innovative, daring techniques and modern materials, particularly concrete. Although concrete was initially distrusted in early 20th-century religious architecture, its use increased during the interwar period and actually became a hallmark of post-war church architecture.⁸³ The flexibility of reinforced concrete allowed for experimentation with form and spatiality, making it a favoured material for modernist architects.

In most periodicals, concrete was celebrated not just for its technical properties but also -or rather- for its aesthetic and symbolic qualities. It was depicted

Fig. 19 A photograph of the construction site of Sainte-Thérèse-du-Mont in Belfort, France (source: *La Technique des Travaux*, no. 5-6, May-June 1966, 142).

⁸³ Romain Wibaut, "Hidden Innovation: Roof Frame Design and Construction in Parish Churches of Brussels and Charleroi 1830-1940" (PhD. Diss., KU Leuven – VUB, 2021), https://kuleuven.limo.libis.be/discovery/fulldisplay/ lirias3442008/32KUL_KUL:Lirias.

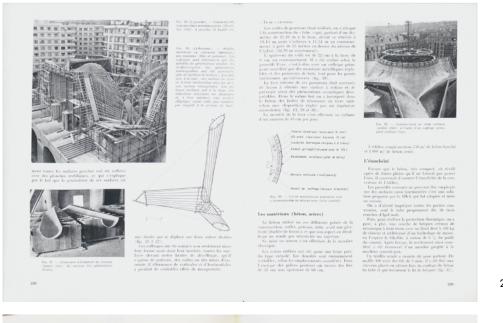
and described in terms of its 'poetic' nature, imparting a sense of sacrality and serenity when exposed in the church interiors. Periodicals often framed concrete as a representation of modernity, honesty of materials, and the poetics of forms, thus granting it a symbolic role in the architectural discourse. La Technique des Travaux, more than the other periodicals, highlighted not only the visual aesthetic but also the engineering aspects. It published several technical articles on church buildings, paying particular attention to the materials. Technical explanations were 'reinforced' through detailed drawings and construction photographs [Fig. 20], emphasizing its versatility and innovative potential in shaping a new religious architecture. In an article on the basilica of Algiers Pierre Blanchard wrote: "Exceptional in its forms, which initially surprised before seducing or simply being admitted: exceptional in its structure, its material one could say, simple and raw concrete, nothing but concrete".84 This portrayal illustrates how the material was both functional and symbolical, acquiring a form of agency within the church building campaign, embodying the values of modernism and progress.

Remarkably, different associations with concrete – and by extension, other new building materials – were often depicted or voiced in *La Technique des Travaux*, particularly in the context of relatively small-scale or lesser-known projects. This raises questions about the hundreds of smaller parish churches erected during the same time period in Flanders that were not featured in the periodicals and whether they also contributed to the different meanings that concrete embodied. Exploratory field research revealed that these small-scale projects utilized a variety of innovative building materials and construction techniques, yet these developments remain underexposed in the broader discourse on post-war church architecture. The contributions of these lesser-known buildings – and the many people who helped to build them – deserve to be further investigated in current research.

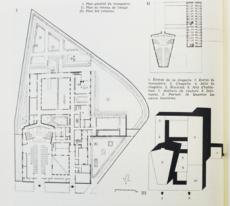
Apart from *La Technique des Travaux*, which clearly stands as an exception, most periodicals presented similar discourses, despite their varied backgrounds. This shared narrative, and consequently the image of modern church architecture they portrayed, was largely influenced by the way these periodicals operated and interacted. They frequently drew inspiration from one another, featuring projects from their competitors, occasionally promoting each other's publications, and even reusing the same photographs. For example, in the article on Felix's Clarissenklooster in Ostend, both *La Maison* and *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* simply reused photographs taken by the team of *Art d'Eglise* **[Fig. 21-22]**.⁸⁵ Editors and writers in fact strongly relied on the circulation of articles and images to shape their content, due to constraints of time and budget. Beyond the reputation of the architect and the popularity of a particular project, these exchanges, although often intended to boost their own publications, were

⁸⁴ Blancard, "La Basilique du Sacré Cœur à Alger", 219-232.

⁸⁵ Debuyst, "Le monastère des Clarisses d'Ostende", 177-195; "Le monastère des Clarisses d'Ostende", *La Maison*, no. 5 (May 1960) : 137-142; "Monastère des Clarisses d'Ostende, Belgique", 62-65.



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Ci-desnus ; Vase générale du monastère. Côlé sud, De pouche é l'alle d'habitation, le cloitre, le noviciat. (Photo Ari d'Eplise)

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Fig. 20 A spread of the article on the basilica of Algiers (source: *La Technique des Travaux*, no. 7-8, July-August 1962, 228-229).

Fig. 21

ARticle on the Clarrisenklooster (source: *Art d'Eglise*, no. 107, April 1959, 178-179).

Fig. 22 Article on the Clarrisenklooster (source: L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui, no. 96, June 1961, 62-63.

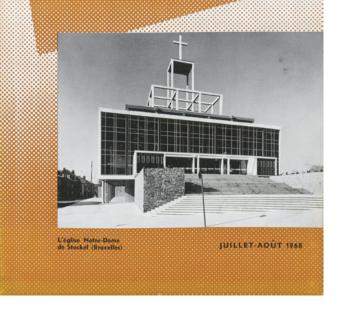
crucial in shaping the image of modern church architecture. This was not just a national phenomenon, but also an international tendency, evident in the writings of protagonists like Pichard and Debuyst.

Conclusion

The deconstruction of the image of post-war churches through these periodicals reveals that their modern identity was built by a large network of contributors, as well as the interrelationships and operations of the publications themselves. Although not all contributors involved are fully acknowledged, a close-reading of what is published, rather than what is omitted, provides insights into the motives of both the contributors and the periodicals.

Firstly, church buildings were often used by key actors involved to build their portfolios. This was primarily the case for architects but also, to a lesser extent, for journal editors, ecclesiastical authorities, engineers, contractors, and manufacturers who lev-

LA TECHNIQUE DES TRAVAUX



eraged these buildings to boost their business or building campaign. Secondly, churches were featured to fuel the ongoing discourse around religious architecture, providing a broader, often international backdrop against which local developments and endeavours were situated. Only rarely did the publications focus solely on the individual buildings themselves [Fig. 23]. Details on how these churches were designed and constructed were seldomly GIVEN. While some articles in *La Technique des Travaux* dissected the construction process, other periodicals barely touched on these aspects. Additionally, the content across various periodicals was often similar. In some cases, particularly for larger churches designed by well-known architects, slightly different perspectives were provided. By piecing together information from various types of publications in different periodicals, one can at least gain a glimpse – or, in the best cases, a more in-depth understanding – of the various actors, materials, and the construction processes involved. As such, the periodicals documented the image of the modern church rather than the churches themselves.

BEYVE BIMESTRIELLE

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