

'Fitted for Sacred Use'

Vatican II and Modernism in the physical, social and ritual space of three Australian churches

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Abstract

The liturgical reforms of Vatican II proclaimed the Mass as 'source and summit of Christian life' and encouraged the 'full, conscious and active participation' of all in the Eucharistic celebration. It had major implications for liturgical space in existing churches and the design of new ones and impacted the physical, social and ritual spaces in Australian Catholic churches. It also threatened the integrity of the Church's cultural patrimony – both in its artistic objects and in the gestural practices of the faithful. The call for change occurred in the 1960s and aligned loosely with the continued quotation of Modernist principles that followed the precepts of pure form and structure and/or quoted a more organicist approach. In both cases, it seemed that history was to be discarded and tradition eschewed but at the same time there was an interweaving between evolving interpretations of post war Modernism and liturgical reform. By analysing and decoding Wardell's St Patrick's in Melbourne, Giurgola's St Patrick's in Parramatta and Taglietti's St Anthony's in Marsfield we tease out inherent tensions in how space is designed and built, how it is expected to be used, and how it is actually experienced. Our examples bring sharply into focus the issues arising from the re-shaping and reconfiguring of liturgical space in existing churches, and highlight the freedom given to architects in the design of new spaces, all 'fitted for sacred use'.

Introduction: the Physical, Social and Ritual Space of Vatican II

The changes to the liturgical traditions of the Catholic Church heralded by Vatican II had a profound effect on the Catholic Church's cultural patrimony. The liturgical reforms of Vatican II proclaiming the Mass as 'source and summit of Christian life' and encouraging the 'full, conscious and active participation' of all in the Eucharistic celebration had major implications both for the re-ordering of liturgical space in existing churches and for the design of new ones. Vatican II changes aligned loosely with Modernist thought in relation to precedents, quotation, discarding history and eschewing tradition. Changes to liturgical practice called for changes in spatial and social practices while also heralding opportunities for the design of new worship places. To understand the inter-relationship between these changes we do not just analyse the material elements that bound the space or the things in that are in the space. Instead, we analyse the space itself so that we can uncover the social relationships embedded within it.¹

We examine the evolution of liturgical space in three Australian Catholic Churches established post Vatican II (1963-65) through the double effect of Vatican II and quotations of Modernist principles on their physical and social space. In each church physical and social space intersect in different ways, yet each produces a ritual space to accommodate post-Vatican II requirements. The first is St Patrick's, the cathedral church of the Archdiocese of Melbourne, a significant nineteenth-century building that was reordered in the 1970s and 1990s. The second is St Patrick's, the cathedral church of the Diocese of Parramatta, a new design incorporating the site's history, memory, and fabric. The third is St Anthony's, Marsfield, a parish church in Sydney, a "ground zero" post Vatican II church design (Figure 1). These three churches acknowledge differing roles of signifying meaning in the physical, social and ritual space of each church and in the symbolic function of the Church.



Figure 1. Exterior views L to R: St. Patrick's Cathedral, Melbourne; St. Patrick's Cathedral, Parramatta; St. Anthony's parish church, Marsfield (source: authors).

We explore different genealogies of quotation through the defining ecclesiastical event of the twentieth-century: the Second Ecumenical Vatican Council (or Vatican II), which began in 1959 under John XXIII and ended in 1965 under Paul VI. It produced a series of documents of both dogma and action, (4 *constitutions*, 9 *decrees* and 3 *declarations*), to act as reference points for the structure and organisation of the modern Church. Vatican II shifted the focus of the Catholic Church from a reflection of its inner workings to an openness towards the world and to modern society. In the words of Pope John XXIII: "Through Vatican II, the Church did not want to close in upon itself and make reference only to itself. On the contrary, it wanted to open itself more widely".² The concept of dialogue features prominently. Anthony Kelly observed that "[t]he ordered linear architecture of the printed page would be pushed and pulled into wilder, less symmetrical shapes before it would begin to inspire and justify the architecture that dealt in bricks and stone".³

Church buildings and art also needed to be updated for modern times and recognise local ways. The Church's cultural patrimony should honour the past and at the same time listen to the voice of the:

... art of our own days, coming from every race and region ... will thereby be enabled to contribute its own voice to that wonderful chorus of praise in honour of the Catholic faith sung by great men in times gone by.⁴

The global Catholic Church has a long association with the arts, as both patron and custodian. Although it has a documented intent to preserve this heritage through centuries, in Australia we are confronted with a chequered history in relation to our built ecclesiastical heritage. Vatican II signalled a fundamental shift in understanding of how the Church celebrated liturgy. Before Vatican II, the priest celebrated the liturgy and Mass began when he was ready. After Vatican II, the assembly became the doer of the liturgy and Mass begins when the people are assembled.

Coding, Recoding and Decoding Ritual Space

Our social, spatial and ritual analysis of selected post-Vatican II churches leans on the work of Henri Lefebvre, in particular his *Production of Space*. We seek to 'decode' the social, physical and ritual spaces in order to bring forth the effects of Vatican II reform and the enduring quotation of modernist principles accompanying it. If spatial codes characterise particular spatial and social practices and these codes are *produced* alongside the spaces that correspond to them, then the first thing to do is to "elucidate their rise, their role, and their demise".⁵ These are, in a sense, 'bottom up' codes of *representational space* – that is, space as lived and perceived by its users through its associated images and symbols.⁶ Then there are 'top down' codes that define *representations* of space, or the dominant space as it is conceived by planners, architects and technocrats or, in our case, a council of bishops. The three codes at play here are the Code of nineteenth-century church practice interpreted by figures like Pugin and rooted in the sixteenth-century Council of Trent, the Code of Vatican II, and the Code of Modernism (in its various forms). When people decode space they do not necessarily realise they are doing it, especially when it comes to churches.⁷ The rituals and gestures connected to liturgical space are learned and ingrained, they are not necessarily thought about or consciously understood. That is because ritual has meaning on many levels – conscious and subconscious, and requires the decoding of text, knowledge, memory and lived experience.

Liturgical space is discussed as the intersection between physical space and social space, because the gestures and rituals that take place within space act as the intermediary between codes and social practice.⁸ As noted in *Consecrated for Worship*, "The relationship between Jesus, the Head of the Church, and those who gather to worship as members of his Body, becomes visible in the place of the Church where the Eucharist and other sacraments are celebrated".⁹ Vatican II set up a tension between how churchgoers and the clergy had become accustomed to live, move and *produce* their space and how Vatican II re-conceived its representation. Although Vatican II had a profound effect on the social, ritual and physical space of churches, its decrees, constitutions and declarations do not specifically mention how church spaces were actually to be reorganised. While the intent and actions of the new liturgy were described, no specific style or form of architecture was suggested so all the clergy, and the architects who worked for them, had to go by were statements of intent such as: "And when churches are to be built, let great care be taken that they be suitable for the celebration of liturgical services and for the active participation of the faithful".¹⁰ Changes in liturgical practice were then interpreted to guide new church design:

- the Eucharist was celebrated in the local language, not Latin, to allow the assembly to participate
- the altar was reoriented so that the priest faced the congregation
- hierarchical divisions of space were removed facilitating communal gathering

Richard Falkinger, architect of the re-ordering of St Patrick's Cathedral Melbourne in the 1970s and 1990s, considers that while Vatican II was "formative", it was not "prescriptive in any sense".¹¹ Over the history of church building in Australia, British and European immigrants quoted whatever worship forms and spaces they had become accustomed to at home, to develop an architecture for Christian

worship in the “new world”. The communities who commissioned the architects across time all wanted to build a sacred space where they could celebrate their faith. Civilisation and Christianity was promulgated through emulated traditions. The book *And when churches are to be built ...* reminds us that “The historical development of the liturgy was integral to the evolution of the spatial arrangement of churches, beginning from the fourth century”.¹²

Beginning in the 1960s, existing churches were re-ordered to meet the new requirements and understandings with respect both for the space and structure of the existing church as well as the forms of post-Vatican II liturgy. Australia’s prevalent mindset that there was “nothing worth preserving” or that we have “nothing of value” meant that respect of existing church fabric and traditions often fell by the wayside in the haste to put the new liturgical order into place. Having to marry different traditions and adapt different spatial configurations to serve the new liturgical requirements simply compounded the problems.

The Church conceived their way for the celebration of ritual while the people developed a lived way to use the space to make their faith meaningful. Pre-Vatican II, the Church called for a spatial separation that symbolised submission and dogma that promulgated a dignified response. The physical, social and ritual space of a church presented a relationship of dominance and humility with the priest as conduit between the people and God. Post-Vatican II, with the call for active, full and conscious participation by the assembly, this order was changed to one that facilitates community and connection, with the priest serving the community of the faithful – hierarchical divisions were removed while priest and people communed with God as one. The post-conciliar period was therefore a challenging time for all Catholics, and many other Christian denominations. The *Decree Ad Gentes* made clear the need for the participation of an active laity within the church, and recognised that “the faithful fully belong at one and the same time both to the people of God and to civil society”. The people were encouraged to:

“borrow from the customs and traditions of their people, from their wisdom and their learning, from their arts and disciplines, all those things which can contribute to the glory of their creator, or enhance the grace of their saviour, or dispose Christian life the way it should be”.¹³

The Decree on Ecumenism *Unitatis Redintegratio* promulgates “the movement toward unity” stating that worship in common (*communicatio in sacris*) has two main principles: “the bearing of witness to the unity of the Church” and “the sharing in the means of grace”.¹⁴ This raises the importance of unity for the Church, and opens up dialogue between all branches of Christianity. New spaces for worship envisaged different Christians praying together and were focused on unity, inclusive dialogue and community instead of division and hierarchy.

St. Patrick’s, Melbourne; St. Patrick’s Parramatta & St. Anthony’s, Marsfield: Genealogies of Quotation.

Each example we discuss has its own genealogy of quotation that has to do with the architect’s training, the period in which it was built, whether it was an existing church, an existing church site or newly conceived. St Patrick’s in Melbourne begins with William Wardell’s combined quotation of medieval French and English models. This was overlaid with Pugin’s interpretations of the Gothic through the lens of the sixteenth-century Council of Trent and a desire to reclaim medieval Gothic as the English national style. Pugin reinstated the liturgical traditions of the Catholic Church in England, following the recognition once again of the Roman Church post-reformation (1818). Pugin shifted church design from the preaching box model (reformation and protestant traditions) to reasserting the catholic notion of compartmentalisation: that is the clear separation of the nave (assembly/congregation), and sanctuary (clergy), emphasised by the re-introduction of the rood screen and altar rails; separate baptistery and chapels for devotional worship (Figure 2).

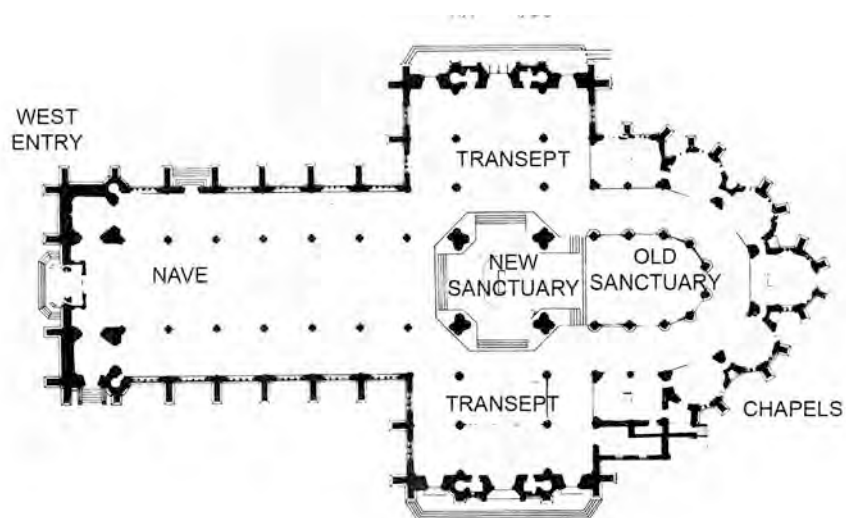


Figure 2. St. Patrick's Cathedral, Melbourne, plan showing compartmentalisation (source authors).

When St. Patrick's Melbourne was re-ordered in the 1970s these elements that both defined and represented the cathedral's physical and ritual heritage were cast away. Yuncken Freeman Architects, through Roy Simpson and Richard Falkinger, brought in a purist, non-hierarchical space free from ornament. Theirs was a response to post-Vatican II that quoted the Northern European modernist principles they had been trained in. Falkinger arrived in Australia in 1959 from the predominantly Catholic Bavaria. He claims to have been 'classically trained' and found himself renewing his own faith in Australia. The later 1990s refurbishment then brought in elements of quotation from the Eastern church thanks to the work of Greek heritage architect Arthur Andronas, alongside a valorisation of the largely Irish Catholic community who had built and paid for the nineteenth-century cathedral.

At St Patrick's in Parramatta, Giurgola's quotations of Modernism come through the filter of a grounding in the Rationalism of the Italian Fascist period where he had studied with the ubiquitous and powerful Marcello Piacentini. Giurgola's quotations of Modernism were then filtered through his North American experiences that began while teaching with a group of dynamic modernists at the University of Pennsylvania.¹⁵ Once in practice, he took the pure *beton brut* approach to Le Corbusier's 1950s work and distanced himself from quoting Kahn (he lived and worked in Philadelphia) by bringing a more European sensibility to modernism, through the work of Saarinen in the US and Aalto in Finland.¹⁶ In 1989, he designed the parish church of St Thomas Aquinas in Charnwood ACT. Many of the ideas explored here, such as the unified space, sloping floor and the use of craft in an integrated whole, informed Giurgola's considerations at Parramatta. It seems that, if anything, Giurgola was quoting his own 'Constants': first, the space is defined through a sequence of rooms; second, that the language of space depends on the relationship between interior and exterior as elements of an itinerary; thirdly, that resonance is an essential quality of architecture and fourthly, that an architectural aesthetic should be based on accessibility, clarity and the its power to elucidate meanings and relationships.¹⁷

At St Anthony's in Marsfield, Taglietti's quotations of modernism were grounded in the Bauhaus tradition of structure and craft followed at the Milan Polytechnic where he studied in the early 1950s.¹⁸ In his last years, the Polytechnic became more closely aligned with a Wrightian organicist strand mediated through the figure of Bruno Zevi whose Association for Organic Architecture (APAO) made a conscious political choice to reject Rationalist interpretations of modernism due to their previous equation with Fascism.¹⁹ It is also very likely that Taglietti was quoting the more organic post-WWII

Modernism of Le Corbusier as exemplified by Ronchamp given that his theories were taught at the Polytechnic. Taglietti attended a summer school with the Swiss master in 1953 when it was still all about the right angle and the Modulor and it was in fact Taglietti's own experiences of Ronchamp and La Tourette that showed him an organic architecture of emotion.²⁰ Despite this shift in the school's focus and Taglietti's confession that the Bauhaus was "a bit fascist",²¹ Taglietti maintained the craft ideals of his early Bauhaus education as is evidenced in his approach to concrete as a material that "you can really shape ... like plastic and that is something that really does create spaces and volumes".²² Having arrived in Australia in 1957, he would not have personally seen the post-war work of Italian church design which merged the organicist and rationalist approaches virtually pre-empting Vatican II-inspired spatial reorganisation. He would still have been aware of Paniconi and Pediconi's San Gregorio (1958-1962), Pier Luigi Nervi's audience hall (1964-1971) and Giovanni Michelucci's Chiesa dell'Autostrada (1960-1964).

St. Patrick's, Melbourne; St. Patrick's Parramatta & St. Anthony's, Marsfield: analysing physical space, social space and liturgical space

St Patrick's Cathedral, Melbourne

William Wardell's St Patrick's Cathedral Melbourne is a nineteenth-century Gothic Revival church, a conceptualised dominant space that "identif[ies] what is lived and what is perceived with what is conceived".²³ Its physical space was designed for nineteenth-century liturgy: it could be read from the outside, as a cruciform cathedral with nave, aisles and transepts with roofing indicating the separate sanctuary and chapels (Figure 1). Processional movement was enabled from civic space to spiritual space, and vice versa, through the west door. Internal circulation accommodated Mass, Benediction and so on, with the ambulatory allowing access to the individual chapels (Figure 2). Assembly and celebrant were clearly separated by distance and the hierarchical delineation of space. The sanctuary and the high altar, reserved for clergy, were raised up on steps and highly adorned, by architect and master craftsmen working together as per Pugin's two design principles.²⁴ Mass was spoken in Latin from the high altar while the assembly sat in their pews either following the Mass in their prayer books or absorbed in private devotions, such as the rosary. The assembly moved in procession down the nave to kneel at the altar rails and receive communion. Well-learned and rehearsed gestures and rituals accompanied by music were an integral part of the faithfuls' attendance at weekly Sunday Mass.

The implementation of Vatican II created huge problems for traditional churches such as St Patrick's in Melbourne. How do you turn a longitudinal compartmentalised plan around to accommodate the notion of a more centralised plan to embrace the congregation and invite full and active participation by the assembly? How do you respect the heritage building and church traditions and embrace the new? How do you recodify the rituals and gestures of post-Vatican II when the physical objects defining space support pre-Vatican II gestures and ritual? Falkinger was:

... keenly aware of the difficulties in achieving the right balance between the need for the retention of our past and an honouring of the future – through the creation of a worthy and sacred place which truly reflects the needs and aspirations of the people of this age, who seek to celebrate the Liturgy of the Word and the Eucharist in today's language of belief.²⁵

In the 1970s, the sanctuary was moved under the central tower and spire and placed on a simple raised platform creating a free-standing altar, while pews were placed in both nave and transepts. The altar rails and pulpit that effectively divided the community from the priest were removed.²⁶ In line with modernist dogma, tradition, ornament and decoration were eschewed in the new design. Simple pure clean lines were evident in the materials and furnishings: altar, new bishop's chair, basalt steps and carpet.²⁷

As part of a larger restoration program by Falkinger Andronas P/L Heritage Architects, the 1970s changes were made permanent for the centenary of the Cathedral's consecration in 1997 (Figure 3). With the Vatican II re-ordering literally cemented in place, the nineteenth-century building and the twentieth-century liturgical directives clashed head on. For the Vatican II requirements to be recognised and honoured, the heritage values of the nineteenth-century building had to be compromised.



Figure 3. St Patrick's Cathedral, Melbourne, the new sanctuary in the crossing of the cathedral. A view of the 1990s sanctuary which made the 1970s changes permanent, (source authors).

St Patrick's Cathedral, Parramatta

St Patrick's Parramatta has been integral to Catholic presence in the area for 200 years. The first Mass was celebrated in 1803, the first church was begun in 1827 and a second church was built to A W N Pugin's design in 1854.²⁸ In the 1930s, the third St Patrick's was begun and Pugin's church demolished, only the 1878 tower survived. In designing the new church, Clement Glancey and Associates explained that Pugin's church was simply a "celebrated relic of the past".²⁹ In February 1996, St Patrick's was destroyed by fire: all that remained were Pugin's tower and the side walls of Glancey's nave.

The design of the fourth church on the site by Romaldo Giurgola, recognises that "No space disappears completely".³⁰ With that in mind, Giurgola developed three principles to guide the project: "revealing the significance and timelessness of the complex", "understanding the historical value of the site", and honouring "its relationships with the surrounding urban environment".³¹ The central placement of the altar was critical to congregation and clergy celebrating the rituals together. Because Giurgola understood the need for the Cathedral to be seen as a fulcrum of the wider community he made sure the public space invited people in, while the inner space provided "a sublime narrative of spiritual life".³² How space was lived and perceived by the community was more important than how it was represented. The destroyed Cathedral church had faced a busy intersection so the church was reversed to open the new west end onto a newly conceived civic space. The tower was now at the east end. The "old church" became the entry, by way of a baptismal font to the new cathedral, and accommodated the Blessed Sacrament chapel, which is also used for daily Mass (Figure 4). Through new materials Giurgola recreated the proportions and echoed the forms of the earlier Gothic Revival church, which he faced with sandstone salvaged from the old church. Just as Wardell had worked with a nineteenth-century team to create an early Victorian masterpiece, so Giurgola worked with artisans, craftspeople, artists, metal-workers, glass-makers and sculptors to create a twenty-first-century masterpiece, thus honouring a centuries-old tradition of cathedral builders.



Figure 4. St Patrick's Cathedral, Parramatta, interiors; L the new cathedral space; R the 'font', entry to the new cathedral and blessed sacrament chapel in the new "old" cathedral space (source authors).

The adjoining new cathedral was not to compete with the "old", but to be a place where physical, social and liturgical space were united in form, community and spirit. The new shape had tiered seating on the two wide sides, with the altar, ambulatory and bishop's chair aligned horizontally, in the lowered central space (Figure 4). The assembly are part of the action, clearly visible to each other, made to acknowledge each other's presence, thus facilitating full and active participation. In Melbourne's cathedral, even though the sanctuary has been brought closer to the people, and the pews realigned, they cannot see each other, they watch the action performed by the celebrant (Figure 3).

St Anthony's Marsfield

In the 1960s, Enrico Taglietti was commissioned to design a new church for the Vincentian Fathers at Marsfield, Sydney. Here a predominantly Italian migrant community employed modern architecture to express their faith. Taglietti quoted Vatican II, Le Corbusier and Wright in his Brutalist design. Unlike St. Patrick's, Melbourne, here representational space is presented as lived space.³³ Taglietti interwove the codes of modernism which happened to coincide with broader notions of community outlined in the Vatican II documents. St Anthony's demonstrates the importance of conceiving the social space and physical space at the same time as making the ritual space. As Taglietti said: "The architecture is talking to you: it finds pleasure outside the architectural requirements. I like to quote Bruno Zevi when he says: 'Speak architecture'".³⁴

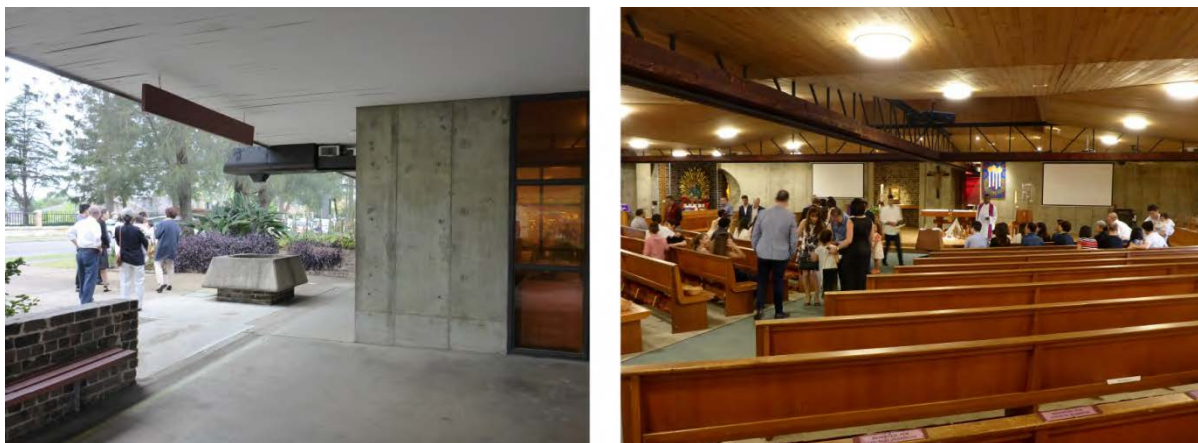


Figure 5. St Anthony's Marsfield, exterior detail and interior general view (source authors).

The building hugs the ground, its long low wide eaves emphasised by deep fascias. Taglietti modulated the abrupt off-form concrete exterior by modulating it with curved corners and amber glazing. The hierarchy between priest and congregation is 'flipped' by sloping the floor towards the altar which is flooded with light from above. Taglietti incorporated symbolic aspects by intersecting the two main roof beams at the base of the void below the skylight to form a cross.³⁵ These beams extend outside the building to carry water from the roof gushing into large containers (Figure 5). While Giurgola used civic space to invite people in, Taglietti used water, the symbol of baptism, to bring the community into their own worship space, for communal gathering or private devotion.

At the same time Taglietti expressed the architecture and gave it significance through the manipulation of three principal elements or planes: the earth plane, the gravitational place and the freedom plane.³⁶ Taglietti was able to ground his work at St. Anthony's at the intersection between Vatican II and the Modern Movement. He spoke of these three elements as:

... part of the Modern Movement ... They should be kept together. But the ones which have the greatest possibility for shaping an architectural space are the ceiling and the roof and therefore it seems in my view that the roof in my architecture became the dictation element. Everything is under the roof, everything is under, not only physically, but hierarchically.³⁷

St Anthony's is home to a vibrant multi-cultural low-socio economic community which fills the space every week. This ordinary space allows the encompassing of the sacred: the people acknowledge each other and Christ's real presence in their midst. It combines the people's house and God's house in the seamless merging of the physical, social and liturgical space. Vatican II gave the freedom to rethink liturgical space, without stylistic constraints, and it invited the community in.



Figure 6. Materiality: St Patrick's Cathedral, Melbourne, interior sanctuary crossing; St Patrick's Cathedral, Parramatta, exterior view entrance doors; St Anthony's Marsfield interior detail of main space, back wall (source authors).

Conclusion

The work of Henri Lefebvre offers a fruitful framework for teasing out inherent conflicts between how space is designed and built, how it is expected to be used by those who, in a sense, govern over it (representations of space) and how it is actually perceived and experienced by its users (representational spaces).³⁸ Although we are in effect discussing physical examples of architecture – their materials, decoration and spatial layout (Figure 6) – what has interested us most here, is churches as social spaces that incorporate the social actions of Christians as both individuals and as members of a local and a global Christian community. The social space of pre-modern/pre-Vatican II churches and the social space of modern/post-Vatican II churches are not separate. They interpenetrate one another, and superimpose themselves on one another. As physical spaces they have the same or closely aligned boundaries. As social spaces, these boundaries collide and intersect in the lived memory and experience of the individuals and communities who practice their rituals there. We have therefore used an approach that does not analyse things in space or the

material elements that bound the space but analyses the space itself so that we can uncover the social relationships embedded within it.³⁹ Post-industrial modes of production have produced a distance between the space of objects and the space of institutions, churches, as evidenced by our examples, appear to have kept it close.⁴⁰

In this paper we have just begun to tease out the impact Vatican II had on architecture – reordered, designed anew, or designed fit for purpose – in spatial terms; we highlight the challenges inherent in the clash of cultures when ideologies collide and play out in space, when physical, social and liturgical space are at odds, and when they are conceived together in harmony. The people, the assembly, need to make sense of this. But the implications of Vatican II are far wider than Catholicism.

Architecture is of its time (Figure 6). Our three churches, St Patrick's Melbourne, St Patrick's Parramatta and St Anthony's Marsfield, demonstrate living with change, because cathedrals and churches are not museums, but part of a living faith tradition. How we adapt and respect tradition raises questions about changing values and understandings of heritage and local/global interpretations. Understanding what our culture and the patrimony of the Catholic church are is critical in order to value a shared heritage. Because the church building and what happens inside it are an integrated whole.

Endnotes

¹ Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, D. Nicholson-Smith, trans. (London: Blackwell 1991), 87-9.

² Pope John Paul II, "Discorso del 7-12-1985 ai Padri del sinodo dei Vescovi" in *Insegnamenti di Giovanni Paolo II*, vol. VIII, 2, 1985, p.1443. Cited in: Vincenzo Carbone, 'Il concilio vaticano II: luce per la chiesa e per il mondo moderno', http://www.vatican.va/jubilee_2000/magazine/documents/ju_mag_01051997_p-21_it.html [Accessed 1 February 2017]

³ Anthony J Kelly CSSR, 'The architecture of faith', in Richard Falkinger, *Ringling the Changes: New Liturgy versus Heritage, Chronicles 1971-2000*, (Melbourne: David Lovell, 2002), x

⁴ Refer to the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, solemnly promulgated by his holiness Pope Paul VI on December 4, 1963.

⁵ Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 17.

⁶ Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, 39.

⁷ Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, 161.

⁸ Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, 18.

⁹ *Consecrated for Worship: a Directory on Church Building*, 2006, Catholic Bishops' Conference of England & Wales, Catholic Truth Society, London, ISBN 1 86082 384 - Do744.

¹⁰ *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, 1963 n. 124

¹¹ Falkinger, *Ringling the Changes*, Introduction

¹² 'And when churches are to be built ...' *Preparation, planning and construction of places for worship*, Australian Catholic Bishops Conference, 2014, Liturgy Brisbane, 16: 7

¹³ *Decree Ad Gentes* (to the people) (Chapter III particular churches, 21 and 22)

¹⁴ Decree on Ecumenism *Unitatis Redintegratio* Ch 11 the practice of ecumenism 8

¹⁵ Emily T. Cooperman, "Romaldo Giurgola", *American Architects and Buildings* database, https://www.philadelphiabuildings.org/pab/app/ar_display.cfm/110256 [Accessed: 17 March 2017]

¹⁶ Kenneth Frampton, "Foreword" in Ehrman Mitchell & Romaldo Giurgola, *Mitchell/Giurgola Architects* (New York: Rizzoli, 1983), 8.

¹⁷ Romaldo Giurgola, "Constants" in Mitchell & Giurgola, *Mitchell/Giurgola Architects*, 16.

¹⁸ Ettore Tadi (ed.), *Enrico Taglietti. Architect in Australia* (Milan: Lodigraf, 1979), 11.

¹⁹ Manfredo Tafuri, *History of Italian architecture 1944-1985*, Jessica Levine, trans. (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1989), 7-9.

²⁰ Gevork Hartoonian & Patrick Stein, "Revisiting the Void: An Interview with Enrico Taglietti", 16 December 2014. etti" <http://www.fusion-journal.com/issue/006-fusion-the-rise-and-fall-of-social-housing-future-directions/revisiting-the-void-an-interview-with-enrico-taglietti/> [Accessed 17 March 2017].

²¹ Hartoonian & Stein, "Revisiting the Void".

²³ Taglietti in Paola Favaro (2005) Interviews with the Canberra Architect Enrico Taglietti, *Architectural Theory Review*, 10:2, 55-65, [DOI: 10.1080/13264820509478541]

²³ Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, 38.

²⁴ Pugin's two great rules for design are "1st that there should be no features about a building which are not necessary for convenience, construction or propriety, and 2nd that all ornament should consist of enrichment of the essential construction of a building" (A W N Pugin, *True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture*, 1841, 1).

²⁵ Falkinger *Ringling the Changes*, Introduction.

²⁶ Refer to the YFA P/L Memorandum, Internal improvements to St Patrick's Cathedral, 29th July 1970, reproduced in Falkinger, *Ringling the Changes*, 2.

²⁷ Roy Simpson's philosophy is further exemplified in the new Diocesan offices and presbytery, built largely underground adjacent to the Cathedral.

²⁸ Brian Andrews, *Creating a Gothic Paradise. Pugin at the Antipodes*, TMAG, Hobart, 2002

²⁹ Romaldo Giurgola, *Luminous Simplicity: the Architecture and Art of St Patrick's Cathedral Paramatta*, Macmillan Art Publishing, Australia, 2006, p.43.

³⁰ Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, refers to the city to Troy, but it is equally valid on this site.

³¹ Romaldo Giurgola, *Luminous Simplicity*, 35.

³² Romaldo Giurgola, *Luminous Simplicity*, 37.

³³ Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, 39.

³⁴ Paola Favaro (2005) Interviews with the Canberra Architect Enrico Taglietti, *Architectural Theory Review*, 10:2, 55-65, [DOI: 10.1080/13264820509478541], 61.

³⁵ Heritage Council of NSW, HeriCon Consulting in Association with Colleen Morris and Peter Spearritt, *The Modern Movement in NSW, a thematic study and survey of places, Part 4*, August 2013, 78 (refer to section 'Spiritual', pp.75-80).

³⁶ Taglietti quoted in Favaro, 58.

³⁷ Taglietti quoted in Favaro, 59.

³⁸ Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, 38-9.

³⁹ Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, 87-9.

⁴⁰ Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, 149.