

LEUVEN UNIVERSITY PRESS

# TERRITORIES OF FAITH

RELIGION,  
URBAN PLANNING  
AND DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGE  
IN POST-WAR EUROPE

SVEN STERKEN  
EVA WEYNS EDS

Reprint from "Territories of Faith" - ISBN 978-94-6270-309-4 - © Leuven University Press, 2022

LEUVEN UNIVERSITY PRESS

# TERRITORIES OF FAITH

**RELIGION,  
URBAN PLANNING  
AND DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGE  
IN POST-WAR EUROPE**

**SVEN STERKEN  
EVA WEYNS EDS**

This book appears in the peer-reviewed series  
KADOC Studies on Religion, Culture & Society

EDITORIAL BOARD

Timothy Brittain-Catlin, University of Cambridge  
James Chappel, Duke University  
Kim Christiaens, KADOC - KU Leuven  
Wilhelm Damberg, Ruhr-Universität Bochum  
Jean-Dominique Durand, Université Lyon  
James C. Kennedy, Universiteit Utrecht  
Rupert Klieber, Universität Wien  
Mathijs Lamberigts, KU Leuven  
Peter Jan Margry, Meertens Instituut / Universiteit van Amsterdam  
Francisca Metzger, Pädagogische Hochschule Luzern  
Madalena Meyer-Resende, Universidade Nova de Lisboa  
Anne Morelli, Université Libre de Bruxelles  
Silvia Mostaccio, Université catholique de Louvain  
Patrick Pasture, KU Leuven  
Isabelle Saint-Martin, EPHE Sorbonne I Paris  
Joachim Schmiedl, Philosophisch-Theologische Hochschule Vallendar  
J.T. (Thijl) Sunier, VU Amsterdam  
Steven Van Hecke, KU Leuven

Cover: The Saint-Marc church in Uccle (Belgium) (1970), by André Milis.  
[Uccle, Parisch Archives of Saint-Marc] (See il. 5.9)

© 2022 Leuven University Press/Presses universitaires de Louvain/Universitaire Pers Leuven,  
Minderbroedersstraat 4, B-3000 Leuven (Belgium)

All rights reserved. Except in those cases expressly determined by law, no part of this publication may be multiplied, saved in an automated data file or made public in any way whatsoever without the express prior written consent of the publishers.

ISBN 978 94 6270 309 4  
eISBN 978 94 6166 423 5  
D/2022/1869/11  
<https://doi.org/10.11116/9789461664235>  
NUR: 648



# CONTENTS

Preface	7
Introduction	9
Faith and its Territories <i>Sven Sterken and Eva Weyns</i>	
<b>Negotiation</b>	
1. Planning for Faith in Wythenshawe, Manchester <i>Angela Connelly</i>	37
2. Lyons's Post-War Churches Two Contexts, Two Churches, One Architect: Pierre Genton <i>Judi Loach and Mélanie Meynier-Philip</i>	63
3. Constructing Country, Community and City Alvar Aalto's Lakeuden Risti, 1951-1966 <i>Sofia Anja Singler</i>	95
4. Faith in a Divided City Church Building in Berlin and the 1957 Interbau Exhibition <i>Marina Wesner</i>	123
<b>Expertise</b>	
5. Rethinking the Urban Parish François Houtart, the Centre de Recherches Socio-Religieuses and the 1958 Pastoral Plan for Brussels <i>Eva Weyns and Sven Sterken</i>	157

6. Catholic Parishes in the Lisbon Master Plan of 1959 The Legacy of the SNIP and the MRAR <i>João Alves da Cunha and João Luís Marques</i>	191
7. “A Silent Revolution” Jacinto Rodríguez Osuna, Luis Cubillo de Arteaga and the 1965 <i>Plan Pastoral</i> for Madrid <i>Jesús García Herrero</i>	221
<b>Authority</b>	
8. A Laboratory of Pastoral Modernity Church Building in Milan under Cardinal Montini and Enrico Mattei from 1955 to 1963 <i>Umberto Bordoni, Maria Antonietta Crippa, Davide Fusari and Ferdinando Zanzottera</i>	251
9. Reconstructing the Diocese of Barcelona Parish Reform and Church Building under Monsignor Modrego Casaus from 1943 to 1967 <i>Alba Arboix-Alió and Sven Sterken</i>	281
10. Mass Housing and the Catholic Hierarchy in Dublin, 1930s–1970s The Case of Ballymun Estate <i>Ellen Rowley</i>	305
11. Epilogue A Divine Dwelling Crisis? Notes for a Paradigm of Emptiness <i>Kees Doevendans</i>	339
Authors	353
Index of persons	356
Index of organisations	361
Colophon	363

# PREFACE

**A**s is often the case with edited volumes, this book has been long in the making. It started with the international seminar “Territories of Faith: Religion, Demographic Change and Urban Planning in Europe, 1945-1975” on 2-3 July 2017, which was organised by our research group, Architectural Cultures of the Recent Past, at the Faculty of Architecture of KU Leuven, in cooperation with KADOC, the Documentation and Research Centre on Religion, Culture and Society at KU Leuven. The seminar brought together a number of scholars who responded to an international call we had launched to find out who else was pursuing investigations similar to our research project, “Catholic Territories in a Suburban Landscape: Religion and Urbanisation in Belgium, 1945-1975”. This project, generously funded by KU Leuven’s Research Council (project IF 14030), addressed the intersection between pastoral provision and urban planning — a relatively new research field that seems to be attracting primarily younger researchers. With the seminar, it was precisely our aim to give this fresh research a dedicated forum and see whether we could work together towards a more enduring and ambitious output.

In the optimism of those two beautiful, early summer days, we committed ourselves to producing a book based on the various papers that had been presented and thoroughly discussed at the seminar. That was easier said than done, however: the processes of fine-tuning the scope of each paper in relation to the overarching theme; the selection of cases to be discussed; the choice of illustration material to be included; the copy-editing of the texts (most of which were written by non-native speakers); and last but not least, the peer

reviewing of the final manuscript have taken over four years to complete. It has been an “adventure” in the literal sense of the word (a “be-coming”), illustrating that even in a unified Europe, and despite academia being an international environment, a myriad of cultural differences come into play when trying to systematise the way ideas, facts and data are to be put into words. We are therefore very proud to say that all the authors remained aboard and wish to thank them explicitly for their patience and perseverance. So thank you Angela, Judi, Mélanie, Sofia, João, João, Jesus, Umberto, Maria Antonietta, Davide, Ferdinando, Alba and Ellen. Along the way, two additional authors, Marina Wesner and Kees Doevendans, have joined us, and we are grateful to them for having accepted our invitation and being so cooperative with our often short deadlines.

The wonderful exchange of ideas, discussion of cases and conversations about methodological issues we had at the original seminar was due to a large extent to the generosity and expertise of the members of the international scientific committee we brought together for the occasion. We are extremely grateful to Ricardo Agarez (University of Evora), Olivier Chatelan (Université Jean Moulin - Lyon 3), Jan De Maeyer (KU Leuven), Rajesh Heynickx (KU Leuven), Peter Heyrman (KU Leuven), Andrea Longhi (Turin Polytechnic) and Robert Proctor (University of Bath) for not only their active participation in the seminar, but also having reviewed this book’s papers at a later stage in the editing process. Robert deserves a special mention for his nuanced but clear advice at certain stages of the project, while the input of Jan and Peter has been vital for Eva’s doctoral research project, which lies at the centre of this book.

We are further very much indebted to Nina Woodson for the copy-editing of the manuscript; hers was not an easy task, for the majority of the essays have been written by authors that are non-native speakers, the editors themselves included. Yet she committed to it with the velocity, nuance and patience that is the hallmark of a true professional. Along the same lines, Luc Vints, our contact at KADOC, should be mentioned; throughout the process, he has continued to encourage the project in his typically calm, but firm, manner. Lastly, we want to express our deep gratitude towards the anonymous peer reviewers and the editorial board of the KADOC Studies Series and Leuven University Press for giving us the chance to share this research with the wider scholarly community. The Faculty of Architecture of KU Leuven helped make this possible through generously supporting the language editing.

A final word of thanks goes to our partners and families for their enduring patience and their support in the pursuit of our academic ambitions.

Sven Sterken, Eva Weyns  
Mechelen, October 2021

## 7

# “A SILENT REVOLUTION” JACINTO RODRÍGUEZ OSUNA, LUIS CUBILLO DE ARTEAGA AND THE 1965 *PLAN PASTORAL* FOR MADRID

JESÚS GARCÍA HERRERO

In the 1960s, Madrid faced the same problems as other European capitals, namely an exponential growth in its population and a building boom along the city's periphery. In response to the ensuing pastoral challenge, Archbishop Casimiro Morcillo (1904-1971) presented a *Plan Pastoral* (Pastoral Care Plan) for Madrid in 1965. Using the latest insights emanating from the sociology of religion and similar experiences abroad, it proposed tripling the number of parishes and readapting their boundaries to the city's administrative divisions. To force through this ambitious reform, a small but determined Oficina Técnica de Sociología Religiosa (Technical Office for Religious Sociology) was created, whose *Instrucciones para la Construcción de Complejos Parroquiales* (Instructions for the Construction of Parish Centres) became the blueprint for future church buildings in Madrid over the next decade.

With a view to assessing the motivating potential of that document and the obstacles faced upon its implementation, we discuss a series of churches built by Luis Cubillo de Arteaga (1921-2000) under the auspices of the *Plan Pastoral*.<sup>1</sup> As we argue, within the contours of an easily repeatable typology,

1 This article builds upon the doctoral research performed by the author for his dissertation, *La arquitectura religiosa de Luis Cubillo de Arteaga (1954-1974)*, Universidad Politécnica de Madrid, 2015. The research was carried out in the Archivo del Arzobispado de Madrid (AAM, Archive of the Archbishopric of Madrid) and the Archivo del Servicio Histórico del Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Madrid (ASHCOAM, Archive of the Historical Service of Madrid Architects Association, Cubillo de Arteaga papers, LCA). Morcillo's *Plan Pastoral* was also investigated by Pedro García for his thesis *Arquitectura religiosa en Madrid a partir de 1940*, Universidad Complutense of Madrid, 2005; another helpful source was

he managed to develop a simple, yet effective, architectural language that acquired both symbolic and social meaning. Thus, Cubillo's work embodies the shift from the church being seen as a "temple of God" towards it being a "house for God's people", as promoted by the *Oficina Técnica* — a change that was not without significance at a time of severe socio-political tension in Spain.

### Casimiro Morcillo, Jacinto Rodríguez Osuna and the *Plan Pastoral* for Madrid

Morcillo was appointed as the first archbishop of the new Archdiocese of Madrid-Alcalá by Paul VI on 24 March 1964; he took office on 7 May 1964.<sup>2</sup> Prior to that, Morcillo had been the auxiliary bishop in the Diocese of Madrid between 1940 and 1950 under the mandate of Bishop Leopoldo Eijo Garay (1878-1963), before moving to Bilbao, a working class city that profoundly shaped his social consciousness.<sup>3</sup> This became apparent during his subsequent tenure as Bishop of Zaragoza, where he created parishes, schools and facilities for social assistance in the poorer areas of the city's periphery. After the death of Eijo Garay, he returned to Madrid as archbishop.

The swift pace of Morcillo's career can only be understood against the light of his close ties to the Franco regime, since the Concordat signed between the Holy See and the Spanish state in 1953 (the follow-up to a previous agreement in 1941) allowed the head of state considerable weight in the appointment of bishops — in essence muzzling any critical opposition in the higher ranks of the Church. If the traumatic experience of the Spanish Civil War helps explain Morcillo's endorsement of the regime (just like most of the Spanish Church hierarchy), it should also be understood that he was also an active part of it as a member of Parliament between 1964 and 1969, one direct-

Ramón Saiz's *Madrid-Alcalá, una diócesis en construcción*, 1982. The architecture emanating from the *Plan Pastoral* has not yet received the scholarly attention it deserves, although the outright negative criticism in earlier accounts (e.g. Isasi, 1998) is gradually making room for more balanced evaluations such as Delgado Orusco's *Arquitectura sacra española, 1939-1975: de la posguerra al posconcilio*, Universidad Politécnica de Madrid, 2000, or recent studies on the work of individual architects, including Luis Moya Blanco, Francisco Coello de Portugal, José Luis Fernández del Amo Moreno, Luis Laorga Gutiérrez and Rodolfo García-Pablos. Silvia Blanco-Agüeira (Blanco Agüeira, *Rodolfo García-Pablos: La construcción del espacio sagrado*, 2009), in particular, offers an accurate approach to the period under study here and provides useful bibliographical references. The author wishes to express his gratitude to Sven Sterken for his insightful comments on previous versions of this article.

2 For Morcillo's biography, see the special issue of *Alfa y Omega*, 25 (May 1996).

3 Leopoldo Eijo Garay (1878-1963) headed the Bishopric of Madrid-Alcalá from 1923 to 1963.

ly appointed by Francisco Franco (1892-1975).<sup>4</sup> Moreover, Morcillo’s influence expanded beyond the national borders: as an undersecretary at the Second Vatican Council, he participated in the preparatory phases and all four conciliar periods between 1962 and 1965. Most notably, he was part of the *Coetus Internationalis Patrum*, a conservative group that defended the denominational character of state policy and opposed the religious freedom promoted by the declaration *Dignitatis Humanae* (1965).

However, there was perhaps also a pragmatic side to his openly conservative attitude. Indeed, as his successor, Cardinal Vicente Enrique y Tarancón (1907-1994), pointed out:

Morcillo was not an ultraconservative bishop and had provided proof of that. He admitted the regime constraints, but he was persuaded that this was the true embodiment of the homeland and the only one that could guarantee Catholic unity, which he considered the essential basis for the greatness and unity of Spain.<sup>5</sup>

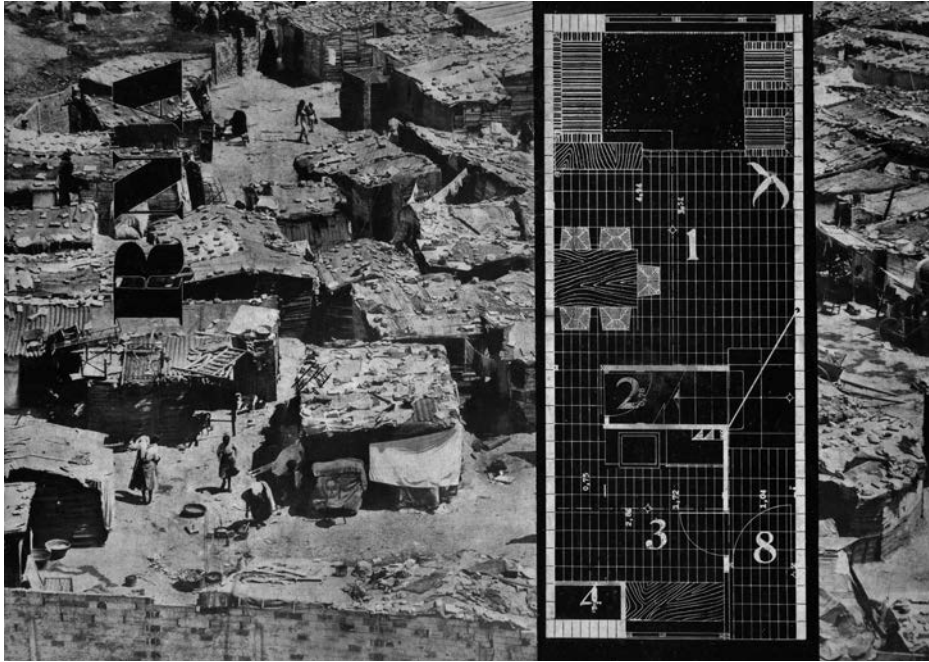
Nonetheless, even for Morcillo it was difficult to balance his fidelity to the renewed post-conciliar Church with his support for the Franco regime. This became apparent in his social thinking, particularly where human rights and migration were concerned.<sup>6</sup> Although he manifested a great sensitivity for social rights, he was not so clear about political rights and fundamental freedoms. Migration was another of his major concerns, especially the relentless migration from rural areas to the capital, where the Franco regime was promoting the development of heavy industry that was making it the undisputed political and administrative centre of the state. As a result, Madrid witnessed the fastest growth ever experienced by a European city.<sup>7</sup> Although Morcillo was fully aware of the pastoral problems originating from this forced growth curve, he never criticised (at least openly) the territorial imbalance the government was causing. It must be said, though, that when he came to head the Arch-

4 During the Spanish Civil War, more than 20,000 churches had been destroyed or looted, and 6,832 priests had been murdered in the Republican zone (see Casanova, *A Short History of the Spanish Civil War*, 44-80). The Spanish clergy, therefore, saw in Franco a protector rather than a dictator, as expressed in the “Collective letter of the Spanish bishops to bishops around the world on the occasion of the war in Spain” (1 July 1937), one of the authors of which was Eijo Garay. This openly professed support by the Spanish Catholic Church allowed the Franco regime to claim the identity concept of “National Catholicism”. Morcillo was appointed deputy for the 1964-1967 and 1967-1971 legislatures. He abandoned his seat in 1969, however, when he was appointed president of the Spanish Episcopal Conference.

5 Delgado de la Rosa, “Una iglesia en cambio”, 266. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are the author’s own.

6 Fernández de Torres, *El pensamiento social de los arzobispos de la Archidiócesis de Madrid después del Concilio Vaticano II*, 2-122.

7 Terán, *Madrid*, 267.



7.1 Substandard housing on the periphery of Madrid and floor plan of public housing prototype developed by Luis Cubillo de Arteaga for the INV (National Housing Institute). Cover of *RNA magazine*, no 193 (1958).

[Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Madrid, Library]

diocese of Madrid-Alcalá in 1964, the situation was not as serious as it had been in the mid-1950s, when the most socially minded clergy were denouncing the proliferation of substandard housing along the periphery of Madrid.<sup>8</sup> [Ill. 7.1]

Although a man of strong principles, Morcillo's thinking also evolved over time. For example, his concept of the urban parish evolved from an ascetic–priestly one based on a preponderance of local clergy to a more co-operative structure in which the laity also had a role to play – which proves that he was not unaware of the latest insights from, for example, the emerging science of religious sociology at home and abroad.<sup>9</sup> A relevant event in this evolution

8 The case of the Jesuit José María Llanos is paradigmatic. He lived in the El Pozo del Tío Raimundo slum and denounced its poverty every Sunday in the *Arriba* newspaper in his “Christian Letters”.

9 To appreciate this evolution, it suffices to compare the ideas in his *La Iglesia diocesana y sus parroquias* (1960) with his prologue to Rogelio Duocastella's *Cómo estudiar una parroquia* (1965). While in the former, Morcillo developed a theology of the parish (151-185) without any reference to religious sociology, in the latter, he lauded that new science: “Fortunately religious sociology is today descending from the intellectual level to the pastoral level, which has a more direct and familiar contact with human communities”.

was the first National Week of the Parish he organised in April 1958, during his tenure in Zaragoza, which was accompanied by an exhibition of sacred art. During one of the sessions covering the current state of pastoral theology, various cases from abroad were presented, along with instances of their later assimilation by Spain.<sup>10</sup> At the closing, Morcillo affirmed that “this [problem] of the parish must be resolved if we want to pass from a drowsy Catholicism to a Catholicism of conquest; from traditional conformism to a militant attitude; from decadent mediocrity to missionary action”.<sup>11</sup> During that same week, Morcillo also openly endorsed the more progressive artworks in the exhibition, notwithstanding the incomprehension of many of the conference attendants.<sup>12</sup> This open-minded (or was it pragmatic?) attitude towards the new trends explains why Morcillo, upon his appointment as Archbishop of Madrid, turned to two young priests specialised in religious sociology to address the reorganisation of the parish landscape in the Spanish capital: Ramón Echarren (1929-2014) and Jacinto Rodríguez Osuna (1929-2017). Each had earned a bachelor’s degree in social science: Echarren at Université catholique de Louvain, with a study on the position of the clergy, and Rodríguez Osuna at the École Pratique des Hautes Études in Paris, with a study on the state of the parishes in Madrid.<sup>13</sup> They were thus ideally positioned to advise Morcillo in his endeavour to “renew the diocesan pastoral action according to the spirit and forms desired by the Council for the whole Church”.<sup>14</sup>

10 *Comunidad cristiana parroquial. 1º semana nacional de la parroquia*, 7-45. According to Bishop Angel Morta Figuls’s chronicle of the National Week, there were in fact too many topics to be discussed; yet, they were all felt necessary for obtaining an overall view of the issues at hand. Casiano Floristán from Universität Tübingen gave a paper on the current status of pastoral theology in France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Germany. In doing so, he underlined the role of the Belgian cleric Jozef Cardijn, who stressed the importance of lay apostolate, particularly in the working environment. According to Morta Figuls, despite the relevance of this topic, the audience at the National Week seemed to be mainly interested in the economic problems faced by parishes.

11 *Comunidad cristiana parroquial. 1º semana nacional de la parroquia*, 570.

12 A few months later, Morcillo provided a written record of his tolerance for the new, non-figurative artistic tendencies in his “Carta Magna del Arte Sacro en España”.

13 Alongside Jesús Iribarren (*Introducción a la sociología religiosa*, 1955) and Rogelio Duocastella (*Mataró 1955: estudio de sociología religiosa sobre una ciudad industrial española*, 1961), Echarren and Rodríguez Osuna can safely be considered as the main protagonists in introducing religious sociology in Spain. Interestingly, the latter three were all linked to the Catholic charity Cáritas: Duocastella directed its social section; Echarren acted as a delegate for Cáritas at the diocese; and Rodríguez Osuna headed its studies department. Moreover, in 1965, Cáritas created FOESSA (Fomento de Estudios Sociales y Sociología Aplicada, which stood for the Promotion of Social Studies and Applied Sociology). Echarren and Rodríguez Osuna pursued quite different careers, however: Echarren became auxiliary bishop in Madrid in 1969 and Bishop of the Canary Islands in 1978; Rodríguez Osuna, by contrast, left the priesthood and developed an academic career as a professor in the political science and sociology department at Universidad Complutense in Madrid. His *Métodos de Muestreo* (1991) is still considered a basic text on survey research techniques.

14 Rodríguez Osuna, “La nueva estructuración parroquial de Madrid”, 391.

This was no vain talk: in July 1964, only two months into his appointment, Morcillo took the bull by the horns and created various committees to tackle the problem. To start with, he formed the *Comisión Central de Acción Pastoral* (Central Commission of Pastoral Action), with Echarren and Rodríguez Osuna as technical consultants.<sup>15</sup> Three other working groups were also created: the aforementioned *Oficina Técnica* (in fact the “technical agency” of the *Comisión Central*), the *Comisión de Aranceles* (Fees Commission) and the *Comisión de Arquitectos* (Architects Commission). The magnitude of the task soon became apparent: a preliminary study by the *Comisión Central* and the *Oficina Técnica* showed that between 1900 and 1964, the population of Madrid had quintupled; moreover, more than half of its 2.6 million inhabitants lived on the city’s periphery. This large population was served by only 107 churches in total, each of which, if they had been equally distributed across the territory, thus theoretically served 25,140 parishioners.<sup>16</sup> In reality, however, most of the existing parishes were located in the historic city centre and the nineteenth-century *Ensanche* (extension); consequently, the shortage of churches — as well as priests to staff them — was most pressing in the ever-expanding suburban areas. The same held true for schools, religious communities and institutions: almost all were located in the city centre. As Rodríguez Osuna pointed out, the situation in Madrid was perhaps even worse than in Paris or Buenos Aires, where “monster parishes” with over 34,000 inhabitants had been recorded.<sup>17</sup> Furthermore, the rapid, and relentless, urbanisation did not confine itself to the city of Madrid; smaller towns around the capital were also experiencing the consequences of internal migration (often forced) and rapid industrialisation, while the villages closer to the mountains became a preferred recreation place for city residents. Rodríguez Osuna and his team quickly understood that in light of this rapid evolution, a threefold strategy needed to be adopted: first, new parishes needed to be founded and churches built to serve them; second, the priests and religious communities needed to be proportionally distributed in relation to the number of inhabitants in each neighbourhood; and, finally, Catholic schools needed to be installed along the periphery. In the discussion that follows, we focus primarily on the first aspect, namely the establishment of new parishes and their religious infrastructure.

Rodríguez Osuna relied on three complementary sources of information in laying out the new parish divisions: an extensive preparatory study; a detailed report of each of the present parishes (drawn up by their vicars); and a field study. The preparatory study reviewed pastoral plans of other dioceses in the world and the current views on urban planning. Based on that, a deci-

15 *Guía de la Archidiócesis de Madrid-Alcalá*, 39.

16 Morcillo, “La archidiócesis de Madrid-Alcalá en esta hora”, 29.

17 Rodríguez Osuna, “La nueva estructuración parroquial de Madrid”, 393.

sion was quickly made to use Canon François Houtart’s (1925-2017) study of Brussels and subsequent pastoral plan as a model for Madrid. Central to that approach was the idea that pastoral action needed to be taken on the scale of the agglomeration and no longer that of the individual parish. To this effect, the city was to be subdivided into spatially and socially coherent zones (*zones urbaines*), which were further subdivided into sectors (*secteurs*), each encompassing one or more parishes.<sup>18</sup> For Madrid, it was decided to rely on the existing concept of deaneries as an intermediate scale. As to the size of the parishes, Rodríguez Osuna and his team tried to match their delimitations with the urban units defined in the Plan Nacional de Vivienda (National Housing Plan) of 1961 (see further in this contribution).<sup>19</sup> This had been produced by the Spanish Ministry of Housing and stipulated that each neighbourhood of 20,000 inhabitants should be equipped with two parish centres, the number of 10,000 souls per parish thus being considered ideal. Consequently, deaneries would comprise 40,000 to 60,000 inhabitants and pastoral zones roughly 300,000. As to the distance from any point in the neighbourhood to its parish church, it was assumed that it should be no more than 400 metres (about a ten-minute walk). Whereas this was easily achieved in the city centre – where these radiuses sometimes even overlapped – this was by no means the case in the peripheral areas.

The reports by the local vicars were sent to the archdiocese in record time and provided Rodríguez Osuna and his team with an invaluable wealth of information, for they contained a detailed mapping of all existing churches and their provisions in terms of educational and health facilities, as well as a list of vacant lots and commercial buildings under construction.<sup>20</sup> The local clergy were also invited to reflect upon the physical, administrative and social aspects of their parish, with a view to subdividing them into units serving under 10,000 inhabitants. The final step in the preparation of the parish plan was the field study. Rodríguez Osuna spent six months in 1964 thoroughly exploring Madrid, verifying *in situ* the information provided and the viability of the reordering proposals. This brought to the fore that there did indeed exist relatively homogenous territorial areas according to “their economic level, de-

18 See the contribution on Houtart and the Centre de Recherches Socio-Religieuses by Weyns and Sterken in this volume.

19 The contribution of the architect García Pablos (1913-2001) could be relevant in this regard. He was Planning Manager in the Directorate General of Urbanism, a personal friend of Morcillo and, between 1939 and 1947, also the diocesan architect of Madrid. In July 1964, he participated in the National Week of Sacred Art II with a presentation on religious urbanism. It included a review of the parish planning abroad, with references to Houtart and Gaston Bardet, and cited examples from Milan, Paris and the Netherlands. He also spoke about the structure based on parishes, deaneries and zones. See García-Pablos, “Necesidad de establecer ordenaciones parroquiales integradas en los Planeamientos Urbanísticos”, 118-121.

20 Rodríguez Osuna, “La nueva estructuración parroquial de Madrid”, 402-403.

gree of citizen mentality and degree of social community". A reordering of the diocesan structure according to Houtart's principles thus seemed feasible and was effectively put through.<sup>21</sup> On 16 January 1965, Morcillo, flanked by Rodríguez Osuna and Echarren, gave a press conference at the Archbishop's Palace in Madrid during which he explained how he hoped to address the pressing pastoral problem in the capital.<sup>22</sup> The new parish subdivision, which took effect on 7 March 1965, divided the city of Madrid into twelve pastoral zones and the surrounding province into nine regions. Except for the historic centre and the Ensanche, the delimitation of the zones followed existing infrastructure and geological features, such as the various radial and ring roads that departed from the centre or the Manzanares River. [Ill. 7.2] These zones were then subdivided into deaneries (seventy-three instead of five), each with their own dean and pastoral commission, while the total number of parishes was supposed to grow from one hundred and seven to three hundred and sixty in the following years.<sup>23</sup>

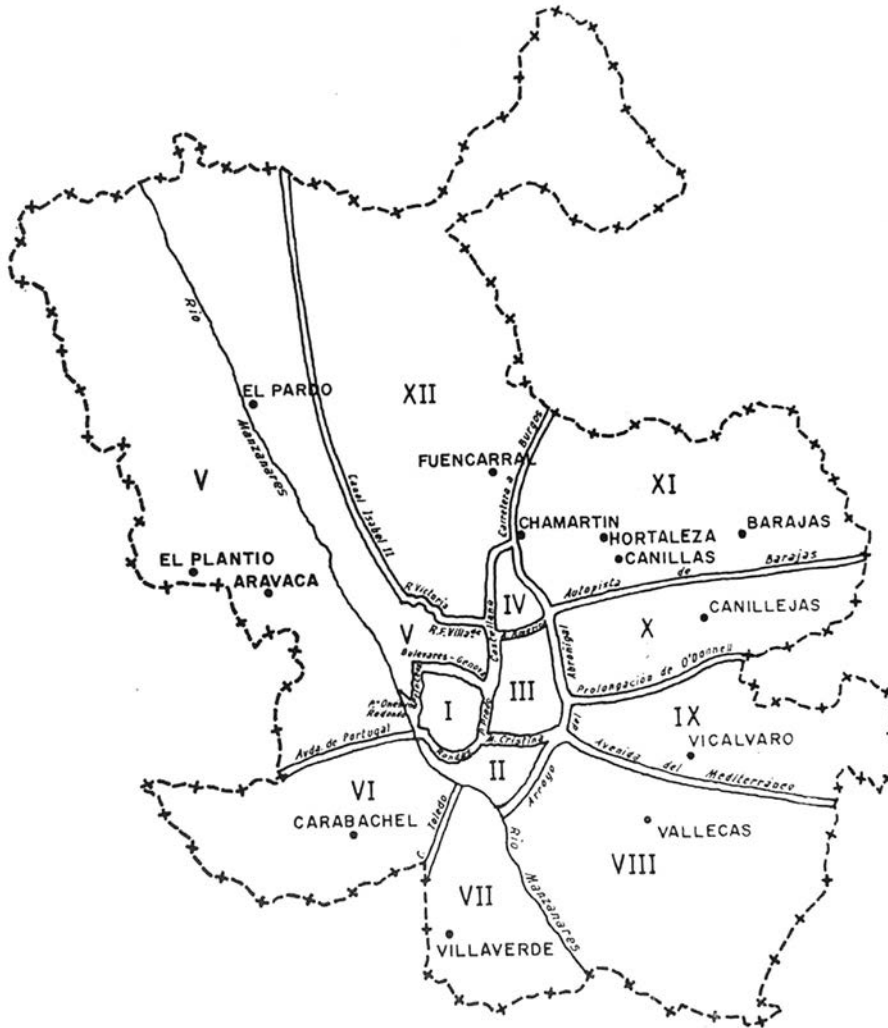
Thus, a pastoral network was put into place that, it was hoped, would halt the ever accelerating process of "dechristianisation" in the new districts, where the rate of church attendance was found to be as low as fifteen or twenty per cent. In this respect, the situation in Madrid was no different than that of any other major city across Europe, however. As Rodríguez Osuna pointed out, the drop in religious adherence had perhaps less to do with the phenomenon of urbanisation per se as with the awkwardness of the traditional pastoral strategies deployed in these areas. Designed for a rural world, these models were no longer effective in the city, whose inhabitants no longer belonged to a single social group but to many and where an ever-increasing mobility made the establishment of stable social bonds increasingly difficult. Apropos of his enmeshment in the international network of religious sociology, Rodríguez Osuna had thus arrived at exactly the same conclusions in Madrid as Houtart had in Brussels. This confirmed the imperative that the pastoral problem of the capital needed to be addressed at the diocesan level, as Morcillo himself stipulated in a Pastoral Letter dated 2 February 1965:

Let our diocesan church be a sign of salvation (...). (...) We open this period under the pressure of spiritual and distressing needs and subject to a communal or joint pastoral care plan, so called because it aims to cover

21 *Nuevas estructuras pastorales en la Archidiócesis de Madrid-Alcalá*, 29. Madrid's population was classified into "eleven different types, which respond to eleven types of territorial areas, eleven types of problems and specific circumstances". At the economic level, the areas were classified into high, high-medium, medium, medium-low, low or very low. Each one of these types (except "very low") was then split in two (old and new areas) to yield the eleven types.

22 "El 7 de marzo entrará en vigor en la Archidiócesis la unificación de todos los servicios religiosos", 74-75.

23 Ramón Saiz, *Madrid-Alcalá, una diócesis en construcción*, 25-37.



7.2 The twelve pastoral zones as defined in the 1965 *Plan Pastoral* for Madrid.  
 [Reproduced from *Nuevas estructuras pastorales en la Archidiócesis de Madrid-Alcalá*, 12. Courtesy of the Archdiocese of Madrid]

all problems and all personal and real factors, to reach all the souls of the archdiocese and to respond to all situations of men.<sup>24</sup>

In this Pastoral Letter, Morcillo cautiously praised the instrumental value of religious sociology in the design of the *Plan Pastoral* as “satisfying a more

<sup>24</sup> Morcillo, “La archidiócesis de Madrid-Alcalá en esta hora”, 34-35.

or less scientific concern”.<sup>25</sup> He was quick to point out, however, that such scientific tools should in no way interfere with the message they were intended to help spread: “Ours is the urgency that all of Spain and the whole world must receive Christian thought clean of any contaminations and armed against subtle infiltrations that are now more dangerous than ever.”<sup>26</sup> This search for a doctrinal “purity” explains why he also proposed constructing a new seminary for 3,000 students, meant to not only provide the human resources required for the new parishes, but also reclaim Spain’s historical role in the evangelisation of America.<sup>27</sup> However, it became quickly apparent that the proposed pastoral offensive would have to make do with the existing resources; the seminary was never built, and the shortage of personnel thus remained. As a result, various religious orders became entrusted with pastoral duties; their churches were claimed for public worship and their priors were appointed, by persuasion, as parish priests.

### The Implementation of the *Plan Pastoral*, 1965-1972

The *Plan Pastoral* got off to a flying start: in six months’ time, Morcillo signed no fewer than two hundred sixteen decrees of foundation for new parishes.<sup>28</sup> The accompanying pastoral infrastructure lagged behind, however; hundreds of thousands of Madrilenians still had to travel several kilometres on a Sunday to find the nearest church. In many cases, Mass was celebrated in basements, garages, commercial premises, private flats or hastily erected prefabricated structures.<sup>29</sup> [Ill. 7.3] The lack of religious infrastructure in the new urban areas derived from the urgent housing problem of the 1950s. Because the Franco regime would not tolerate having a state capital surrounded by substandard housing, it set up massive public housing schemes along the periphery, mainly through the Poblados Dirigidos (Programmed Settlements) programmes of the Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda (INV, National Housing Institute).<sup>30</sup> Top priority was given to the construction of dwelling units, meaning that the socio-cultural infrastructure for the new districts, including parish centres, was either delayed (sometimes for decades) or relegated to less desirable plots of land.

In 1961, the INV launched the Plan Nacional de Vivienda with the aim of actively promoting the principle of owner-occupied dwellings, to the detri-

25 Ibid., 32. See also Doucastella, *Cómo estudiar una parroquia*. In its prologue, Morcillo wrote: “Religious sociology finds justification for its existence only in pastoral work.”

26 Morcillo, “La archidiócesis de Madrid-Alcalá en esta hora”, 32.

27 García Herrero, *La arquitectura religiosa de Luis Cubillo de Arteaga (1954-1974)*, 46-80.

28 Rodríguez Osuna, *Informe sociológico sobre la situación social de Madrid*, 209.

29 Morcillo, “Carta Pastoral sobre el día del templo parroquial”, 260-261.

30 Moya González, *Barrios de Promoción Oficial*, 93-94.



73 Images showing the evolution of the San Eduardo parish: Mass upon the parish's founding (1965); provisional church in a commercial premises (1965); a prefabricated church (1967-1978); and the parish complex by Luis Cubillo de Arteaga (inaugurated in 1979).  
[Courtesy of the San Eduardo Parish Archive]

ment of rental units. To this effect, the public authorities encouraged private developers to invest in affordable housing. The underlying ideology was most clearly expressed by José Luis Arrese (1906-1985), Minister of Housing at the time, who stated in an interview in 1959: “We do not want a Spain of proletarians, but of owners.”<sup>31</sup> The numbers speak for themselves: of the 217,613 residential units built in Madrid between 1961 and 1966, only 25,000 were built by the state, and over 180,000 were built by private companies.<sup>32</sup> Another goal of the Plan Nacional de Vivienda was to correct the severe want of social and cultural infrastructure in the new districts; although strictly speaking, the plan applied only to public housing, the fact that this constituted almost eighty-five per cent of the total new housing stock meant that its guidelines were

31 “No queremos una España de proletarios sino de propietarios”, 41.

32 The numbers come from Rodríguez Osuna, *Informe sociológico sobre la situación social de Madrid*, 191-192.

very far reaching.<sup>33</sup> It stipulated, for example, that each new district should be equipped with amenities for religious practice, commerce, culture, health, administration and recreation. Interestingly though, in most cases, almost none of this was realised, except for churches and schools. That is hardly unsurprising, given that precisely those two types of infrastructure were the most appropriate, in the eyes of the authorities, for exercising social control.<sup>34</sup> Thus, even if the reasons both the Church (and Morcillo, in particular) and the state had for providing the new districts with churches rested upon diverging interests, they collaborated successfully towards the pursuit of that goal.

Despite this public support, the laws of economics still prevailed. This became apparent in the Plan General de Ordenación Urbana del Área Metropolitana de Madrid (Urban Development Plan for the Metropolitan Area of Madrid) of 1963 which covered the greater Madrid conurbation. It was based on the aforementioned Plan Nacional de Vivienda and echoed its prescriptions with regard to the sociocultural infrastructure for new areas, albeit with less ambition: it prescribed one parish centre per 10,000 to 20,000 inhabitants.<sup>35</sup> As Rodríguez Osuna has noted, this ambiguity meant that each partial plan for a new area became an open duel between the public authorities and the private developers trying to make a maximum profit on their investments. As a result, he stated, in some areas, it became totally impossible to build churches or schools because there was no more place for them.<sup>36</sup> This led to some remarkable, but inventive, solutions, such as the establishment of parishes in commercial premises, most of them on the ground floor of a housing block – although initially intended as a temporary solution, these became permanent in several instances.<sup>37</sup>

Despite the intimate relationship between the Catholic Church and the Franco regime, government support for the *Plan Pastoral* was, in fact, quite limited. Indeed, apart from the few churches built by the INV, the state did not contribute directly to the massive church-building campaign. The annual contribution it had committed to in the 1953 Concordat with the Holy See was intended to provide the clergy with a decent income and a good education – which explains why no fewer than sixty-six seminaries were built or restored between 1939 and 1959. The construction of new parish churches or conservation of older ones in Madrid was not an intrinsic part of that agreement. In order to acquire land to build on, the diocese, and later archdiocese, thus had to appeal to the INV or other semi-governmental bodies such as Renfe (National

33 *Plan Nacional de la Vivienda 1961-1976*, 47-51; Moya González, *Barrios de Promoción Oficial*, 45.

34 See Baldellou, “Neorrealismo y arquitectura”, 48.

35 *Normas Urbanísticas para el término municipal de Madrid*, 34-37.

36 Rodríguez Osuna, *Informe sociológico sobre la situación social de Madrid*, 211.

37 For more information on this typology, see García Herrero, *La arquitectura religiosa de Luis Cubillo de Arteaga (1954-1974)*, 176-182.

Railway) or the Banco Central (Central Bank), as well as to private developers — one developer, URBIS, even offered ten plots and also constructed four church buildings for free. This generosity can partly be understood in light of the deep imbrication of the Catholic faith and the Spanish establishment under Franco; nevertheless, there was also a pragmatic side to it, for it was a way of socially legitimising the big, speculative real estate deals these actors were putting through. Their grandiose gestures somehow eclipsed the sincere piety of many private individuals with whom the archdiocese negotiated on the basis of barter, cession and donation.<sup>38</sup>

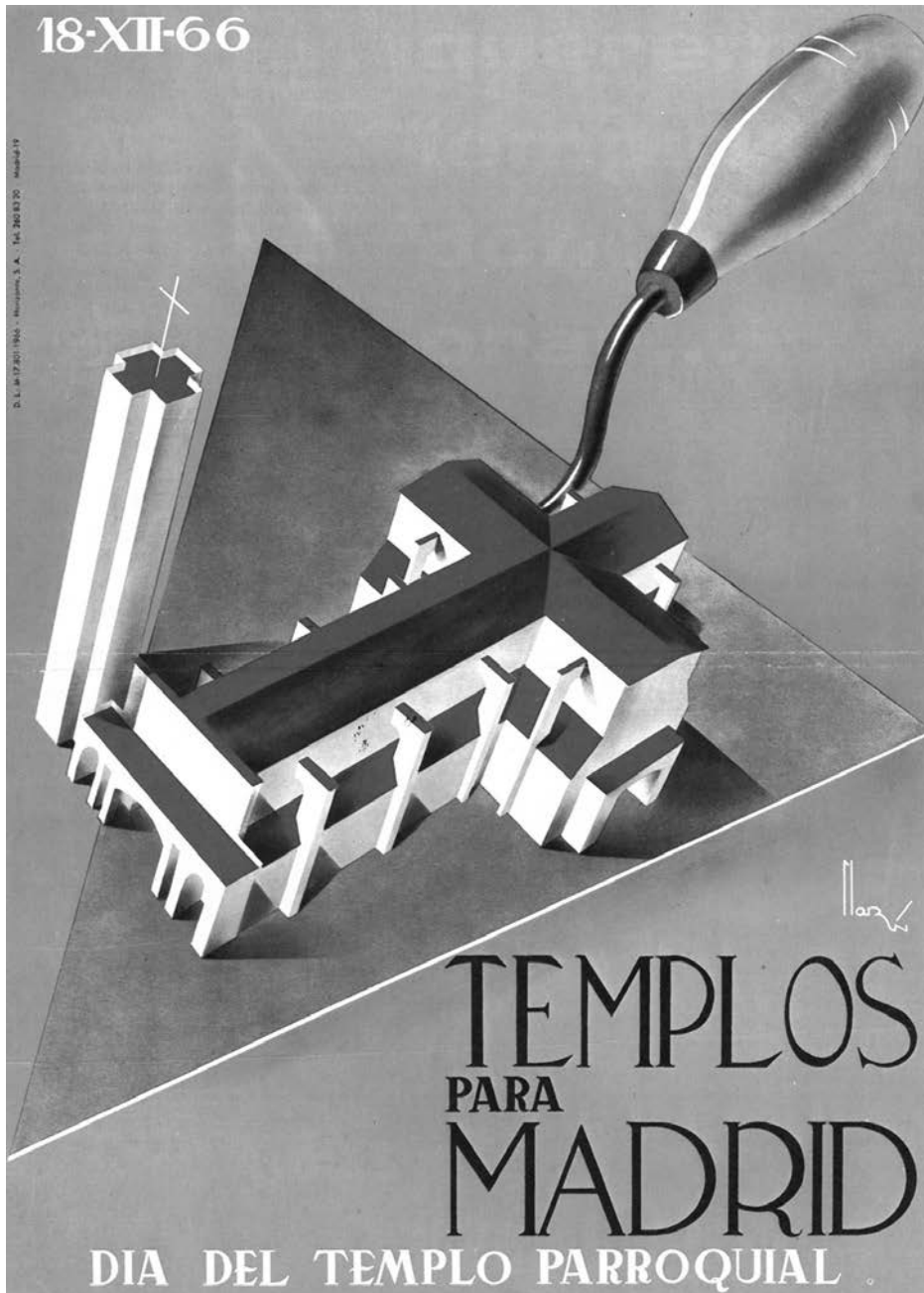
Apart from the difficulty involved in securing adequate sites, the sheer number of new churches being built also required vast resources and posed daunting technical challenges. Until 1972, such aspects were handled by the Secretariado de Templos Parroquiales (Secretariat for Parish Churches) and the Oficina Técnica, respectively. The former was heir to the Comisión de Aranceles created in 1964, which had had to develop new sources of income after Morcillo abolished the fees for administering the sacraments in 1958, a decision widely hailed in the press since it meant that “baptisms, weddings and funerals will be the same for the billionaire as for the most modest pawn. There will be no differences within the church, during these ceremonies, between any social class.”<sup>39</sup> A new funding principle, based on monthly contributions and gifts from the parishioners, was tested in twenty parishes in 1966 and subsequently extended to the entire archdiocese. A semi-annual Diocesan Church Day was also established, with special collections for the church construction programme; under the motto *Madrid necesita templos* (Madrid Needs Churches), the faithful were called upon to donate according to their means, be it in the form of monetary contributions or in kind — for example, by donating land or even buildings. [Ill. 7.4]

Between 1964 and 1974, the Archdiocese of Madrid spent no less than 497 million pesetas (the equivalent of 3 million euros in today’s currency) on purchasing land, building churches and converting existing commercial premises into places of worship. That was still not enough, however; in the early 1970s, faced with an expected growth of about 150,000 new residents per year, the diocesan services calculated that roughly that same amount was still needed to carry out the *Plan Pastoral*.<sup>40</sup> This prospect led to a revision of the financing

38 *Oficina Técnica. Dotación de equipo parroquial, solares, locales e iglesias. Realidades y proyectos* (Technical Office. Provision of parish equipment. Plots, premises and churches. Realities and projects). This document reviews the work of the Oficina Técnica between 1964 and 1974 and provides details about the acquisition of land for building on: thirty-eight plots were obtained for free; fifty-two were purchased; three were obtained by barter; and twenty-one were donated.

39 “El 7 de marzo entrará en vigor en la Archidiócesis la unificación de todos los servicios religiosos”, 75; Morcillo, *La iglesia diocesana y sus parroquias*, 210.

40 Ramón Saiz, *Madrid-Alcalá, una diócesis en construcción*, 182-186.



7.4 Poster from the Secretariado de Templos Parroquiales. The title reads “Day of the Parish Church: Churches for Madrid”.

[Reproduced from Rafael Ramón Saiz, ed., *Madrid-Alcalá, una diócesis en construcción*]

system in 1972, coinciding with the appointment of Cardinal Tarancón after the death of Morcillo: individual parishes could still contract long-term loans with the archdiocese, but its initial contribution (usually twenty-five per cent) was eliminated. Similar to examples abroad, a system of godparent parishes was also installed, whereby existing parishes showed solidarity with newly established ones. At the same time, though, some local clergy demanded more independence from the archdiocese in consonance with the new self-financing system.

Despite the seemingly unsurmountable difficulties, the enormous effort paid off: by 1974, at the end of Rodríguez Osuna’s management of the archdiocese’s Oficina Técnica, eighty-one new churches had been completed in the city of Madrid and twenty more in the province; fourteen were still under construction and forty-one were on the drawing table. In addition, twenty commercial premises had been purchased with a view to converting them into places of worship. In an attempt to synthesise and assess this great effort, Rodríguez Osuna had reviewed all the new churches in 1972 for a publication that, sadly enough, was never finished.<sup>41</sup> One finding that can be derived from his preparatory documents is his own involvement in the appointment of the architects. Especially where the projects of the INV were concerned, he made sure that the design of the church was entrusted to architects he favoured, such as Cubillo (see further in this contribution); usually, though, the architects who were responsible for the residential units also designed the corresponding place of worship. Rodríguez Osuna made much of professionalising this process, establishing a close relationship with the various architects; for example, rather than having them work for free — as was often the case — he insisted on paying them properly. He did not interfere in the choice of the artists or the religious artwork, however; this he left to the architects or clients.<sup>42</sup> The same is true for the design of the churches: once a commission passed to a certain architect, the Oficina Técnica restricted itself to verifying its economic viability and compliance with the *Instrucciones para la Construcción de Complejos Parroquiales*, which the office had compiled in 1965.

41 The reason this project was halted may have to do with the administrative restructuring of the archdiocese in 1972-1973. Cubillo preserved the files, however, which consist of a heterogeneous collection of graphic documentation provided by the individual architects and include 61 of the 101 churches built up to 1972. See García Herrero, *La arquitectura religiosa de Luis Cubillo de Arteaga (1954-1974)*, II.2.

42 This changed after the reform in 1972, which granted parish priests greater responsibility. As a result, they also weighed in more on artistic choices, to the detriment of the architects.

## The Instructions for the Construction of Parish Complexes

Given that the Oficina Técnica did not have any architects on its staff, it drafted a set of guidelines to be used by the architects in charge of designing parish churches in the Archdiocese of Madrid. These *Instrucciones para la Construcción de Complejos Parroquiales* were drafted in collaboration with experts in theology and liturgy appointed by Morcillo and an architects commission composed of three experienced practitioners: Miguel Fisac (1913-2006), José Luis Fernández del Amo (1914-1995) and Fernando Terán (°1934).<sup>43</sup> Two teams were set up to develop the Instructions, each studying the typology of the parish complex from a different angle. While the first team was charged with defining the appropriate programme for each type of pastoral unit defined in the 1965 *Plan Pastoral* (parish, deanery and zone), the second team focused on guiding the architects in the “unknown demands of the new Liturgy” in light of the uncertainties brought about by the Second Vatican Council.<sup>44</sup> As stated in the Instructions, the role of the parish in the urban pastorate had to be considered from a threefold perspective: liturgical, charitable and missionary.<sup>45</sup> With regard to the first aspect, the orders from *Inter Oecumenici* were quoted at length. The charitable role of the parish was also to be reconsidered; active encouragement of social engagement was to replace the traditional, “passive” distribution of alms. A new type of collaborator, the social worker, was also introduced, whose task was to animate the parish and circulate relevant information amongst its members. The parish was not to remain a closed ecosystem, however, for as Rodríguez Osuna pointed out in an article in *ARA* (a magazine devoted to religious art), pastoral action in an urbanised society entailed reaching out:

The urban parish must be eminently a missionary parish because it is located in the middle of a population that mainly ignores religion. This is how the most varied forms of informal missionary pastoral work start, which

43 Rodríguez Osuna had met these three architects during a seminar on the topic of religious infrastructure organised by the INV in 1964, at which Carlos Castro Cubells (expert in theology and liturgy), Rodríguez Osuna, García-Pablos and Fisac participated as speakers. It was probably also on that occasion that he invited them to collaborate on the guidelines, which the archdiocese had started to outline in August of that year. This can be deduced from the fact that an important part of the seminar’s proceedings (including the ideas about “religious urbanism” from García-Pablos) were incorporated into the Instructions. Fisac became an authority in the field of religious architecture, designing remarkable churches such as San Pedro Mártir (Madrid, 1955), La Coronación (Vitoria, 1958) and Santa Ana (Madrid, 1965). Fernández del Amo was also fundamental in this period, not only for the quality of his architecture, but also for his outstanding role in the world of art as director of the National Museum of Contemporary Art. Terán started his professional career designing new colonisation towns and later became a master in urbanism.

44 *Instrucciones para la construcción de complejos parroquiales*, 5-6.

45 *Ibid.*, 7.

have their headquarters in the parish complex and which must be reflected in every program of the parish complex: the club, for example, responds to this missionary pastoral care.<sup>46</sup>

As the Instructions stated in no uncertain terms, this vocation required that the architects and artists involved in the design of parish infrastructure efface themselves and subordinate their personal ideas to the functional and liturgical requirements imposed upon them; indeed, they were to look for “noble beauty, more than mere sumptuousness”.<sup>47</sup> As a token of this humble attitude, parish centres were to blend in with the neighbouring buildings through the use of similar materials or appropriate formal expression, avoiding any extravagance; the use of bell towers or religious symbolism was neither prescribed nor encouraged. By contrast, particular attention was given to the design of the worship space, which had to be conceived from the inside out and devoid of any monumentality or abundance. Although primarily related to the cost of construction, an extremely important factor, this imperative of simplicity for the new churches also had a theological underpinning: a then common trope had it that contemporary worship practices did not require a temple for God, but rather a “house for God’s people”.<sup>48</sup> This also applied to the location of the parish complex: rather than occupying a triumphalist, preeminent position, it was to blend in with the city fabric and, preferably, be located in areas with many passers-by. To balance the busy city din with the desired interior atmosphere of piety and introspection, architects were advised to provide a small square in front of the new church building as a transitional element; a separate entrance to the parish hall and canteen was also required. Fisac’s design for Santa Ana (1965) offers a salient example of this desired interaction between inner and outer spaces. [Ill. 7.5] Apart from its pragmatic underpinning and theological significance, this blending of the church with its surroundings may perhaps also be interpreted politically as a countermovement to the pomposity of most public buildings. Stating that “its [i.e. a church’s] architectural expression should indicate the independence of church and state, even at the cost of breaking a secular tradition”, the Instructions seemed to undermine Morcillo’s resolute defence of the confessional state — even though his resolve to self-finance the *Plan Pastoral* had prefigured that separation.<sup>49</sup>

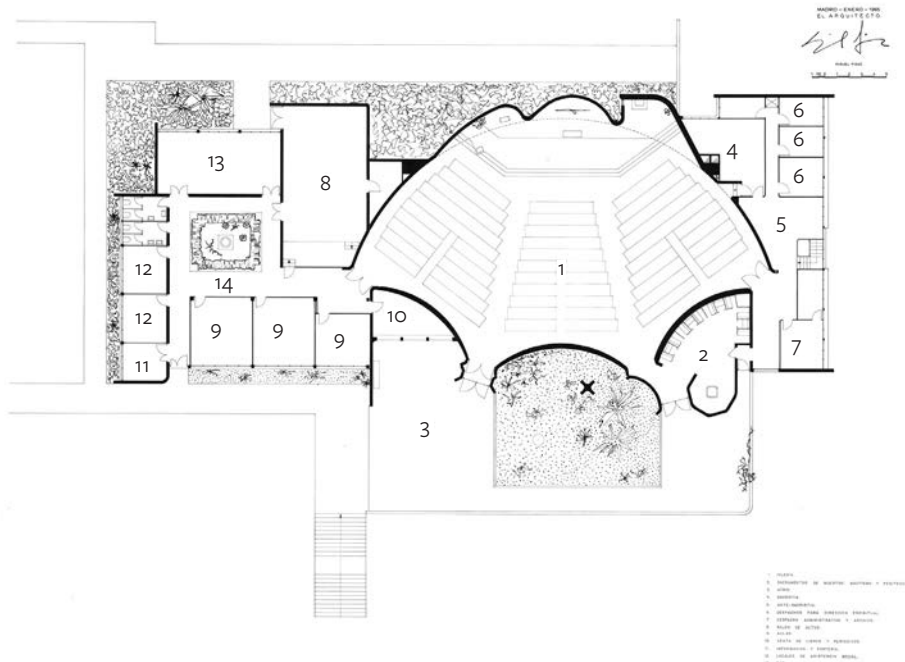
The programme for the parish complexes in Madrid depended on the type of pastoral unit they were to serve (parish, deanery or zone) and varied primarily in terms of the number of residential units and offices they comprised. Again, the Instructions were almost a carbon copy of the INV guide-

46 Rodríguez Osuna, “El complejo parroquial urbano”, 7.

47 *Instrucciones para la construcción de complejos parroquiales*, 13.

48 *Ibid.*, 33.

49 *Ibid.*, 26.



7.5 Floor plan for the Santa Ana parish complex (1965) (Miguel Fisac, architect). Top left: Independent entrance to the assembly hall (8) and canteen (13). Centre: Main entrance to the church (1), with former patio area (3) and garden.

[Courtesy of Fisac Legacy (MFS.Po1), Madrid, ASHCOAM]

lines. For example, the total useful area of a parish centre was set at 1766 m<sup>2</sup> in the Instructions, compared to 1727 m<sup>2</sup> for the INV. Where the church proper was concerned, the latter estimated its average at about 850 m<sup>2</sup> (sacristy, storage, weekday chapel and baptistery included). Rodríguez Osuna proposed a smaller size: in his view, a parish of 10,000 inhabitants could manage with a church of between 400 and 600 m<sup>2</sup>.<sup>50</sup> The right shape for the space of worship was — quite logically — a topic of much debate. Congregants' active participation in the liturgy — the core principle of the post-Vatican II liturgical reform — required optimal visibility and acoustics. Therefore, Rodríguez Osuna put forward the model of the Roman theatre, by which the faithful could easily be grouped around the altar.<sup>51</sup> This led to numerous fan-shaped churches in Madrid, such as Fisac's Santa Ana. Functionality was not everything, though; obtaining the right atmosphere was also key. Hence the importance accorded in the Instructions to the use of light in the church's interior, both natural and artificial. Beyond technical prescriptions, such as a minimum luminosity of 100 lux, the document also stated that the sanctuary was to be accentuated in

50 Rodríguez Osuna, "El complejo parroquial urbano", 10.

51 Interview with Jacinto Rodríguez Osuna by the author, 27 April 2011, Madrid.

order to guide the worshippers’ attention to the altar, while lateral illumination was encouraged in order to prevent glare.<sup>52</sup> Although this often gave rise to highly poetic gestures, it also, paradoxically, frequently placed worshippers in semi-darkness due to the strong Spanish sunlight, as was the case in Fisac’s Santa Ana, for example.

It should be clear by now that the Instructions provided a detailed, and at times rigid, framework for designing churches intended to be simple, yet dignified, and well made. Given the very limited financial margins, reconciling such seemingly contradictory expectations required great effort on the part of all parties involved, particularly the architect. Nonetheless, one man in particular, Luis Cubillo de Arteaga, seemed perfectly suited to the task, becoming the most prolific church architect in Madrid during the early 1970s.

### Luis Cubillo de Arteaga’s Contribution

By the time he started to work for the archdiocese’s Oficina Técnica, Cubillo had already built a reputation for himself as a specialist in low-cost housing and was a professor in the architecture school of the prestigious Madrid Polytechnic. Amongst his most outstanding projects were the Poblado Dirigido of Canillas (1956), where he also designed the remarkable tent-like church (1961), and the Mater Dei seminary in Castellón (also 1961).<sup>53</sup> His sound knowledge of the latest liturgical trends, the radical simplicity of his plastic expression and his skilful integration of the arts earned him a position at the forefront of religious architecture in Spain. Interestingly, he applied the same basic principles in both his religious and non-religious work: constructive rationality, straightforward functionality and a formal language inspired by then fashionable Nordic examples. His predilection for repeating prototypical solutions, which he applied in his commissions for housing and schools, would also find fertile ground in the work he undertook for the Archdiocese of Madrid in the early 1970s.

The close cooperation between Cubillo and the archdiocese started after the former had been entrusted with the design of parish centres for San Federico (1968), Santas Perpetua y Felicidad (1969) and San Fernando (1969) upon the resignation of the architects initially chosen.<sup>54</sup> Once Cubillo took over, the

52 *Instrucciones para la construcción de complejos parroquiales*, 30.

53 See García Herrero, *La arquitectura religiosa de Luis Cubillo de Arteaga (1954-1974)*, I.2.

54 San Federico’s parish priest originally chose Mario Gómez-Morán Cima as architect, but he never did the project, so the archdiocese called in Cubillo, who was well known for designing low-cost churches. Santas Perpetua y Felicidad’s original architect was Terán (a fellow member of the Comisión de Arquitectos mentioned above), but he resigned six months after his appointment (that same year, 1969, he was launching *Ciudad y Territorio*, the first Spanish magazine about urbanism). San Fernando’s original architect (Emilio Chinarro Matas) was sacked because of disagreements with Rodríguez Osuna. Madrid, AAM.



7.6 Exterior view of the San Fernando parish complex (1970) (Luis Cubillo de Arteaga, architect).  
[Courtesy of Cubillo de Arteaga Legacy (LCA.Foo7), Madrid, ASHCOAM]

projects quickly fell into place. According to Rodríguez Osuna, this had to do with the fact that “Cubillo was very consistent with the Instructions; austerity did not have to be imposed”.<sup>55</sup> His purposiveness was a welcome quality given the frantic pace at the Oficina Técnica in those years: between 1968 and 1974, Cubillo designed no fewer than twenty-six projects for his new client (new churches, but also interventions in existing buildings and conversions of commercial premises), of which eighteen were eventually realised. Moreover, he also advised the archdiocese on the acquisition of plots or premises for future churches.

In the various parish centres Cubillo designed during this period, a typological evolution comes to the fore: whereas initially, he stuck to a simple rectangular geometry, he later also shaped the assembly space according to circular, pentagonal and square plans with the chancel at one end of the diagonal and the entrance at the other. Convinced that the final option (the square plan) worked best, Cubillo applied it in the church of San Fernando (1970) and then in thirteen other projects — albeit with certain variations. [Ill. 7.6] He was thus taking up the initiative of his colleague Terán, who had designed

<sup>55</sup> Interview with Jacinto Rodríguez Osuna by the author, 27 April 2011, Madrid.

a prototype back in 1967 for a low-cost, easily repeatable parish centre that, for whatever reason, had not received a favourable response from the archdiocese. It should be noted, however, that despite the fact that the San Fernando project was touted in the local press and specialised magazines as a model, this “church with the beautiful roof” was not quite representative of this series of projects, since it was realised in a unique environment and the available resources were quite exceptional.<sup>56</sup> By contrast, the parish centres of San Bonifacio (1971) and Jesus de Nazaret (1972) more fully illustrated the adaptability of Cubillo’s model. As he commented on the former:

A suggestive volumetric solution, adapted to the significant slope of the plot, was suited to the resolution of the different uses (...). The church was designed with a square plan, a solution I had already proposed on other occasions due to its unquestionable economy, emphasising one of the vertices as a singular point and developing the assembly around it. The roof shows this singular point, in which the chancel is located. (...) The complex is integrated into a modest garden that contrasts with the feverish vitality of the city through its environmental tranquillity.<sup>57</sup>

In all the projects of this series, the church space is conceived as a square with each side measuring about 20 m long, resulting in a minimum surface area of 400 m<sup>2</sup>, perfectly in accordance with the norms proposed in the Instructions. Cubillo also systematically included a weekday chapel, which acted as a link to the rest of the parish complex. By giving it independent access, he emancipated it somehow from the subsidiary character it generally possessed in pre-conciliar proposals. As to emphasise its new status as a separate space for devotion, it housed the tabernacle and the confessional. For covering these spaces, Cubillo relied on his experience in public housing, using a simple, exposed structural system without intermediate supports. [Ill. 7.7] Together with the facing brick walls and abstract stained-glass windows, the interior atmosphere was one of deliberate simplicity and austerity – certainly a worthy response to the guidelines set by the archdiocese, but not always understood and appreciated by the parishioners or the local clergy, who were more accustomed to opulence where religion was concerned.<sup>58</sup>

Whereas the church and the weekday chapel were systematically treated the same by Cubillo in all thirteen projects, he allowed himself more freedom in the rest of the parish complex, accommodating it to the shape of the

56 See “San Fernando. Complejo parroquial-Madrid”, 48.

57 Madrid, ASHCOAM, Cubillo de Arteaga papers, LCA.D171.

58 In 1974, the parish priest of San Bonifacio wrote a letter to the director of the Secretariado with several complaints. In it, he asked, “Why is there, among many commissions, no review of the projects so that they do not make us industrial spaces or garages, very functional, as they say now, but no similar to churches and not inviting of retreat and devotion?” Madrid, AAM.

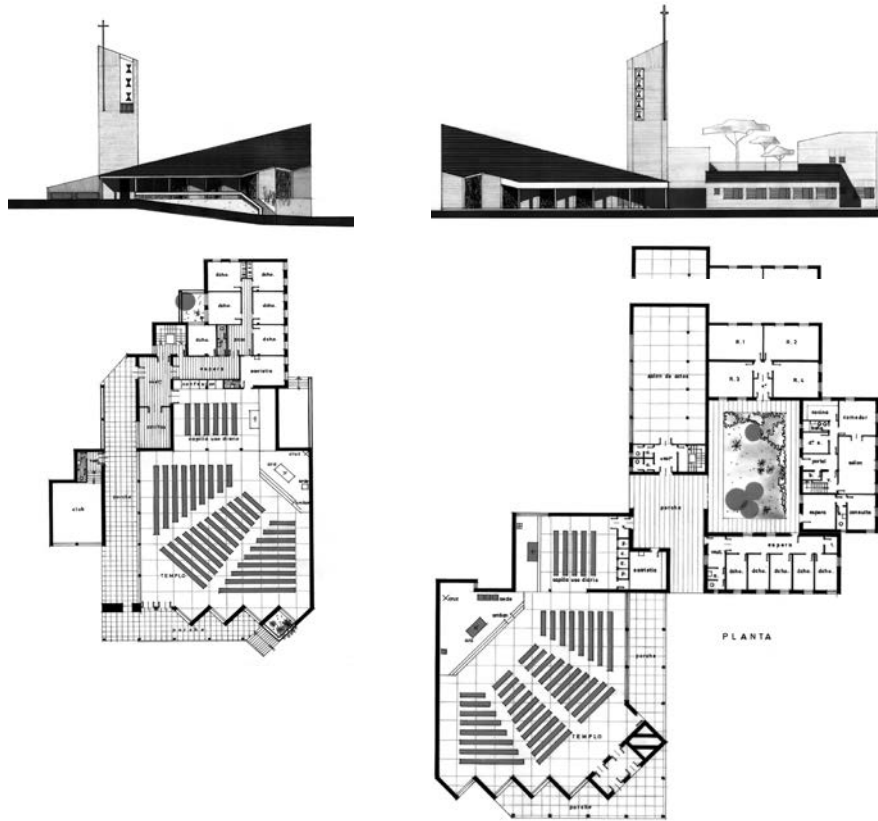


7.7 Interior view of the Santiago Apóstol parish complex in Alcalá de Henares (1970) (Luis Cubillo de Arteaga, architect).

[Courtesy of the author]

available plot or site; he either organised the rooms along an interior street, as in San Bonifacio, or clustered them around an inner courtyard, as in Jesus de Nazaret. [Ill. 7.8a & 7.8b] Regardless, Cubillo's systematic mind seeped through in the uniform functional organisation into three separate zones: one liturgical (including church and weekday chapel); one administrative (comprising offices for the clergy, *Cáritas* and social assistance, as well as lodgings for the clergy); and one social (with meeting rooms and a multi-purpose hall). In the case of Jesus de Nazaret, the three zones were juxtaposed on the ground floor, while in San Bonifacio, they were superimposed: the church on the ground floor; lodging on the upper floors; and the parish hall and meeting rooms in the semi-basement. Finally, Cubillo also attached great importance to the circulation areas tying together the various zones; more than simple corridors providing easy access, he conceived of these as interior "streets". In San Bonifacio, for example, the central gallery provided access to the parish complex from two different streets, connecting the parish complex with the surrounding urban fabric.

The examples discussed here exemplify Cubillo's ability to adhere strictly to the Instructions and yet give each church a dignified appearance by virtue of a particular roofscape that, in the imagination of the architect, seemed



7.8a and 7.8b Floor plan and elevation drawings for the parish complexes of San Bonifacio (1971) and Jesús de Nazaret (1972) in Madrid (Luis Cubillo de Arteaga, architect).  
 [Courtesy of the Cubillo de Arteaga Legacy (LCA.P472), Madrid, ASHCOAM]

to rise up from the surrounding garden — the latter acting as a transitional space between the busy street and the quietness of the church space. This scenography — indispensable in the mind of Cubillo, for he defined in great detail the vegetation and trees that were to form a counterpoint to the exposed brickwork of the architecture — was, in fact, the Achilles heel of his prototypical scheme, for it lost its effectiveness in cases where the parish centre had to be built close to existing structures or a garden simply was no option. The same held true for the bell towers that Cubillo systematically integrated into his designs. Located next to the main entrance of the church and flanked by two porches that prolonged their roofs, their compositional effectiveness becomes immediately apparent when contemplating the few examples without a bell tower. Yet, in the post-conciliar climate, bell towers were called into question, for they were associated with the bygone rural parish church, expressed



7.9 Exterior view of San Bonifacio parish complex in Madrid (1971) (Luis Cubillo de Arteaga, architect).  
[Photograph by Agustín Rico. Courtesy of the Cubillo de Arteaga Legacy (LCA.Foo2), Madrid, ASH-COAM]

dominance in an era when the Church wanted to be humble and — last but not least — were very expensive to build and maintain. Yet, as Cubillo’s designs illustrate, in the hands of a skilful master, a bell tower could still be a contemporary signifier of faith.<sup>59</sup> [Ill. 7.9]

## Conclusion

Reflecting upon the restructuring of the parish landscape in Madrid, Rodríguez Osuna referred to it as a “silent revolution”.<sup>60</sup> Allegedly, he meant to say that, in the first place, the pastoral policies of the archdiocese had indeed undergone a radical change, and at great cost, in terms of human and financial effort. As we have seen, from the start, the implementation of the *Plan Pastoral* was severely hampered by financial constraints, to the extent that in 1973, the archdiocese was forced to review some of its fundamental premises. It quickly became apparent that the neat distinction between a weekday chapel and a proper church space, as developed by Cubillo, was no longer tenable; instead, architects were now asked to design modular, polyvalent places of worship that could be expanded in the weekend. The optimum size of the parish centres was also systematically reduced from 1766 m<sup>2</sup> to 1200 m<sup>2</sup>, and even 700 m<sup>2</sup> in some cases.<sup>61</sup> Although these draconic measures must have been a bitter pill to swallow for many pastors, architects and churchgoers, it was worth the effort: thanks to the new self-financing system installed with the appointment of Cardinal Vicente Enrique y Tarancón (1907-1994) in 1972, almost all the planned parish centres were effectively built. That said, soon a new problem arose that undermined the effectiveness of the parish plan, namely the increasing shortage of priests and the aging clergy. Consequently, in 1981 the optimum parish size had to be increased from 10,000 inhabitants to 15,000, or in some cases, even 20,000.<sup>62</sup>

Yet, beyond the statistical data, Rodríguez Osuna’s concept of a silent revolution also had a deeper meaning. Perhaps he meant to hint at the impact of all this religious infrastructure on the mind of his fellow Spaniards. As to the real effect of the *Plan Pastoral*, we can only speculate. In 1975, the year of Franco’s death, the FOESSA Foundation (a Catholic study centre linked to Cáritas) published a sociological analysis of Spanish society, pointing out that the economic growth, rapid industrialisation, rampant urbanisation and mass tourism were decisively altering the socio-religious behaviour of its citizens.

59 Busquets, “Un nuevo programa para las iglesias”, 3.

60 Interview with Jacinto Rodríguez Osuna by the author, 27 April 2011, Madrid. According to Rodríguez Osuna, the word “revolution” was used by Morcillo during the initial stages of the Plan in a private conversation with him.

61 Ramón Saiz, *Madrid-Alcalá, una diócesis en construcción, 192-194*.

62 Letter from the Oficina Técnica to the deans. Madrid, AAM.

Nonetheless, eighty-five per cent of the population of Madrid at that time declared itself an adherent of the Catholic faith.<sup>63</sup> This seems to suggest that the *Plan Pastoral* was indeed effective — though these figures should obviously be interpreted with caution, given that in 1975, the denominational character of the Francoist state was still omnipresent.

As far as its architectural outcome is concerned, the parish plan can effectively be called a success, as apparent from the aforementioned compilation of churches that Rodríguez Osuna was not able to complete. Although his expectations for a prototype for a standardised parish centre adaptable to different situations (as proposed by Terán and resumed by Cubillo) were probably not entirely fulfilled, he must have felt that the Instructions proved a valuable blueprint for a new type of church — not only as a material artefact, but also as an institution. With hindsight, the Instructions can indeed be read as a sort of manifesto that encapsulates the urge for renewal that its authors shared with a large part of the Spanish clergy, who, in the unstable post-conciliar times, were gradually distancing themselves from Franco's regime.

So it was that Rodríguez Osuna's silent revolution became a reality only a few years later, albeit in a very different manner than he and Morcillo envisioned in 1965. When the latter's successor, Cardinal Tarancón, became president of the Spanish Episcopal Conference in 1972, he increasingly took a stance in favour of the "Democratic Transition" supported by Paul VI — a detachment from the regime that produced great tensions within the Spanish church. At the same time, Spanish society was in turmoil, as evidenced by the feverish activity of trade unions, opposition parties and all sorts of associations. Gradually, progressive forces within the Spanish church started to sympathise with this political counterculture that, to a large extent, had its roots in the newly erected parish centres in Madrid.<sup>64</sup> Thus, Rodríguez Osuna's silent revolution pertained as much to the archdiocese's new take on pastoral care as to the radical change of mind of the Spanish clergy during the swan song of the Franco regime — a rupture that he, albeit indirectly, had helped to push through.

63 Versus seventy per cent in Barcelona and sixty-three per cent in the Canary Islands; the Spanish average was eighty-four per cent. *Estudios sociológicos sobre la situación social de España 1975*, 559.

64 Montero, "Iglesia y política en la transición: Los católicos ante la transición política", 342. The case of Nuestra Señora de la Montaña parish in Moratalaz was a prime example. The first church was a prefabricated structure with the words "*Casa del Pueblo de Dios*" (House of God's people) written on its façade in big letters. The Comisiones Obreras (Workers Commissions) trade union started its activity there, and the parish priest, Mariano Gamo, was jailed several times for his political activity.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### Archives

- Madrid, Archivo del Arzobispado de Madrid (AAM)
- Madrid, Archivo del Servicio Histórico del Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Madrid (ASHCOAM), Cubillo de Arteaga papers, LCA D171

### Published sources

- Baldellou, Miguel Ángel. "Neorrealismo y arquitectura. El "problema de la vivienda" en Madrid, 1954-1966". *Arquitectura*, 301 (1995), 20-58
- Blanco Agüeira, Silvia. *Rodolfo García-Pablos: La construcción del espacio sagrado*. Thesis. A Coruña, 2009.
- Busquets, Juan Antonio. "Un nuevo programa para las iglesias". *Arquitectura*, 159 (1972), 1-4.
- Casanova, Julián. *A Short History of the Spanish Civil War*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2012.
- Comunidad cristiana parroquial. 1º semana nacional de la parroquia*. Madrid: Euramérica, 1959.
- Delgado de la Rosa, Juan Antonio. "Una iglesia en cambio. 50 años del concilio Vaticano II: la recepción del concilio en España". *Las Torres de Lucca*, 7 (December 2015), 235-273.
- Delgado Orusco, Eduardo. *Arquitectura sacra española, 1939-1975: de la posguerra al posconcilio*. Thesis. Madrid, 2000.
- Duocastella, Rogelio. *Cómo estudiar una parroquia*. Barcelona: Instituto de Sociología y Pastoral Aplicadas, 1967.
- "El 7 de marzo entrará en vigor en la Archidiócesis la unificación de todos los servicios religiosos". *ABC (Madrid)*, (17 January 1965), 73-76.
- Estudios sociológicos sobre la situación social de España 1975*. Madrid: Euramérica, 1976, 529-692.
- Fernández de Torres, Ignacio María. *El pensamiento social de los arzobispos de la Archidiócesis de Madrid después del Concilio Vaticano II, 1964-1994*. Thesis. Madrid, 2009.
- García García, Pedro. *Arquitectura religiosa en Madrid, a partir de 1940*. Thesis. Madrid, 2005.
- García Herrero, Jesús. *La arquitectura religiosa de Luis Cubillo de Arteaga (1954-1974)*. Thesis. Madrid, 2015.
- García-Pablos, Rodolfo. "Necesidad de establecer ordenaciones parroquiales integradas en los Planeamientos Urbanísticos". In *Arte sacro y Concilio Vaticano II*. León: Junta Nacional Asesora de Arte Sacro, 1965, 115-122.
- Guía de la Archidiócesis de Madrid-Alcalá*. Madrid: Oficina Técnica de Sociología Religiosa del Arzobispado de Madrid, 1965.
- Instrucciones para la construcción de complejos parroquiales*. Madrid: Oficina Técnica de Sociología Religiosa del Arzobispado de Madrid, 1965.
- Isasi, Justo. "Iglesia y vanguardia en la España de la posguerra". *Arquitectura Viva*, 58 (1998), 23-29.
- Montero, Feliciano. "Iglesia y política en la transición: Los católicos ante la transición política". *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma. Serie V, Historia Contemporánea*, 12 (1999), 335-356.
- Morcillo, Casimiro. "Carta Magna del Arte Sacro en España". *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*, 200, (1958), 27.
- Morcillo, Casimiro. "Carta Pastoral sobre el día del templo parroquial". *Official Bulletin of the Archdiocese of Madrid*, (15 May 1967), 260-264.
- Morcillo, Casimiro. "La archidiócesis de Madrid-Alcalá en esta hora. Carta Pastoral al clero y fieles de la archidiócesis del arzobispo don Casimiro Morcillo". In: Rafael Ramón Saiz, ed. *Madrid-Alcalá, una diócesis en construcción. Exposición sobre las parroquias creadas en la diócesis de Madrid desde 1961 a 1982*. Madrid: Editorial service of the Diocese, 1982, 25-37.
- Morcillo, Casimiro. *La iglesia diocesana y sus parroquias*. Barcelona: Juan Flors, 1960.
- Morta, Angel. "Chronica: Universidad Pontificia de Salamanca. Semana Nacional de la Parroquia (Zaragoza, 13-20 abril 1958)". *Salamancaensis*, 6 (1959), 1, 269-271.
- Moya González, Luis. *Barrios de Promoción Oficial. Madrid 1939-1976*. Madrid: COAM, 1983.
- "No queremos una España de proletarios, sino de propietarios". *ABC (Madrid)*, (2 May 1959), 41-42.
- Normas Urbanísticas para el término municipal de Madrid: Plan General de Ordenación Urbana del Área Metropolitana de Madrid. Ley 121/1963, del 2 de Diciembre*. Madrid: COAM, 1967.
- Nuevas estructuras pastorales en la Archidiócesis de Madrid-Alcalá*. Madrid: Oficina Técnica de Sociología Religiosa del Arzobispado de Madrid, 1965.

- Plan Nacional de la Vivienda 1961-1976*. Madrid: I.N.V., 1962.
- Ramón Saiz, Rafael, ed. *Madrid-Alcalá, una diócesis en construcción. Exposición sobre las parroquias creadas en la diócesis de Madrid desde 1961 a 1982*. Madrid: Editorial service of the Diocese, 1982.
- Rodríguez Osuna, Jacinto. "Características religiosas de las concentraciones urbanas. Planificación pastoral". In: *Problemas de concentración urbana: semanas sociales de España, XXIV sesión*. Madrid: Junta Nacional, 1966, 217-234.
- Rodríguez Osuna, Jacinto. "El complejo parroquial urbano". *ARA. Arte Religioso Actual*, 15 (1968), 4-18.
- Rodríguez Osuna, Jacinto. *Informe sociológico sobre la situación social de Madrid*. Madrid: Euramérica, 1967.
- Rodríguez Osuna, Jacinto. "La nueva estructuración parroquial de Madrid". *Anales del Instituto de Estudios Madrileños, T.1* (1966), 391-404.
- "San Fernando. Complejo parroquial-Madrid". *ARA. Arte Religioso Actual*, 36 (1973), 44-49.
- Seminarios del INV. Edificios religiosos*. Madrid: I.N.V. editions. Ministerio de la Vivienda, 1965.
- Terán, Fernando: *Madrid*. Madrid: Mapfre, 1992.