

Space forming a community – community forming a space.

Architectural evaluation of idealized form for Protestant Churches in Europe after 1918

El espacio conforma una comunidad - la comunidad conforma un espacio. Evaluación arquitectónica de la forma ideal de las iglesias protestantes en Europa después de 1918

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ABSTRACT

The identity is expressed in a self-picture, which has visible and immaterial marks. The church architecture is the essential appearance form of this, because it represents not the individual but the community. It gives an account of the self-identity conscience of the church through the community. In this way, architecture gets a great task: physically visualising this immaterial identity. This picture is formed with respect to the technical and aesthetic knowledge.

Does the basically recognizable protestant form exist? Are there ground-plans or spatial form elements, which are the obligate characteristics of these churches? Reflected well on the theological questions, we seek to detect what can determine the identity of the protestant churches in an aesthetic sense by a research highlighting the most important decessions on theological background and churches built in a term of a century.

KEYWORDS

Modern Church Architecture, Protestant Theological Fundaments, Church Typology, Community, Europe.

RESUMEN

La identidad se expresa en una autoimagen, que tiene marcas visibles e inmateriales. La arquitectura de la iglesia es la forma de apariencia esencial de esto, porque representa no al individuo sino a la comunidad. Da un recuento de la conciencia de identidad propia de la iglesia a través de la comunidad. De esta forma, la arquitectura obtiene una gran tarea: visualizar físicamente esta identidad inmaterial. Esta imagen se forma con respecto al conocimiento técnico y estético. ¿Existe la forma protestante básicamente reconocible? ¿Hay planos o elementos de formas espaciales, que son las características obligatorias de estas iglesias? Reflejado bien en las cuestiones teológicas, buscamos detectar qué puede determinar la identidad de las iglesias protestantes en un sentido estético mediante una investigación que destaca las más importantes decesiones sobre el trasfondo teológico y las iglesias construidas en el término de un siglo.

PALABRAS CLAVE

Arquitectura religiosa moderna, fundamentos teológicos protestantes, tipología eclesiástica, comunidad, Europa.

HISTORY: THEOLOGICAL BASES, ARCHITECTURAL APPROACHES

The base of the Protestantism is emphasised, where the people assemble and glorify the God together, they set up the house of the God, where the Lord resides between them. There is no manifested attribute of the presence, seeable object doesn't visualise it. The presence can be interpreted on an emotional level; it is a kind of evocation. Such a space doesn't require symbols in the classical meaning: Luther and his doctrinists wanted to deprive the church of the materialized elements. The role of such a space can be the assuring of a space for the togetherness. If the reason of the space is the visualization of the belonging together of the community, then it must support in the best way to achieve this physical or mental coexistence. The tool of it is the effect of the centralising space forming in the meaning of the ground-floor planning and also from the spatial aspect. This centrum's focus is the word of the God and the redemptive crucifixion of His son, Christ.

The numerosity of the Protestant denomination gives different accents to this from the dogmatic approach, but all of them try to avoid from the mystical glorification of this coexistence and togetherness. Theologists emphasise the naturality of the participation on the liturgical event. It has also an aesthetic appearance: the clarity and the simpleness, which show or imitate not the poverty, but ensure the peaceful and ingenuous environment for the belonging to the community, where one can concentrate on the word and the prayer said in the collective psalmody. Thus the formal base of the visualization and appearance is the *Community* and the aesthetic substratum of this is the «sacred emptiness» (Tillich 1962, 124).

The last-named expounding gives relatively few reference points to the architects for the planning, but it entails the most serious responsibility on them. The role of the architect is to ensure a space for the togetherness of the community with technical and aesthetic respects. Where the structurally insurable system of the space forming is defined, there a part of the aesthetic dimensions are anchored. Therefore, the unified and complex architectural decision defines at the same time —coming from its own nature— the

essentially creating form and its physically realising materiality. The creative-artist role of the architect comes to the front between the opportunities of the specific form and the limits of the applied tools (Wattjes 1931).

The task is the initiation of such an aesthetic dimension, through which the theological expectation emphasises the truthfulness. This relates back to the applying of the structure and the therefrom inseparable material. An ideal state comes into our view: for the sake of the minimal visualization the multitude of the tools are available for the forming.

It is formed through the practical common sense and the beauty, and the space receiving the community is born from the conjuncture of the technical and aesthetic decisions. These dimensions can be broadening for stimulating the authorial mind and they can be also narrowed to the most important ones through the rational thinking.

After all, the beauty of the creation is not for itself, but it must serve the worthy setting of the communal liturgical event (Wattjes 1931). In this way: the design method of an architect forming a space is led by the idea of the community. The following examples discover a technical and aesthetic diversity before us.

All of them are outstanding works of a period, which after 400 years —in a drastically changing time of the mankind— seek the relevant form: it visualizes the keynote of Luther in a material and an immaterial way, which tries to turn back to the base of the Christianity. So, what does determinate the protestant church architecture?

The form of the church space redundantly developed during the first four hundred years. We set down a great importance to the use of the word *development* in an architectural reference. While the notion of Luther professes the *turning back* to the bases in an intellectual and spiritual meaning, till the architectural appearance of this hasn't moved significantly away yet from the topically used medieval forms. We can catch the drawing-away up with the forming of the spiritual identity. The historical events, the political conflicts, the improving technic and generally through all of this, the changings in

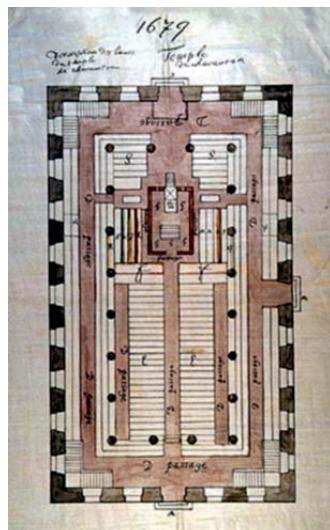
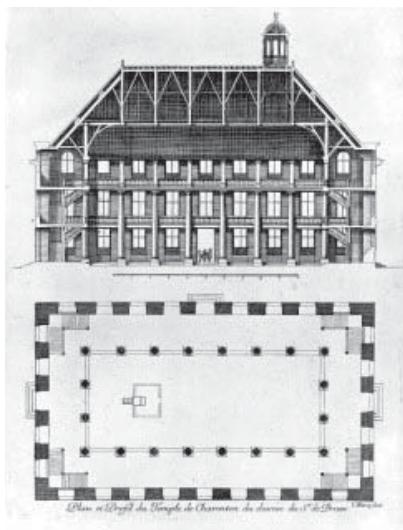


Fig. 01. Charenton type church, s. XVII.
Fig. 02. Charenton type church with layout plan, s. XVII.

the structure of the society acted upon this process, which eventuated a really well-identified form over Europe after 100 years later of the starting of the reformation. The protestant churches of the 17th and 18th century (Lutheran, Calvinist, Unitarian) used a progressive architectural form, during the Baroque the Charenton-type (Fig. 01) became determining: the altar and the pulpit is placed to the middle of the short or the long-drawn side of the rectangular church space, which was beset by the gallery from more sides (Spicer 2007; Spicer 2012; Harasimovicz 2015) (Fig. 02).

Therefore, this form resulted an obviously identifiable space, which is suitable for the identification, and where the simpleness came from the practical common sense. Two fundamental elements distinguished a Protestant church service: 1. The predominance of the Word over the sacrament; 2. The predominance of the congregation over the liturgical leader or leaders (Tillich 1962). The Calvinist radicalism, in an aesthetic aspect, belonged to the self-identity of the church this time: the aboveboard structures were built from the real materials, primarily the architectonic form prevailed in the ornament, the fine materials kept clear of the sumptuousness and

it came down to the most important objects (communion cup, cross, bowls) and the textiles.

The craftsmanship appeared on a high-standard, it didn't use aesthetic surplus. This technical and artistic unity starts speaking on the own language of the local culture and region, but above the European protestant nations it showed a self-existent orbicular picture. For that keep clear of lose ourselves in the historical distances, we should briefly touch upon those significant changes, which stopped this obviously detectable development. A turning process took place because of the social and political changes in the middle of the 19th century.

The geographical centre point of the Protestantism relocated to the German areas, where a retrocession to the period of Luther characterised the church by the origination of the Eisenach Directive (summarizing the principles of congresses held in Eisenach, published as «Regulativs für den Evangelischen Kirchenbau» in 1861), which preferred the historical styles according to the theologically conservative principles¹. The Regulative broke with the approximate central space forms of the Baroque period in favour of the spread of the longitudinal nave arrangement, where, at the same time, it advised the location of the pulpit in the main nave (for the sake of

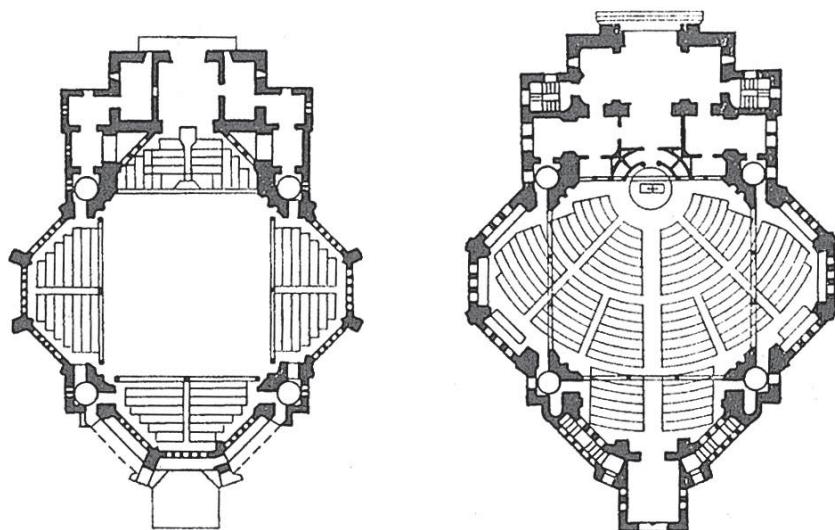


Fig. 03. Johannes Otzen. Ringkirche, Wiesbaden (Germany), 1892/94.

the cause that the cleric could stay nearby to the faithful). We can interpret it as a kind of conformity to the *church-fashion* (as assimilation to the form of the catholic churches), how the other guideline led also to this: it committed itself to the use of the neo-Gothic style. However the Wiesbaden guidelines², which were conceived just a few years later, attended to the spiritual contents: it defined the protestant church as the *house* of the community, and it suggested the creation of a transparent space form for the celebrations of the faithful, where the celebration of the Lord's Supper took place in the *centre point*³.

According to the adopted symbolism of the «Wiesbaden Programme» (1891), the pulpit and altar (Lord's Table by the Calvinists) are coequal elements of the unity (Johannes Otzen put down in his conception plans the solution principles based on the theological directives of Emil Veesenmeyer cleric: Otzen 1891, 299; a constructed example is: Ringkirche, Wiesbaden, Germany, 1892/94; about the role of Otzen: Genz 2011) (Fig. 03). He took care with the questions of the style just in so far that he noticed the imitation like nature of the historical forming solutions, thus he declined the neo-Gothic as well. The first steel and after it shortly, reinforced concrete structural churches were born this time in

Western Europe, which set up a totally new aesthetic dimension also in the protestant sacral architecture.

Thus, while the former is a backspace toward the conservative universal form, till then the later guidelines want to conceive a special, identity-carrier forming in the relation of the content. The sand are running out for the axial space forms performed with altar-apsis by the cases of the protestant churches, but the Berliner congress (1894) laid down also just that the most important question can be seek in the relation of the altar and pulpit. More versions were argued on the second church architectural congress in Dresden, in which sometimes the pulpit, sometimes the altar got closer to the faithful, but Veesenmeyer definitely declined the pulpitaltar, which strongly reminds to the historical solutions and was suggested by Fritz Schumacher (The third congress —held in Magdeburg in 1928— brought the most significant achievements in connection with the composition of the elements in the sanctuary).

This process, looking toward the modernity, opens a period with the unity of the comprehensive artwork (*Gesamtkunstwerk*) manifesting itself in the modern architecture, which shows consequence synod in the aspect of the technic and aesthetic. The community principle could become the essential

character of the protestant church-space again, the space formed by community, which points to the centrality in the space forming, on the other hand it doesn't leave behind the practicality of the axial arrangement. These principles come round the problem of the ideal space: primarily in the relation of the ground-plan —connecting to this, from the aspect of the space forming-creating structure—and just at last referring to the architectural details.

The symbolic geometrical planning method of Christoph Leonard Sturm⁴ comes into prominence for a short time in the turn of the century, as the structurally more complex space forms requiring longer spans can also be reconsidered through the modern structures (Fig. 04). German and Swiss examples came into existence in different styles with the Greek cross space forming solution with middle tower, standing closer to the historical resolvings (Heiligen Kreuz kirche, Berlin-Kreuzberg, Germany, 1895. Arch: Johannes Otzen [Fig. 05]; Pauluskirche, Basel, Switzerland, 1898–1901. Arch: Curjel & Moser), or composing the tower as a contra-element and showing a freestyle shaping structure and form (Lutherkirche, Karlsruhe, Germany, 1905–07. Arch: Curjel & Moser; Pauluskirche, Bern, Switzerland, 1902/05. Arch: Karl Moser).

These last examples show the attendance of that style pluralism, what results the replacement of the historical styles: from the neo-Gothic towards the Secession, then the form transitions between regions with evolving of the national style seeking, finally carrying on themselves the signs of the pre-modern. This is the period of the new objectivity, which appears with conventional longitudinal spaces and traditional architectural forms (Evangelische Kirche, Haarzopf, Germany, 1912. Architect: Max Benirschke) or even using up-to-date geometrical designs with style-seeking forms (Reformed church, Budapest-Fasor, Hungary, 1912. Arch: Aladár Árkay) (Fig. 06).

We can think that the use of the rediscovered, centrally planned «protestant space form» with gallery became monocrat just right the effect of the helpful recommendations. It is built deeply into the public-awareness during the centuries, thus this well

recognizable form didn't become exclusive. As it can be seen, the recommendations of the congresses relating to the architecture show to the direction of the style-pluralism, under which we can understand not just the applied architectural detail forming but also actually the architectural form itself.

References spring into existence around the turn of the century concentrate basically on the inner space forming in the symbolical interpretation of the liturgy. The symbolism of the pulpit and altar in regard to spatial appearance was considered primarily, connecting to it the expectations of visibility and audibility. Thus, it can be understandable that the longitudinal space forming was completely acceptable, if it matched to these theologically requirements. A row of outstanding artworks signs the following of the axial form. Spanning of the spaces didn't cause problem with the use of modern reinforced concrete structures, thus spacious and transparent spaces could be designed without intermediary point of support (Pauluskirche, Ulm, Germany, 1910. Arch: Theodor Fischer) (Fig. 07).

Beside the axial space arrangement closing with apse, also the usage of the galleries referred to this well-identifiable protestant form (Kallio kirche, Helsinki, Finland, 1912. Arch: Lars Sonck) and we can find large cathedrals, where the church space was extended with roomy apses right abeam enriching the space for the sake of togetherness of the community (Engelbrektskyrkan, Stockholm, Sweden, 1914. Arch: Lars Israel Wahlman) (Fig. 08). According to our view, these space forming renewals draw on the experiences of the earlier highlighted geometrical, centralising space arrangements, and results the easily recognizable *protestant variations* of the classical longitudinal churches.

The alternative variations of the well-identifiable mass forms realize in the interior by the innovative installation of the furniture and liturgical space elements. Some space forms evolve till the first decades of the 20th century, which operate fine in central and longitudinal spaces and they show a well-identifiable group with the protestant churches beside the examination of the not concluded questions about the altar composition. These are the arrangement of the

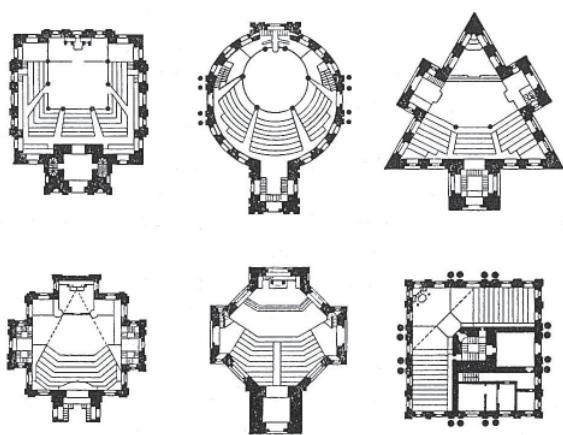


Fig. 04. Leonhardt Christoph Sturm. Ideal plans, 1669/1729.
Fig. 05. Heiligen Kreuz kirche, Berlin-Kreuzberg (Germany), 1895.



benches in fan-shape form, the use of sideward—but rather from three sides—gallery, which give opportunity to all the members of the community turning to the pulpit and altar and for living the participation on the mass as togetherness.

PERIOD OF THE PROGRESSIVE REARRANGEMENT 1918/45

The former examples can be interpreted as the beginning of a progressive period, which give a transition to the protestant church architecture after the century of WWI, as it is appointed in the title of this lecture. Significant political changes happened in lots of countries with protestant majority as the consequences of the WWI ended in 1918, and the shortly forthcoming economic world crisis complicated further the social changes. Role of the churches strengthened in Middle Europe, while the secularization deepened in the West and balanced circumstances brought forth in the North. Opinions following the reforms intensified within the church, and the effect of the liturgical movements both in the catholic and protestant churches became perceptible. The cultural medium and technical requirements were given in the midst of the drastic changes for a significant shift, which was reached

by a progressively thinking young architectural generation (Schnell 1973).

Life-work of Otto Bartning has a huge effect on the European protestant church architecture. His work entitled with «Vom neuen Kirchenbau» came out in 1919 showed his progressive thinking. «The foundation that is most dear to him is the circle. He confirms the origin of this *natural law*: in liturgical action in the open field, an oratory is formed before the speaker or liturgist, who frees himself. The liturgy stands at the edge of the circling, and the assembly is arranged round about three quarters of the circle» (Biedrzyński 1958, 33). He made out his *Sternkirche* conception in 1922, which can be understood as the ideal plan—with its perfect central ground plan—strained off from the liturgical processes of the former decades. The pulpit is placed in the centrum of the auditorium like space sloping to the middle, the altar, gallery and organs in the two sides are settled in a higher level along the axis directing to outwards. A characteristic architectural vision was born as summary of the after hundred years of traditions and theological arguments of the last decades resulting an opening for a new period.

Bartning's plan realized with smaller corrections in Essen in 1930 (Auferstehungskirche [Church of

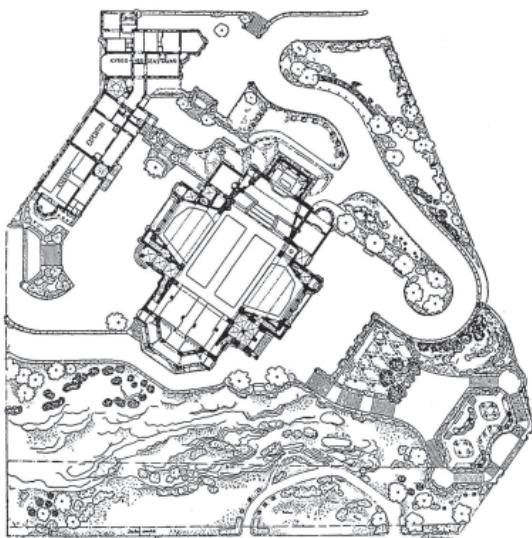
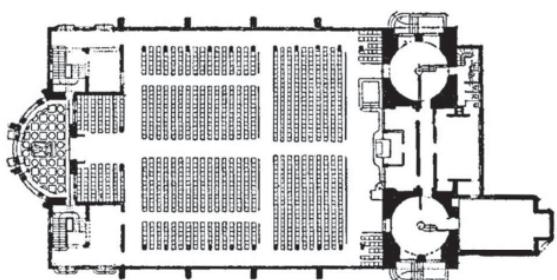
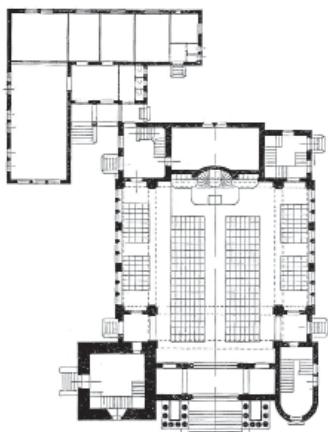
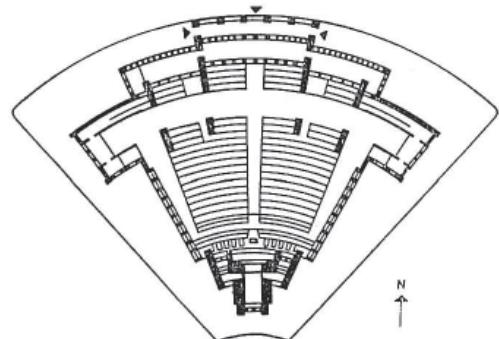
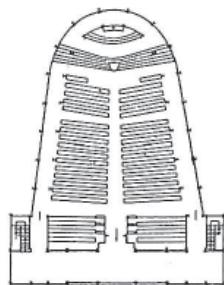
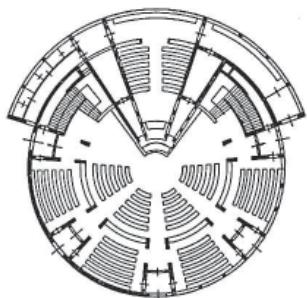


Fig. 06. Aladár Árkay. Reformed church, Budapest-Fasor (Hungary), 1912.

Fig. 07. Theodor Fischer. Pauluskirche, Ulm (Germany), 1910..

Fig. 08. Lars Israel Wahlman. Engelbrektskyrkan, Stockholm (Sweden), 1914..

Fig. 09. Works of Otto Bartning: Church of the Ressurection, Essen (Germany), 1930; Stahlkirche, Essen, 1928; Gustav-Adolf-Kirche, Berlin-Siemensstadt (Germany), 1934.



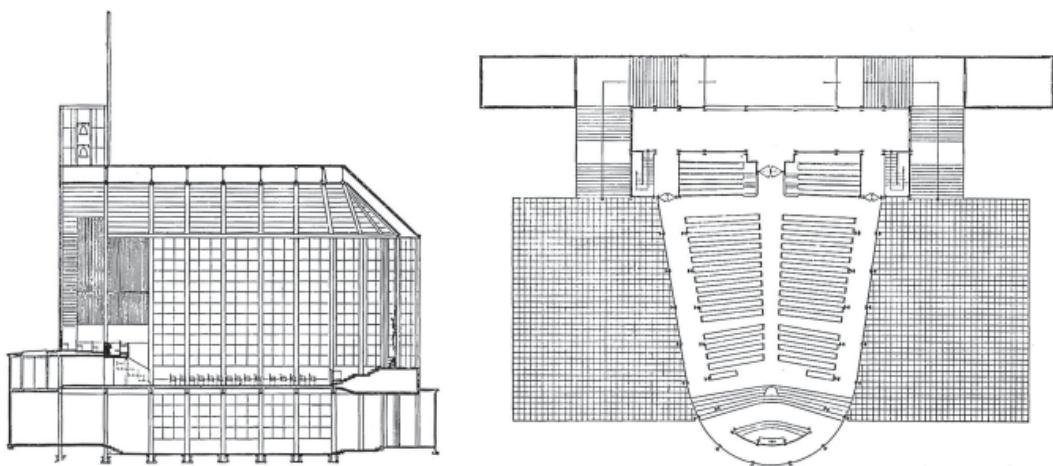


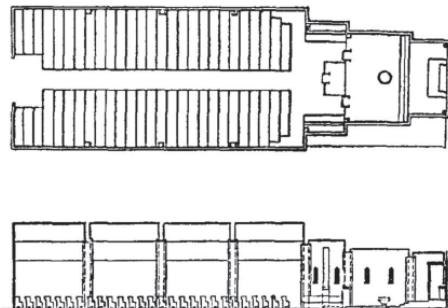
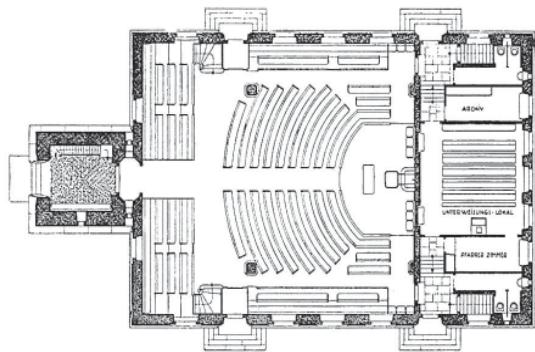
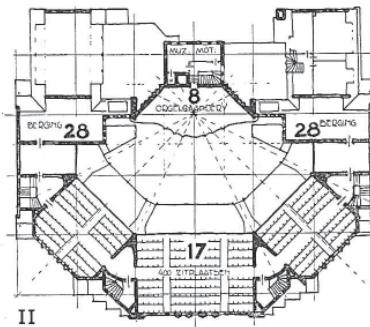
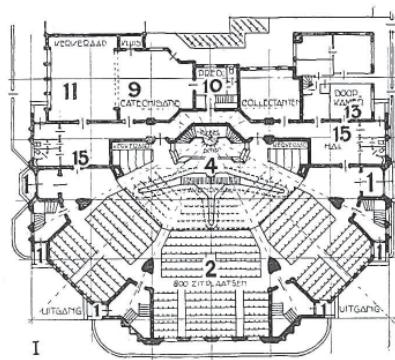
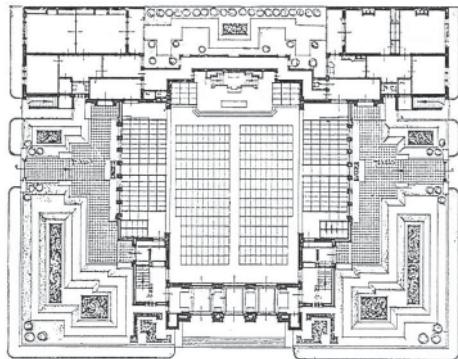
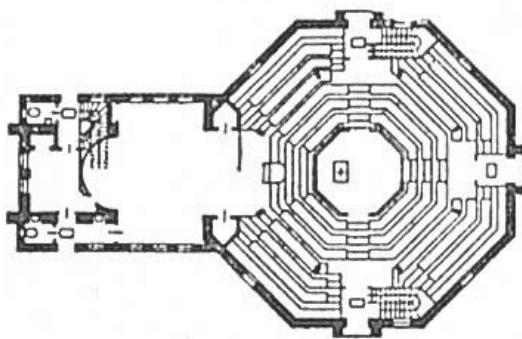
Fig. 10. Otto Bartning. Stahlkirche, Essen (Germany), 1928.

the Ressurection], Essen, Germany, 1930. Arch: Otto Bartning), where the baptismal font got in the middle of the circle planned space, the altar was beside it, above which the pulpit and the organ gallery overtopped. Intensive vertical space takes shape in case of the constructed building: on the one hand because of the basilican space form, on the other hand according to the gallery, which besets the central space (*Feier-kirche* was evolved under the singer and organ gallery in the section opened to the altar: we are going to deal with its theological analysis in a little while) (Fig. 09).

The churches of Bartning prove his progressive space approach and technical-structural proficience. Although he saw the realising of the ideal space form of the protestant *community* conception in the central space, he tried to concentrate the effects of the spaces towards this balanced centre. His church in Berlin realised a few years later can be interpreted as a segment of the former ideal central space (Gustav-Adolf-Kirche, Berlin-Siemensstadt, Germany, 1934. Arch: Otto Bartning). The building with an urbanistically accented situation turns to the city with its sanctuary, the pulpit is in the front and the altar is behind it, from which back wall the tower raises. He arranged the benches to the crow-stepped sanctuary

radially, in a fan-shape form. The huge reinforced concrete beams of the space covering dynamically highlight the directionality of the space. The thought of a fan like space opening from direction of the pulpit and altar comes back in a work of him, which one is calmer in its space form, but it is more energetic from the aspect of the structure forming and aesthetic.

The Stahlkirche, built for the world exhibition in Cologne, assigned a new way in the protestant church architecture not just because of the formerly mentioned up-to-date space forming principles, but mainly by the reason of the material usage (Fig. 10). Beside the carefully designed but primitively looking detail forming resulting from the industrial materials, the simple structural hierarchy ordered to the ground plan and the dominancy of the abstract colourful glasses, the space with its puritan severity has an astonishing power⁵. However it can be noticed that according to our assessment this highly relevant building can be placed on deep intellectual bases: the clarity of the space form and the visually dominant appearance of the modern structure connects philosophically the building with the gothic, which was preferred architectural period of Bartning, as it is known (James-Chakraborty 2000).



We would like to give the intendment of the protestant church architecture in the mid war period according to the architect-designer principles basing on the already known theological grounds and as the formal types, which can be found in the works of Bartning. This individual reading follows the selection methodology of the international practice basing on conventional, comprehensive consensus (Stock 2002 and 2006) Instead of the catalogue, which striving after completeness (Schnell 1973) or a complex architecturally methodological approach (Weyres–Bartning 1959)—which would significantly exceed the extension of such a lecture and study— it gets an opportunity to show other less-known buildings choosing from the most important elements. There is a chance with this for finding new correlations. Apropos of the liturgical renewal processes, we can get guidelines not just by the architectural interpretation of the theological principles regarding to the ground plan, but also about the aesthetical requirements. While the former considers fundamentally the symbolism of the protestant theology as a base, till the latter adjusts to the broader social expectations. The architecture is not separable from the period which is came it into existence; the architectural design represents the whole cultural and technical, thus intellectual and physical opportunities of its own age. The protestant church doesn't exist for itself, and it is also not built for the glory of God. Its task is reciprocity of the community, which comes together hearing the word of God, turning to God through the collective singing. The aesthetic of the protestant church is puritan coming from its nature, which can be reached primarily with the use of ingenuous materials and rational structural design. It belongs to the

puritanism that the pulpit and the altar—symbols for Word of the God and the sacrifice of his Son— must be well visible and audible through the most basic senses. The church is a shell for the life that takes place within (Stock 2006).

We give the brief summing presentation of the mid war protestant churches according to the space forming and dimensions of aesthetic. As we could see it, the progressive space forming of Bartning aims the centralization; he uses the form, which visualizes the *community*. The presentation of the church architecture in the 1920s should start anyway with the highlight of this process. Theodor Fischer finished his small church in the woods in the nearby of Munich in 1926 (Waldkirche, Planegg, Germany, 1926. Arch: Theodor Fischer) (Fig. 11). Its perfect octagonal form is a theatre-auditorium with gallery, where the altar stands in its middle: all of the faithful turn their eye on it. The pulpit is placed a bit higher on the line directing to one of the axes of the ground plan, and the organ is behind it. The clear and static space gives a calm frame for the reception of the communal experience. This last thought is really true for two buildings: «Church architecture is more than merely a vessel to house the congregation; it is the visible form and character of the community» (Mayer 1951, 12).

Actually we really cannot meet such a clear appearance of the central space form in the records of the period. Partly the last examples of the ideal Greek cross ground plan space forms can be found in this two decades, which (as it was adumbrated formerly) can be thank for the modern protestant church architectural heyday of the Dutch areas. Also the more complex space forms of the puritan Dutch church spaces using brick and wooden building materials came true in the purpose of the transparency. The clear-out architectural forms with precise design of details using noble materials (copper, chromium-plated steel, fine woods), and measuredly applied the relating arts (glass art or glazed plastics) resulted gentle feeling in the spaces. The sanctuary didn't detach itself from the space of the faithful and the furnishing mainly formed a lobe. The Greek cross ground plan remained determining form (Kerk

Fig. 11. Theodor Fischer. Waldkirche, Planegg (Germany), 1926.

Fig. 12. Fred B. Jantzen. Jerusalemkirk, Amsterdam (Holland), 1929.

Fig. 13. B.T. Boeyinga. Gereformeerde Kerk, Haarlem (Holland), 1926.

Fig. 14. Emil Schäffer. Reformed church, Dietikon (Switzerland), 1925.

Fig. 15. Emil Schäffer. Church-room of the Congress, Magdeburg (Germany), 1928.

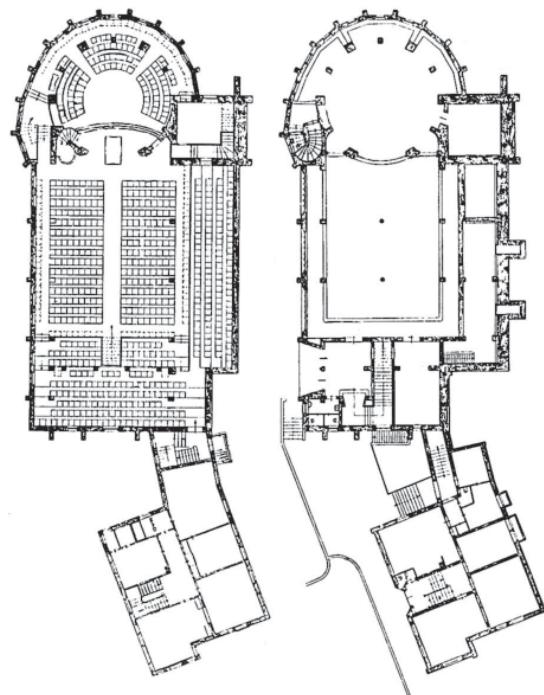
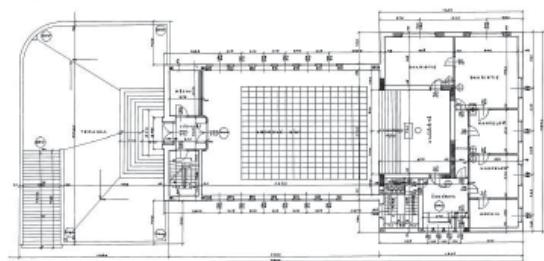
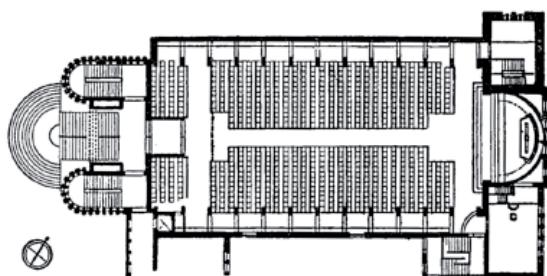
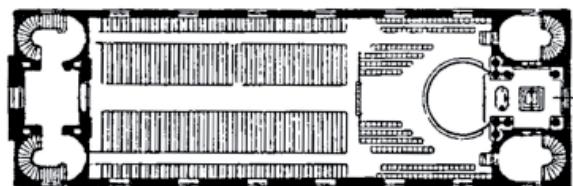


Fig. 16. Martin Elsaesser. Südkirche, Esslingen (Germany), 1926.

Fig. 17. K. Gottlob and A. Frederiksen. St. Lukas Kirche, Aarhus (Denmark), 1930.

Fig. 18. Fritz Höger. Hohenzollerplatz kirche, Berlin (Germany), 1933.

Fig. 19. Jan Višek. Hussite church, Brno (Czechoslovakia), 1928.



Ned. Protestantengemeente, Hilversum, Holland, 1928. Arch: B.H. Bakker & C.M. Bakker), even though it has already not obviously identifiable in the mass forming (Jerusalemkerk, Amsterdam, Holland, 1929. Arch: Fred B. Jantzen) (Fig. 12).

Polygonal plans are often used as efforts toward the symbolism of the stellar form, which results geodetic masses. By this the ground plan system disengage a bit, the space form gives a chance to evolving the relatively progressive fan-shape form, the benches slope to the centre, which helps in the more intensive visualization of the togetherness feeling within the community (Gereformeerde Kerk, Haarlem, Holland, 1926. Arch: B.T. Boeyinga) (Fig. 13). The community forming role of this interior space design was also tried to be reached, when more simple building masses were created. The small Dutch churches, which are considered as the masterpieces of the brick architecture, show that careful and detailed design, which basically expound its high standard architecture in their detailed large spaces.

We can meet rarely with retrospections citing historical forms. The Charenton-type —the first space form which can be consider as a determining one in the protestant church architecture during the modern era— accommodate itself well to the *house like forms* seeking simplicity. However conjuration of the *archetypal* form happens in just very exceptional cases (Reformed church, Dietikon, Switzerland, 1925. Arch: Emil Schäffer) (Fig. 14).

The other significant space forming achievement of the Baroque, the thwart turned furnishing is a more welcomed solution, but it was used just by a few buildings (Gereformeerde Kerk, Weesp, Holland, 1928. Arch: Egb. Reitsma). I would like to attract by the lastly presented buildings that the small scale public buildings also contain community room, sometimes vicarage or school beside the church function within one complex (we will give significance to this observation immediately).

The third Lutheran church architectural congress in Magdeburg in 1928 conceived guidelines, which urged the end of the use of central space forms and it argued for a long beside the longitudinal nave, where the pulpit is placed into the sanctuary in a well visi-

ble and audible way (Fig. 15). The community house multi-functional task takeover was strengthened in continuance of the thoughts of Sulze: as an obvious answer to the economic and political processes and social changes happening by this time. By the prioritization of the directional space the visibility and audibility get an highlighted role again. Partly the altar, the symbolic representative of the objective salvation given in Christ's death sacrifice is the main centre of cultic activity. The pulpit, as important as symbolize the Word of God, had to be formed according to old Christian model and can be placed next to the altar, whether it is in the middle axis, or somewhat laterally. The thought of *Predigtkirche* or *preaching church* is ignored again by the design of Lutheran churches in 1928, and they define a place for self-examination of God and for intercourse with him (*Neuzeitlicher Kirchenbau: Die Verhandlungen des III. Kongresses für evangelischen Kirchenbau, Magdeburg, den 2. bis 4. Mai 1928*. Halle: Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses).

We can see the solution by the central churches of Bartning that a ceremony room (*freierkirche*) connected directly to the sanctuary under the gallery. Exceptional experiments were born in the South German areas for the axially formed sanctuary, which complies to the theological symbolism of the formation. Elsaesser built a small baptismal font into the opening of the chancel arch behind the altar table (maybe following the type of the English Lady-chapels), which could suitable with its central space for the involvement of independent ceremonies, or it could also serve as an extended church space for the faithful (Südkirche, Esslingen, Germany, 1926. Arch: Martin Elsaesser) (Fig. 16).

The Lutheran church architecture *goes back* to the hegemony of longitudinal forming instead of the individual solutions. Principally axially designed churches were built in the German and Scandinavian areas from the 20s, mainly in the 30s. The individual architectural form of the national style-seeking movements exchanged slowly, but definitively the historical styles. The classicistic stream still appears in the Scandinavian states (St. Lukas Kirche, Aarhus, Denmark, 1930. Arch: K. Gottlob and A. Frederik-

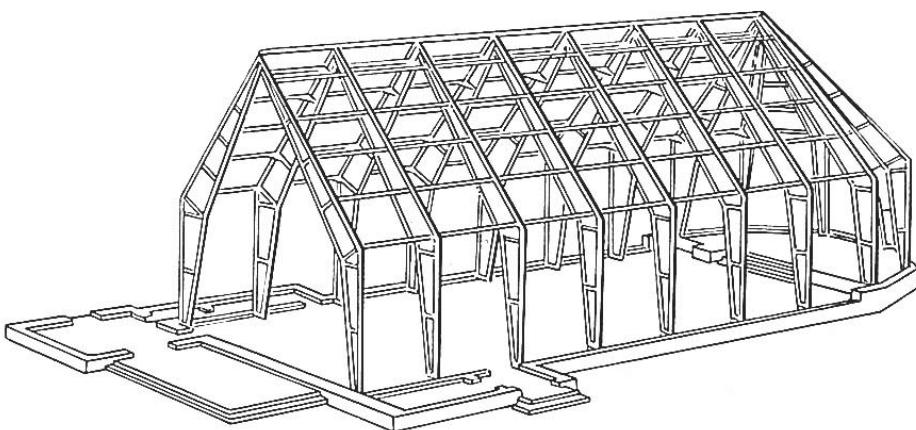


Fig. 20. Otto Bartning. Notkirche, 1947; ideal structure.

sen) (Fig. 17), but with the strengthening of the national identity forming requirements those trends take over its place, which inspire themselves from the local forms using often historical patterns with expressive visual appearance (Grundtvigs Kirke, København, Denmark, 1921–40. Arch: Peder Vilhelm Jensen-Klint; Hallgrímskirkja, Reykjavik, Iceland, 1937/86. Arch: Guðjón Samúelsson).

We can find the breaking away of modern architecture in the protestant church architecture in Middle Europe. The architecture growing from the German *Backstein-expressionism* and composing with abstract forms (Hohenzollerplatz kirche, Berlin, 1933. Arch: Fritz Höger) (Fig. 18). leads us soon towards the puritan reinforced concrete modern churches with a kind of industrial aesthetic (Hussite church, Prague, Czechoslovakia, 1933. Arch: Pavel Janák). The modern architectural form language becomes to the architecture of the progressively thinking church congregations. It spreads quicker in those countries, where general headway of the modern architecture is more typical. It became often identity reviver setting together with the national independency: in 1920, shortly after the establishment of Czechoslovakia in 1918, the Czechoslovak Hussite Church was established, whose mission was

to create a purely Czech religious platform against the reign of Austrian-Hungarian Catholic Church (Hussite church, Brno, Czechoslovakia, 1928. Arch: Jan Víšek) (Fig. 19). In the neighbouring Hungary just right the progressive stream of the Catholic Church received the modern architecture for Italian effect (Church of Sacred Heart, Budapest-Városmajor, 1931/33. Arch: Bertalan and Aladár Árkay).

Finnish church architecture —after gaining its independence in 1917— also reflects a consistent development from historical styles to *Neue Sachlichkeit/New Objectivity* (Nakkila kirkko, Nakkila, Finland, 1937. Arch: Erkki Huttunen). Headway of the modern architecture evolves in Scandinavia just a few years later (Taulumäki Church, Jyväskylä, Finland, 1929. Arch: Elsi Borg) and appears in Switzerland (Alstetten, Switzerland, 1938–42. Arch: Werner M. Moser). These axially arranged churches are often asymmetrical, extended with galleries or enriched with the space covering, thus the performance of light.

COMMUNITY CHURCH AFTER 1945

WWII left as huge void as it was more frightening than ever before. The base of the Protestantism, Germany split, the left-winger dictatorship came into

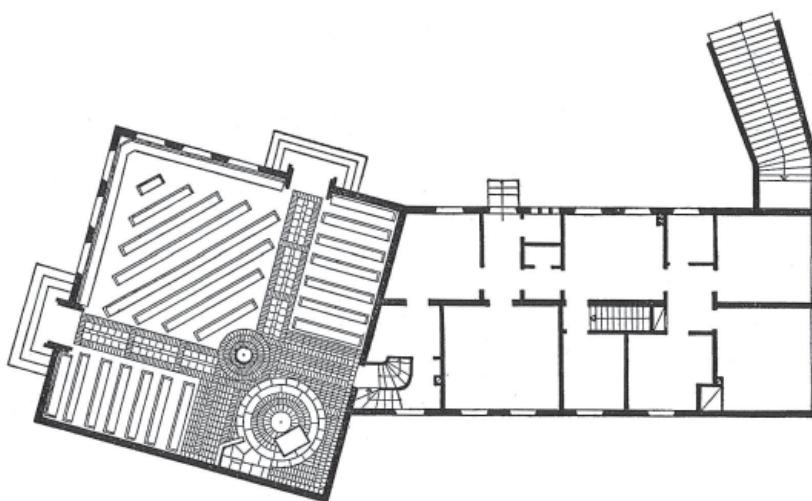


Fig. 21. Olaf Andreas Gulbransson. Johanneskirche, Taufkirchen (Vils)/Dorfen (Germany), 1955.

power within a few years in the Middle Eastern European countries (Vukoszávlyev–Urbán 2016). Church started coming apart in Holland, and church buildings became abandoned because of the accelerating secularization. Scandinavia and Switzerland could bring ahead the process of the church architectural development without any relevant shocks. While the necessity-constructions have begun in the Western German areas and later churches appeared with the new approach as well. Churches built in the first decades after 1945 are mainly smaller in scale, but for this reason, their architects had more freedom in forming the structure. The period of the symbolical forms and new engineering structures comes.

Works of Bartning after 1945 basically show a socially sensible architecture. He designed —within the Notkirchen program— *necessity-churches* with simple construction methods on rational financial budget (which churches were sometimes just like decomposable and rebuildable in a new plot) (Biedrzyński 1958) (Fig. 20).

Forty-seven further buildings followed the Resurrection Church, which was built in Pforzheim in 1947, till 1951 within the framework of Relief Society of the Evangelical Churches in Germany Program. Modular construction method, discrete

material usage and puritan interiors characterized these buildings. It proves the successes of this program that community houses and chapels were also built with another newer program using similar principles.

According to our opinion tradition-seeking created by the modern architecture led to the regional tendencies appearing mainly in the peripheries. Analysis of local traditions in plan and mass forms and their abstract taking on, the locally typical material usage concentrating definitively on just a few materials are analogical with the category of critical regionalism highlighted by Frampton. The origin of this can be followed in the architecture of the 40s by the spread of modernism and its dispersion can be seen in the 50s. We can also behold recruitment of similar processes in the church architecture. The traditional construction method of building industry had a great significance in the reconstruction tasks after the WWII, because beside the expertise also the building materials were sparingly available. This task motivated the engineering constructor thinking as well, and the simple small buildings were often built with smart and provident structures. Smaller churches were built (beside the reconstructions and modern monumental renovations) for the discrete

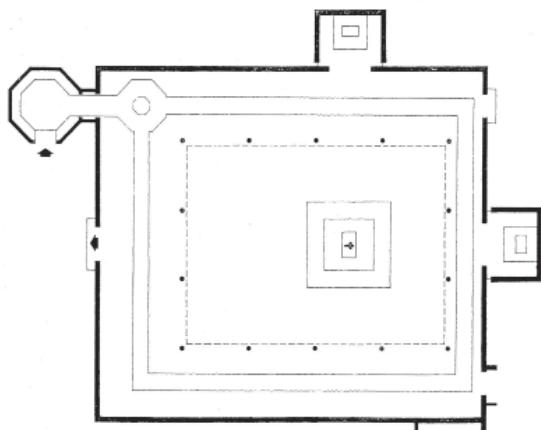
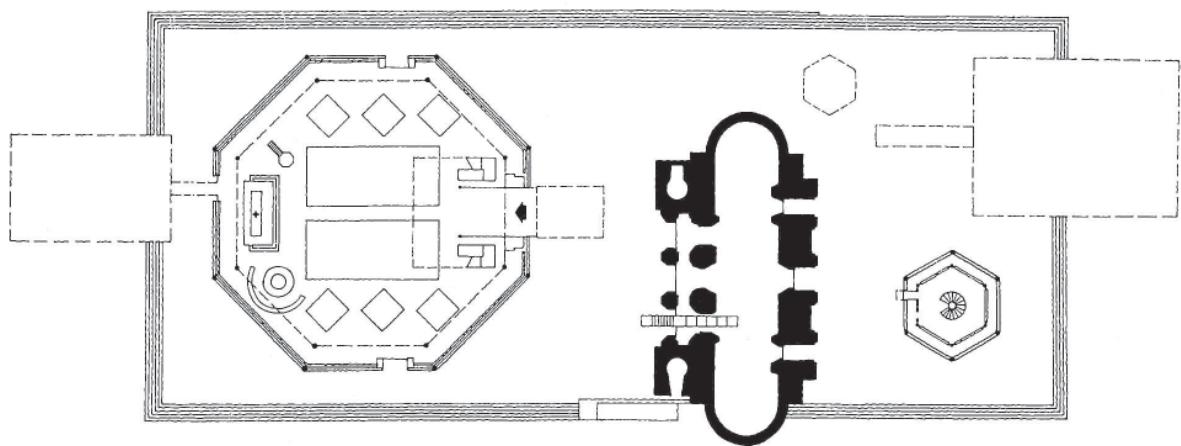
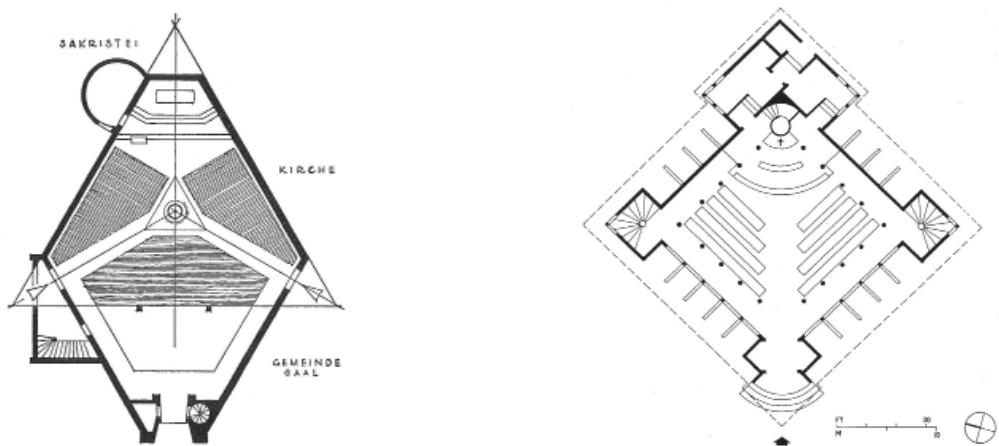


Fig. 22. Olaf Andreas Gulbransson. Auferstehungskirche, Rottach-Egern (Germany), 1952/53.

Fig. 23. Magnus Poulsson. Village church, Gravberget (Norway), 1956.

Fig. 24. Egon Eiermann. Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gedächtniskirche, Berlin-Charlottenburg (Germany), 1961.

Fig. 25. Robert Maguire. St Paul's [Bow Common] Church, London (England), 1960.

necessities of communities because of the narrow financial opportunities. This modesty is not the same with the poverty. Communities turned the processing of horrors of the last decade for spiritual renewal, as if they would live the coming of Christian fundamental principles. They built modest, but spiritually rich churches to this. The really intense symbolism and puritan material usage are the tools of this period, which leans often on the most basic master builder and carpenter simplicity. The modest financial opportunities were enriched with light-applying interpreting it in this last to ideas: the natural light became the most important element of the modern architecture as a material and as a symbol. Such a variousness characterise the planning and mass forming of the last two decades that it can be seen never before, which coupled with smart engineering structures and exclusively high standard material usage. We wouldn't like to make too prospective comments, but the formal richness will decrease by the time (and simplify towards the axial space arrangement), the material usage and light organizing step ahead to a dominant architectural conceptual principle.

Modest material usage, smart but simple structure and rich symbolism characterise the churches of Olaf Andreas Gulbransson (Körner–Wiener 2010) in the 50s. Diagonal design marks its spaces with axial enhancement of the baptismal font and altar (Johanneskirche, Vils, 1955; Auferstehungskirche, Neufahrn, 1959/61; Friedenskirche, Manching, 1957/58. Arch: Olaf Gulbransson) (Fig. 21).

Benches placed in fan-shape form emphasises the diagonal axis of the quadratic space, and the artfully composed large windows in the corners exonerate the dramatic effect of the strongly organized plan shape (Immanuelkirche, Kassel–Forstfeld, 1962/63. Arch: Olaf Gulbransson; Thomas church, Gelsenkirchen, 1965. Arch: Albrecht Wittig and Fred Janowski).

The puritan but emotional lightening composition justify the precise design of the regularly and polygonally planned churches almost personating the space (Auferstehungskirche, Rottach-Egern, 1952/53; Christuskirche, Schliersee, 1953/54. Arch: Olaf Gulbransson) (Fig. 22).

All of this is analogical with the visual clarity of the Scandinavian rural churches referring to the archetypal samples, just like the tent of the Jewish tradition (Village church, Gravberget, Norway, 1956. Arch: Magnus Poulsson) (Fig. 23).

The precisely designed geometry naturally can be the churches' own in the period. It is a broadly used planning method even in this bad economic situation considering from the aspect of the construction, because the material intensity of the space covering structures can be fewer coming from the size, comparing it to the rectangular planned spaces with similar recipience. Beside the triangular form (Dreifaltigkeitskirche, Burgkirchen, 1960. Arch: Olaf Gulbransson), the octagonal form is also used by choice (Aufertehungskirche, Schweinfurt-Bergl, 1958/59. Arch: Olaf Gulbransson), but for a case of bigger recipience already more complicated structural system is necessary (Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gedächtniskirche, Berlin-Charlottenburg, Germany, 1961. Arch: Egon Eiermann) (Fig. 24). The axial arrangement is the central spaces' own; the varied composition of the altar table-pulpit-baptismal font appears in the opposing wall of the entrance or in the corners in a highlighted position.

The altar table installed in the middle stayed those community spaces' own, which are more intimate and could receive fewer people (St Paul's [Bow Common] Church, London, England, 1960. Arch: Robert Maguire) (Fig. 25).

We find outstandingly artful solution of the liturgical centrum in a small university chapel (University chapel, Otaniemi, Finland, 1957. Arch: Kaija and Heikki Sirén). We are on the frontier of the urban and natural environment. A partly opened atrium court receives the coming, which can be the place of the outdoor community events besetting with walls, but permeable space, where only the bell tower —as an ancient building— signs that we nearing to a church. Walls see across on the sidelong placed opening without any unnecessary drama.

We step in sidelong into the quadratic space, where a solid wall receive us in face to the entrance, beside it we see through a panoramic glass a picture about a part of a gorgeous cosy small wood changing

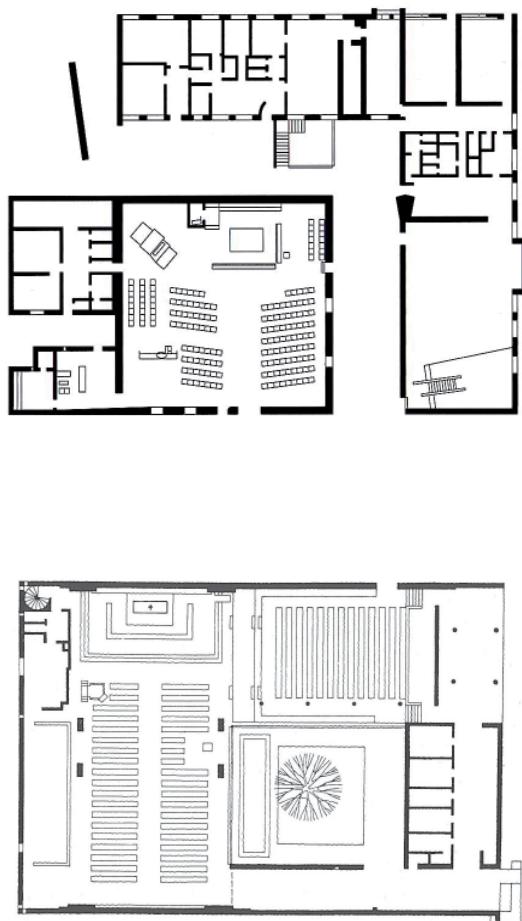
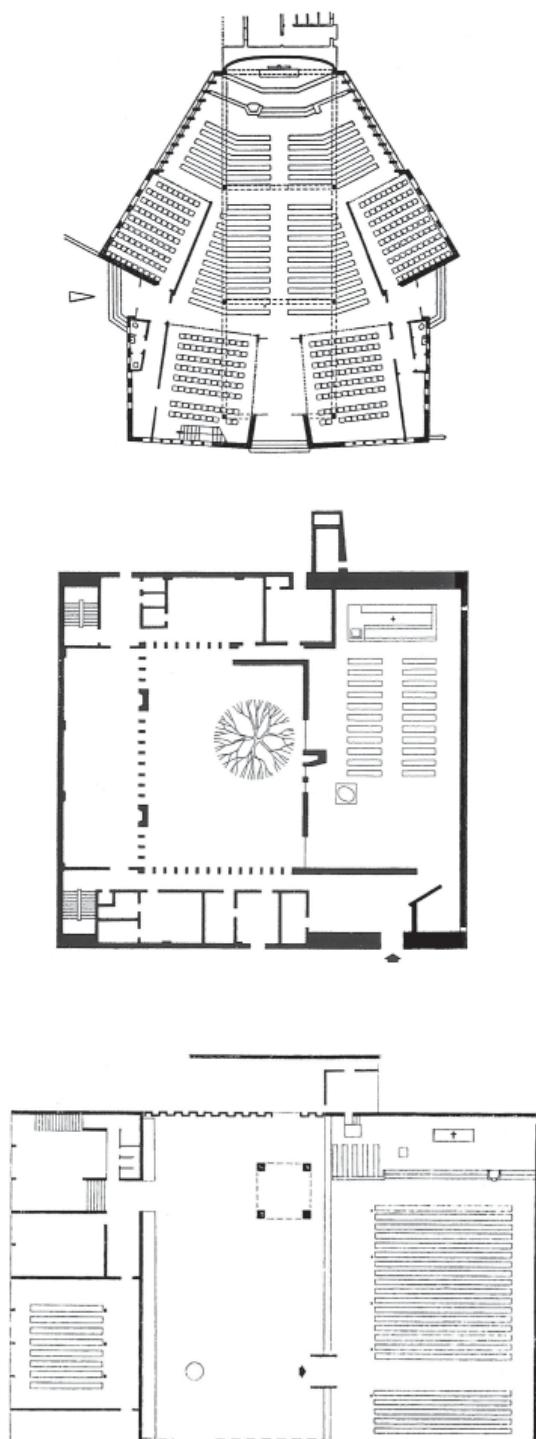


Fig. 26. Otto Bartning and Otto Dörzbach. Christuskirche, Bonn-Godesberg (Germany), 1954.

Fig. 27. Sigurd Lewerentz. St. Petri, Klippan (Sweden), 1967.

Fig. 28. Peter Celsing. St Thomas, Stockholm-Vällingby (Sweden), 1959.

Fig. 29. Bengt Lindroos and Hans Borgström. Söderledskyrkan, Stockholm-Hökarängen (Sweden), 1960.

Fig. 30. Gerhard Schlegel and Reinhold Kargel. Paul Gerhardt church, Mannheim (Germany), 1961.

according to the seasons. As we step inner getting out of the lower space part of the building, light flows in from behind us (from South). The eyes get acclimatized to the power of the light and become sensitive to the details.

The puritan brick walls, ceramic floor and the wooden roof structure are filigrane engineering constructions. The white cross appears outside on the tiny glade and we can recognize just slowly the black steel structure of the altar table, the simple pulpit and the baptismal font. Lots of people consider that this chapel is the masterpiece of the protestant church spaces.

Spaces with consequently few material usage and puritanism —after all striving for a kind of spiritual fullness— are built by the principle of *sacred emptiness*. We may quote Rainer Senn: «The spirit of poverty is directly connected with material limitations. These limitations can be the result either of outward necessity or of inner intention. When building is the product of this inner intention it need not appear poor, in the sense of poverty-stricken, but, on the contrary, can radiate the spirit of freedom, a power that transcends the material» (Hammond 1962, 162). These are not empty spaces, but they are architectural frames of the communal activity with their noble simplicity. The material usage, the structural solutions and the forming are not for themselves and they don't try to influence the visitors. The protestant church is an open space for deep spiritual living of the community events (Stengård church, København-Gladsaxe, Denmark, 1963. Arch: Rolfe Graae and Vilhelm Wohlert).

However we can see that the large building is not always a necessity depending on the scale of the community event. Architects designed not huge spaces—with the extension of the financial opportunities of churches—but often space complexes connecting more spaces together with considering to the thrift and perception.

Principle of the space extension also refers to the principles of Magdeburg, and it has maybe more significant meaning after a decade of the WWII: that the space is extendable by the side and from behind, and the church is suitable for sectioning for

smaller and more profane events (Christuskirche, Bonn–Godesberg, Germany, 1954. Otto Bartning and Otto Dörzbach) (Fig. 26).

We cannot highlight enough that it is a complex approach; we can call it whether economic, as the space forming and material usage reach the most required space opportunities in the most economical way on a high architectural standard.

Beside the extendable church spaces the building parts accommodating the varied social activity of the Church are also necessary. This principle was defined between the two world wars as well, but the social sensibility brought examples in the Scandinavian states appearing relatively early, where multiple functional building complexes were built—beside the residential estate constructions—for receiving not just the spiritual service but also the education and the midday activity.

The community space appears next to the church space, which is opening with it; the row of the spaces fulfil with functions of the children education and elderly care can be found, and often temporary accommodations are also built with connecting building wings (St. Markus, Stockholm-Björkhagen, Sweden, 1960; St. Petri, Klippan, Sweden, 1967. Arch: Sigurd Lewerentz) (Fig. 27).

The educational activity of the Church requires open attitude in this time, its social responsibility taking was informal not just with the faithful. More closed form for these church complexes is acceptable in a heterogenic urban centre (St Thomas, Stockholm-Vällingby, Sweden, 1959. Arch: Peter Celsing), and this retrocedent appearance is a frequently used principle still now by the newly built quarters, where the society has wide cultural diversity (Fig. 28).

Symbolism of the churches focuses not for the outer appearance, and sometimes we even cannot find a bell tower too (Söderledskyrkan, Stockholm-Hökarängen, Sweden, 1960. Arch: Bengt Lindroos and Hans Borgström) (Fig. 29). These buildings are often fulfilled with profane functions in the new construction areas: they give place for concerts, theatre plays or cultural events: a protestant space can bear gently various functions.

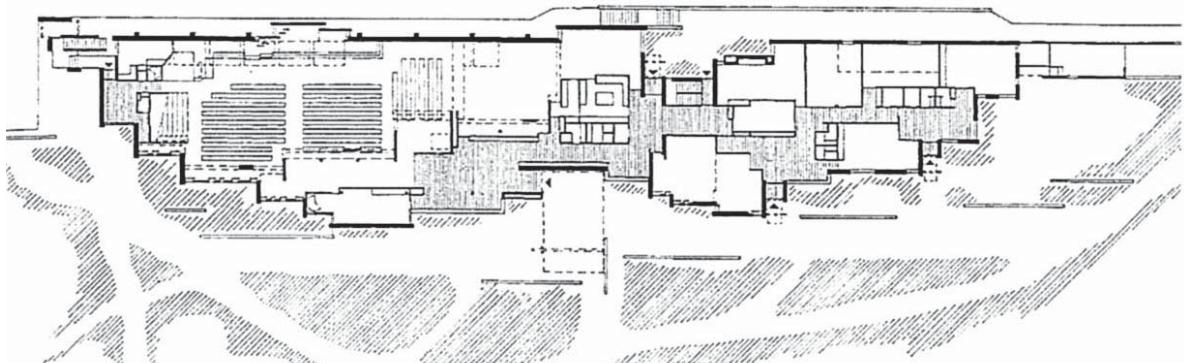
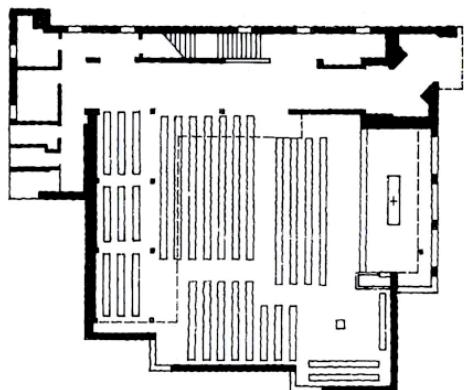
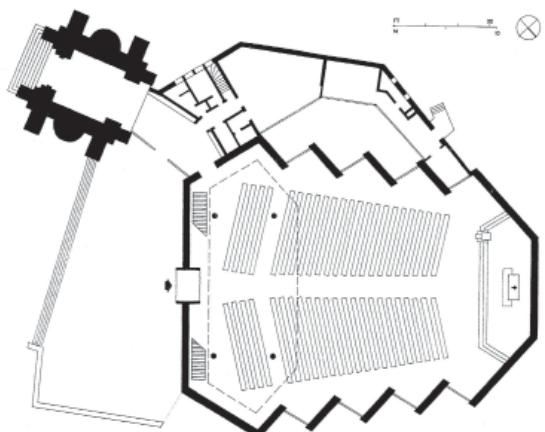
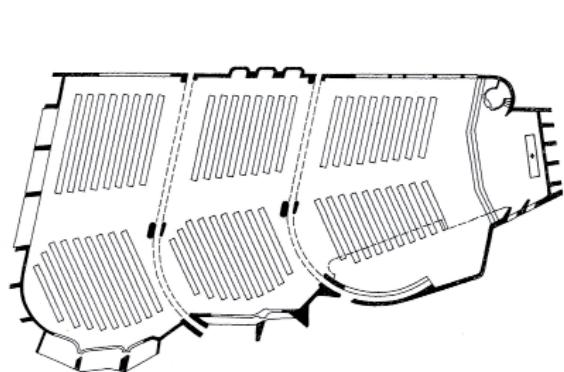


Fig. 31. Alvar Aalto. Vuoksenniska church, Imatra (Finland), 1958.

Fig. 32. Dieter Oesterlen. Christ church, Bochum (Germany), 1959.

Fig. 33. Ernst Gisel. Reformed church, Basel-Reinach (Switzerland), 1963.

Fig. 34. Juha Leiviskä. Myyrmäki church, Helsinki-Vantaa (Finland), 1984.

An arrangement focusing on the middle court is expedient solution in busy environment, in commercial areas or in the shadow of the high buildings (Paul Gerhardt church, Mannheim, Germany, 1961. Arch: Gerhard Schlegel and Reinhold Kargel) (Fig. 30).

Spaces opening into each other can receive a greater multitude by the events of bigger communal happenings, but their narrower space areas can also ensure a more individual space experience. Those organically approached churches are the early examples of the openings of spaces into each other, which want to provide more natural or close to nature spaces comparing them to the strict modern rational space-architecture. Aalto reached the connection of the spaces by not a linear grandiose axis, but he brought dynamic into the space-effect by the organic conjunction of parts (Vuoksenniska church, Imatra, Finland, 1958. Arch: Alvar Aalto) (Fig. 31).

It is analogical with the use of the fan-shape form from the aspect of the ground planning (Village church, Orivesi, Finland, 1961. Arch: Kaija and Heikki Sirén), which could become to the specific plan solution of the uniformly covered transparent spaces (Christ church, Bochum, Germany, 1959. Arch: Dieter Oesterlen) (Fig. 32).

We can see on our last examples that richness, which reaches the opportunities of space forming with engineering innovation and careful design of the structures (Bagsværd Kirke, København, Denmark, 1976. Arch: Jørn Oberg Utzon). Intensive opening of the spaces into each other can affect not only an organic appearance: size differences in the plan and height results hierarchy, which can act upon the space usage through the space dynamic, and it can also ensure the concentration of the attention (Reformed church, Basel-Reinach, Switzerland, 1963. Arch: Ernst Gisel [Fig. 33]; Reformed church, Effretikon, Switzerland, 1961. Arch: Ernst Gisel; Myyrmäki church, Helsinki-Vantaa, Finland, 1984. Arch: Juha Leiviska) (Fig. 34).

Citing the symbolical form spread mainly with the use of triangle by the constructively approached buildings (Village church, Hyvinkää, Finland, 1961. Arch: Aarno Ruusuvuori) (Fig. 35). These structures

can also result transparent architectural forms, but articulate building mass.

Hereinafter, we would rather like to highlight the role of light. The theological bases of liturgical renewal processes turning back to early Christian symbolism blame great significance to the natural light (Matthäus Church, Pforzheim, Germany, 1952/56. Arch: Egon Eiermann).

Modern architecture does the same, but basically from another aspect. Sunlight becomes a kind of building material in the modern church architecture, mainly that light, which filters through on modern materials and structures (Trinity church, Mannheim, Germany, 1959. Arch: Helmut Striffler [Fig. 36]; Reformed church, Aerdenhout, Holland, 1958. Arch: Karel J. Sijmons) (Fig. 37).

The light is decisive when the elemental forces of the earth are working. When the church is not actually created as a space set by pure structures of modern architecture, but has been there for thousands of years, it has to be discovered and shaped. Churches adapted to special locations are denominational-independent. They are created from the possibilities of the site as the constructing man accepts his limitations (Temppeliaukio Church Helsinki, Finland. 1969 Architects: Timo and Tuomo Suomalainen).

The calm forming of the space became generally accepted by the protestant church architecture from the 60s, but with state-of-the-art solutions. These buildings focused on the material usage and the nowadays fashionable monolithic appearance (Methodist church, London-Mitcham, England, 1959. Arch: Edward D. Mills; Reformed church, Nagele, Holland, 1960. Arch: Jo van der Broek and Jaan Bakema) (Fig. 38). This partly meets with the aesthetic of more architectural streams; otherwise we can also recognise these churches as the experimental visualizations of the immanent (Tapiola Kirche, Espoo, Finland, 1965. Arch: Aarno Ruusuvuori) (Fig. 39).

(We can also find the contemporary examples of these minimalist buildings in our time, where the forming concentrates only on one or two materials, the edges meet with flat surfaces and the details are

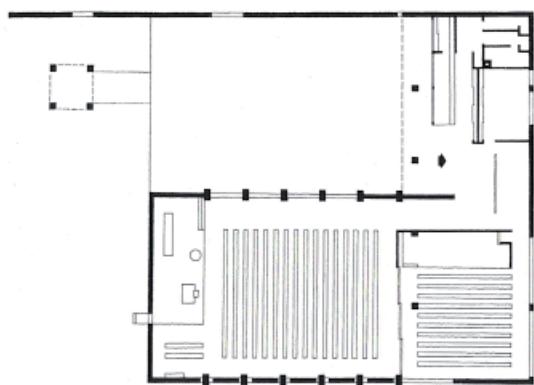
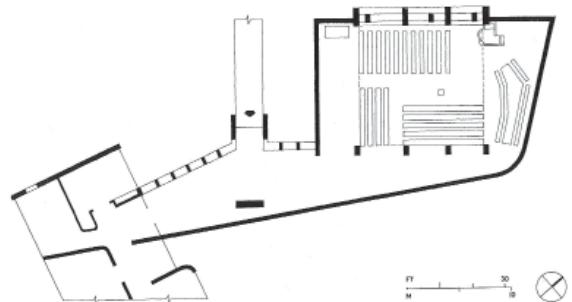
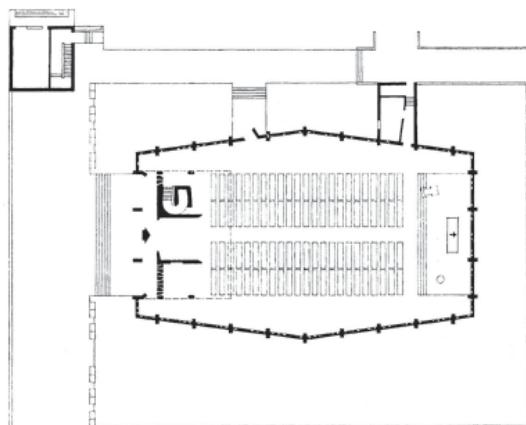
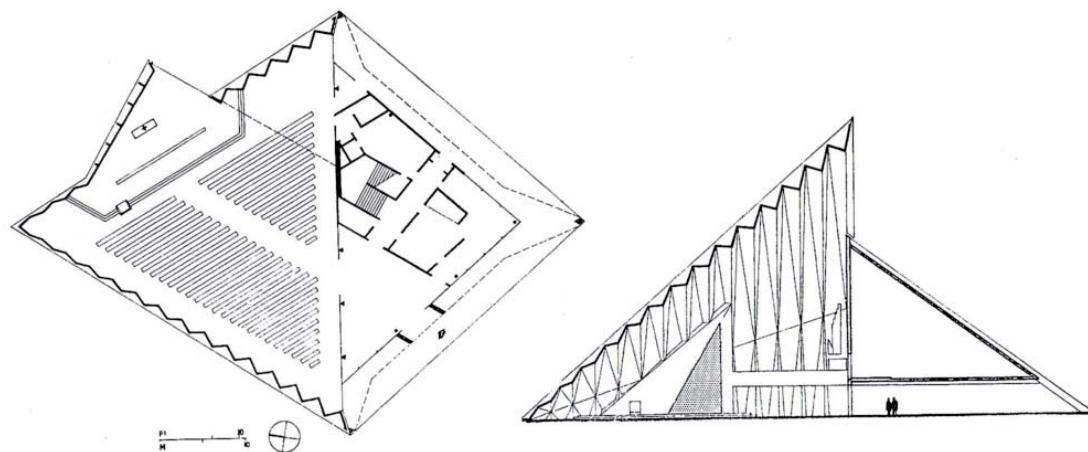


Fig. 35. Aarno Ruusuvuori. Village church, Hyvinkää (Finland), 1961.

Fig. 36. Helmut Striffler. Trinity church, Mannheim (Germany), 1959.

Fig. 37. Karel J. Sijmons. Reformed church, Aerdenhout (Holland), 1958.

Fig. 38. Jo van den Broek and Jaan Bakema. Reformed church, Nagele (Holland), 1960.

simply formed: Dutch Reformed Church, Rijsenhout, Holland, 2006. Arch: Claus van Wageningen).

The Protestant Church commands uniform principles for religious practice: we heard a very thorough theological exploration of Hilde yesterday. These theological foundations determine not only the community event of believers gathered in worship but also affect their narrower architectural framework and their overall lifestyle. The church is not a sacred place for itself. The temple is not the dwelling place of God. Christ among the faithful places where they worship God with their prayer. Because Luther says that Christ is found in the Sacramentum and the Word of God (St. John in Männistö church, Kuopio, Finland, 1989/92. Arch: Juha Leiviskä). International organizations of various Protestant churches are democratic communities. There is no binding dogmatic pattern: nations themselves determine the principles to be followed by their consciences in their synodes. Church communities have a prominent role in keeping the worship event and in creating its architectural environment.

If you have, then you can recognize regional or country-specific features in the appearance of temples. These attributes are related to climate, the characteristic building method, the self-image of society, and the identity of the nation. Culturally determinable features. As architect, we are confident that they are decisive for all kinds of guidance, directives, and edicts (Pakilan Hyvän Paimenen Kirrko, Helsinki, Finland, 2002. Arch: Juha Leiviskä).

What is the ideal Protestant church? Perhaps we can make a single statement reviewing hundreds of images of this lecture. The idea of the Protestant Church is the body of the community of God's Word. In our view, this architectural formula is a centralized layout. The members of the congregation are placed in this system. However, its architectural appearance is a national feature. The self-image of the community can be honest if it follows its own age, society, and worldview. Enjoying the continuity of their own identity (Myyrmäki church, Helsinki-Vantaa, Finland, 1984. Arch: Juha Leiviska).

This image may be close to nature, in material use and form, it is linked to a thousand-year-old culture

(Lutheran Church, Siófok, Hungary, 1989. Arch: Imre Makovecz).

You can make references, by summing up the aesthetic and formal features of a nearer period (Kuokkala Church, Jyväskylä, Finland, 2010. Arch: Anssi Lassila and Teemu Hirvillammi).

With its construction and structure, it can revive the hundreds of years of building tradition that people of the community could meet in their everyday lives (Vikki, Helsinki, Finland, 2008. Arch: Janne Järvinen and Sini Kukkonen).

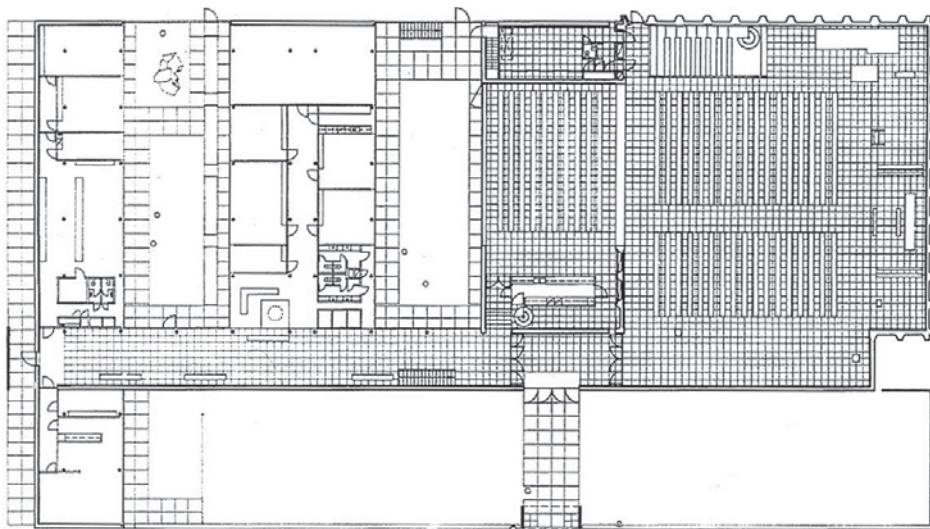
But perhaps this picture gives an energetically predictable, perhaps first, futuristic design to the church (Knarvik kyrkje, Norway, 2014. Arch: Reiulf Ramstad).

And this picture can be abstract, with no ornaments, immanent intermediary role (Lutheran Church complex, Budapest-Békásmegyer, Hungary, 2000. Arch: Béla Pazár and Éva Magyari).

We have seen a number of solutions in this one hour - if we do not make a statement at the end (Årsta church, Stockholm, Sweden, 2008. Arch: Johan Celsing) (Fig. 40), I would like to thank you with the hope that, beyond personal reading, I am sure that everyone has found the picture that best suits him most. Where he feels, the Word of God speaks to him.

NOTES

- (1) Extract from the recommendations of the regulative: 1. Each church should be oriented according to old custom, so that their altar space is set against the sunrise. 2. The basic form suitable for evangelical worship is an oblong quadrangle. (...) 3. The dignity of the Christian church building calls for one of the historically developed Christian architectural styles and recommends, in the basic form of the elongated quadrangle, the so-called Germanic (Gothic) style next to the early Christian basilica and the so-called Roman (pre-Gothic) style. (...) 7. The altar room (choir) is to be raised several steps above the floor of the church ship. It is large enough to provide the space necessary for the worship services on all sides around the altar. (...) There are also no barriers to separating the altar from the church vessel. (...) 8. Depending on the liturgical and acoustic require-



ments, the altar may be placed forward or backward, between the chancel and the rear wall, but may never be erected immediately before the choir's back wall (without an intermediate passage). A step higher than the choir floor, he must have barriers, a device for kneeling for the Confirmants, Communicants, Kopulanden, & c. (...) 10. The pulpit can neither stand in front of, nor behind, the altar, or at all in the choir. Their correct position is where the chorus and the ship collide, at a pillar of the choir bow to the outside (towards the ship); In multi-nave, large churches on one of the more eastern pillars of the central nave. (...) 11. The organ, in which the priest with the singers' choir must have its place, finds its natural place opposite the altar, on the west side of the church, on a gallery above the main entrance. (Translated by the author. Origin: Distel 13-15.)

(2) Thesis of the program: 1. In general, the church is supposed to bear the stamp of a congregation house of the celebrating congregation, not that of a gothic church in the Catholic sense. 2. The unity of the community and the principle of universal priesthood are to be expressed by the unity of space. A division of the latter into several ships, as well as a divorce between ship and choir, must not take place. 3. The celebration of the Lord's Supper should not

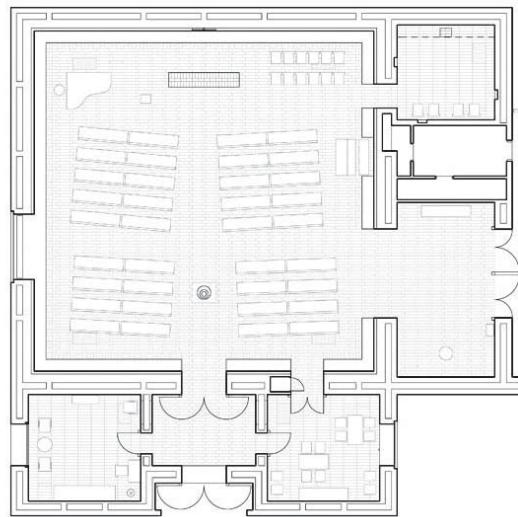
take place in a separate room, but in the midst of the church. The altar, which is to be treated, must, therefore, at least symbolically, be given a corresponding position. All lines of sight should be directed to them. 4. The pulpit, as the place where Christ is presented as the spiritual food of the congregation, must at least be treated as equivalent to the altar. It is to keep its place behind the latter, and to be organically connected with the organ and vocal booths to be arranged in the face of the church. (Translated by the author. Origin: Distel 17-18.)

(3) This idea is necessarily not historyless: Emil Sulze Lutheran cleric and Otto March German architect brought up almost in the same time the principle of the congregational centre, where they both supposed a function complex complementing the church space and attending various tasks: Sulze, Emil. 1891. *Die evangelische Gemeinde*. FA Perthes, Gotha; and: March, Otto. 1896. *Unsere Kirchen und gruppiert Bau bei Kirchen*. Berlin: Ernst.

(4) Sturm, Leonhard Christoph. 1712. *Architektonisches Bedenken von Protestantischer Kleinen Kirchen Figur und Einrichtung*. Hamburg.; and also: Sturm, Leonhard Christoph. 1718. *Vollständige Anweisung alle Arten von Kirchen wohl anzugeben*. Augsburg.

Fig. 39. Aarno Ruusuvuori. Tapiola Kirche, Espoo (Finland), 1965 (on the previous page).

Fig. 40. Johan Celsing. Årsta church, Stockholm (Sweden), 2008.



(5) Note that the *Stahlkirche* was erected at the same ground where the master of Bauhaus, Bruno Taut exhibited Glashaus in 1914. The church with steel structure was demolished after the exhibition was closed but quickly reassembled in Essen, where it was destroyed during the bombing in WWII (James-Chakraborty 2000). Researchers explain the aesthetic character of the church with the social approach of Bartning (Seasoltz 2005).

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- Fig. 01-02, 05, 19, 40. Author's archive.
- Fig. 03-04, 09, 11, 20. Weyres-Bartning.
- Fig. 06, 08, 10, 12-14, 16. Wattjes.
- Fig. 07, 15, 17-18. Distel.
- Fig. 21-22, 26. Biedrzynski
- Fig. 27, 34, 39. Stock
- Fig. 23-25, 28-33, 35-38. Kidder Smith

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