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Antique Polychromy Applied to Modern Art and Hittorff's Saint Vincent de Paul in Paris, the Architectural Showpiece of the Renouveau Catholique

MICHAEL KIENE, PH.D.





acques-Ignace Hittorff (born Karl Jakob Hittorf, 1792-1867) realized one of the most remarkable artistic careers of the nineteenth century. He was linked to distinguished European scholars, artists, and royal houses and embodied some of the broad contradictions of the age. The son of a humble Cologne tinsmith, Hittorff became a highly distinguished architect and scholar. He was showered with honors and elected to many of the most prestigious academies and scientific associations in Europe and the Americas, perhaps in part as a result of his interest in technical knowledge. On 14 March 1844, in Washington, D.C., he became a member of the National Institution for the Promotion of Science, founded in 1840 as the heir to the mantle of the earlier Columbian Institute for the Promotion of Arts and Sciences. It was later renamed the National Institute, and eventually became a part of the Smithsonian Institution.

From 1817 onwards Hittorff served as inspector of the *Menus-Plaisirs*, the royal institution for the decoration of court festivals. In 1818 he followed fellow and friend Jean-François-Joseph Lecointe (1783-1858), and their teacher François-Joseph Bélanger (1744-1818), as directors of the *Menus-Plaisirs* and as Architect of the King (*architecte du Roi/de Sa Majesté*). Hittorff was rewarded with a salary of 3.500 francs per year, free housing and royalties for special commissions. From 1818 to 1823 Hittorff also functioned as *architecte de Monsieur*, and from 1819 to 1823 as the Louvre's Architect of the Museum. Politically dexterous, he served five different governments in France and was influential in shaping the urban landscape of nineteenth-century Paris — a city praised as "the metropolis of modern civilization" since Napoleon's conquests made it the artistic showpiece of the world.

Hittorff's architectural career began during the last years of the first Empire, barely two years after his arrival in the French capital. In cooperation with his teacher and mentor François-Joseph Bélanger (1744-1818), the young man, then just 18 years old, was involved in the 1810 design of the *Halle au Blé* (also called *Halle aux grains*, the grain halls), in *Rue de Viarmes* (I^{er}, destroyed 1885). Architecturally it was one of the first cast-iron constructions in nineteenth-century France. He created and laid out some of the most famous squares and avenues of Paris, including the *Champs-Élysées* (1834-1843), the *Place de la Concorde* (1833-1853) and the *Place de l'Étoile* (1853-1868), and even designed the *Bois de Boulogne* (1852-1855). Indeed, the very look of public spaces in Paris, with its grand boulevards and ornate street lamps, was shaped by his designs.

In his academic training Hittorff assimilated the principles of Beaux-Arts design, but he extended his particular interest in classicism while travelling to Italy, and in particular to Sicily, from 1822 to 1824. He did this at his own expense and not as a fellow supported by an institution or patron. He became interested in the use of color in ancient art, and following his travels he published two volumes and various articles on polychromy in art and architecture. He was one of the first modern scholars to recognize that Greek architecture and sculpture was originally painted brightly and was multi-colored. Expecting his ideas

¹ Theophile Lavallée, ed., Le Diable à Paris (Paris: 1845), Histoire de Paris, 1.

to provoke much controversy he even kept at his home some souvenir specimens of polychrome stone fragments from his travels, evidence with which to convince opponents.

Hittorff always paid careful attention to technical innovations of all kinds. He finished the northern railroad station in Paris (1859-1865), his last and perhaps biggest commission of all, for Baron James de Rothschild (1792-1868). In this, due to his advanced age, he was assisted by his son Charles-Joseph (1825-1898), and by an American student (the second American citizen to study architecture in France at the *École des Beaux-Arts*, now *École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts*), Henry Hobson Richardson (1838-1886). However, the building that best represents his aesthetics and research interests, his pursuit of innovation, and his political maneuverability, is undoubtedly the Basilica of St. Vincent de Paul in Paris.

This was no ordinary church. From the beginning it was exceptional, located on a hill overlooking the city-center of the French capital and at the edge of the rapidly expanding northern region of the city. Earlier, new churches in this part of the capital were located at the foot of Montmartre. The new *quartier*, nowadays unpretentiously called the X^e arrondissement, was originally named *Nouvelle-France*. It was the location of the motherhouse of the Congregation of the Mission, founded by St. Vincent de Paul. The motherhouse was sacked during the French Revolution, and the rebuilding of a church honoring St. Vincent de Paul embodied the restoration of the Catholic Bourbon monarchy and the role of the Church in a post-revolutionary society. The twin-towered structure, dedicated to this saint revered by the Bourbon family, was designed to be a dominant artistic showpiece in the rapidly growing neighborhood.

In 1824, while returning from Italy, Hittorff's father-in-law, Jean-Baptiste Lepère (1761-1844), received the commission for this church in Paris. It is not documented precisely when, but soon Lepère passed the work to Hittorff. That said, until the building was finished, he never gave up supporting his son-in-law when difficulties presented. For example, in 1842 when criticism arose of the polychromy of the exterior and interior of the church, and in particular of the façade, he and Hittorff published an open letter to opponents of their design, including Baron Georges-Eugène Haussmann (1809-1891). Lepère died on 16 July 1844, having been still drawing on the scaffolds of St. Vincent only three months earlier. On the funeral monument of the Lepère and Hittorff family, Hittorff paid tribute to his father-in-law, honoring him as their spiritual director.

From here on Hittorff's career was tied to the Bourbons. Eager to demonstrate their recapture of the throne, and in equal measure their 'devotion' to Catholicism, likewise freshly restored in *Renouveau*, the two Bourbon Kings, Louis XVIII and Charles X, lavished

² Jacques Ignace Hittorff and Jean-Baptiste Lepère, *Mémoire présenté par MM. Lepère et Hittorff, Architectes, à M. le Préfet de la Seine*, off-print from the *Journal de l'Artiste* (Paris: 1842). A copy with handwritten annotations and post-publication corrections is preserved in the ULC, call-no. K5/83. A pre-print version was in the Municipal Archives of Cologne, call-no. Best. 1053, Nr. 6, fol. 91-100 (squeezed in after fol. 101). The original report may have been destroyed with the collapse of the archive in March 2009. A replacement can be found on a security microfilm, now available in the Digital Municipal Archive: www.historischesarchivkoeln.de/struktur.php?lang=de&modus=show&a=3&b=15&c=227.



Jacques-Ignace Hittorff: Saint Vincent de Paul. Héliogravure signed by Eduard Baldus, Paris c. 1850.

Erich Schild, Aachen



scarce resources on this ancient holy ground to commemorate their sanctified ancestor, whose bones had been dug up in the *Révolution*. This gave rise to a veritable Vincent de Paul revival.

Following the July Revolution, in 1830, the Minister of the Interior for new King Louis-Philippe, Marthe-Camille Bachasson, Count of Montalivet (1801-1880), appointed Hittorff a second time as architect of the Basilica of St. Vincent de Paul. Consecrated in 1844, i.e. almost at the end of the reign of Louis-Philippe, this church embodied the architectural principles of his reign. Hittorff had been recommended to Louis-Philippe by international traveler and savant Baron Alexander von Humboldt (1769-1859). Humboldt and Hittorff became friends in Paris, the Baron having arrived two years before the student of architecture from Cologne. Humboldt subscribed to the publications of Hittorff and introduced newly arrived artists, especially Germans, to him. In an 1857 newspaper article a certain M. Biercher from Cologne reported: "Every educated German who visits Paris and the house at no. 40 in Rue Lamartine has been received kindly by our Hittorff, the longtime owner."

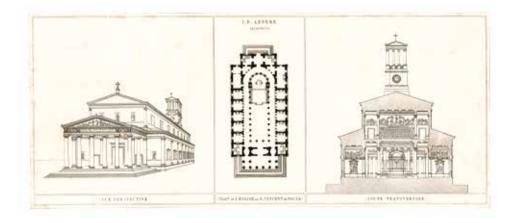
For decades Humboldt and Hittorff shared interests in the arts and sciences. Humboldt presented copies of Hittorff's designs for the church to architecture-loving Prussian King Frederic William IV (1795-1861)⁴ who, perhaps stimulated by these plans, and in competition with the French monarchy, insisted on finishing the long-dormant cathedral of Cologne — the German equivalent of the Catholic *Renouveau*.⁵ In 1833 Humboldt also promoted

³ "Jeder gebildete Deutsche, der Paris und das Haus Nr. 40 in der Rue Lamartine besucht, darf sich bei dessen langjährigem Besitzer, unserem Hittorff, einer freundlichen Aufnahme versichert halten," in M. Biercher, "Ein Kölner Maurer-Lehrling," Kölnische Zeitung (January 1857). Off-print in the ULC, Zeitungs-Ausschnitt-Sammlung Merlo 2, 187-209.

An example can be found on Ludwig von Zanth's calling card which bears the printed text "L. de Zanth / Architecte de S. M. le Roi de Wurttemberg," and in ink "Rue Lamartine 40," Biberach an der Riss, Brait-Mali-Museum, inv. 1989/9295b (at the bottom of the first page of an album headed by a photograph of the artist. The album bears the title "Voyage d'Italie / 2").

⁴ Preserved at the Kunstbibliothek in Berlin, reproduced by Karl Hammer, Jakob Ignaz Hittorff, "Ein Pariser Baumeister" (Pariser Historische Studien Stuttgart: 1968), 6, ill. 86-88; also in the catalogue of the Hittorff-Exhibition in Cologne, 1987: "Jakob Ignaz Hittorff, Ein Architekt aus Köln im Paris des 19 Jahrhunderts," no. 149-155.

⁵ Das Dombaufest von 1842, Faksimile edition of Johann Georg Niedenhoff, Gedenkbuch der durch Se. Majestaet unsern Koenig am 4 Sept. 1842 feierlichst vollzogenen Grundstein-Legung zum Ausbau des hohen Domes zu Köln (Köln: 1842). Reprinted for the Friends of the ULC (2009), cfr. my epilogue therein.



Jean-Baptiste Lepère/Jacques-Ignace Hittorff: Saint Vincent de Paul, c. 1824 (ULC).

Courtesy of the author



Hittorff as designer of the *Place de la Concorde*. Hittorff had lost the initial competition in 1828, but after the arrival of King Louis-Philippe to the throne it turned advantageous that the defeated Bourbons selected somebody else's designs.

The most spectacular feature of the Basilica of St. Vincent was the introduction of twin towers, unique to Parisian church architecture of the nineteenth century. Towers had been a crucial element in church-design following the Restoration in France.⁶ St. Vincent's, however, were magnificent and almost without precedence. The towers rise 55 meters high over an intricate series of ramps and steps (nowadays converted in part into a public garden) like the French church in Rome, the Trinità dei Monti (1503-1587) [whose Spanish Steps at the front were added in 1723-1726 by Francesco De Sanctis (1693-1740)]. On 21 October 1844, four years before the next revolution would banish Louis-Philippe, Archbishop Denis- Auguste Affre (1793-1848), who had already presided over laying the foundation stone, inaugurated the Basilica of St. Vincent de Paul.

The construction of the Basilica had carried on for twenty years, with some interruption. Soon after 1824 the Lepère-Hittorff building was stopped, but after 1830 and the arrival of Louis-Philippe it was immediately revived. We are fortunate that extensive plans for the church have survived. All of them are notable for their precision and clarity: drawings and engravings of the original scheme of Lepère and Hittorff (1824); Hittorff's earlier plans preserved in a beautiful volume in the parish of Saint Vincent in Paris (1833); and the later designs in the library of the ULC (1837); as well as the final stages in the Royal Collection, now incorporated into the Kunstbibliothek at Berlin (1844/1845), which document the décor and furnishings.

The enormous bulk of the mostly unpublished, inaccessible 800 detailed drawings for St. Vincent are held in the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum at Cologne. They are documented

⁶ Françoise Boudon, "Les Églises Paroissiale et le Conseil des Bâtiments Civils, 1802-1840," in Bruno Foucart, Françoise Harmon, eds., *L'Architecture Religieuse au XIX*^e Siècle. Entre Éclectisme et Rationalisme (Paris: 2006), 201.



Jacques-Ignace Hittorff/Jean-François-Joseph Lecointe: design for the hospice of Saint Vincent de Paul, 1828 (ULC).

Courtesy of the author

The Hittorff/Lecointe design was eventually used to construct the Hôpital Saint-Michel in the 12th arrondissement of Paris.

Courtesy of architect Régis Grima, Paris, France

thanks to the inventory of Erich Schild.⁷ The photographs he took in the early 1950s picture the drawings before they were damaged and enable at least some insight into the development of Hittorff's architectural design over twenty-five years of conceiving and finalizing the concept for the Basilica. These allow us to trace its evolution, as well as the modifications. For instance, in an unpublished building history Hittorff reports that when he took over public responsibility for the project (although Lepère may still have been involved to a certain extent), the foundations for the central nave had been finished up to the level of the pavement according to a previously published design.⁸

In 1833 Hittorff submitted his first project for St. Vincent de Paul. It was met with criticism by the public in the *Salon*, a bi-annual, official art exhibition held at the Louvre in the *Salon carré*. These engravings may be identical to the album now in the archive of the parish. At this time the *Salon* usually accepted a small number of architectural designs — sometimes in a section dedicated to engravings. When the rules for cataloguing changed, and the engravings were listed under the name of engravers (and no longer the architects), the previous "policy" of Hittorff to participate ended. He returned to the *Salon* at the end of his career with designs for a Temple of the Muses, exhibited as drawings under his name. In the catalogue of 1859 this destroyed temple was listed as no. 88.

Hittorff's friend, the architect Ludwig Wilhelm von Zanth (born Karl Ludwig Wilhelm Zadik, later Zanth, finally von Zanth, 1796-1857), presented colored drawings of the basilica in Monreale and the Royal Chapel in Palermo at the *Salon* of 1831. He had studied with Hittorff in Sicily during the winter of 1823-1824. For these von Zanth was awarded the

⁷ Erich Schild "Der Nachlass des Architekten Hittorff" (dissertation, Aachen, 1956), 139-160, 226, 234. I recall with gratitude the memory of the great and generous scholar, Professor Erich Schild. During our meetings in Aachen in 1995 he supplied me with an enormous amount of information on the preservation of the Hittorff-drawings during the war, and his research on them. During the last few decades most of the Hittorff drawings in the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum have not been available on request as they have been damaged by fungus/mold in the museum. Schild was also a very talented photographer whose work provided a major contribution in saving the memory of the later-damaged Hittorff drawings (except for some 25 restored drawings of Saint Vincent presented to the public during the Hittorff shows in Paris [1986] and Cologne [1987]; Paris, 1986-1987, "Hittorff, un Architecte du XIXe;" and Cologne, 1987, "Jakob Ignaz Hittorff, Ein Architekt aus Köln im Paris des 19 Jahrhunderts").

⁸ Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, prints and drawings, K 70, M 6, Do 29-30a; M 44, Do 385. Schild, "Der Nachlass des Architekten," 226, and 234.



Carlo Amati, Saint Vincent de Paul-variant with lightning conductors, 1830 (from Amati, Ricerche Storico [1830]; see note 16).

Courtesy of the author



gold medal. The Monreale drawings had an impact on the development of the paintings for St. Vincent de Paul.

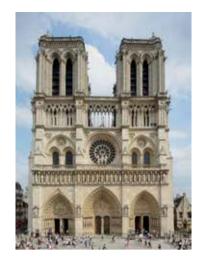
Several features of Lepère and Hittorff's 1824 project⁹ were integrated into Hittorff's updated concept: he kept the hexastyle Ionic temple portico, which he slightly revised by raising the number of columns from ten to twelve, done for iconographical and architectural reasons. Hittorff continued the established layout of a basilica, and also integrated the double-storied colonnade of the previous project into the church. The Ionic temple portico was much admired for its archaeological correctness, architect Nicolas-Auguste Thumeloup (1804-1864) writing: "The portico with an ionic order, derived from Greek models, at Saint-Vincent-de-Paul is one of the first buildings in Paris where the monuments of Athens have been conscientiously studied." ¹⁰

Instead of the twin-towered façade, the Lepère-Hittorff project proposed one single tower over the apse. This was standard in Classicist architecture of the early nineteenth century. The primary difference between this project and the Hittorff church, then, are its twin-towers. Hittorff did not hesitate in emphasizing the preeminent position of the church rising over old, pre-Restoration Paris.

Previously, though, in 1828, he and Lecointe had suggested a one-towered church (at the center over the sanctuary) in a project for the Hospital of St. Vincent de Paul. This was to be located next to the cradle (*Berceau*) of St. Vincent de Paul in the city of St. Vincent de

⁹ Jean-Baptiste Lepère, *Saint Vincent de Paul* (1823/24), ULC, call-no. K4/422-1, fol. 4v/5r; high 39 x large 57 cm; Engraved by "Bigant sc." There are several copies of the Lepère-Hittorff project in the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, described by David Van Zanten, "The Architectural Polychromy of the 1830's" (dissertation, Harvard, 1970; reprinted: New York, 1977), 29. The engraver belonged to a group of engravers commissioned by Hittorff for various publications. Others would be: Alexandre Giboy (1786-?); Victor Texier (1777-1864); Charles Lenormand (1835-?); Louis Normand the older, Charles-Victor Normand (1814-?); and the otherwise undocumented Clara Adam, Beaugan, Orgiazzi, Jean-Joseph Olivier, E. Ollivier, and Melchior Pérronard. Olivier and Pérronard independently exhibited their engravings in the *Salon* from time-to-time, but they were loyal to Hittorff's commission and not attempting to further their own reputations.

¹⁰ N.A. Thumeloup, Le portique ionique d'architecture grecque de l'église Saint-Vincent-de-Paule est un des premiers édifices, à Paris, ou le style des monuments d'Athènes ait été consciencieusement étudié (Paris: Leçons élémentaires d'architecture, 1842), 92.



The façade of Notre Dame de Paris. Photo by Peter Haas / CC-BY-SA-3.0



Paul in Gascony, in the south-west of France, diocese of Dax.¹¹ The design was published by a leading lithographer in nineteenth-century Paris, Godefroy Engelmann, in 1828.¹² The project in Gascony was supported, according to its detailed inscription, by members of the Royal Family. The text mentions in particular Ferdinande-Louise de Bourbon (1798-1870), Duchess of Berry, Princess of Both Sicilies, and mother to heir of the throne Henri-Charles-Ferdinand-Dieudonné, Duke of Bordeaux, Count of Chambord (Henri d'Artois, 1820-1883).¹³ Following the sudden end to the Bourbon dynasty in 1830 the project in Gascony lost its sponsors and was never built.

The new political situation was not easy to cope with for artists like Hittorff. Some insight into this is found in the never-printed 1837 German edition of a book by Gell and Gandy on the excavations of Pompeii, which Hittorff intended to dedicate to the Duchess

¹¹ John E. Rybolt, C.M., *In the Footsteps of Vincent de Paul. A Guide to Vincentian France* (Chicago: Vincentian Studies Institute, 2007), 285-293; Pierre Coste, C.M., "Le Berceau de St. Vincent de Paul dans la première moitié du XIX^e siècle," *Bulletin de la Société de BORDA* (1914), 97-116, and 169-184.

¹² Inscription: "VUE PERSPECTIVE DE L'HOSPICE DES INCURABLES DE S^T VINCENT DE PAUL / fondé par / S. A. R. MADAME DUCHESSE DE BERRY, en 1828 / SOUS LE MINISTRE DE M^r LE V^{te} DE MARTIGNIAC / sur les projets / de MM. J. Lecointe et Hittorff / Architectes du Roi / SOUS L'ADMINISTRATION DE M^r LE B^{on} DE CAUNAN PREFET DES LANDES / Le paysage par F.A. Pernot — Lith. de Engelmann, rue du faub. Montmartre N° 6 — L'architec.^e par Chapuy," diameter 28, 8 cm, ULC, call-no. K 13/314, fol. 43; Michael Kiene, *Die Alben von Jean-François-Joseph Lecointe (1783-1858)*. *Architekturen, Skizzen und Visionen* (Cologne: Schriften der Universitaets- und Stadtbibliothek Koeln, 2005), 14, inv. no. L189; cfr. on Hittorff and the Duchesse de Berry in particular, Coste, "Le Berceau de St. Vincent," 101, 105, 108, 178, 182; Paris, Archives Nationales F¹⁵.809.

¹³ Historiography remembers him as a "miracle child" (*enfant miracle*) because his father was assassinated on 13 February 1820, half-a-year before his birth. This is why tormentors of his mother were arrested on 21 November 1820 until enough witnesses were present to confirm the legitimate birth of the heir to the Throne. Thereafter the newly born child was immediately praised to fulfil the "vow of all true French." "*Enfin l'évènement a prononcé; l'évènement que nos aïeux appelaient le Jugement de Dieu a comblé les vœux des vrais Français. Le prince qui nous fut promis est né. Il continuera cette race auguste, sous le sceptre de la quelle la France marche depuis tant de siècles à tous les genres de gloire, de liberté et d'illustration. Pour apprendre les vertus qui font les rois et les héros, il n'aura qu'à lire l'histoire de ces ancêtres," in Journal de Paris (1820), no. 274, p. 1.*





Jacques-Ignace Hittorff: façade of Saint Vincent de Paul, 1837 (ULC); Engelmann, chromolithography of Saint Vincent de Paul. Cologne, Adenauer Collection, c. 1851.

Courtesy of the author



of Berry.¹⁴ In his chapter, written for the French translation of this book in 1827, Hittorff dealt with mosaics and theatres. In the edition he included a view of the forum of Pompeii, and he "recycled" this particular view into a set for the unexecuted 1828 project of a theatre in Cologne.¹⁵ This provided publicity for the French edition, at the time still in print. He would have included it in the never printed German edition of 1837, dedicated to a queen banished seven years previously! This illustrates almost a decade of allegiance to the Bourbons, even after their banishment and continuing thereafter during a critical period when installing the queen's son as legitimate heir to the throne was repeatedly discussed. Indeed, this would have been the dream of the "legitimists" in French politics. If they had succeeded, Hittorff would already have been on loyal terms with the dynasty.

During his studies in Italy, Hittorff stopped twice in Milan (on the way south and then on the way back to France) where he met with Carlo Amati (1776-1852), the leading architect of Classicism in Lombardy well-known for his Vitruvian studies. Hittorff submitted a copy of the print illustrating the 1824 Lepère-Hittorff-project to Amati for his critique. After examination, Amati carefully worded his opinion in a report preserved in the municipal collection of engravings in Milan. Therein he proclaimed Hittorff architect of St. Vincent, discussed advantages in detail, and suggested architectural improvements to the plan such as an increase from ten to twelve columns. In 1830 Amati himself re-used the illustration of the Lepère-Hittorff-project in a chapter on lightning conductors. In it he replaced the classical tower in the earliest known version of the Lepère-Hittorff print with a Neo-Gothic tower. Amati did not hesitate to combine both "styles" in one building, an idea not-so-

¹⁴ As one of the very first publications detailing his studies in Italy, Hittorff wrote a chapter for the French edition on the excavations at Pompeii by Sir William Gell (1777-1836) and John Peter Gandy-Deering (1787-1850), titled: "Pompeiana: The Topography, Edifices, and Ornaments of Pompeii" (London, 1817-1819). The editor of the French edition was engraver and lithographer Nicolas Hubert Roux the older: "Pompeiana," in William Gell, John P. Gandy, *Vues des ruines de Pompéi, d'après l'ouvrage publié à Londres en 1819* (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1827), In-fol., 143 pp., fig., pl., plans. Roux (active in Paris from 1831-1847) exhibited his illustrations for this book separately at the *Salon* of 1831. At the *Salon* of 1847 he previewed twelve lithographs from Hittorff's forthcoming monumental publication on polychromy, *Restitution du temple d'Empédocle à Sélinonte ou l'Architecture polychrome chez les Grecs* (Paris, 1851).

¹⁵ To be built at the Augustinerplatz, later Casinoplatz. Schild, "Der Nachlass des Architekten," 59.

¹⁶ Giacinto Amati, *Ricerche Storico-Critico-Scientifiche*, vol. 4 (Milan, 1830), ch. XXV, plate between pp. 160-161 (see: https://archive.org/details/ricerchestorico12amatgoog); cfr. Caterina Mutti, "Carlo Amati e i suoi rapporti con Jacques-Ignace Hittorf," in *Arte Lombarda*, 2nd ser. 12 (1998), 63-67.

easy to accept for a purist — and certainly not possible during the "battle of styles" waged over the second half of the century.

As has been noted, the most decisive new feature of Hittorff's design for St. Vincent was its twin-towered façade, ¹⁷ similar to Notre-Dame in Paris (1163-1345), but also prominently used in the French church in Rome, the Trinità dei Monti. Jean-Nicolas Servandoni (1695-1766), also, re-introduced a post-Gothic twin-towered façade to the architecture of the modern church at Saint-Sulpice (1631-1732) in Paris. The victorious designs of a basilica for the 1801 *Grand Prix* competition, by Hippolyte Lebas (1782-1867), eventually paved the way for Hittorff's revival. ¹⁸ These prints included a colonnade in the interior of the basilica, apart from the twin-towers, like Hittorff's later project. This was also true for the peculiar, sometimes criticized combination of the apse, main, and side aisles at St. Vincent.

In Italy, Hittorff studied grand public steps and ceremonial staircases in private and public buildings. In Turin and its suburbs he sketched the unexecuted stairway in the castle of Rivoli, and his ground-plan is nowadays the only trace of this Baroque project. No drawings from the architect Filippo Juvarra (1678-1736) are known to presently exist. As of 2010, the Austrian architects Erich Hubmann and Andreas Vass are building an escalator on this site, half-camouflaged in the slope of the hill. On the other side of Turin, located on top of a mountain, is the Basilica Superga, the *Salvatrice di Torino*. The royal castle and the royal basilica embrace the city, and the impact of such baroque scenography is visible in Turin's vast avenues, starting with *Corso Francia* in Rivoli.

In Rome Hittorff lived close to the Spanish Steps, which to an extent was an even more convincing model for his *amphithéâtre* in front of Saint Vincent de Paul in Paris. Engravings and early photographs of Paris document how dominant St. Vincent was before the tall buildings of the modern metropolis changed the scale of the neighborhood. Hittorff's 1833 plan for the basilica includes most of the features incorporated into the completed building

¹⁷ This héliogravure is signed by Eduard Baldus (1820-1882), famous for his photographic documentation of the Louvre, 1854-1855. The original in the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum has been damaged by fungus, cfr. note 2.

¹⁸ *Grand Prix D'Architecture. Projet couronnés par l'Académie d'architecture et par l'Institut de France* (Paris: Allais, Détournelle et Vaudoyer, 1802-1808 [2°]). Copy in Hittorff-library, no. 35.7; listed in Gunter Quarg, *Katalog der Bibliothek Jakob Ignaz Hittorff* (Cologne: Schriften der Universitaets- und Stadtbibliothek Koeln, 1993), 4.

¹⁹ ULC, call-no. K 13/140, fol. 15rA/24 (it will be assigned the inventory number H It. It. 20 in my forthcoming inventory of Hittorff's sketches from his journey to Italy).









Jacques-Ignace Hittorff: a longitudinal section; a section of the sanctuary; and a section of the apse, Saint Vincent de Paul, Paris, 1837 (ULC).

Courtesy of the author

a decade later.²⁰ The design depicts twin towers with virtually the same architectural décor as the finished structure. There would be some small, minor modifications, but the layout with niches and moldings remained unchanged.

The plan found in the album located at the parish of St. Vincent displays *laves émaillées* (enamel on slabs of lava stone) in the portico. There is a very similar collection of scenes in the design of 1837 found in the University Library, Cologne (from here on abbreviated to ULC). Even the chromolithography of 1851 retains similar scenes as those found in the 1833 design.²¹ Nevertheless, in 1838 Hittorff considered substantial changes,²² including integrating scenes from the "Life of Jesus" into a typological arrangement confronting the Old and New Testament. Hittorff published on Raphael Santi's (1483-1520) frescoes in 1844, when St. Vincent was inaugurated, and compared them to antique paintings. He presented his argument using a typical philosophical and rhetorical text, known as

²⁰ Donated to the archives of the parish in April 1942, by M^{lle} Elizabeth Cartier and M^{me} d'Astier de Valenches (born Cartier), heirs of Charles-Joseph Hittorff (1825-1898), son of Jacques Ignace Hittorff, in memory of their brother Pierre Cartier († 12 December 1941). The size of the album: 54 cm high, 40 cm across. The title reads: Élévations et coupes diverses de l'Église S^t. Vincent de Paul. Inside there are six mounted drawings:

fol. 1: the rear of the church, 28 cm high, 20 cm across;

fol. 2: elevation of the exterior, 30.5 cm high, 47.4 cm across;

fol. 3: elevation of the interior, 30.5 cm high, 47.4 cm across;

fol. 4: section of the sanctuary and apse, 30.8 cm high, 47.6 cm across;

fol. 5: façade, 29.9 cm high, 24 cm across;

fol. 6: church and the square in front of it, 12.2 cm diameter.

A detail of fol. 6 is reproduced in the Catalogue Paris/Cologne, 1987, "Jakob Ignaz Hittorff, Ein Architekt aus Köln," p. 129, no. 147.

In addition, the parish archives keep two more drawings of unexecuted projects drawn to scale, which include free-hand corrections for windows towards Rue Bossuet / Fénelon. The archives also own yet another volume with mounted designs entitled, *Presbytère de St. Vincent-de-Paul*, *II*^e *projet*, *VI dessins*.

²¹ Hittorff, Restitution du temple d'Empédocle, pl. 24; Van Zanten, "Polychromy of the 1830's," ill. 34.

²² C. de Vaulchier in Catalogue Paris/Cologne, 1987, "Jakob Ignaz Hittorff, Ein Architekt aus Köln," p. 137, no. 147.

a *parallèle*.²³ This is also why Hittorff asked his friend Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres [(1780-1867), director of the French Academy in Rome from 1835 to 1841], to obtain copies of the paintings of Raphael in the *Stanze* of the Vatican palace in order to use them for polychrome *laves émaillées* in the façade of St. Vincent.

The very refined finished drawing from the ULC (approximately 1837), proves that the inclusion of Raphael copies did not come to fruition. ²⁴ Discussions of a change of iconography remained discussions. Comparing the ULC drawing with the chromolithography, different colors dominate the project: in the elevation of 1837 there are more blues and fewer gold pigments. Abroad, an interested audience immediately started analyzing this stage of Hittorff's project. In 1839 the first director of the Old Master Paintings Gallery in Berlin, G.F. Waagen (1794-1868), discussed Hittorff's plans for St. Vincent; ²⁵ and in Berlin in 1844/1845 Alexander von Humbold personally presented copies of the latest designs to the architecture loving King of Prussia, Frederic William IV. ²⁶ Hittorff in turn detailed, in his 1851 book on the Temple of Empedocles in Selinunte, contemporary achievements on polychromy in Berlin as found in the works of Karl Friedrich Schinkel (1781-1841) and Friedrich August Stühler (1800-1865). ²⁷

In a special section of his library Hittorff collected reviews by current art critics documenting their reception of his St. Vincent paintings. The interest was international. The German public received an uninterrupted flow of new information on the progress of the decorations, while the Imperial Academy in Vienna accepted Hittorff as a member, praising in particular his achievement at St. Vincent.²⁸

Hittorff planned *laves émaillées* for the paintings that were to be located on the façade of the church. No later church so extensively used enameled lava stone paintings in Paris. After much research on how to incorporate the polychromy of ancient Greece in modern architecture, Hittorff discovered the original polychromy in Selinunte, Sicily, during the winter of 1823-1824. He brought home specimens, over the surface of which

²³ Jacques Ignace Hittorff, *Parallèle entre les arabesques peintes des anciens et celles de Raphaël* (Paris, 1844). Copy in Hittorff-library in the ULC, no. 485.13. This was published in English that same year: Jacques Ignace Hittorff, "On the Arabesques of the Ancients, as Compared with those of Raphael and his School," in Ludwig Gruner, *Description of Fresco Decorations and Stuccoes of Churches and Palaces, In Italy During the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (London, 1844). Hittorff also arranged his own drawings from Sicily in two sections: *Sicile ancienne*, Hittorff-library in the ULC, no. 469, 2 vols.; and *Sicile modern*, Hittorff-library in the ULC, no. 470. This was an established rhetoric, in particular on aesthetics, mainly concerning whether or not Antiquity could serve as a model for contemporary art.

²⁴ For a detailed description of the technique, cfr. Michael Kiene, *Die Alben von Jakob Ignaz Hittorff. Die Bauprojekte, 1821-1858* (Cologne: Schriften der Universitaets- und Stadtbibliothek Koeln, 1996), pp. 105-110 (inv. no. 92-97), here p. 108 (no. 94).

²⁵ Gustav Friedrich Waagen, Kunstwerke und Künstler in Paris (Berlin, 1839), 764-765.

²⁶ Hammer, "Ein Pariser Baumeister," p. 154, notes 17, 29.

²⁷ Hittorff, Restitution du temple d'Empédocle, 744 (on Schinkel and on Frederic William IV). On Stuehler, he wrote that he built "Le plus beau monument moderne de la capitale de Prussie…" with "les laves émaillées peintes, elle eut sa source dans la présence à Berlin, de plusieurs échantillons de cette peinture que j'adressais en 1833 à M. BEUTH, directeur de l'Institut Royal des arts et métiers, en insistant auprès de ma honoré ami, sur l'utile et rationnel emploi de cette inaltérable technique à la décoration de l'extérieur des édifices. Parmi ces échantillons se trouvait une dalle circulaire d'une assez grande dimension."

²⁸ L'Artiste (1845), 160; following the publicity of his drawings presented to the Prussian King there was continued interest in St. Vincent in Germany, cfr. *Notizblatt der Allgemeinen Bauzeitung* (1851-53), 67; *Das Kunstblatt* (1857), 95.

were scattered traces of the original color — more than 2000 years old. He kept them in order to convince doubters. The chromolithography in his book on the Temple of Empedocles is a testament to his fascination for modern reproduction techniques, and illustrates his concept and its impact in color.²⁹ The print shows the sequence of *laves émaillées* for St. Vincent. However, soon after completion they were taken down when public disapproval arose, fostered by the clergy and by Hittorff's arch-enemy Baron Haussmann. Thus the only way to truly appreciate this crucial concept is through looking at his designs and the chromolithography. Two *laves émaillées* plaques were taken from the deposit of art works of the city of Paris to be displayed, but they are currently exhibited under difficult illumination conditions and hang much too high on the wall. This makes it difficult to discover them in the dark, or to enjoy looking at them. In 2010 the Holy Trinity was remounted in its original location above the entrance.

The panels of *laves émaillées* on the façade is a spectacular, unusual prelude to the even richer paintings found in the interior. In 1842 Hittorff and Lepère wrote a summary of their artistic decisions for painting indoors.³⁰ Explicitly, they modeled St. Vincent after the cathedral of Monreale, built from 1174 to 1182, which Hittorff had sketched in Sicily with Ludwig von Zanth. In his very refined, almost sublime, 1837 drawings Hittorff provided a possible inspiration for future painters decorating the interior of St. Vincent. At the time he hoped Dominique Ingres might be engaged for this commission, but ultimately one of his pupils was hired.

Hittorff was an eye-witness to the fiery destruction of San Paolo fuori le Mura, Rome, in 1823.³¹ With its rebuilding, a kind of early Christian revival spread in European Classicist architecture. For example, the church of Saint-Philippe-du-Roule (1774-1784) in the Faubourg Saint-Honoré by Jean François T. Chalgrin (1739-1811) marked a new reception to Early Christian art in Paris. Hittorff changed one principal feature of the earlier Lepère-Hittorff project: the side chapels, four on both sides, no longer included walled divisions and were simply separated by grillworks. Here, Hittorff created an impression of a five

²⁹ Chromolithography was a new technique for printing in color, protected by copyright thanks to Godefroy Engelmann († 1897). The reproductions replaced the only available earlier technique for printing in color with (at least in part) hand-colored engravings. Hittorff investigated state of the art techniques not only for his buildings but also for reproducing his drawings. The chromolithography for St. Vincent de Paul in Paris was ordered from Engelmann. He produced it at his printing company in Rue du Faubourg Montmartre N° 6 in Paris, not far from the (destroyed) home of Hittorff. Before 1827, Hittorff lived at Rue Coquenard N° 32, and after 1834 at Rue Coquenard N° 40 — i.e. the true heart of *Nouvelle France*.

Indeed, in a review on the architectural history of the cathedral of Bourges, Hittorff compared the chromolithographies in the publication with the illustrator's drawings in a collection of the Louvre. He praised "the beauty and truthfulness of the plates reproduced in chromolithographies" (*la beauté et du caractère de vérité qu'offrent toutes les planches exécutées par le procédé de la chromolithographie*). Jacques Ignace Hittorff, "Rapport sur les parties publiées de la monographie de la Cathédrale de Bourges, par MM. Arthur Martin et Charles Cahier, prêtres," in *Annales de la Société Libre des Beaux-Arts* 12 (1842), 163 (reprinted in: *L'Artiste* 3, série 3 [1843], 310-312).

³⁰ Hittorff/Lepère, Mémoire présenté par MM. Lepère et Hittorff.

³¹ On 16 July 1823, at 8 а.м., he wrote Lecointe a letter reporting what he saw that night. Municipal Archives of Cologne, call-no. Bestand 1053 (copies of the letters of Hittorff from Italy), Nr. 1, fol. 50v; compare to the digital copy as cited in note 2.

aisled basilica, like at Notre-Dame in Paris or Saint Peter's in Rome. Likewise, from 1823 to 1854, San Paolo fuori le Mura was rebuilt as a five-aisled Early Christian basilica.

Unlike his sources of inspiration in medieval Gothic architecture, Hittorff introduced a double-storied colonnade to St. Vincent, with an Ionic and Corinthian order instead of Gothic arcades. A gallery was located over the side aisles on the second floor. The construction of the roof made extensive use of cast iron, studied by Hittorff in separate drawings; the iron is unnoticeable to visitors who believe they look upon a traditional painted timber roof in the Early Christian style.

Hittorff had already used cast iron in the first building he was involved with, the grain hall of Paris (1810). He was particularly aware of how to use metal fittings, especially with regard to achieving unexpected effects in modern architecture. At the end of 1823 he discovered iron fittings in the antique architecture in Selinunte. He even brought several such pieces of metal back to Paris and, using socles, integrated them into his private collection ofantiquities. Together with his drawings this collection served as antique models relevant for modern architecture.³² In 1838, simultaneous to the building of St. Vincent de Paul, he used cast iron fittings at his Panorama-building in Paris (1838-1841, destroyed in 1856) on the Champs-Élysées (originally Ier; since 1860, the VIIIe arrondissement).

In his Paris guidebook of 1849 Félix Pigeory praised St. Vincent, one year after the second Revolution to take place in Paris during Hittorff's lifetime. He did not condemn it as a symbol of the recently banished regime; on the contrary, thanks to its combination of architecture, painting, and sculpture, he insisted St. Vincent would be "one of the most beautiful modern buildings of this type."³³

During the various stages of its construction Hittorff studied and re-studied almost every detail of St. Vincent. He left very few decisions to collaborators, who were given almost no chance to add personal variations to his design. Hittorff's copy-books of letters for St. Vincent provide indexes enabling one to trace the contracts with and payments to artists and craftsmen he had hired. His oversight is extraordinarily well documented in the collection held at the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum (particularly in the Schild photographs of the now-damaged drawings). The collections preserved at the parish of St. Vincent in Paris (1833), the ULC (1837), and in the former Royal collection in Berlin (1844-1845) also enable us to reconstruct some important steps in the development and design of this building.

The main principles of the design were detailed in the album of the parish, and were

³² In a letter, Hittorff reported on the discovery of metal fittings: "Quoique toutes ces constructions soient en général à joints nus nous trouvâmes dans un des temples l'emploi du fer et du plomb très multiplié." Quoted from the original letter in the destroyed Municipal Archives of Cologne, call-no. Bestand 1053 (copies of the letters of Hittorff from Italy), Nr. 1, fol. 80r; cfr. note 2.

Professor Clemente Marconi of the Institute of Fine Art in New York City is very familiar with the excavation site at Selinunte, and from him I have learned that similar metal fittings are an extraordinary find today. Among Hittorff's collection there are a noticeable number of iron fittings, now held at the Archaeological Institute of the University of Cologne. They are listed in the inventory of Henner von Hesberg (and others), "Die Antikensammlung des Architekten Jakob Ignaz Hittorff," in *Koelner Jahrbuch für Vor- und Fruehgeschichte* 25 (1992), 7-48.

³³ "Un des plus beaux ouvrages des temps modernes en ce genre." Félix Pigeory, Les monuments de Paris au 19^e siècle (Paris 1849), 161.



Jacques-Ignace Hittorff: funeral chapel of countess Marie Potocka, née princess Marie Soltikoff (1807-1845). Cimetière Montmartre, 4e div./Avenue de Montebello, Paris (IXe), 1845.

Courtesy of the author



maintained in an intermediary stage until the building was finished. A completed series of saints depicted in a solemn procession towards the sanctuary, by Jean Hippolyte Flandrin (1809-1864), ultimately utilizes warmer colors than the initial design. A similar change is noticeable in the enamels of the façade, moving away from "cool" colors, and is in line with the general development of the design. On the evidence of the drawings Hittorff should be considered as the person who conceived the program of the paintings, and his publications prove that he was a connoisseur of intricate iconography.

There was a general tendency in nineteenth-century Europe to coordinate all the arts into a whole. Richard Wagner (1813-1883) approached opera with what he termed *Gesamtkunstwerk*, integrating music, stage design, costuming, and ambiance into a coherent aesthetic. In Paris there was a similar impetus towards what was variously described as *alliance des arts* or *un'œuvre d'art total*. Among Hittorff's contemporaries this was called a *travail d'ensemble*,³⁴ and it was claimed by the architects of St. Vincent. Hittorff and Lepère were convinced they had achieved it in the building's architecture and decoration. Hittorff cited, of course, antique models for his synthesis of the arts. He found it in Greek architecture and the harmonious working together of many different crafts into what was called "ensembles."

Hittorff and Lepère insisted on one ingredient for this new concept, their *unity of design*.³⁵ Consequently they designed every part of the building, even suggesting — as architects — key notes to the painters. Not especially modest, Hittorff and Lepère wrote to Baron Haussmann, their opponent but also responsible for funding the Basilica: "Put the inevitable difficulties in perspective: your name will be attached to works that may in the future attain the renown of Periclean Athens, the interiors of the Vatican, and the cloister of the Carthusian monastery."³⁶ This is the epitome of diplomacy, persuading an opponent in order to reach their own goals, and might be considered an example of how Hittorff

³⁴ Quoted from *L'Artiste* (1842), 350-351.

³⁵ "Unité de création." Hittorff/Lepère, Mémoire présenté par MM. Lepère et Hittorff, 7.

³⁶ "Mettez ce désappointement inévitables en parallèle avec la perspective d'attacher votre nom à des ouvrages qui peuvent atteindre, dans la postérité, la renommée de Péricle d'Athènes, des salles du Vatican ou du cloître des Chartreux." Ibid., 18.

maneuvered politically to serve so many different governments in his lifetime.

Hittorff reasoned of his preference for the past, for a known aesthetic system, in one of his few English publications, as follows: "The study of futurity is speculative; the present is wrapped up in that which is to come; and it is the past only which is complete ...we gain knowledge and experience only from the past. The study of antiquity must therefore be as useful to ourselves, as it is beneficial and instructive to our fellow-creatures by the softening and elevating of our minds." But his appreciation did not preclude his ability to criticize antique art: "my sincere admiration for the oeuvre of antique art has never prevented me from recognizing in many productions of the ancients either an individual inferiority or foreign influence." Nevertheless, he thought it a model for contemporary nineteenth-century architecture, particularly essential issues like polychromy: "the paint in Paris rather than Athens is necessary to preserve materials and colors, more so than under the skies of Greece, Sicily, or Italy, to protect sculptures and their more important architectural parts. They require necessary assistance under a sunless sky" (weather conditions he deplored in Paris).

It was difficult to accommodate this priority in polychromy as Classicism reflected an aversion to color. Joachim Winckelmann (1717-1768) was insistent on the color of marble and white ashlar surfaces in antique art, and serious doubts on the use of color were raised by the secretary of the Academy of Fine Arts, Antoine C. Quatremère de Quincy (1755-1849). In 1780, de Quincy discovered traces of polychromy in diggings at the temple of the Olympic Jupiter in Agrigento, which in turn were studied in the many 1823/1824 sketches by Hittorff. But it was not easy for Hittorff to convince his contemporaries. It took several decades, from the 1823 discovery of polychromy in Selinunte to the 1851 publication of *Restitution du temple d'Empédocle à Sélinonte ou l'Architecture polychrome chez les Grecs*. For his research and this monumental publication Hittorff was elected a member of the *Institut de France* in 1852, following the architect Jean J.-M. Huvé (1783-1852). One year later he became a member of the most important scientific order of Prussia, the *Pour le Mérite* in Berlin, following Pierre-F.-L. Fontaine (1762-1853) — his great-grand-father-in-law, and a companion to his teacher Charles Percier (1764-1838).

Hittorff suggested a totally new polychrome façade of colors, resistant to the weather of Paris. The various stages of how to realize this concept were summed up in the *Restitution du temple d'Empédocle*. Previously, in 1827, Hittorff wrote a chapter on wall painting in Pompeii for the French edition of Gell and Gandy. In it he presented his own observations on encaustic painting, discovered during the ongoing excavations while he was there.

³⁷ Jacques Ignace Hittorff, "On the Polychromy of Greek Architecture," in *The Museum of Classical Antiquities* 1 (1851), 20.

³⁸ "Mais ma sincère admiration pour les oeuvres d'art antique ne m'a pas empêché de reconnaître dans beaucoup de productions des anciens ou une infériorité individuelle ou une influence étrangère... que la peinture est à Paris plus qu'à Athènes un moyen de préservation des matériaux et que si des couleurs aident sous le ciel de la Grèce, de la Sicile et de l'Italie à faire distinguer d'avantage et les sculptures et les parties les plus importantes des formes architectoniques, leur concours est sous ce rapport bien plus efficace et plus nécessaire sous un ciel privé de soleil." Hittorff, Restitution du temple d'Empédocle, 814; Cfr. Louis Hautecoeur, Histoire de l'Architecture classique en France, VI (Paris: 1955), 236-237.





Saint Vincent de Paul: moulding of the central door, and the capital in the portico.

Courtesy of the author



This antique technique applied colors dissolved in wax and warmed up for painting, then finally fixed to the wall with the aid of a paint scraper. Hittorff also collected publications in his private library on *émailles* (enamels), another technique utilized to add color.

The collection of *émailles* in the Louvre was described in two volumes of an 1853 inventory edited by Count Léon E.S.J. de Laborde (1807-1869),³⁹ someone Hittorff had collaborated with for decades. Also, while Hittorff and Lepère were busy with St. Vincent, in 1841 a book was published by Louis-Étienne Dussieux (1815-1894) on the history of enamels from ancient times to the present.⁴⁰ Hittorff had copies of both works in his private library. Based on this research he finally adopted for St. Vincent the *peinture en lave émaillée de Volvic* (enamel on slabs of lava stone from a quarry located in Volvic in the province Puy-de-Dôme). The development of this special technique came about thanks to the collaboration of three contemporaries: Count Gilbert Joseph Gaspard; Count de Chabrol de Volvic (1773-1843; who was from Puy-de-Dôme and supported, even insisted on using stones from quarries in Volvic⁴¹; and Ferdinand Henri Mortelèque (1769-1842, or 1774-1844; who developed the technique of how to produce *lave*).

Hittorff was so convinced by the *laves émaillées* technique that he founded a company to produce them, the *Société Hachette et C*^{ie} which he directed from 1832 until 1838. The

³⁹ Léon de Laborde, *Notice des émaux, bijoux et objets divers exposés dans les galeries du Musée du Louvre,* 2 vols. (Paris: 1853), Hittorff-library in the ULC, no. 613. The scientific collaboration of Hittorff with Count de Laborde started in 1830. Laborde was curator of antiquities at the Louvre from 1845 to 1848, and in 1850 he took over the collections of the Middle Ages and Renaissance. In 1857 he became director of the archives of the Second Empire.

⁴⁰ Louis-Étienne Dussieux, *Recherches sur l'histoire de la peinture sur émail dans les temps anciens et modernes et spécialement en France* (Paris: 1841), Hittorff-library in the ULC, no. 296.

⁴¹ While he was on duty many streets and boulevards, particularly the pedestrian sidewalks, were paved with volcanic stone from the quarries of Volvic in Puy-de-Dôme. Chabrol was a member of the Academy of Fine Arts and spent some time in Egypt under Napoleon. Here he may have met Lepère preparing the drawings for his famous volumes of engravings from the region. Like Hittorff, he possessed a talent for negotiating the different systems of government. For example, Chabrol was nominated *Préfet de la Seine* under Napoleon I^{er}, continued his services under the Bourbons, and was reappointed a second time under Louis-Philippe after 1830 (Adolphe Robert, Edgar Bourloton, and Gaston Cougny, *Dictionnaire des parlementaires français: comprenant tous les membres des assemblées françaises et tous les ministres français depuis le 1^{er} mai 1789 jusqu'au 1^{er} mai 1889 (Paris: 1889-1891; Reprinted, Geneva: 2000, s.v.).*

1834 address of this company was Rue Coquenard N° 40, Hittorff's house.⁴² However, orders were so infrequent and production was so difficult that Hittorff eventually decided to abandon his own company to escape forthcoming financial losses. In the *Restitution du temple d'Empédocle* he revealed the whole story and expressed his regret over the fiscal troubles, especially as he still believed in the process.

Letters and some correspondence detailing his commissions were until quite recently preserved in the municipal archives of Cologne, but they may have been destroyed when the archive buildings collapsed in 2009. Among these papers was a letter reporting on the otherwise undocumented Monsieur Hachette, a nephew of Mortelèque. Hachette knew the recipes for burning the *lave*, ⁴³ and he founded the first manufacture for *laves émaillées* in the suburbs of Paris (located in the *faubourg Saint-Denis*), giving his name to the company. Hachette died on 11 September 1847 according to a note in Hittorff's copy-book of letters. ⁴⁴ An associate of Hachette's, François Gillet (1822-1889), took over the enterprise and continued their manufacture, supplying *laves émaillées* for St. Vincent. In fact, the manufactory was just next door to its most important commission, at Rue Fénélon, N° 9 (it has since been replaced, in 1914, by a building featuring a beautiful polychrome exterior). ⁴⁵

An important series of Hittorff's drawings is preserved in the ULC collection illustrating applications of the *peinture en lave émaillée de Volvic* on various objects like clocks, chimneys, medals, columns, candelabras, and architectural decorations. Similar items were presented to the public in the Industry Exhibition, Paris, in 1834 (Hall 4, no. 113). A flyer for this show, held in the ULC, praises the advantages of enamel-technique: the objects do not alter when

⁴² Hittorff lived at Rue Coquenard N° 40, Paris (IXe), after 1824 (the house was destroyed following his death in 1867). Before 1968, unpublished photographs of various rooms in this house were held in the collection of M^{lle} Cartier (Hammer, "Ein Pariser Baumeister," p. 222, note 17). She donated her collection of the designs of Saint Vincent to the parish in 1942 (cfr. note 19). The canvas and the preparatory drawing of the portrait of *Madame Gaudry*, *née Hittorff* in her collection was passed to the Louvre after her death (RF 1963-114 and RF 1963-115) in 1968. The albums of Lecointe, as well as the photographs, were given to the École Nationale des Beaux-Arts in Paris in 1968, but the latter ones cannot be traced at the moment.

For further documentation on Hittorff's house, see Charles Ernest Beulé, Institut impérial de France, Éloge de M. Hittorff par M. Beulé, secrétaire perpétuel, Prononcé dans la séance publique de l'Académie des Beaux-Arts, le 12 décembre 1868 (Paris: 1868), 22; Charles Saunier, "L'attirance de l'art français au delà du Rhin, de Napoléon I^{er} à Napoléon III," in Revue des Études napoléoniennes 11 (1917), 58-86, plate between pages 70 and 71; M. Biercher, "Jakob Ignaz Hittorff, Vom Kölner Maurerlehrling zum französischen Akademie präsidenten," in Stadtanzeiger 500 (Oct. 4, 1931), off-print in the ULC, Zeitungs-Ausschnitt-Sammlung Merlo, II 154, 278-280; Catalogue Paris/Cologne 1987, "Jakob Ignaz Hittorff, Ein Architekt aus Köln," 348.

There are still today companies producing *peinture en lave émaillée de Volvic*, including one in Mozac: Marie-Line Chevalier produces such objects in her Atelier Saint-Martin, 63200 Mozac (2, rue de la Font Vachette). I would like to thank Marie-Line Chevalier for information generously forwarded from her private archives. The city of Longwy in Lorraine is also famous for its *émailles*.

⁴³ Hittorff, Restitution du temple d'Empédocle, 745.

⁴⁴ Municipal Archives of Cologne, call-no. Bestand 1053, Nr. 2 (volume containing copies of the letters of Hittorff on *laves émaillées*); cfr. note 2.

 $^{^{45}}$ P. Bruno Horaist, the present curé de Saint Vincent de Paul, cares for an abundant amount of documentation on this matter in the archives of the parish; among these papers are copies of several nineteenth-century leaflets documenting the later history of the *manufacture*, its owners, the location of the workshop, and the esteem with which contemporaries held it. After 1889 the company was continued by V^{ve} *Gillet*.

exposed to weather, the warmth of the sun, the constant rain, or when frequently used. The only secular piece of *peinture en laves émaillée* presently known to exist is found in the Chrysler Collection, Virginia: it is an exceptional table, similar to the drawings in the ULC. The work reflects the refined painting possible in applying the technique, and its absolute beauty.⁴⁶ Beyond that, there are several religious paintings, such as the altar antependiums in Notre-Dame de Lorette, built by Louis-Hippolyte Lebas (1782-1867).⁴⁷

Before proposing *laves émaillés* for St. Vincent, Hittorff examined the history of polychromy from antiquity to the present day, and published the results in his 1851 book. Attempts to incorporate polychromy into architecture, and related problems in wall painting, were well-researched. He evaluated various achievements made, particularly in the search for new, environment-resistant technique. He dedicated hundreds of folio pages to the discussion of encaustic painting, painting on stucco, and their imitations in modern French art: especially, attempts to revive antique polychromy by Leo von Klenze (1784-1864) found in the architecture of Munich; by Karl Friedrich Schinkel (1781-1841) in Berlin; and by Friedrich August Stühler (1800-1865). Finally, he decided to move forward, having given "three years of sacrificing much time and money, before I gave up direct involvement in painting on lave." 48

One reason Hittorff hoped to complete the *laves émaillées* for St. Vincent de Paul was because his previous attempt to revive encaustic painting at the tomb of the Countess Marie Potocka (born Soltikoff, 1807-1845) proved relatively unsuccessful. In *Restitution du temple d'Empédocle* he revealed that the encaustic paintings at the tomb in Paris needed restoration every six years, as the colors faded, transformed, or even almost fell off.⁴⁹ The polychrome tomb was restored yet again about ten years ago, and its present condition proves that Hittorff's disappointment with the problems of conservation was correct.

In smaller buildings in the gardens of the Champs-Élysées Hittorff tried painting on canvas covering the walls. However, strangely enough, he reported the canvases needed

⁴⁶ Table with *Lave émaillée* top, 1833, J.-I Hittorff designer, Hachette & Cie. manufacturer, Chrysler Museum, Virginia, Object Number 2001.21: see http://collectiononline.chrysler.org/emuseum/objects/viewcollections/chrysler/ (search for: Table Lave). I would like to thank David Van Zanten from Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill., for pointing out this important and only known extant specimen of *laves émaillées*. It was displayed at the exhibition "The Basilica of St. Vincent de Paul. Architecture of the Catholic Renouveau in Paris," held at De Paul University Art Museum, Chicago, Ill., September 30–November 20, 2010, cat. no. 9. The actual preparatory design is in the ULC, and is described and reproduced in Kiene, *Die Alben von Jakob Ignaz Hittorff*, inv. no. 65.

⁴⁷ Hittorff had a particular affiliation to this church. He participated in the competition for its design in 1823, and was married here to Elisabeth Lepère on 2 November 1824. Also, the funeral service for his father-in-law, as well as the memorial mass for Hittorff himself, took place in Notre-Dame de Lorette.

⁴⁸ Hittorff, Restitution du temple d'Empédocle, 744: "Je dus, après trois années de sacrifices de temps et de beaucoup d'argent, abandonner ma participation directe à l'exploitation de la peinture sur lave."

⁴⁹ "La conservation de la peinture à la cire a été assez satisfaisant pendant de six années; mais à partir de ce temps, les rouges ont commencé à foncer: les ornements en argent des écussons ont noirci, et les bleus, aussi bien que quelques fonds blancs, lorsqu'on les frottait, se détachaient à la surface par petites parties en une fine poussière; les verts et les jaunes et les ors étaient restés à peu près intacts. Toutefois, il est à considérer que la petite chapelle est élevée sur une hauteur dominante du cimetière, qu'est entourée de végétaton, et exposée par conséquent à toutes les intempéries, comme aussi aux émanations corrosives du temps de repos comme, au-dessus duquel le monument est construit." Ibid.

to be restored every spring.⁵⁰ To his knowledge, similar disappointing results were obtained in Belgium and the Netherlands. Therefore, finishing the *laves émaillées* at St. Vincent would be an unparalleled achievement in architecture, and also a way in which to revive the model of the ancients in creating an acceptable modern-day equivalent capable of resisting the environmental conditions of Paris. Hittorff wrote: "using historical paintings on the outside of our monuments was one of the most rational and magnificent elements of all architectural decoration. Once the procedure of *peinture sur lave émaillée* was sophisticated enough to replace with unquestionable superiority the mosaics of old …and offered the certainty of lasting longer; I had the intention to introduce them into the decoration of the portico of Saint-Vincent-de-Paul as well as to other parts of the building."⁵¹

Although the bulk of Hittorff's discussions on polychromy at Saint Vincent dealt exclusively with archaeological or technical problems, he offered something akin to an imaginary guided tour of his future building before ending his monumental book — expanding upon the iconography and message he wished to visualize: "The paintings of the portico must offer subjects taken from the Old and New Testaments; but the composition over the front door representing the Holy Trinity, accompanied by four prophets and four evangelists, is completed. This was painted by M. Jollivet, and ...I have commissioned this skillful painter and conscientious artist for all the paintings." ⁵²

The portico was praised for its archaeological correctness. Altogether it has twelve columns referring to the twelve apostles. The vestibule represents our earthly paradise and guides one to the heavenly paradise, the church. The sculpted ornaments of the doors depict wine and grain, sculpted and painted frieze patens, and garlands of flowers — the liturgical implications evident. For the main frieze Hittorff selected angel's heads. The capital is decorated with the crosier and a cross. Here Hittorff invented a unique Vincentian style for this building dedicated to Vincent de Paul. In the center are two cardinal virtues, faith and charity, as he felt it necessary to demonstrate "the personages necessary to explain the salvational influence of the patronage of the church on the priests, people of the world,

⁵⁰ "La peinture sur huile, quoique plus favorablement exposée, n'a pas offert la même durée pour la belle conservation des tons: les rouges ont changé bien plus tôt, et les blancs ont jauni d'une année à l'autre. Mais comme la coloration des constructions dans les Champs-Élysées doit être maintenue dans un parfait état de fraîcheur, que par conséquent les peintures y sont partiellement ou entièrement renouvelées à chaque printemps." Ibid.

⁵¹ "L'emploi de la peinture d'histoire, à l'extérieur de nos monuments, devient un des éléments les plus rationnels et les plus magnifiques de toute décoration architecturale. Dès que le procédé de la peinture sur lave émaillée fut assez perfectionné pour remplacer avec une incontestable supériorité la mosaïque des anciens, et permettre une application analogue avec une perfection beaucoup plus grande dans l'exécution et la certitude d'une durée plus longue, j'eus l'intention de le faire entrer dans la décoration du porche de Saint-Vincent de Paul et des autres parties du monument. Dans celles-ci les bandeaux et les frises des croisées et des portes, ainsi que les frises des entablements des trois ordres de l'édifice, sont disposés pour recevoir l'incrustation des laves émaillées, qui seront décorées d'emblèmes religieux et de riches ornements." Ibid., 820.

⁵² "Les peintures du porche, doivent offrir des sujets tirés de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament; mais il n' y a que la composition, au-dessus de la grande porte, représentant la sainte Trinité, accompagnée des quatre prophètes et des quatre évangélistes, qui sont exécuté. Ce tableau a été peint sur lave par M. Jollivet, et c'est d'après les dessins de cet habile peintre et concencieux artiste, que j'ai donné l'ensemble des tous ces sujets." Ibid.

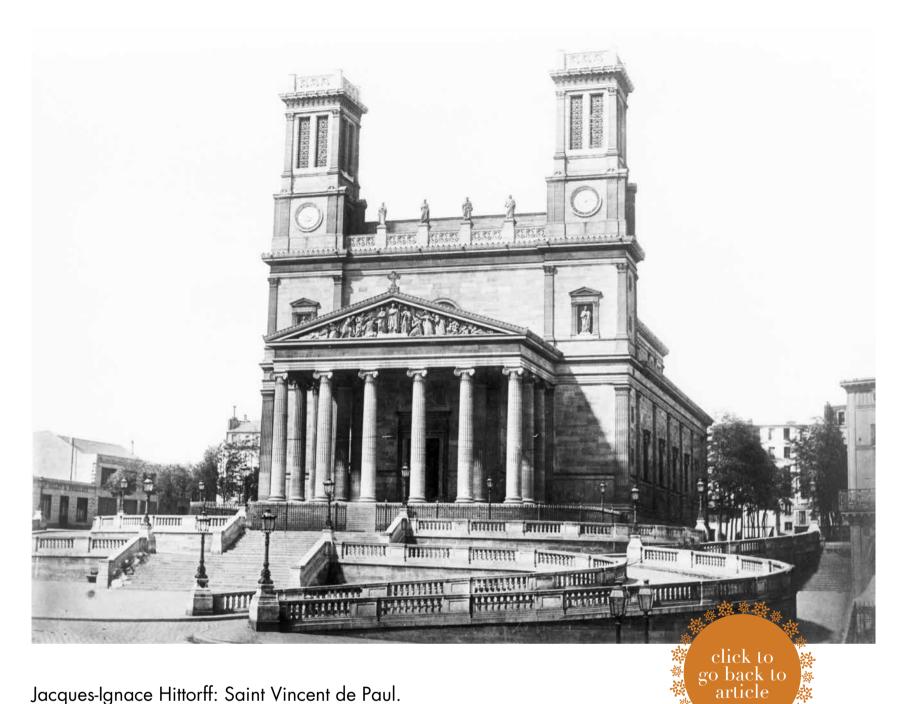
the muslims, the prisoners, and to express Vincent's influential well-known cooperation with institutions such as the Sisters of Charity, the orphanages, and the hospitals for the sick-poor."⁵³

The Basilica of St. Vincent de Paul in Paris, which might have seemed at first something of an academic exercise, a demonstration of archeological erudition, or even solely an attempt to revive architectural traditions of the past for the present, turned out to be tailor-made for the Vincentians and for the *Nouvelle France* of the Bourbons and Louis-Philippe. For Hittorff there was no rough distinction between past and present, there was instead an ever increasing flow of artistic knowledge ultimately headed toward an "eternal second Renaissance." In the introduction to his book on antique architecture in Sicily, on the very first page, he emphasized: "But the architectural principles of the Hellenists are the only true ones, the only ones that apply for all times, all people, and in all countries ...The attributes of the Supreme Being are unity and harmony, which are also the characteristics of poets, historians, orators, and philosophers; as well as the artists from Greece who were always inspired by these holy qualities." ⁵⁵

⁵³ "Les personnages nécessaires pour expliquer la salutaire influence du patron de l'église sur les prêtres, les gens du monde, les mahométans, les galériens, et exprimer sa puissante coopération aux immortelles institutions des sœurs de la Charité, des asiles pour les enfants trouvés et des hôpitaux destines aux malades pauvres." Ibid., 821-822.

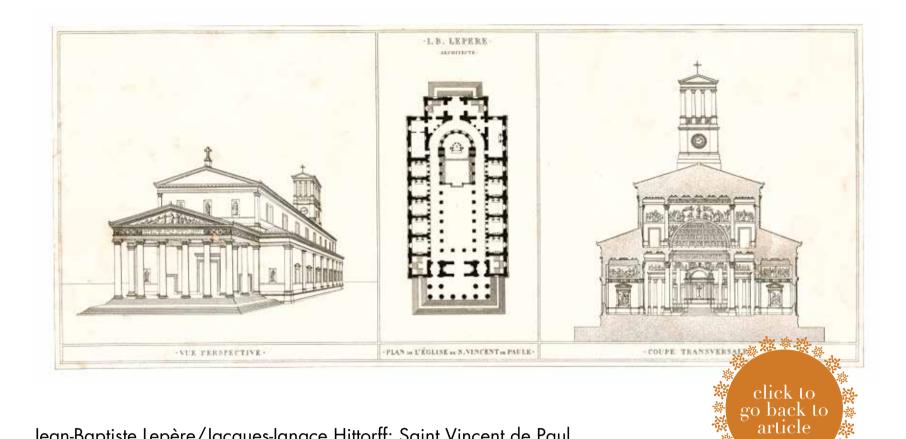
⁵⁴ Kiene, Die Alben von Jakob Ignaz Hittorff, 27.

⁵⁵ "Mais les principes de l'architecture des Hellènes sont les seuls vrais, les seuls applicables dans tous les temps, chez tous les peuples, pour tous les pays. … / Un Être suprême dont l'unité, l'harmonie étaient les attributs caractéristiques, et les poëtes, les historiens , les orateurs, les philosophes aussi bien que les artistes de la Grèce s'inspirèrent toujours de ces qualités divines." Jacques Ignace Hittorff, Ludwig Zanth, Architecture antique de la Sicile. Recueil des monuments de Ségeste et de Sélinonte, mesurés et dessinés par J.-I. Hittorff et L. Zanth. Suivi de Recherches sur l'origine et le développement de l'architecture religieuse chez les Grecs par J.-I. Hittorff, Text and atlas with 89 plates, Charles Hittorff, ed. (Paris: 1870).



Jacques-Ignace Hittorff: Saint Vincent de Paul. Héliogravure signed by Eduard Baldus, Paris c. 1850.

Erich Schild, Aachen



Jean-Baptiste Lepère/Jacques-Ignace Hittorff: Saint Vincent de Paul, c. 1824 (ULC).



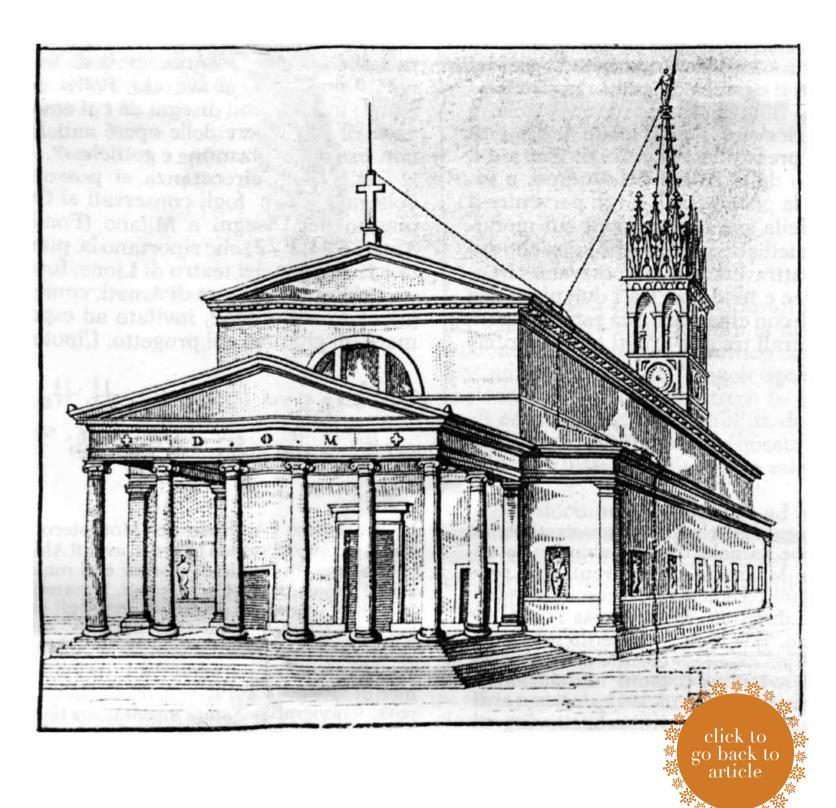


Jacques-Ignace Hittorff/Jean-François-Joseph Lecointe: design for the hospice of Saint Vincent de Paul, 1828 (ULC).

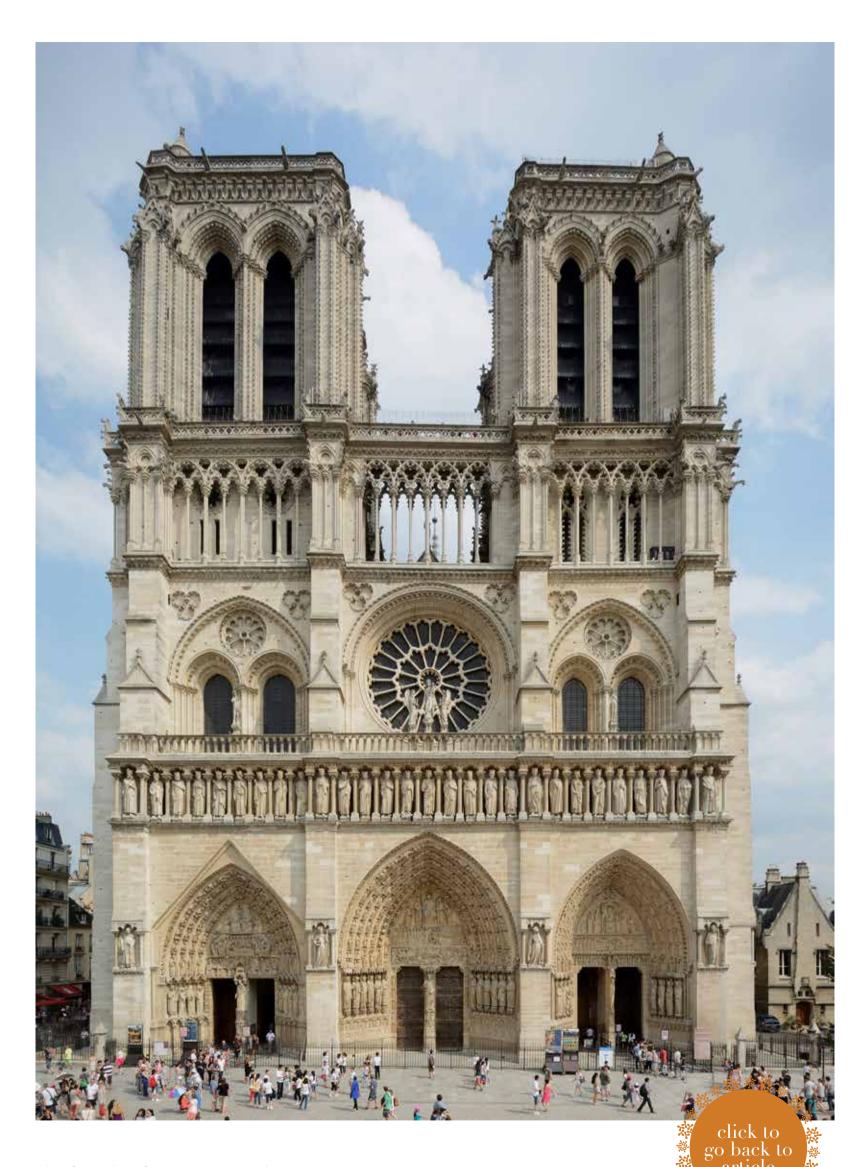
Courtesy of the author

The Hittorff/Lecointe design was eventually used to construct the Hôpital Saint-Michel in the 12th arrondissement of Paris.

Courtesy of architect Régis Grima,



Carlo Amati, Saint Vincent de Paul-variant with lightning conductors, 1830 (from Amati, Ricerche Storico [1830]; see note 16).



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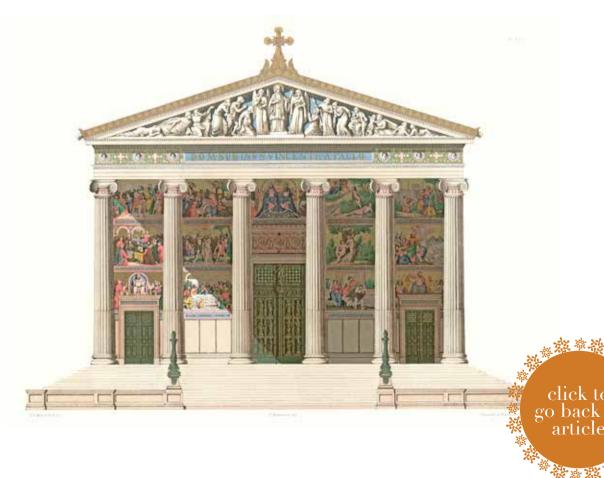
The façade of Notre Dame de Paris.

Photo by Peter Haas / CC-BY-SA-3.0



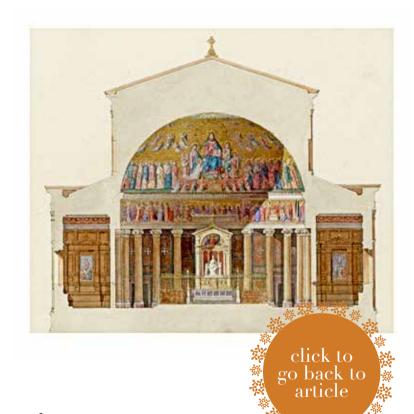
Jacques-Ignace Hittorff: façade of Saint Vincent de Paul, 1837 (ULC);

Engelmann, chromolithography of Saint Vincent de Paul. Cologne, Adenauer Collection, c. 1851.









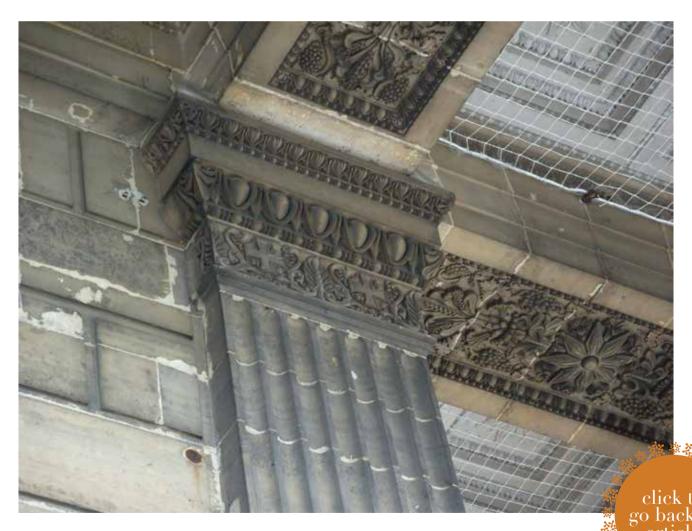
Jacques-Ignace Hittorff: a longitudinal section; a section of the sanctuary; and a section of the apse, Saint Vincent de Paul, Paris, 1837 (ULC).



Jacques-Ignace Hittorff: funeral chapel of countess Marie Potocka, née princess Marie Soltikoff (1807-1845). Cimetière Montmartre, 4e div./Avenue de Montebello, Paris (IXe), 1845.







Saint Vincent de Paul: moulding of the central door, and the capital in the portico.