

Printing and Collecting Architectural History in Belgium (1830–1860)

Antoine Schayes and “L’archéologie nationale”

Unearthed Aedicula



fig. 1 Temple-shaped aedicula, from Majeroux, Belgium. Gallo-Roman. Royal Museums of Art and History, Brussels, B000014-001.

fig. 1

In 1843, a small temple-shaped altar was excavated in Majeroux, near the city of Virton, in the southernmost part of the Kingdom of Belgium. This excavation yielded a series of objects and indications of an important Roman settlement that was much larger than the minor army camp it was initially thought to be. These findings were part of one of the first state-organized archaeological excavation campaigns of the young nation. In the 1840s and 1850s, objects were also regularly excavated during road, railroad, or canal works. The Majeroux excavation brings together two prominent strands in the image-building of the young Belgian nation, one being its spirit of industry, technological progress, and entrepreneurship, and the other its rich artistic and cultural history.¹

The altar, carved out of white limestone and measuring 50 centimetres in height, consists of the figure of a naked man holding what seems to be a veil above his head. This aedicula joined the first collection of national antiquities in the newly founded nation. The collection was part of the new national historical infrastructure, which Belgium quickly set about organizing after having declared its independence from the Netherlands in 1830. The museum holding this collection, founded in Brussels in 1835, was initially called the Musée d’armes anciennes, d’armures, d’objets d’art et de numismatique. Over the next decade, its collections grew under the impetus of its energetic director *comte* (Louis Léopold Marie) Amédée de Beaufort (1806–1858), but it was only in 1847 that a fulltime conservator was appointed to take charge of the collection’s inventory and catalogue. The aedicula appears in the first museum catalogue, *Catalogue et description du musée royal d’armures, d’antiquités et d’ethnologie*, of 1854, as item 241, where it is briefly described:

Autel votif en pierre de sable de 50 c. de hauteur 28 c. de profondeur et 20 c. de largeur; il a la forme d’une aedicule ou petit temple *in antis*, orné aux angles de quatre pilastres doriques et à la partie antérieure d’une figure en bas-relief représentant un homme nu qui tient un voile levé au-dessus de sa tête.²

The museum’s first conservator, who was also the author of that first catalogue, was Antoine Schayes (1808–1859). While de Beaufort, who issued from a French-Belgian noble family, had acquired his position through his largely inherited family network among the nobility and had his own financial resources, Schayes’ background was rather more humble. He became the conservator through hard work and networking, study, and travel. He was thirty-nine by the time he was appointed conservator, a position of some importance in the developing historical infrastructure of the new nation. By comparison, de Beaufort was already an administrator by the age of twenty-seven, in 1835. He became president of the Commission royale des monuments in 1836, a member of the board of the Bibliothèque royale in 1837, and the director of the national Administration des beaux-arts in 1841. In 1846 he was appointed both “Inspecteur général des Beaux-Arts, lettres et sciences” and director of the museum for painting and sculpture in Brussels.³

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The journey of the Majeroux aedicula is just one example of the way archaeological and art historical objects traveled in early mid-nineteenth century Belgium as part of the nation-building process. The objects were being unearthed, transported, included in collections, exhibited, described in catalogues, and made part of historical narratives. The travels of Antoine Schayes—both literally, in his search for architecture, objects, and traditions related to national history, and symbolically, in traveling through national bureaucracy—in turn reveal much about this mobility of objects and persons, part of the unfolding of an infrastructure for national architectural history.

Navigating new national institutions

The newly organized historical infrastructure that appeared in the first decades of the Belgian nation has been studied at some length by several scholars.⁴ Its institutes included, among others, the aforementioned Commission royale des monuments and the Académie royale. Institutions concerned with the nation's general and artistic history moreover included the Royal Library, the state archives, and museums of fine arts and "antiquities." An international "archaeological movement" and a general "historicization of the world view" around 1830 coincided with Belgium's independence and the forging of a national project, in which history and archaeology served to give the fragile nation a serious pedigree and prehistory.⁵

When the Belgian Commission royale des monuments was founded in 1835, a mere five years after Belgium declared its independence from the Netherlands, Schayes quickly articulated his views on the commission's tasks. Schayes, a graduate of the Lettres et philosophie faculty at Leuven University, was trying hard to forge a career after he left his job at the Dutch Koninklijke Bibliotheek in 1832. He considered the detailed inventory and study of monumental remnants spread over the Belgian territory to be crucial to all further endeavours of the commission, which mainly consisted of architects with no particular historical or archaeological background. The commission was founded as an advisory body in all matters architectural—both concerning new buildings and the restoration of historical monuments, many of these restorations executed by its own appointed architects.⁶

Undoubtedly, Schayes saw himself as the perfect person to fill the position of the commission's secretary. That secretary, he believed, should be "une personne très versée dans l'archéologie et passionnée pour les Beaux-Arts, et qui, par conséquent, ne s'épargnerait ni peines ni travail pour connaître tout ce qui concerne l'architecture ancienne et du moyen-âge en Belgique." Travel, *in situ* study, and the registration and reporting on these architectural remnants at the heart of the secretary's tasks, he says. The right secretary would not confine his journey to the cities and the well-known places, but would also visit small villages or hamlets, which often conceal very old buildings, of great interest to the history of the arts. He would visit all provinces, one after the other, not leaving a province before having explored it in every possible direction.⁷

Schayes included this piece of self-promotion in one of his many articles on Belgian historical buildings, in this case on the abbey and church of the Walloon village of Lobbes, some twenty kilometres southwest of the city of Charleroi. Charleroi would only be connected by rail to Brussels in 1874, so in the 1830s, the fifty kilometres (as the crow flies) had to be covered quite more laboriously, with *diligences* or on horseback. The inclusion of this self-promotion in his article about Lobbes demonstrates the trouble Schayes took to scrutinize "les plus petits villages ou hameaux" and to explore old buildings that possessed some special significance.

Although much of his historical account of the abbey is based on written sources—early chronicles as well as more recent

travel accounts, such as the one by the Jesuit François-Xavier de Feller (published in 1820)⁸—Schayes actually visited the ruins of Lobbes in 1834, the year before his article was published. Their derelict state, a consequence of the destruction wrought by the French in the 1790s, prompted Schayes to formulate his opinion on the tasks of the Commission royale des monuments: consolidating or restoring important buildings that are a witness to the nation's past. To establish priorities, Schayes talks about the need for a history of architecture in Belgium, after the example of France or England, where excellent work on the history of mediaeval architecture had already appeared. He expressed the hope that Belgium, with its many mediaeval buildings, would have its own *histoire monumentale*, an enterprise he considered a worthy task for the Commission royale des monuments.

Schayes' appeal had no direct result. The commission would in fact only engage its first "archéologue" after Schayes' untimely death in 1859; his good friend Charles Piot (1812–1899) joined the commission in that capacity in 1860. Moreover, compiling an "histoire de l'architecture en Belgique" was, as it turned out, not a central concern of the early commission. It was Schayes himself who first attempted to fill the vacuum by submitting an essay on Gothic architecture in Belgium to the Académie royale des sciences et des belles-lettres in 1838. This "mémoire" or "essai sur l'architecture ogivale," which was instantly recognized as a pioneering study, was awarded a gold medal and published in one of the academy's series.⁹

Meanwhile, Schayes continued to watch the work of the Commission royale des monuments with a critical eye, for instance in his role as the secretary and driving force of an organization called the Société belge pour la conservation des monuments historiques. This private organization, founded in 1846, was discussed in and supported by the periodical *La Renaissance: Chronique des arts et de la littérature*.¹⁰ The society's aims were formulated as not in competition with the Commission royale but as complementing it and making up for its shortcomings: "On devrait au contraire se féliciter de voir s'élever une société civile, dont la mission est de prendre l'initiative de certaines questions archéologiques, initiative que la *Commission royale des Monuments* ne peut pas prendre, emprisonnée qu'elle est dans la bureaucratie et arrêtée par les formalités administratives." This situation is compared with that of the (private) Société française d'archéologie (1833), founded by Arcisse de Caumont (1801–1873), which, according to the unsigned article in *La Renaissance* of 1847, worked well with the committees of the Ministry of Public Education and the Ministry of the Interior.¹¹

After Schayes entered the Académie royale des sciences et des belles-lettres in 1838, he continued his crusade for the nation to acknowledge that writing about (architectural) history was a worthy task. Initially, he was a corresponding member of the academy; he became a full member in 1847 (by which time the academy had been renamed the Académie royale des sciences, des lettres et des beaux-arts). He supported the academy's project of a Belgian history of its art, launched in 1846 and mainly focused on "objets d'art" rather than buildings, but in which architectural history would later be included, with Schayes serving as "rapporteur" for the architecture section.¹² As this project was just as unsuccessful as his attempt to turn the attention of the Commission royale des monuments to writing about Belgium's architectural history, or perhaps because it did not proceed as quickly as Schayes had hoped, he eventually published his own *Histoire de l'architecture en Belgique*, in 1849, in a pocket-size edition as part of the Bibliothèque nationale series by the editor Jamar.¹³

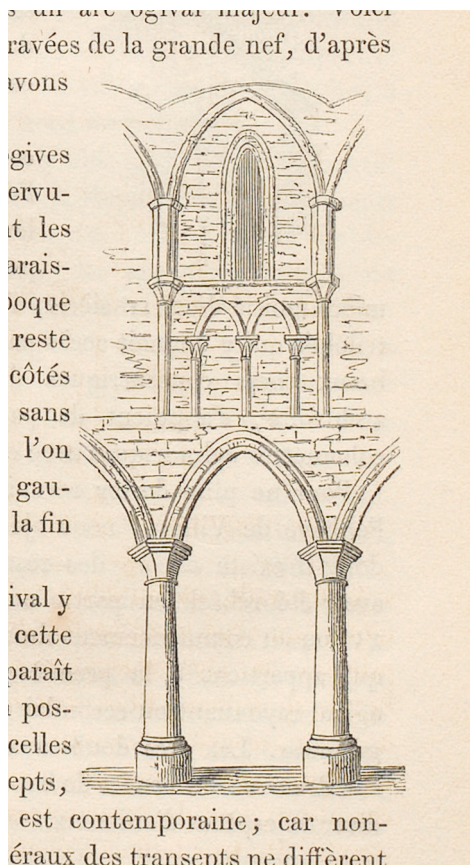


fig. 2 Illustration by Antoine Schayes of the abbey church of Villers, in Antoine Schayes, *Histoire de l'architecture en Belgique*, vol. 3, p. 45. It is based on a drawing, which Schayes says he drew on-site, that is now housed in the Royal Library of Belgium.

fig. 2

Schayes was involved with several new or newly organized Belgian institutions dealing with the past. He worked at the Koninklijke Bibliotheek in Den Hague (from 1830, before the Belgian revolution, until 1832) and submitted in the 1830s several historical essays to the Académie royale's essay competitions. Beginning in 1835, he was employed at the Archives de l'état. He was also a member of the Académie royale des sciences, des lettres et des beaux-arts, and he was eventually appointed conservator of the Musée royal d'armures, d'antiquités et d'artillerie. Schayes' career yields interesting insights into the dealings with material remnants of the national past in the interplay between institutions, collections, and publications as well as between the private and the collective.

Schayes appears to have achieved on his own all of the traveling and research that went into the preparation of his many publications on Belgian architectural history, with his own resources and in his own spare time. He mentions several "croquis sur place" (on-site sketches) in his *Histoire*, some of which have been identified in his private collection of prints and drawings (now in the Prints Department of the Royal Library of Belgium).¹⁴ As a graduate of the Faculté de philosophie et des lettres, Schayes was undoubtedly encouraged to study the field of architectural history and archaeology by his mentor de Reiffenberg.¹⁵ Hence, Schayes' appointment as conservator can be read as a professionalization (and institutionalization) of his study of material remnants, since he attained this position on the strength of his knowledge and expertise, rather than because of any family pedigree, title, or fortune. Before his appointment in 1847, the procedure to evaluate archaeological findings appears to have been that the government appointed one or two "rapporteurs" from among the members of the Académie royale and send them to the excavation site about which they had to write a report.¹⁶ After Schayes began working as conservator, appointments were no longer *ad hoc*; instead, one designated and qualified person would inspect and evaluate all objects found on the territory.

While the collection at the museum for antiquities continued to grow after its inception in 1835, it was only in 1847 that a full-time conservator was employed, with the appointment of Schayes, someone who would give some structure to the mass of objects, organize a new public display, and edit the first catalogue to the collection.¹⁷ As was the case with other European archaeological museums at the time, such as the British Museum in London (1753) and the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden (1818), the collection at the Belgian antiquities museum was not sharply delineated.¹⁸ Although rarely explicitly stated, the Musée royal de peinture et de sculpture was understood to focus on objects of artistic value, while the archaeological museum mainly included items of documentary interest.¹⁹

From the collection's beginning, artillery, armoury, and weapons had an important place. They comprised a historic core of remnants from the time of the Burgundian dukes and the Habsburg empire, previously on display in the royal arsenal near the Coudenberg royal palace, where the reputation of the collection drew international visitors, including Albrecht Dürer in 1520.²⁰ At the museum's foundation in 1835, a set of weapons and armour, purchased from the Comte de Hompesch (1800–1853), was added to the this "arsenal," and two years later the artillery reserve of the Ministry of War further enriched the collection.²¹ In 1847, in keeping with this partially military background, the directorship of the new museum became a shared position, with de Beaufort representing the Ministry of the Interior and a Major Donny (1807–1884) representing the Ministry of War. Donations and bequests continued to play a significant role in the growth of the collection, including many miscellaneous sets of objects amassed by Belgian

representatives abroad, such as consuls and diplomats.²² It is clear, therefore, that even after Schayes' concerted efforts to structure the collection more rationally, it would remain a composite set, as most of the objects were not necessarily of national value but collected by Belgian officials and (noble) citizens.

Schayes himself was a collector of all kinds of antiquities—books, prints, drawings, objects—which he apparently bought at auctions and in antiquarian bookshops.²³ Some of his private collection, of which an auction catalogue exists from 1859, eventually made its way into national museums or institutions.²⁴ Schayes' intentions with this collection are not clear; perhaps he had intended to donate, sell, or bequeath it to his own museum or the other institutes to which he had been attached before his early death prevented him from doing so. What is clear, however, is that his private collection was no less diverse than many of the donations arriving at the antiquities museum before, during, and after his time as conservator—including, among other things, two sarcophagi purchased at the famous Paris auction of Giovanni Anastasi's collection in 1857, one of which ended up in the museum's collection in 1874.²⁵

The antiquities museum also became the central depot for “accidental” archaeological findings made during canal and road works, as well as for those from state-organized archaeological excavations, such as the one of 1843, yielding the aforementioned aedicule. Parallel to his nomination as “conservateur,” Schayes would, therefore, be charged with making excursions and inspections by the Minister of the Interior, for scientific or archeological purposes.²⁶ Henceforth, Schayes' travels to study remnants of the national past became institutionalized—at last. As such, the museum institutionalized and nationalized existing practices of traveling and collecting, rather than setting up a new framework or initiating new practices.

Architecture, between collection catalogue and history

Collecting, studying, and classifying objects is one way of dealing with architectural history; Schayes complemented this (official) part of his job with his (private) writing and publishing of a history of architecture in Belgium. Although not an architectural history museum as such, the collection of the Musée royal d'armures, d'antiquités et d'artillerie was housed in a major historic building: the Porte de Hal. Schayes appreciated this location and highlighted it in both the catalogue's introduction and in his *Histoire*. In the catalogue, he relates the history of the museum and how the growth of its collections required a more scientific and methodical presentation and thus a larger building. To this end, the government chose the Porte de Hal—described as a great, solid building of the fourteenth century, a remarkable example of military construction from that period—and moved the collection there between 1847 and 1848. In a footnote, Schayes adds further historical data on the building:

La construction de cette porte, qui contient trois vastes salles superposées, remonte à l'année 1379. Elle figure comme type d'architecture militaire dans les *Instructions du comité historique des arts et monuments de France*. Les fenêtres ogivales qui éclairent les salles, sont de construction moderne. D'autres modifications ont été projetées pour la décoration extérieure du bâtiment.²⁷

The description in Schayes' *Histoire* is less succinct, with more details of the constructive and material elements and more specialized terminology:

Bruxelles ne conserve plus qu'une seule de ses anciennes portes, la porte de Hal, construite en 1381. L'épaisseur extraordinaire de ses murs en grandes briques, avec revêtement en

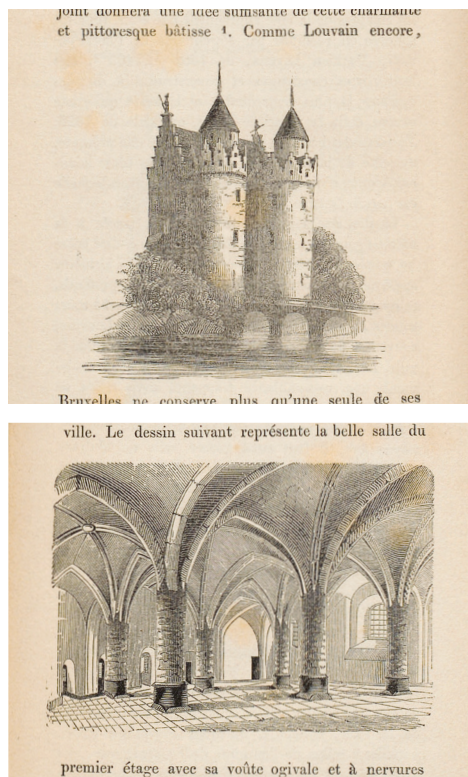


fig. 4 The Porte de Hal, exterior and interior, from Antoine Schayes, *Histoire de l'architecture en Belgique*, 1849–1850, vol. 4, 116–117.

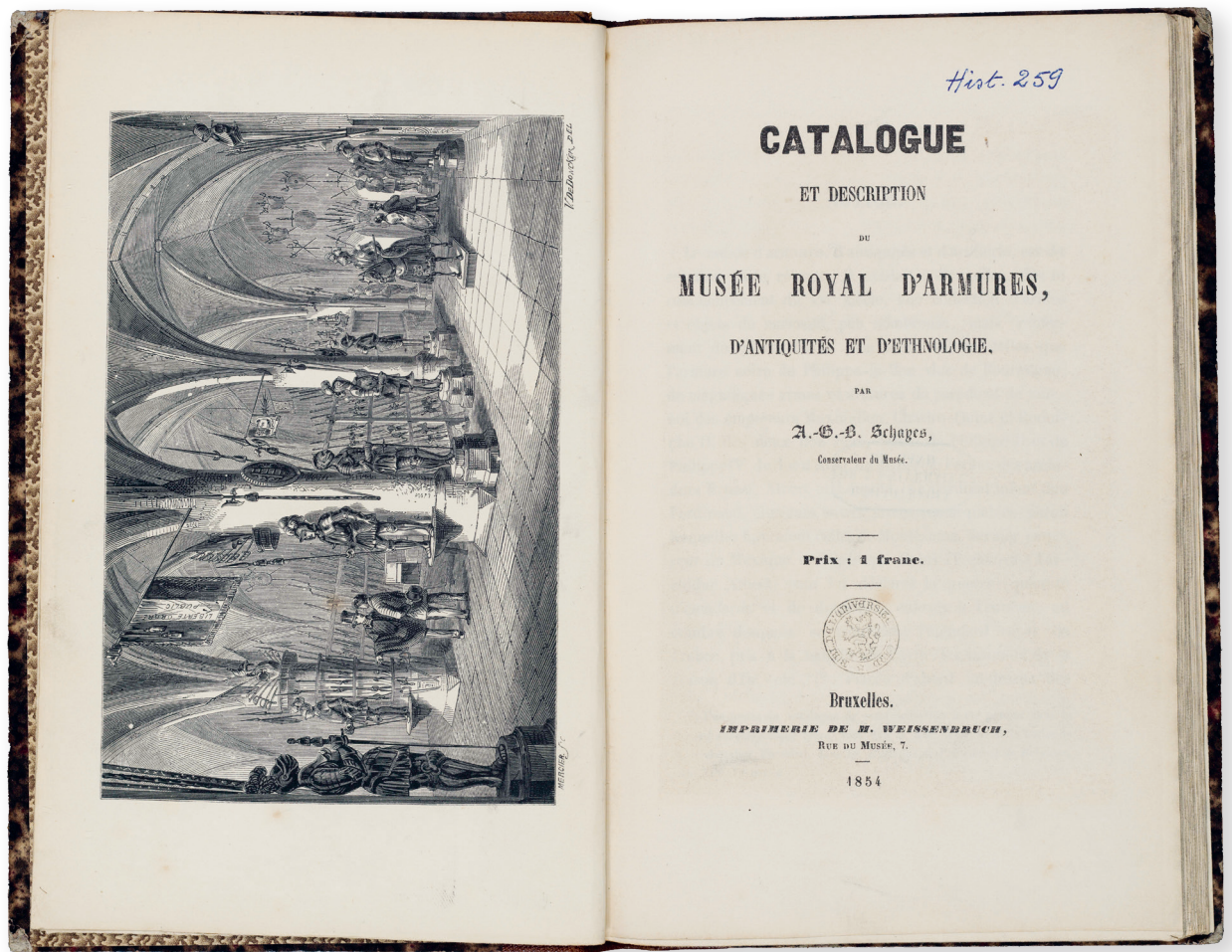


fig. 3 Title page and frontispiece of Antoine Schayes, *Catalogue et description du musée royal d'armures, d'antiquités et d'ethnologie* (1854). This print depicts one of the three exhibition rooms of the Porte de Hal.

pierres de taille de moyen appareil, et ses trois vastes salles superposées au-dessous desquelles se trouvaient des souterrains comblés récemment, prouvent que cette porte était plutôt un château-fort ou un arsenal qu'une simple entrée de ville.

He goes on to refer to a drawing that shows “la belle salle du premier étage avec sa voûte ogivale et à nervures croisées, dont les retombées posent sur deux rangs de grosses colonnes cylindriques sans chapiteaux, qui partagent cette vaste pièce en trois larges nefs.” In a footnote, Schayes notes that this room, “on ne peut mieux appropriée à sa nouvelle destination, renferme depuis 1847, les armures et armes anciennes et modernes qui composent la première section du Musée royal d'antiquités, d'armures et d'artillerie.”²⁸ This is only the start of an interesting dialogue between Schayes' catalogue and his *Histoire*. Beginning in 1847, he must have worked simultaneously on both texts. Not only is the museum building itself present in both texts, but other instances also illustrate how both texts (and their illustrations) work together, each from their respective function, to forge an overarching insight into Belgian architectural history.

The catalogue entries for items 251 to 258, on page 96, for instance, reveal that the objects were discovered in 1835 during the excavation of a Gallo-Roman villa in Villy-Sommerain, in Luxembourg. In an additional note, Schayes says that the results of that excavation can be found in the first volume of his *Histoire*.²⁹ Meanwhile, in the text, illustrations, and footnotes of his *Histoire*, he refers regularly to items in “notre musée d'antiquités.”³⁰ A Roman villa excavated in 's Gravenvoeren (Fouron-le-Comte, a village in the province of Limburg) is represented in the museum catalogue as a series of objects, whereas the *Histoire* complements this information by providing a ground plan and by contextualizing the villa as part of the historical evolution of architecture in Belgium in Roman times. Likewise, the Majeroux aedicule found in 1843 is listed in the catalogue as part of a series of excavated objects, with brief references to its provenance, while the *Histoire* provides a visual representation of it and includes it in a discussion on elements of Roman architecture.

fig. 5

Schayes thus highlights architectural history in the museum's miscellaneous collection and makes it more legible as a (national) historical narrative, while the tangible “proof” of the museum's objects corroborates the *Histoire*'s narrative, which also provides the reader or visitor with an additional “historic experience” by describing the museum's setting within an ancient city tower. This notion of “historic experience” was, in fact, referred to in an article in the periodical *La Renaissance* in 1839, in a plea for the use of the then dilapidated Porte de Hal as a historical museum. The article includes an interior view to illustrate the effect of the armoury and weaponry displayed there (a view that closely anticipates the actual interior of the museum when the renovation was complete, eight years later). The “magic” thus created would transport the visitor to the Middle Ages—and at little expense.³¹

fig. 6

Conclusion

In the figure and career of Antoine Schayes, several evolutions in dealing with national architectural history in the first decades of the Belgian nation can be observed, in particular the mobility of different kinds, of persons as well as of objects. Schayes traveled throughout the country in search of yet undiscovered treasures of national architecture. On the strength of the knowledge he gathered, he earned upward social mobility: he managed to acquire an official occupation as museum conservator, in which his core business was not only more traveling but also the continuation of his research, describing, discussing, and publishing architectural

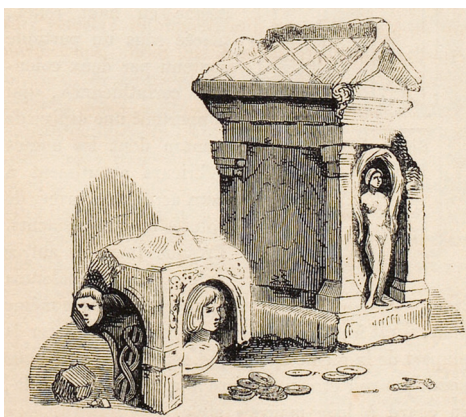


fig. 5 The Majeroux aedicula, drawn by Schayes, in Antoine Schayes, *Histoire de l'architecture en Belgique*, 1849–1850, vol. 1, 63.

history. The mobility of objects can equally be perceived from this double perspective: On the one hand is the literal movement of archaeological objects, dug up in far-flung corners of the kingdom and brought to either private collections or a public museum of antiquities. At the same time, their symbolic transformation takes place, from the mere debris of infrastructure works into objects of learned attention, described and classified in collection catalogues, incorporated within histories, drawn and engraved and discussed in archaeological societies and periodicals. All in all, Schayes' career and circle exemplify the many negotiations and dialogues at work, between word and image, between collecting and describing architectural history, between one-man actions and collective efforts.



fig. 6 Illustration of what the Porte de Hal might look like if it were used as a museum, from *La Renaissance* 3, no. 6 (1839): 10.

1 See, for example, the contribution, in this volume, by David Peleman on *La Belgique industrielle*, a collection of historic Belgian lithographs of industrial sites in the country. Majeroux is today spelled Mageroux. The plateau is now part of the Virton agglomeration.

2 "Votive altar made of sandstone [actually, limestone], 50 cm high, 28 cm deep and 20 cm wide; it has the shape of an aedicula or small temple *in antis*, ornamented at its corners with four Doric pilasters and at the front part with a figure in bas-relief representing a naked man holding a veil above his head." Antoine Guillaume Bernard Schayes, *Catalogue et description du Musée royal d'armures, d'antiquités et d'ethnologie* (Brussels: Weissenbruch, 1854), 95, catalogue item 241. Other examples of objects found during the construction works for railroads or canals are items 8 and 9: "trouvées ... dans les travaux de déblai du chemin de fer de Bruxelles à Mons, près de la commune de Ghlin, en 1842" (p. 1); items 22 and 210 were found during the same campaign. Canal works yielded item 266, for example: "Découverte avec les quatre n^{os} suivants dans le creusement du canal de Zelzaete, près du pont de Merendré en 1847" (p. 96); and item 293: "Découvertes dans les déblais du nouveau canal de Zelzaete, en 1848" (p. 102). See also Joseph E. G. Roulez, "Rapport sur les fouilles de Majeroux," *Bulletins de l'Académie royale des sciences, des lettres et des beaux-arts de Belgique*, 10, no. 7 (1843): 416–430. Schayes's successors produced their own versions of the museum catalogue, the first being by Théodore Juste (1818–1888), conservator as of 1859: Théodore Juste, *Catalogue des collections composant le Musée royal d'antiquités, d'armures et d'artillerie (Bruxelles) précédé d'une notice historique* (Brussels: Bruylant-Christophe, 1864).

3 On de Beaufort, see "Répertoire des conservateurs et membres des organes de consultation, de direction et de gestion: comte Louis Léopold Marie Amédée de Beaufort," in Michèle Van Kalck, *De Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België: Twee eeuwen geschiedenis* (Tiel: Lannoo, 2003), 668; Comte de Nédonchel, "Nécrologie de M. le comte Amédée de Beaufort," *Bulletin de la Société historique et littéraire de Tournai* 6 (1860): 220–225. On Schayes, see Ellen Van Impe, "Schayes, Antoine Guillaume Bernard," *Nationaal biografisch woordenboek*, vol. 21 (Brussels: Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie van België voor Wetenschappen en Kunsten, 2014), 994–1007.

4 See Herman Stynen's well-documented history of the Belgian monument's commission, *De onvoltooid verleden tijd: Een geschiedenis van de monumentenlandschapszorg in België 1835–1940* (Brussels: Stichting Vlaams Erfgoed, 1998), and the research of Tom Verschaffel and Jo Tollebeek, for instance, in Ilaria Porciani and Jo Tollebeek, eds., *Setting the Standards: Institutions, Networks and Communities of National Historiography* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

5 Tom Verschaffel advocates the importance of national archives in the making of nation-states when he says that "nation-states exist by virtue of their histories. Not only is the writing of national histories essential, so too is preservation of the past." Tom Verschaffel, "Something More Than a Storage Warehouse: The Creation of National Archives," in *Setting the Standards*, ed. Porciani and Tollebeek, 30.

6 Stynen, *De onvoltooid verleden tijd*.

7 "[S]omeone very familiar with archaeology and passionate about fine arts and who, consequently, would not spare effort nor work to know everything there is to know in relation to ancient and medieval architecture in Belgium." Antoine Guillaume Bernard Schayes, "L'abbaye et l'église paroissiale de Lobbes: Messager des sciences et des arts de la Belgique, ou Nouvelles archives historiques, littéraires et scientifiques" 3 (1835): 393–398. The position of secretary to the commission was most likely inspired by the then recently installed "Inspecteur général des monuments historiques" (1830) in France. The architect Prosper Noyer launched a petition in 1836 to tender his

nomination as "Inspecteur des monuments en Belgique" (Stynen, *De onvoltooid verleden tijd*, 42).

8 François-Xavier De Feller, *Itinéraire, ou voyages de Mr. l'abbé Defeller en diverses parties de l'Europe: En Hongrie, en Transylvanie, en Eslavonie, en Bohême, en Pologne, en Italie, en Suisse, en Allemagne, en France, en Hollande, aux Pays-Bas, au pays de Liège etc.* (Liège: Lemarié, 1820) (based on travels from 1769 to 1791).

9 Filip Lemmens, *De mémoire sur l'architecture Ogivale en Belgique (1838–1841) van A. G. B. Schayes in zijn context geplaatst* (Leuven: Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, 1996).

10 On *La Renaissance*, see Stynen, *De Onvoltooid Verleden Tijd*, 66–67.

11 "We should, on the contrary, congratulate ourselves for witnessing the rise of a civil society whose mission is to initiate certain archaeological queries, initiatives that the Royal Commission of Monuments can not undertake, as she is imprisoned in bureaucracy and prevented by administrative formalities." "Conservation des monuments," *Renaissance: Chronique des arts et de la littérature* 9 (1847–48): 4.

12 See Édouard Fétis, "Rapport sur les travaux de la classe des beaux-arts depuis sa création en 1845 jusqu'à 1872," in "Académie royale de Belgique, Centième anniversaire de fondation (1772–1872)" (Brussels: Hayez, 1872), 12; Ellen Van Impe, *Architectural Historiography in Belgium 1830–1914* (PhD Diss., KU Leuven, 2008), 55–57.

13 The first undated edition appeared in four volumes between 1849 and 1850 as *Histoire de l'architecture en Belgique* (Bruxelles: Jamar, [1849–50]). Ellen Van Impe, "Puisé aux meilleures sources: Textual and Visual Strategies of Mid-19th-Century Architectural Historiography in Belgium," *Architectural Histories* 3, no. 1, Art. 23 (2015). (The volume numbers changed in the second edition, so to avoid confusion, references to the *Histoire* are all to the first edition.) On the series called Bibliothèque nationale, edited by Jamar, see Geert Vanpaemel and Brigitte Van Tiggelen, "Science for the People: The Belgian Encyclopédie populaire and the Constitution of a National Science Movement," in *Popularizing Science and Technology in the European Periphery, 1800–2000*, ed. Faidra Papaneloupoulou and Agustí Nieto-Galan (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 65–88, doi.org/10.4324/9781315601472.

14 See, for instance, in Schayes' *Histoire*, "la gravure suivante, exécutée d'après un croquis que nous avons fait de quelques parties de l'église de Lobbes" (vol. 2, p. 35); "la gravure ci-jointe reproduit le croquis que nous avons fait des fenêtres de plusieurs maisons romanes à Tournai" (vol. 2, p. 41); and "ce mode de bâtisse peu régulier, et dont nous ne connaissons pas de second exemple dans nos églises romanes, est figuré sur la gravure ci-jointe d'après un croquis pris sur les lieux" (vol. 2, p. 124). See also Matthias De Waele, *De inhoud en betekenis van de prentencollectie van A. Schayes in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek van Brussel*, master's thesis, Universiteit Gent, 2011; Ellen Van Impe, "An Illustrated History of Belgian Architecture: Antoine Schayes and His *Histoire de l'architecture en Belgique* (1849–53)," *In Monte Artium* 7 (2014): 217–230.

15 In the 1820s, Baron Frédéric Auguste Ferdinand Thomas de Reiffenberg (1795–1850) had already showed a marked interest in "la statistique monumentale" and undoubtedly encouraged his student in this direction. On de Reiffenberg, see Jean Stecher, "Reiffenberg (Baron Frédéric-Auguste-Ferdinand-Thomas de)," in *Biographie nationale*, vol. 18 (Brussels: Bruylant-Christophe, 1905), 887–918.

16 For example, for the trip in which the Majeroux aedicule was found, the *académicien* Joseph Marchal (1780–1858) was sent by the Minister of the Interior to inspect the findings in Majeroux. See J. Felsenhart, "Le Luxembourg belge et son ethnographie sous la domination romaine," *Messenger des sciences historiques ou Archives des arts et de la bibliographie de Belgique* (1872): 125–174.

17 *Musée royal d'armures, d'antiquités et d'artillerie: Organisation* (Brussels: Deltombe, 1847). This brochure explains the sections and subdivisions of the museum; the collection consists of "section 1," "armes anciennes,"

findings of national archaeology and other "armures et antiquités" (under the ministry of Interior); and "section 2," firearms and modern weapons in the "musée d'artillerie." It also describes the conservator's tasks.

18 James Delbourgo, *Collecting the World: Hans Sloane and the Origins of the British Museum* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2019); Ruurd B. Halbertsma, *Scholars, Travellers, and Trade: The Pioneer Years of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, 1818–1840* (London: Routledge, 2003); Mirjam Hoijtink, *Exhibiting the Past: Caspar Reuvs and the Museums of Antiquities in Europe, 1800–1840*, Papers on Archaeology of the Leiden Museum of Antiquities 7 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012); Ilaria Porciani, "Nations on Display: History Museums in Europe," in *Setting the Standards*, ed. Porciani and Tollebeek; Peter Aronsson and Gabriella Elgenius, *National Museums and Nation-Building in Europe 1750–2010: Mobilization and Legitimacy, Continuity and Change* (London: Routledge, 2015), 135.

19 Van Kalck, *De Koninklijke Musea*, vol. 1, 257–258.

20 Herman De Meulenaere and Jean Charles Balty, *Liber Memorialis 1835–1885* (Brussels: Koninklijke musea voor kunst en geschiedenis, 1985), 11–29; Valérie Montens, "Institutioneel-historisch kader," in *Archief van de Koninklijke musea voor kunst en geschiedenis, Voorbereidend studiedossier van de archiefselectielijst* (Brussels: Algemeen Rijksarchief, 2008), 25–26.

21 Albert Duchesne, "Hompesch-Rurich (Théophile-Antoine-Guillaume, comte de)," *Biographie belge d'Outre-mer*, no. 6 (1968): 497–501.

22 Schayes mentions several of these in the introduction to his catalogue: "MM. les comtes de Lalaing et de Marnix, chargés d'affaires de Belgique, en Espagne et M. le baron de Behr, ministre résident à Constantinople" added weaponry to the collection, whereas "MM. Lannoy, consul général de Belgique à Manille, Serruys, consul au Chili, le major Pirson et le docteur de Change" enriched the antiquity collection with "une foule d'objets chinois et de la Polynésie" (ii–iii).

23 Henri Hymans, "Schayes, Antoine-Guillaume-Bernard," *Biographie nationale*, no. 21 (1911–1913): 619.

24 *Catalogue d'une superbe collection d'antiquités égyptiennes, romaines, gallo-romaines, étrusques, byzantins [sic], du moyen-âge, de curiosités, de porcelaines, de tableaux, etc., provenant de Feu M. A.-G.-B. Schayes, Conservateur du Musée royal d'armures et d'antiquités à Bruxelles, dont la vente aux enchères publiques aura lieu dans la salle de ventes de Livres et sous la direction de A. Bluff, libraire, 5bis, Grande Place, à Bruxelles, le Mardi 6 Décembre 1859 et 2 jours suivants, à 11 heures précises du matin* (Brussels: Mahieu, 1859).

25 Some purchases at this auction by Émile de Meester de Ravestein ended up in the Musée royal d'armures, d'antiquités et d'artillerie, and others by Baron Albert D'Otreppe de Bouvette ended up in the Musée Curtius in Liège (Ravenstein and d'Otreppe donated their respective collections to these institutions). See Eugène Warmenbol, ed., *La caravane du Caire: L'Égypte sur d'autres rives* (Liège: Musée de l'art wallon, 2006), 100–117.

26 *Musée royal d'armures, d'antiquités et d'artillerie: Organisation* (Brussels: Deltombe, 1847).

27 "The construction of that gate, which contains three vast superimposed halls, dates back to 1379. It appears as an exemplar of military architecture in the *Instructions* issued by the historical committee of arts and monuments in France. The ogival windows lighting the room are of modern construction. Other modifications have been projected for the outer decoration of the building." The *Instructions* Schayes refers to is the publication by Auguste Bottée De Toulmon, Albert Lenoir, Auguste Le Prevost and Prosper Mérimée, *Instructions du Comité historique des arts et monuments: Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France*, vol. 2 (Paris: Royale, 1839), 19. These *Instructions*, published between 1837 and 1849, were part of the French government's campaign to document its historic monuments using a network

of local correspondents. Since France organized its conservation infrastructure earlier than Belgium, and given the proximity of both countries, their partially shared history, and their common language, the French efforts and publications were followed closely by a learned readership in Belgium. See also Stynen, *De Onvoltooid Verleden Tijd*, 41–42.

28 "Brussels conserves only one of its ancient gates, the gate of Hal, built in 1381. The extraordinary thickness of its walls made of big bricks and covered with middle-sized cut stone ashlar masonry, as well as its three vast superimposed halls, under which there used to be a *souterrain* which has recently been filled in, prove that this gate was more a fortified castle or arsenal than a simple city gate. The following drawing represents the beautiful hall on the first floor, with its ogival rib vault whose load is transmitted to thick cylindrical columns without capitals that divide this vast room in three large naves," "this hall, which could not have been more appropriate for its new destination, contains, beginning in 1847, the ancient as well as modern armors and arms which make up the first section of the royal Museum of antiquities, armors and artillery." Schayes, *Histoire*, vol. 4, 116.

29 Schayes, *Catalogue*, 96. Similar examples are found in the entries for items 289 and 290 in the catalogue (pp. 99–100), including an "autel votif" found in Walcheren (in Zeeland, today part of the Netherlands), about which Schayes briefly writes in his *Histoire*, vol. 1, 64.

30 Schayes, *Histoire* vol. 1, 104n1. Other references appear on pages 26, 39, 55, 61, 63, 64, 77, 78, 106, 108, 140, 146, 159, and 167, and in vol. 3, pages 98, 122, and 128.

31 The author of the article writes, "Nos vieilles armures, nos vieilles sculptures, nos vieux ameublements, sous ces voûtes, feraient un magique effet. On se trouverait reporté au moyen âge à peu de frais." C. Y., "Laissez-nous la Porte de Hal," *Renaissance: Chronique des arts et de la littérature* 3 (1839): 10. See Stynen, *De Onvoltooid Verleden Tijd*, 38–39.

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