



fig. 1 A fold-out map of the provinces then making up the Kingdom of the Netherlands, from volume 1 of *Voyage pittoresque dans le Royaume des Pays-Bas* (Brussels: Jobard, 1825).

Aspects of Print Culture, Heritage, and Tourism in Belgium, 1830–1920

Printing Belgium

A few months before the Belgian Revolution of 1830, a short article in the pages of the *Messenger des sciences et des arts*, a scholarly journal published in Ghent, enthusiastically announced a groundbreaking project: the publication of an album of sixteen large plates of each of the most important Gothic monuments in the United Kingdom of the Netherlands: “MM. Simonau, père et fils, à la fois dessinateurs et lithographes, ont conçu [...] une entreprise colossale: celle de reproduire, sur une grande échelle, les seize plus importants édifices gothiques du Royaume des Pays-Bas.”¹

This short article, and the publication project it presents, illustrates some of the major developments of that period, which are also themes for this book. In the early nineteenth century, the industrial production of paper and the availability of new printing technologies instigated what came to be known as the second print revolution.² Printed matter of all sorts increased dramatically, in both variety and quantity, from books, illustrated newspapers, and magazines to travel reports, plates (individually printed or collected into albums), and sales catalogs. This explosive expansion was further supported by relaxing censorship. New techniques for the industrial reproduction of images radically transformed printed matter as well. The most widespread and accessible technology was xylography, a wood engraving technique that employed accurate and durable print blocks that were easily combined with type.³ However, the *Messenger* article announcing the series of plates on Gothic monuments from the Low Countries praised another process: lithography, a technique invented in the 1790s by Alois Senefelder in Prague and in use in Belgium since the second decade of the nineteenth century.⁴ The *Messenger* itself had included lithographic prints since its first issue in 1823. Images produced through lithography were of high quality, in shades of black and white or in color, often producing impressive atmospheric and luminous effects.⁵ The article in the *Messenger* stresses lithography’s capacity for accurately documenting historic architecture:

Les avantages qu’offre la lithographie aux arts et au commerce sont devenus incontestables; elle a atteint un tel degré de perfection qu’elle peut marcher de pair avec la gravure. La lithographie joint en outre la célérité de l’exécution à la modicité du prix, et l’avantage inappréciable de rendre le dessin original. [...] La première planche qui vient d’être exécutée est le grand portail de l’église de Sainte-Gudule à Bruxelles. C’est sans contredit le morceau le plus capital qu’ait produit jusqu’à ce jour la lithographie; il réunit tout ce qu’il est possible de désirer: vérité jusque dans les moindres détails, dessin correct, perspective sévèrement observée, exactitude dans ce qui environne ce beau temple, enfin une impression qui n’offre que très-peu d’exemples.⁶

Nationhood is a second theme reverberating in the announcement. The publication of the album is framed as a patriotic project, undertaken with the blessing of William I, king of the Netherlands. Yet this assessment is paired with indications of international mobility and entrepreneurship of the artists-printmakers active in Brussels and in London:

L’art et le patriotisme pouvaient seuls faire concevoir cette grande entreprise; aussi S.M. [sa majesté]; si juste



appréciatrice des talents, a-t-elle daigné faire savoir à MM. Simonau, dans termes très-honorables pour ces artistes, qu'elle acceptait avec plaisir la dédicace de cet ouvrage: distinction qu'elle n'accorde point à la médiocrité. Les entrepreneurs de cette précieuse collection sont Belges, connus par les belles productions sorties de leurs presses, tant à Londres qu'à Bruxelles.⁷

figs. 1–4

A few years earlier, another major publication project had been dedicated to the crown princess (Princess of Orange): an illustrated *Voyage pittoresque dans le royaume des Pays-Bas* (1825) published by “L’imprimerie lithographique et typographique de J.B.A. Jobard” and introduced as a “national project” that should “flatter our self-love.”⁸ The new state of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands was an outcome of the Congress of Vienna, where the map of Europe had been redrawn after the defeat of France in 1814. Uniting the former Dutch Republic (corresponding largely to today’s Netherlands) and the former Austrian Netherlands (largely current Belgium), the so-called buffer state was established along the border with France, whose policies were still eyed with suspicion. Topographic publications such as Jobard’s *Voyage pittoresque* supported the discursive construction of the new kingdom. While the authoritarian regime of the new enlightened king William I was marked by national investments in infrastructure and entrepreneurialism, it was met with increasing resistance in the southern provinces. The language policy of implementing Dutch as the administrative and educational language (north of the language border between Flanders and Wallonia) frustrated part of the mostly French-speaking aristocracy and bourgeoisie, while state interference in the Catholic education system also made the southern Catholics mobilize against the northern Protestant king. In 1830, the Belgian Revolution broke out, one of the several liberal revolutions flaring up across Europe. Supported by the French military, Belgium was able to declare itself independent, adopting a liberal constitution and installing a constitutional monarchy.

The momentum of the second print revolution thus coincided with the discursive and institutional cultural-political project of forging a Belgian nation state. Belgium’s independence and its position in Europe were reflected in topographic print culture. The newly acquired contours of the Belgian territory circumscribed a national heritage that could be collected, documented and reproduced. This emerging Belgian patrimony of historic, as well as modern “sights,” often remained part of various geographical and historical constellations that shared certain characteristics. One publication could treat Belgian heritage together with monuments bordering the Rhine, while another joined it to the *patrimoine* of northern France.⁹ Still other publications represented Belgium as an integral and important part of supra-national history, as happened for instance in Gustave Simonau and Pierre Simonau’s expansion of the album announced in the *Messenger* in 1830. After the Belgian revolution interrupted the project to document the main Gothic monuments in the Kingdom of the Netherlands, it was initiated again in 1834, now with the aim to record the main Gothic monuments in Europe.¹⁰ The twenty-four monumental plates of the album *Principaux monuments gothiques de l’Europe*, published in 1843 and printed in French, German, and English, paired the Brussels City Hall and the Antwerp cathedral with such monuments as the cathedrals of Amiens, Strasbourg, and Westminster Abbey, and complemented the lithographs with historical descriptions provided by the historian Auguste Voisin.¹¹

figs. 5, 6

fig. 2 Frontispiece and title page of volume 1 of *Voyage pittoresque dans le Royaume des Pays-Bas* (Brussels: Jobard, 1825). The frontispiece is a portrait of crown princess Anna Pavlovna, Princess of Orange.

fig. 3 Plate 12 of volume 1, *Voyage pittoresque dans le Royaume des Pays-Bas* (Brussels: Jobard, 1825), with one of the sights in Waterloo: the Hannoverian Memorial on the left and the Gordon Memorial on the right.

fig. 4 Plate 104, of volume 1, *Voyage pittoresque dans le Royaume des Pays-Bas* (Brussels: Jobard, 1825), with one of the sights in Waterloo: the Hougomont farm during battle, with text on the right by De Cloet.

Many more publications would endeavor to collect, list, and describe the monuments found within the borders of the new nation. This book examines how historic Belgian architecture was interpreted and produced in a rich and varied corpus of nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century publications against a background of

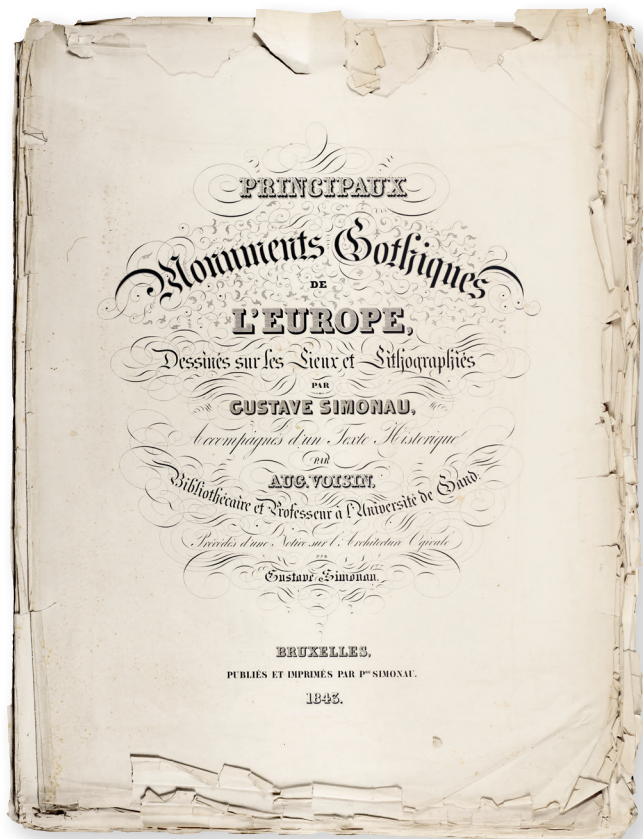


fig. 5 Title page of *Principaux monuments gothiques de l'Europe* (Brussels: Pierre Simonau, 1843), an expanded edition that included an essay on "l'architecture ogivale" by Gustave Simonau.

technological advances in printmaking and practices and discourses of nation building. The contributions collected here study specific intersections of an evolving historicist architectural culture and a topographic print culture, which helped to produce Belgium as a landscape of *lieux de mémoire*.¹² This exploration is supported by two main assumptions. The print culture under discussion is partly rooted in the romantic tradition and the visual culture of the *voyages pittoresques* that Lut Pil studies in the Belgian context.¹³ Yet, in addition to visual and textual encounters with picturesque landscapes, historic architecture in Belgium also emerged from publications in different genres, supported by various ways of writing and image-making and aimed at multiple audiences. Our volume reveals the hybridity as well as the intertextuality of this vast corpus of printed matter engaging with historical architecture. Moreover, this production is related to and, to an important extent, engendered by tourism. The authors of the historical corpus are Belgian writers and image-makers as well as foreign travelers, keen to explore "Belgium" and to make it accessible to an international and mobile readership of armchair and actual tourists. As an essentially modern phenomenon deeply involved in the historicist project, tourism, and the printed matter it generated, was key in defining and activating the territory and patrimony of the nation state.¹⁴ In the case of Belgium, it exemplified some of the features that would serve to characterize the young nation: its Janus-faced posture between rich historical heritage and rapid modernization, and its position at the crossroads of European history and geography.

Heritage and modernity at the crossroads of Europe

Belgium's central location in Western Europe, easily accessible by land, river, and sea, and its varied historical and cultural ties with many other European countries made it a desirable destination for European visitors, from English antiquarians and French romantic authors to Scandinavian economists interested in the latest industrial developments. In the groundbreaking *Belgium and Western Germany in 1833*, first published in 1834, Mrs. Trollope [Frances Milton Trollope] characterizes "our yearly tourists" as amateurs with aesthetic leanings or as antiquarians motivated by "the exceeding richness of Belgium in all that can gratify the eye of taste" and "awaken the enthusiasm of the antiquary."¹⁵ The pocket *Guide pittoresque et artistique du voyageur en Belgique*, published in Belgium in 1838 by the exiled French author Alexandre Ferrier, expands the scope of the interests that brought tourists to Belgium:

La Belgique est aujourd'hui visitée par un grand nombre d'étrangers qu'attirent la beauté du pays, son commerce, son industrie, le confortable de ses hôtels jusque dans les plus petites villes, sa richesse et l'antiquité de ses monuments. La situation de sa capitale au centre d'un réseau de chemins de fer, et sur la route des autres capitales, en fait comme le carrefour de l'Europe. Cependant cette facilité même de communications détourne trop souvent les voyageurs de pénétrer dans l'intérieur du pays.¹⁶

The Battle of Waterloo of 1815 and its aftermath serves as a prism by which to identify who visited Belgium. Immediately following the defeat of Napoleon, the battlefields a few kilometers outside of Brussels became an important tourist destination. William Makepeace Thackeray's *Vanity Fair*, first published in 1848, vividly portrays British memories of the battle and the subsequent tourism it spawned. The British were joined by tourists from the other nations involved in the battle, including Prussia and the United Kingdom of the Netherlands. Subjects of the defeated nation flocked to the site as well, attracted to a country born almost at the same time as France's July monarchy of 1830 to 1848, a reign that actively promoted a commemorative culture around Napoleon.

Hôtel-de-Ville d'Andenaarde.

Deze is een plan geteekend in 1834, en is de eerste afbeelding van het stadhuis van Oudenaarde, die in de literatuur voorkomt. Het is een plan van de buitenzijde van het gebouw, en is in de stijl van de 19e eeuw getekend. Het plan is in de hand van Auguste Voisin, die in 1834 een boek over de gotische monumenten van Europa heeft uitgegeven. Het plan is in de hand van Auguste Voisin, die in 1834 een boek over de gotische monumenten van Europa heeft uitgegeven.

The Town-Hall of Andenaarde.

This drawing, which is a plan of the town hall of Oudenaarde, is the first plan of the building that has appeared in the literature. It is a plan of the exterior of the building, and is in the style of the 19th century. The plan is in the hand of Auguste Voisin, who in 1834 published a book on the Gothic monuments of Europe.

Das Stadthaus in Andenaarde.

Dieses Bild zeigt ein Plan des Rathhauses von Oudenaarde, das erste Plan des Gebäudes, das in der Literatur erschienen ist. Es ist ein Plan der Fassade des Gebäudes, und ist in der Art des 19. Jahrhunderts. Der Plan ist in der Hand von Auguste Voisin, der im Jahr 1834 ein Buch über die gotischen Monumente von Europa veröffentlicht hat.



HOTEL-DE-VILLE D'AUDENAERDE.

fig. 6 A lithograph from 1834 of the town hall of Oudenaarde, accompanied by a discussion by Auguste Voisin in three languages, in *Principaux monuments gothiques de l'Europe* (Brussels: Pierre Simonau, 1843), n.p.

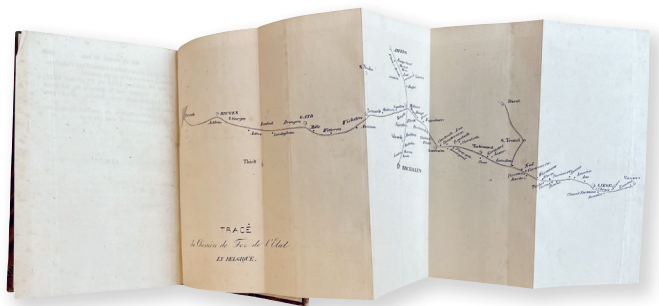


fig. 7 The Belgian territory as a chain of cities connected by the lines of the railroad network. Auguste Gobert, *Guide du voyageur en Belgique sur le parcours du chemin de fer de l'état* (Bruxelles: Société nationale pour la propagation des bons livres, 1838).

France had also been deeply involved in the Belgian Revolution, its support of the young nation culminating in the siege of Antwerp of 1832. This shared history, combined with a common language and lively memories of the political union of 1795 to 1813 when Belgium had been part of France (a union many French hoped to see again), brought many French authors to Belgium.¹⁷ Victor Hugo, Théophile Gautier, Alexandre Dumas, Gérard de Nerval, and Stendhal all visited the young kingdom at least once between 1830 and 1850. The historian Jules Michelet made five trips to Belgium between 1832 and 1849.

To these authors, Belgium was attractive for a number of reasons. The French benefitted fully from Belgium's position at "the crossroads of Europe," a trope that referenced the country's geographical situation and its good travel infrastructure, but also cast Belgian art and architecture as the product of various historical political constellations, with a rich history of economic and cultural exchange by which the country served as a microcosm of European artistic and architectural traditions.¹⁸ Thanks to its proximity to Paris and the fast-improving connections between the two capitals, Belgium was in easy reach of budding authors who supplemented their income by writing *récits de voyage* for periodicals.¹⁹ The country also sits between France and the Rhine, another popular topic of travel writing. In Brussels lived a large French expatriate community, which Hugo would join in 1851 in exile. Dumas wrote how "tout ce qui a commis un faux, tout ce qui a fait banqueroute, tout ce qui enfin serait forcé de voiler la face à Paris, s'éclipse tout à coup du boulevard de Gand ou de la place de la Bourse, et va reparaître, le visage découvert et resplendissant, sur l'Allée-Verte, à Bruxelles."²⁰

The interests of French visitors exemplify what fascinated many foreign visitors about Belgium: its vast artistic heritage in painting and architecture. The medieval aspect of cities like Antwerp, Ghent, or Bruges was both admired and associated with peculiarities of the Belgian population. No French author could resist marveling at the piety of the locals or their alleged obsession with cleanliness, manifest in the often deplored whitewashing of buildings.²¹ Yet these points of interest coalesced into an ambiguous image that paired historical values with the fruits and challenges of modernity. French and other visitors alike eagerly reported on the rapid industrialization and modernization of the country. Belgium emerged in the literature of the time as at once backward and progressive.

Next to the coal mines and industry around the Meuse, the nascent national railroad network was the most visible sign of Belgium's modernity. In Belgium, Dumas wrote, one travels by train to the performance of a medieval mystery play.²² The train had an enormous impact on the accessibility of Belgium's emerging *patrimoine*. In his *Guide pittoresque et artistique du voyageur en Belgique*, Ferrier incorporates a lengthy citation from Trollope's *Belgium and Western Germany in 1833* that draws attention to the short distances between the country's major sights:

Where can be found such a constellation of fine old cities as Bruges, Ghent, Antwerp, Louvain, Brussels, Namur, and Liege? Each assisting to illustrate the history of the others, and all within so small a space, that they may be visited in succession, and revisited again half-a-dozen times in the course of as many weeks; and that, perhaps, at less an expense than if the same were spent at a fashionable watering-place in England.²³

By 1838, when Ferrier's guide was published, the travel time between Trollope's "constellation of fine old cities" had been reduced even more.²⁴ Beginning in 1835, Belgium became the first continental country to have its own rail network, after that of England, which soon spawned its own travel literature. In 1838, Auguste Gobert, "employé du chemin de fer," published a *Guide du voyageur en Belgique sur le parcours du chemin de fer de l'Etat*.²⁵ Its only

fig. 7

illustration represents the Belgian territory as a chain of cities connected by the lines of the railroad network. The same year saw the publication of the *Promenades sur le chemin de fer*, published under the initials M.d.W. In 1839, Ferrier followed with his own guide for railroad travel, but probably the most iconic example of this type is Alphonse Wauters's *Atlas pittoresque des chemins de fer de la Belgique*, published the next year.²⁶ Its fifteen maps detail railroad sections, for instance between Mechelen and Antwerp or Waremme and Liège, and include icon-like silhouettes of the main monuments of the cities, villages, or castles along the route.

In James Weale's 1859 guide *Belgium, Aix-la-Chapelle and Cologne*, sized so as to fit "the pocket or pouch of the tourist,"²⁷ a fold-out map of Belgium and its railroad lines illustrates how the Bruges-based English medieval archaeologist considered directions about the practicalities of modern travel integral to a guide that "should enable students in the various branches of archaeology, architecture and painting, to make the best use of their time."²⁸

As Dumas's flippant remark about the medieval mystery play suggests, the railroad was not only a modern infrastructure opening up the Belgian territory and its heritage and sights to foreign and Belgian travelers; it was also an omnipresent index of Belgium's (industrial) modernity. As such, it colored travelers' experiences of heritage with vivid contrasts and provided a source of fascination in its own right. On his own visit to Mechelen in 1837, Hugo recorded his admiration for the massive tower of the cathedral and its carillon and for the local Rubens paintings, and also for the terrific spectacle of a locomotive.²⁹ Nineteenth-century Belgium seemed to set the perfect stage to experience the modern dialectic inherent to heritage; whatever became valued as unique and irreplaceable was simultaneously threatened by processes of industrial and social modernization.³⁰ The publications discussed in this volume record the experience of menacing modernity in ways that range from Karl Schnaase's early observations of the dissonant presence of textile factory workers in Ghent's historic center to the devastations of industrial warfare in the first world war. As David Peleman argues, the monumental album *La Belgique industrielle* addressed this dialectic by attempting to naturalize the modern industrial complex as the object of picturesque representations, while pushing heritage objects to the margins of the large lithographs. Jasper Van Parys's chapter demonstrates how the very agents of mobility, in this case the Touring-club de Belgique, an association of cyclists and motorists, discovered and debated the paradoxical threat that modern restoration posed to historic art and architecture. Willem Bekers conducts a military reading of the 1920 Michelin guide to the Battlefields of the Yser, pointing out the impact of wartime technological developments on travel guide writing and the surprisingly modern representation of the war landscape.

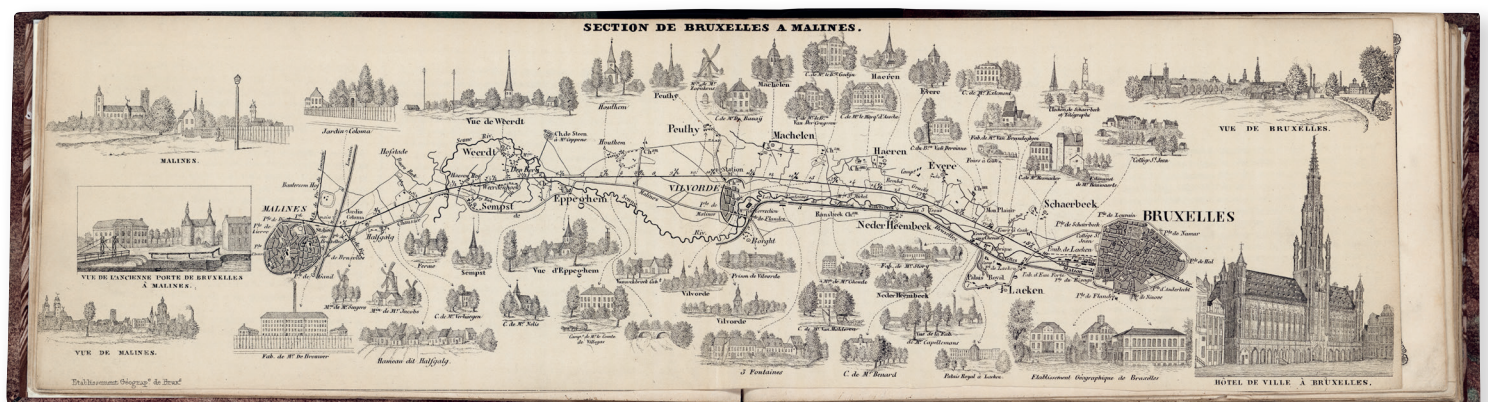


fig. 8 Views along the Brussels-Mechelen railroad section. Alphonse Wauters, *Atlas pittoresque des chemins de fer de la Belgique* (Brussels: Vandermaelen, 1840).

BELGIUM, AIX-LA-CHAPELLE & COLOGNE, By

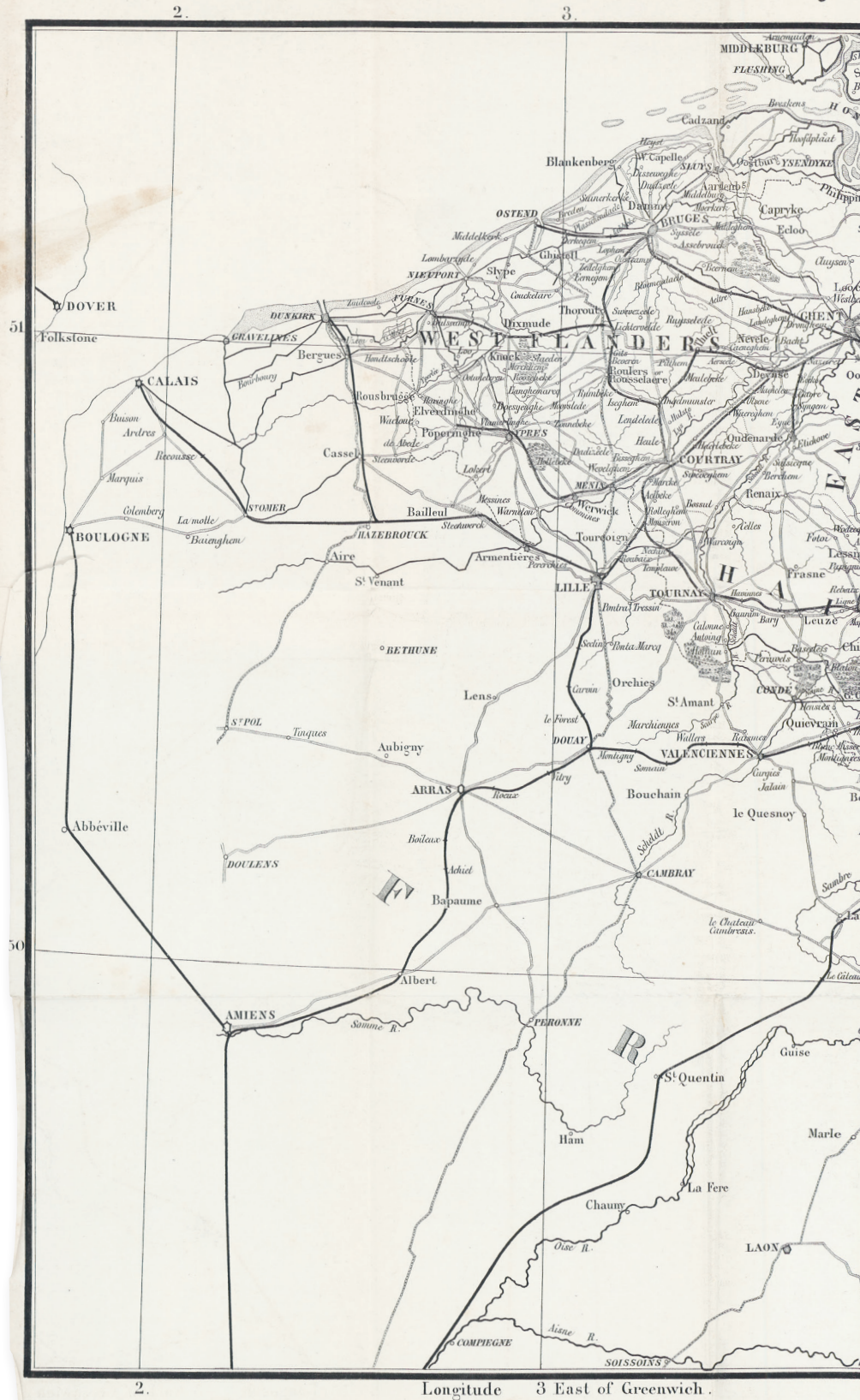


fig. 9 "General map with railways." W.H.J. [James] Weale, *Belgium, Aix-La-Chapelle and Cologne: An Entirely New Guide Book for Travellers, with Numerous Historical and Archaeological Notes* (London: Dawson, 1859).



Bruges, A. Ancot, Lithographer. 1858.

The sustained attention of foreigners and Belgians to “Belgium” and its buildings and artifacts – be they historical or modern – was reflected in a rich and variegated print culture and an astounding amount of publications. Indeed, as Ellen Van Impe has remarked, despite the absence of institutionalized centers for architectural history and authoritative overviews of the nation’s historical architecture, “in Belgium (architectural) history and archaeology were subjects of intense interest all through the nineteenth century and occupied many amateurs and professionals especially from 1830 onwards, yielding an important corpus of texts and visual material.”³¹ In this corpus of printed matter, a notion of Belgian architecture emerged and became historicized, yet from a different perspective than through the workings of Belgium’s “historical infrastructure”—those institutions founded after independence and tasked with identifying and protecting a national *patrimoine*, such as the Belgian Royal Monuments Commission established in 1835.³² The printed media produced as part of various forms of exploration of the Belgian territory included specialized as well as popular publications, involved authors of different nationalities with varying claims on scientific, political, economical or artistic authority, and took the shape of journal articles, novels, expensive monographs, and picture books. This variety is on display in the *Répertoire bibliographique à l’usage du touriste en Belgique: La Belgique historique, monumentale et pittoresque*, published in Brussels in 1903, and discussed extensively by Van Parys in his contribution to this volume. Compiled by Edmond Somville, a conservator at the Royal Library of Belgium, the bibliography lists 2,578 titles, including maps, guidebooks, and albums but also dictionaries, journal articles, modern editions of historical travel accounts, and much more. While the chronological range of Somville’s bibliography far exceeds that of the present volume, it does indicate the sheer mass of material and studies concerning the historical architecture of Belgium as well as its variety and dispersal over a wide range of media.

fig. 10

The historiography of architecture has received ample attention in the last two decades, but, until recently, little attention has been paid to the role of popular media. As a side project of the European research project *Printing the Past. Architecture, Print Culture, and Uses of the Past in Modern Europe* (2016–2019), which examined how architecture emerged as a prime medium of historical discourse in nineteenth-century print culture, this book explores the nexus of travel and print culture to show how the construction of a national heritage was a dynamic process, occurring as much in the space of the popular printed page as in official histories or sanctioned institutions.³³ It is in these pages, too, that architecture becomes historicized and is read as a historically significant entity.

The corpus of printed material that collects and historicizes Belgian architecture is not only varied but interconnected and porous as well. Boundaries between high and low culture, scholarly and popular assessments, literature and journalism are crossed eagerly and with ease, in references, borrowings, or sometimes outright plagiarism. Until 1852, Belgium was a particularly fertile arena for such exchange because of the liberal copyright laws introduced by William I, which led to the widespread practice of counterfeiting.³⁴ Maarten Delbeke’s essay shows how French literary texts about Belgium of the 1830s and 1840s depended on previously published historical texts, often circulated in popular media, while providing the budding guidebook literature about the young nation state with descriptions and critical values. This process facilitated the emergence of a nebulous *patrimoine* in print, as for example in the pages of an

Deux hommes célèbres voulurent partager avec Cook la gloire et les dangers du voyage, sir *Joseph Banks* et sir *Solander*.

Sir *Joseph Banks* a été en Angleterre, pendant un demi-siècle, l'un des hommes les plus actifs parmi ceux qui ont poussé à l'avancement des sciences. C'est lui qui a, en quelque sorte, fondé l'Association africaine, qui, pendant quarante ans, a fourni les instructions à la plupart des voyageurs anglais, qui a le premier fait connaître par une description la grotte de Staffa (p. 57 livr. p. 36 et 37). La propriété de la Nouvelle-Galles, le transport de l'arbre à pain en Amérique, la restitution aux Français des papiers de La Perouse, sont en grande partie le résultat de son influence. Chevalier du *l'Ordre du Bain*, et nommé à la Société royale de Londres la présidence qu'il occupa depuis 1772, sir *Joseph Banks* est mort en 1820, à l'âge de quatre-vingt ans. Ce savant, qui avait déjà fait, au sortir de l'université, un voyage sur les côtes du Labrador et de Terre-Neuve, se prit d'enthousiasme pour le voyage que Cook allait entreprendre, et voulut l'accompagner. Possesseur d'une grande fortune, il emmena un secrétaire, deux dessinateurs, quatre aides-salutaires; il emporta les instruments les plus parfaits, et se munir d'un grand nombre d'objets destinés pour faire des échanges avec les sauvages; mais il fit plus encore, il détermina le célèbre naturaliste *Solander* à faire partie de l'expédition.

Solander était un Sédès, disciple de Linné; il avait déjà fait, par hasard, un voyage sur mer, et voici comment. Se trouvant en Angleterre, il était allé en rade rendre visite à un de ses amis, le navire sur lequel il se trouvait reçut l'ordre de se couvrir immédiatement de voiles, et de faire route pour les Canaries; il le rencontre de bâtiments richement chargés qu'il fallut capturer. L'ordre était précis, impératif, le capitaine n'eut pas le loisir de faire recueillir *Solander* dans le port, et l'emmena dans sa croisière. Notre naturaliste se résignant, fit tourner sa captivité au profit de la science, et forma des collections d'histoire naturelle. A son retour, il se fit en Angleterre, où il eut une place dans le Musée; ce fut alors que sir *Joseph Banks* lui proposa le voyage autour du monde, lui garantissant la conservation de l'emploi au Musée, et lui assura sur sa propre fortune une rente viagère de 10,000 francs.

Avec d'aussi habiles collaborateurs, les puissances moyennes qu'il avait à sa disposition, ses talents et son activité, Cook ne pouvait manquer de justifier les espérances du monde avant. Le passage de Venus fut heureusement observé. Dans l'île d'Oréahiti, on reconnut aussi dans cette campagne que la Nouvelle-Zélande était partagée en deux par un canal qui porte depuis lors le nom de *détroit de Cook*.

Au retour de cette première expédition, commencée le 17 mai 1768, et terminée le 21 juin 1771, il reçut le grade de commandant dans la marine anglaise, et fut bientôt désigné pour remplir une nouvelle mission. Il s'agissait de faire de nouveau le tour du globe en passant dans les plus hautes latitudes nord, et de visiter spécialement chacun des coins de l'Océan Pacifique qui n'avait pas été examiné, afin de résoudre la question tant de fois agitée sur le continent austral. Beaucoup de savants soutenaient depuis près de deux siècles l'existence de terres australes inconnues, plutôt par des arguments philosophiques que par des faits positifs, et déployaient les immenses conséquences que leur découverte devait produire. Cook remplissait sa pénible mission avec audace et prudence; il s'avance au-delà du 51° degré de latitude, et ne rencontre sur aucun des points qu'il visita le continent désiré. Son opinion constante a été cependant qu'il existait une terre près du Pôle. Pendant cette campagne il reconnut, entre autres points, la côte orientale de la Nouvelle-Calédonie,

entre la Nouvelle-Guinée et la Nouvelle-Zélande; et à groupe d'îles auxquelles il a donné le nom de terre de *Sandwich*.



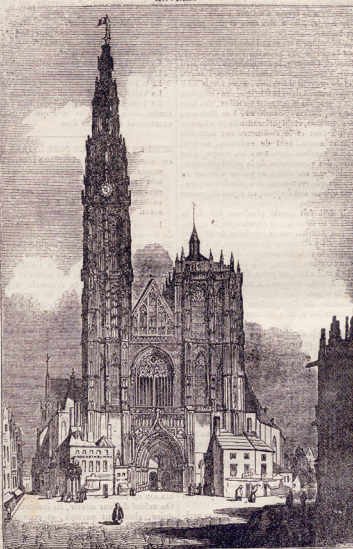
(Cook.)

Cook, à son retour, fut reçu avec enthousiasme; il fut élevé au rang de capitaine, il reçut une place dans l'administration de l'hôpital de Greenwich, et fut élu membre de la Société royale de Londres; enfin il fut décoré de la médaille d'or, consacrée par sir *Godfrey Copley* à l'écrit le plus utile sur des expériences nouvelles; on jugea que son mémoire sur l'emploi des méthodes à l'usage desquelles il était parvenu pendant son voyage à conserver la santé de son équipage, était digne d'être ainsi couronné.

Cook jouissait de son repos et de sa renommée lorsque l'esprit public, déçu dans l'espérance de trouver la terre australe, se tourna vers le sud, et donna ardemment savoir s'il existait réellement un passage vers le pôle qui pût être aux navigateurs européens le circuit du cap de Bonne-Espérance; mais comme on ne proposait le commandement d'une nouvelle expédition au capitaine Cook, après toutes les fatigues et les périls qu'il avait essuyés l'expédition on lui donna ses conseils pour le succès de cette entreprise; et dans un dîner chez lord *Sandwich*, chef de l'Amirauté, on avait déjà provoqué le voyage aux terres australes, si s'entendit longuement sur l'utilité dont une telle découverte serait pour la navigation. Le capitaine se sentit animé par toutes les considérations qui furent présentées, qu'il s'éleva de son siège avec enthousiasme en s'écriant, à la satisfaction des vœux secrets de tous ses amis, qu'il se chargerait lui-même d'exécuter le projet. C'était la mort qu'il allait chercher!

Il fut décidé qu'on lui donnerait de passer de l'Océan Atlantique dans l'Océan Pacifique, on ferait tout le contraire. En conséquence, Cook, quittant Plymouth le 12 juillet 1770, se rendit dans le grand Océan oriental, en passant par les îles qu'il avait déjà visitées, et commença ses travaux sur les côtes orientales du nord de l'Australie. Chargé par la mauvaise saison, après avoir visité cette partie du globe, il revint par les îles Sandwich, où il fut tué de la manière la plus malheureuse dans une querelle qu'il eut avec les Indiens et les gens de son équipage le 14 février 1779.

ANVERS.



(Cathédrale d'Anvers.)

La cathédrale d'Anvers a été construite vers le milieu du xiv^e siècle. En 1559, le pape Paul IV, à la sollicitation de Philippe II, l'a érigée en cathédrale. Cet édifice, l'un des chefs-d'œuvre de l'architecture gothique, a 500 pieds de longueur, 230 de largeur, et 300 de hauteur; 230 arcades voûtées y sont soutenues par 125 colonnes; de chaque côté il existe une double nef.

La tour de Notre-Dame, en pierres de taille, a 160 pieds de hauteur; il faut monter 624 marches pour arriver à la dernière galerie. Cette tour est percée à jour en découvrant, et va en diminuant d'étage en étage, avec des galeries disposées les unes au-dessus des autres; elle a été commencée en 1444, d'après le plan et les dessins de l'architecte *Amelius*, et totalement achevée en 1518. La seconde tour n'a été terminée que

jusqu'à la première galerie. En 1540 on y plaça un échafaud composé de 60 cloches.

On admire dans l'intérieur de l'église, de magnifiques tableaux de Rubens, dont une partie avait été transportée à Paris, sous l'empire. Au dernier siège de la citadelle, en 1832, on les a garantis contre les boulets et les obus, au moyen d'échafaudages et de ramparts de charpente.

Au bas de la tour est gravée une épitaphe en l'honneur du peintre *Quintinus Matsys*, qui fut d'abord marchand ferrant et forgeron. La ferrure de ce petit puits que l'on voit au bas de l'église à gauche, a été façonnée par lui, un maréchal et sans l'ins. On raconte qu'il aimait la fille d'un peintre qui ne voulait pas qu'un artiste, encouragé par sa passion, il devint pei-

Tome I.

2

fig. 10 "Anvers [Antwerp]." *Magasin pittoresque* 1, no. 9 (1833): 65.

illustrated magazine and on the postcards drawn from Alexandre Hannotiau's paintings, discussed by Stefan Huygebaert. The variety and porousness of the printed media concerned with Belgium's heritage corresponds with the mobile and multiple positions of its authors. Antoine Schayes' first general history of Belgian architecture, the *Histoire de l'architecture en Belgique*, first published in 1849 in a four-volume pocket-sized edition, is but one of the various types of publications bearing on historical architecture that Schayes issued during his relatively short life. As Van Impe details in her contribution, this range reflects his quest for an institutional position that would support his scientific interest in Belgian heritage. Authors also moved between different positions long after the birth of Belgium. The dilettant-publicist-curator-cultural diplomat Henri Kervyn de Lettenhove for instance, whose *La guerre et les œuvres d'art en Belgique* (1917) is discussed in Maarten Liefvooghe's contribution, made a name for himself as the organizer of the 1902 exhibition on Flemish Primitives in Bruges, was conservator of Bruges's archaeological museum, and then artistic advisor to several Belgian secretaries when World War I broke out.

This body of publications necessarily reflects the tensions and challenges facing a young nation, which surface more explicitly in its budding national historiography, such as its multilingualism and chequered confessional history, its liminal position between a Germanic north and Roman south, its conflict-ridden past, and its uncertain pedigree and definition.³⁵ Schnaase is sensitive to the country's multilingualism, a factor that the French archeologist and art critic Louis Batissier examined in 1836 for its impact on the character of the artistic production in the Flemish and Walloon region.³⁶ The publications decrying the destruction of Belgium in World War I need to come to terms with the Germanic component of the country. But in many other of our sources this aspect of the country and the emerging Flemish movement are present implicitly or anecdotally, in ways that either minimize their importance or subsume them in a naturalized understanding of what constitutes "Belgium."³⁷ The most glaring absence in the publications discussed here is Congo, acquired as a personal colony (Congo Free State) by Leopold II in 1885 but taken over by the Belgian State as an official colony in 1908. This absence reflects the bias of the selection of material analyzed here, and its main concern with the sites and buildings available to those visiting Belgium. Still, the colonial enterprise increasingly left traces in Belgium, although their presence was rarely, if at all, thematized. Congo itself seems to have been covered together with Belgium's *patrimoine* only after it became an official colony.³⁸

The printed matter discussed here bears witness to other cultural, ideological, and disciplinary fault lines as well, whether they concern the demands of a nascent academic discipline, as in Schnaase's *Niederländische Briefe* (1834) analysed by Henrik Karge; an artistic program, as in Hannotiau's case; or more purely political concerns, as in the debate about religious heritage fostered by the Touring-club de Belgique. The ideology of the printed patrimony is perhaps most visibly at play in *La Belgique industrielle*, the large volume of lithographs of industrial sites discussed by Peleman. In it, the genre of the picturesque landscape view is consciously adopted and usurped to advance a particular view of Belgium as an industrial yet harmonious nation, where production generates a new patrimony whose value equals that of the monuments of old. The historic patrimony of Belgium became the subject of outright propaganda in World War I, when publications like Kervyn de Lettenhove's pamphlet exploited the evidentiary value of photography to stir outrage about the destruction of heritage while confirming the status of Belgium as one large museum.

fig. 11 Congress Column in Brussels, with at the base allegorical figures representing the freedom of press and other constitutional liberties. Eugène Van Bommel, *La Belgique illustrée, ses monuments, ses paysages, ses œuvres d'art* (Bruxelles: Bruylant-Christophe et Cie, 1878–1882), vol 1, 49.

fig. 12 Title page of the Hainaut chapter evoking the province's industrial infrastructure. Eugène Van Bommel, *La Belgique illustrée, ses monuments, ses paysages, ses œuvres d'art* (Bruxelles: Bruylant-Christophe et Cie, 1878–1882), vol 2, 1.

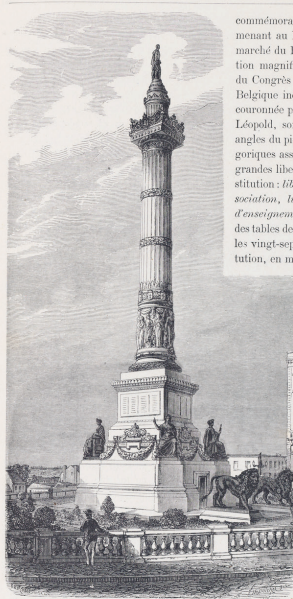
plein air? Je citerai encore d'autres figures qui ne sont pas des marbres, telles que les enfants de Godecharle, si pittoresquement groupés sur les aubettes, le *Mélange vainqueur* et le *Mélange assailli* de Lejeune, et cette jolie *Vierge* d'Olivier qui examine deux pigeons avec une curiosité si indisciplinée. Tout cela n'aurait point mauvaise grâce à figurer à côté des sculptures réussies de notre musée moderne, qui n'en compte déjà pas tant.

Malgré l'importance de la place Royale, c'est peut-être dans la disposition de la rue Royale et de la rue de la Loi qu'éclate le plus le génie décoratif de Guimard. Son grand art, c'est celui de grouper des masses en les séparant par des vides qui les font valoir. Cette variété, ces contrastes donnent à l'ensemble la vie et le mouvement qui manquent trop souvent à l'architecture. Dans la rue Royale, les vides sont remplis par une simple et élégante balustrade qui ménage à l'œil une splendide perspective, la vue du panorama de la ville. Dans la rue de la Loi, des constructions à un seul étage servent à relier les six grands pavillons, symétriquement espacés, que Guimard a échelonnés sur une ligne de trois cent cinquante mètres, en ménageant au centre une large cour au fond de laquelle il a élevé le palais destiné jadis au conseil du Brabant et occupé aujourd'hui par les Chambres.

Cette belle décoration a pourtant des défauts, défauts naturels et bien pardonnable dans une improvisation si rapide et si gigantesque. On peut citer des négligences architectoniques, des profils incertains, des pénétrations contraires aux règles, des porte-à-faux, etc. On remarquera surtout l'énormité du détail ornemental. Bien calculées pour l'effet quand on regarde l'œuvre à distance, ces exagérations deviennent monstrueuses pour qui l'analyse de près. Aussi l'architecte du roi, M. Balat, en élevant, aux portes du palais, sur la place du Trône, des aubettes et des balustrades dans le goût des balustrades et des aubettes de Guimard, s'est-il bien gardé d'imiter Guimard dans le détail. Bien que les constructions modernes s'accordent scrupuleusement avec les anciennes, elles écrient profondément d'en être des copies et l'élégance des unes contraste avec la masse des autres.

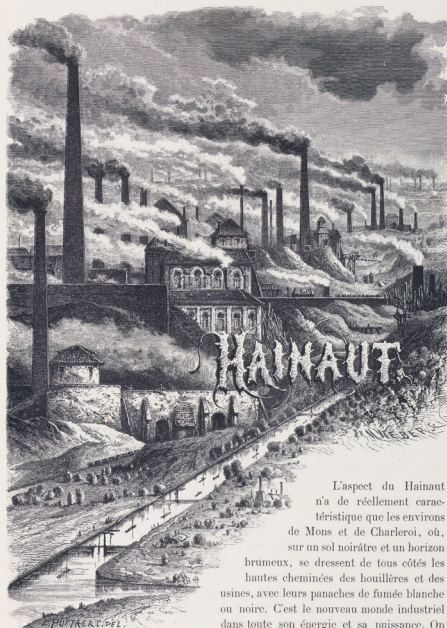
Les terrasses à balustrades de la rue Royale, d'où Guimard voulait qu'on découvrit le panorama de Bruxelles, ne remplissent plus guère aujourd'hui cet office, à cause de plus d'une construction parasite qui est venue barrer l'horizon. Mais du haut de la petite place Belliard, dominant l'escalier dit de la *Bibliothèque* qui descend à la rue Isabelle, vous avez encore une de ces percées pittoresques : vous voyez de là la tour de l'hôtel de ville se découper nettement sur le fond des campagnes lointaines; elle dépasse de beaucoup la ligne d'horizon, et c'est peut-être de ce point qu'elle se fait le plus admirer. Donnons aussi un coup d'œil en passant à l'excellente statue du général Belliard, par G. Geefs, une de celles où l'on a tiré le meilleur parti du costume moderne.

Plus loin, nous arrivons à la place du Congrès. Nouvelle et large vue sur la ville et sur les champs : c'est sans conteste le plus beau coup d'œil sur Bruxelles, qui peut d'ici presque s'embrasser d'un regard. La place en elle-même, avec sa colossale colonne



Colonne du Congrès.

commémorative et ses vastes escaliers menant au bas-fond où est installé le marché du Parc, présente une décoration magnifique. Érigée en l'honneur du Congrès constituant qui a fondé la Belgique indépendante, la colonne est couronnée par la statue de bronze de Léopold, son premier roi. Aux quatre angles du piedestal, quatre figures allégoriques assises représentent les quatre grandes libertés garanties par la Constitution : *liberté des cultes, liberté d'association, liberté de la presse, liberté d'enseignement*. Sur les quatre faces, des tables de marbre blanc reproduisent les vingt-sept articles de cette Constitution, en même temps que la liste des membres du Congrès qui les ont votés. Des guirlandes, des armoiries sculptées dans la pierre complètent l'ornementation de la colonne dessinée par M. l'architecte Poesiaert. Deux détails seulement excitent quelque surprise. L'un est un bas-relief sculpté qui fait le tour de la colonne et qui figure une guirlande vivante — une *spinthrie*, eussent dit les Romains — de neuf jeunes filles figurant les neuf provinces; au centre du groupe, une figure d'homme personnifie le génie de la Belgique.



L'aspect du Hainaut n'a de réellement caractéristique que les environs de Mons et de Charleroi, où, sur un sol noirâtre et un horizon brumeux, se dressent de tous côtés les hautes cheminées des houillères et des usines, avec leurs panaches de fumée blanche ou noire. C'est le nouveau monde industriel dans toute son énergie et sa puissance. On



fig. 13 Tower of the Crosbowmen's Guild Hall (former Lakenhuis), Mechelen. Jean Baes, *Tours et tourelles de la Belgique d'après les aquarelles de Jean Baes, architecte* (Brussels: Lyon-Claessen, n.d. [1891]).

fig. 11, 12

fig. 13

The publications discussed and reproduced in this book span almost a century, from Schnaase's letters, set against the background of the Belgian Revolution in 1830, to Michelin's *Illustrated Guide to the Battlefields of the Yser and the Belgian Coast* of 1920. Publication genres and illustration techniques, as well as the fabric of publishing houses and those societies and institutions concerned with heritage, tourism, and art and architectural history, all underwent major developments between 1830 and 1920. The first four chapters of this book engage with publications from the first three decades after Belgian independence, while the other four chapters take us to the turn of the twentieth century, the First World War, and its aftermath. The selection of publications discussed in the present book is by definition limited and biased, yet together the eight chapters present an initial set of probes into a vast body of printed matter that merits further exploration.

Of course, between 1860 and 1900 architectural heritage was discussed and circulated in publications related to tourism as well. The guidebook market continued to flourish, with major players like Baedeker, beginning in 1839, competing with the products of Ferrier or John Murray in multiple editions and updates. The period saw some major publication projects about Belgian heritage as well, such as *Het land van Rubens—Belgische reisherinneringen* (1879, English edition of 1888) by Dutch author Busken Huet; *La Belgique illustrée, ses monuments, ses paysages, ses œuvres d'art*, edited by Eugène Van Bommel and published in installments between 1878 and 1882; and *La Belgique* (1888) by Camille Lemonnier, with illustrations by major avant-garde artists like Constantin Meunier.³⁹ From 1882 onward, the author and liberal politician Louis Hymans published his monumental history of Brussels, *Bruxelles à travers les âges*, a work completed by his brother Henri and son Paul Hymans with a volume on the contemporary city. *Tours et tourelles historiques de la Belgique* (1891), a portfolio of color plates based on watercolor sketches by architect Jean Baes, is just one other example.⁴⁰ It suggests an intriguing continuity of the album genre and reflects Baes' modernity as his *aquarelles* crop the depicted towers and emphasize their varying colors and picturesque irregularities.

Despite this continuity, the chronological distribution of the material discussed here reflects two distinct moments in the history of Belgian tourism. "[A]fter an initial phase of discovery in the early nineteenth century," Andreas Stynen and Gerrit Verhoeven have argued, "the *belle époque* saw a phase of rapid growth and consolidation [of tourism in Belgium]. On the eve of World War I, the tourist product Belgium was already a well-known brand that rang a bell among Belgian and foreign travelers alike."⁴¹ Between these two moments, the cultural-political conditions of the country had shifted quite drastically. By the time Belgium had finally become a well-known and international tourist destination, new faultlines began to mark the nation, one of them being language, despite a now established national historiography that defined Belgium as a coherent and single entity.

Each of the eight chapters collected here engage in depth with a small selection of publications: their content, material aspects, authors, historical contexts, and the forms of travel associated with them. The illustrations included in each chapter document these publications, both allowing a comparison of the core publications with other printed media and supporting the reading offered by the chapter's author. In addition, a catalog inserted between chapters 4 and 5 reproduces sample material from the eleven core publications discussed in this volume, arranged in sequence so as to permit further study. The printed media are treated here as material objects, apparatuses of

historicization and (mental) traveling, each presented in a set of spreads or plates, with front and back matter, and rescaled to account for their wide range of original sizes.⁴² This catalog was curated by Beatriz Van Houtte Alonso, who also provided invaluable assistance throughout the editorial process of this book. Reproductions are drawn mainly from the historical collections of Ghent University Library. In addition, we used holdings of other heritage libraries and institutions as well as the collections of the authors. This book concept was developed from the outset in collaboration with graphic designers Ruud Ruttens and Jeroen Wille in order to achieve a standard of design and material production befitting our exploration of print culture as a phenomenon in its own right. Much like in all of the publications studied here, (architectural) heritage once again becomes a historical reality fabricated in print.

1 “Monuments gothiques du royaume des Pays-Bas, Dédiés, par autorisation spéciale, à S.M. Guillaume Ier,” *Messenger des sciences et des arts*, 6 (1830): 247: “Messrs Simonau, father and son, both draftsmen and lithographers, have set about [...] a colossal undertaking: that of reproducing, on a large scale, the sixteen most important Gothic buildings in the Kingdom of the Netherlands.” For a historical overview of the lithographic practices and editorial enterprises of Gustave Simonau, his father, Pierre Simonau, and his brother-in-law, William Toovey, see Laurence Meunier, “Les imprimeurs-lithographes Simonau & Toovey,” *In Monte Artium: Journal of the Royal Library of Belgium* 7 (2014): 193–216.

2 For a short discussion of the second print revolution and references to literature about the various factors supporting it, see Mari Hvattum and Anne Hultsch, “Introduction: A Storehouse of Ideas,” in *The Printed and the Built: Architecture, Print Culture and Public Debate in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Mari Hvattum and Anne Hultsch (London: Bloomsbury, 2018), 3. On the use of illustrations in nineteenth-century architectural history, see Zsuzsanna Böröcz and Luc Verpoest, eds., *Imag(in)ing Architecture: Iconography in Nineteenth-Century Architectural Publications* (Leuven: Acco, 2008). On the impact of the print revolution on architectural discourse, see Richard Wittman, *Architecture, Print Culture, and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century France* (New York: Routledge, 2007); and Maarten Delbeke, “A Book Accessible to All,” *AA Files*, no. 69 (2014): 118–122.

3 Iver Tangen Stensrud, “Xylography,” in *The Printed and the Built*, 295–300.

4 On Belgian lithography, see the work of Marie-Christine Claes: “J. B. A. M. Jobard (1792–1861), visionnaire de nouveaux rapports entre l’art et l’industrie, acteur privilégié des mutations de l’image en Belgique au XIX^e siècle” (PhD diss., Université Catholique de Louvain, 2007); “Dewasme ou les querelles de la lithographie,” *In Monte Artium. Journal of the Royal Library of Belgium* 7 (2014): 15–35; and the research tool *Répertoire des Lithographes actifs en Belgique sous la période hollandaise et le règne de Léopold Ier (1816–1865)*, (Brussels: KIK-IRPA, 2012, updated 2022). More general discussions of Belgian illustrated print culture include Jan Henri Marie Van der Marck, *Romantische boekillustratie in België. Van de Voyage Pittoresque au Royaume des Pays-Bas (1822) tot La légende et les aventures héroïques, joyeuses et glorieuses d’Ulenspiegel et de Lamme Goedzak au pays de Flandres et ailleurs (1869)* (Roermond: J.J. Romen & Zonen, 1956) and the themed issue *In Monte Artium* 7 (2014): *Le livre illustré en Belgique / Het geïllustreerde boek in België (1800–1865)*, edited by Claude Sorgeloos.

5 Stephen Bann, “The Past in Print: Ancient Buildings Represented by Engraving, Etching and Lithography in Early-Nineteenth Century England,” in *The Printed and the Built*, 51–72, studies how lithography and other printmaking techniques contributed to cultures of historical-mindedness in nineteenth-century France and England,

distinguishing realistic effects from a sense of decay.

6 “Monuments gothiques du royaume des Pays-Bas,” 247: “The advantages of lithography for the arts and commerce have become indisputable; it has reached such a degree of perfection that it can stand shoulder to shoulder with engraving. Lithography also combines speed of execution with low cost, and the invaluable advantage of rendering the original drawing. [...] The first plate just executed is the large portal of the church of St. Gudula in Brussels. It is unquestionably the most important piece lithography has produced to date; it combines everything that is possible to desire: truthfulness down to the smallest detail, correct drawing, strictly observed perspective, accuracy in the surroundings of this beautiful temple, in short, an impression that has very few examples.”

7 “Monuments gothiques du royaume des Pays-Bas,” 247–248: “Only art and patriotism could have motivated this great undertaking, and so His Majesty, so just an appreciator of talent, has deigned to inform Messrs Simonau, in terms most honourable to these artists, that he accepts with pleasure the dedication of this work: a distinction he does not bestow on mediocrity. The entrepreneurs of this precious collection are Belgians, known for the fine productions that have come off their presses in both London and Brussels.” Note that ‘belge’ and ‘Belgique’ could then still refer to the entirety of the Low Countries.

8 Jean-Joseph De Cloet, “Préface,” in *Voyage pittoresque dans le Royaume des Pays-Bas* (Brussels: J.B.A.M. Jobard, 1825), unpaginated.

9 See C.W. Thompson, *French Romantic Travel Writing: Chateaubriand to Nerval* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 139–169; Odile Parsis-Barubé, “Digne d’être peint: L’invention d’un pittoresque nordique dans les récits de voyage de l’époque romantique,” *Revue du Nord* 2, no. 360–361 (2005): 529–543.

10 Meunier, “Les imprimeurs-lithographes Simonau & Toovey,” 195–197.

11 Auguste Voisin and Gustave Simonau, *Principaux monuments gothiques de l’Europe. Dessinés sur les lieux et lithographiés par Gustave Simonau, accompagnés d’un texte historique par Auguste Voisin, bibliothécaire et professeur à l’Université de Gand; précédés d’une notice sur l’architecture ogivale par Gustave Simonau* (Brussels: Pierre Simonau, 1843).

12 For a survey of these *lieux*: Jo Tollebeek, Geert Buelens, Gita Deneckere, Chantal Kesteloot, and Sophie De Schaepprijver, eds., *België, een parcours van herinnering*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam: Bakker, 2008).

13 Lut Pil, “Pour le plaisir des yeux”: *Het pittoreske landschap in de Belgische kunst. 19de – eeuwse retoriek en beeldvorming* (Leuven: Garant, 1993); Lut Pil, *Landschap in veelvoud: België en de ensceining van het pittoreske landschap in het negentiende-eeuwse album en boek* (Ghent: Snoeck, 2020).

14 The relation between nation building, tourism, and printed matter has been studied mainly through the prism of travel guides; see

for instance Gilles Chabaud, Evelyne Cohen, Natacha Coquery, and J. Penez, eds., *Les guides imprimés du XVI^e au XX^e siècle: Villes, paysages, voyages* (Paris: Belin, 2000). See also the criticism of the *Guide Bleu* in Roland Barthes, *Mythologies* (Paris: Le Seuil, 1957), 113–117. Miles Glendinning stresses nation building and nationalism as major vectors in the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century development of European conservation discourses, practices, and institutions, in *The Conservation Movement: A History of Architectural Preservation, Antiquity to Modernity* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013), 63–115, 138–184.

15 Mrs. [Frances Milton] Trollope, *Belgium and Western Germany in 1833* (Paris: Baudry’s European Library, 1834), 98–99.

16 Alexandre Ferrier, *Guide pittoresque et artistique du voyageur en Belgique* (Brussels: Hauman, 1838), 5–6: “Today Belgium is visited by a large number of foreigners attracted by the beauty of the country, its trade, its industry, the comfort of its hotels even in the smallest towns, the wealth and age of its monuments. The position of its capital at the center of a network of railroads, and on the way to the other capitals, makes it so to speak the crossroads of Europe. However this same ease of connection all too often turns travelers away from penetrating into the interior of the country.”

17 Claude Pichois, *L’image de la Belgique dans les lettres françaises de 1830 à 1870: Esquisse méthodologique* (Paris: Librairie Nizet, 1957); Nicole Savy, “Images de la Belgique par Victor Hugo, ou l’inverse,” in *France-Belgique (1848–1914): Affinités-ambiguïtés, Actes du colloque des 7, 8 et 9 mai 1996*, ed. Marc Quaghebeur and Nicole Savy (Brussels: Labor, 1997), 237–248.

18 See Robert Houzee, ed., *Bruxelles carrefour de cultures* (Antwerp: Mercatorfonds, 2000). Jo Tollebeek discusses how both Belgium and the Netherlands viewed themselves as countries whose “national individuality lay precisely in being international,” in “The Hyphen of National Culture: The Paradox of National Distinctiveness in Belgium and the Netherlands, 1860–1919,” *European Review* 18, no. 2 (2010): 207–225. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S106279870999024X>. The key proponents of this idea are the historians Henri Pirenne for Belgium and P.J. Blok for the Netherlands.

19 See Jean Fabre, “Gérard de Nerval et les Flandres,” in *Les Flandres dans les mouvements romantique et symboliste* (Paris: Didier, 1958), 65–66.

20 Alexandre Dumas, *Excursions en Belgique* (Brussels: A. Jamar, 1841), 38: “All that has committed an error, all that has gone bankrupt, all that in sum would be forced to veil its face in Paris, suddenly disappears from the Boulevard de Gand or the Place de la Bourse, and reappears, the face unveiled and resplendent, on the Allée Verte, in Brussels.”

21 On the trope of whitewashing, see Pichois, *L’image de la Belgique*, 33–34, who refers to Hugo, Michelet, and Gautier. See also the fascinating observations in Gérard de Nerval, “Lettres sur la Belgique. Physionomie du pays et de ses habitants, moeurs, usages, arts, monuments, industrie,” in *Oeuvres*, vol. 2,

ed. Albert Béguin and Jean Richer (Paris: Gallimard, 1961), 919–921. Hugo’s despair at the practice is well documented; see Thomas Coomans and Tom Verschaffel, “Victor Hugo et la Belgique: Regards croisés sur le patrimoine médiéval,” in *Victor Hugo et le débat patrimonial, Actes du colloque organisé par l’Institut national du patrimoine*, ed. Roland Recht, Gennaro Toscano, and Fabien Jamois (Paris: Somogy éditions d’art, 2003), 213–214.

22 Dumas, *Excursions*, 135: “Sire, réponds-je, je pense que la Belgique tout entière est personnifiée dans la fête que Malines nous donne aujourd’hui. Un mystère du moyen âge qu’on vient voir par des chemins de fer!”

23 Trollope, *Belgium and Western Germany*, 99.

24 See also the remarks on the travel time between Paris and Brussels in Nerval, “Lettres des Flandres,” 917, and the comparison of a visit to Brussels according to *Les délices des Pays-Bas* of 1769 and Alexandre Ferrier’s *Description ... de Bruxelles* (1838) in Christophe Loir, *Bruxelles néoclassique. Mutation de l’espace urbain 1775–1840* (Brussels: CFC-Éditions, 2017), 8–33.

25 Auguste Gobert, *Guide du voyageur en Belgique sur le parcours du chemin de fer de l’état* (Brussels: Société nationale pour la propagation des bons livres, 1838).

26 Alphonse Wauters, *Atlas pittoresque des chemins de fer de la Belgique, composé de 15 cartes ornées de 400 vues et contenant une notice historique et statistique sur les chemins de fer, ainsi que la description de tous les lieux qu’ils traversent sous le rapport de la géographie physique et politique, de l’histoire, de la statistique, du commerce, de l’industrie, etc.* (Brussels: Vandermaelen, 1840). See also Pieter Uytendhove, “De paradox van de immobiele toerist,” in *Te kust en te keur. Badplaatsen en kuuroorden in België 16de–20ste eeuw*, ed. Ronny Gobyn (Brussels: Algemene Spaar- en Lijfrentekas, 1987), 194–217, esp. 195–196; Paul Van Heesvelde, “Railways and Tourism in Belgium, 1835–1870,” paper delivered at the VI Congreso de Historia Ferroviaria, 2012 (<https://www.docutren.com/historiaferroviaria/Vitoria2012/pdf/3061.pdf>).

27 W.H.J. [James] Weale, *Belgium, Aix-La-Chapelle and Cologne: An Entirely New Guide Book for Travellers, with Numerous Historical and Archaeological Notes* (London: Dawson, 1859), i. See also Juliet Simpson, “Portable Museums: Imaging and Staging the ‘Northern Gothic Art Tour’—Ephemera and Alterity,” in *Ephemeral Spectacles, Exhibition Spaces and Museums, 1750–1918*, ed. Dominique Bauer and Camilla Murgia (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2021), 146–154.

28 Weale, *Belgium, Aix-La-Chapelle and Cologne*, i.

29 Victor Hugo, *Voyages: France et Belgique (1834–1837)*, ed. Claude Gély (Grenoble: Presses Universitaires de Grenoble, 1974), 279–283, letter of August 22, 1837, to Adèle Hugo.

30 Thordis Arrhenius, *The Fragile Monument* (London: Artifice, 2012), 6. Lucia Allais, *Designs of Destruction: The Making of Monuments in the Twentieth Century* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2018), 2.

31 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): 2.

32 Herman Stynen, *De onvoltooid verleden tijd: een geschiedenis van de monumenten- en landschapszorg in België 1835–1940* (Brussels: Stichting Vlaams Erfgoed, 1998). See also Anne Van Loo, ed., *Repertorium van de architectuur in België van 1830 tot heden* (Antwerp: Mercatorfonds, 2003).

33 PriArc was a Humanities in the European Research Area (HERA) project directed by Mari Hvattum (AHO), with additional principal investigators Mari Lending (AHO), Barbara Penner (UCL), Caroline van Eck (Leiden University, now University of Cambridge), and Maarten Delbeke (Ghent University, now ETH Zürich). In November 2018 PriArc researchers joined invited speakers at an international symposium *Touring Belgium* at Ghent University, organized by Maarten Delbeke, Maarten Liefoghe, Nikolaos Magouliotis, and Ben Vandenput, in collaboration with Jan Vandermissen. Five of the eight chapters in this volume are based on papers first presented at that conference; three other chapters were written specifically for this book.

34 On Belgian counterfeits, see the various publications of François Godfroid, such as the monumental *Aspects inconnus et méconnus de la contrefaçon en Belgique* (Brussels: Académie royale de langue et de littérature françaises, 1998), and of Jacques Hellemans, such as “La réimpression des revues françaises en Belgique (1815–1854),” in *Les presses grises: la contrefaçon du livre XVI^e–XIX^e siècles*, ed. François Moureau (Paris: Aux amateurs des livres, 1988), 345–362. See also the thematic issue *Contrefaçons* of *Les Cahiers du Cédic* 2/4, January 2003 (<https://cedic.ulb.be/cahiers/2-4/index.html>); Jean Mary Chartry d’Heur, “Sur D. Avanzo & Cie, lithographes, éditeurs liégeois, contrefacteurs,” in *Monte Artium. Journal of the Royal Library of Belgium* 7 (2014), 84–85, and the literature on the topic cited by Delbeke.

35 On the problems faced by a budding national historiography, see Jo Tollebeek, “Historical Representation and the Nation-State in Romantic Belgium (1830–1850),” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 59, no. 2 (1998): 329–353.

36 Louis [Batissier], “Liège,” *L’Artiste* XII (1836): 242–244.

37 Thompson, *French Romantic Travel Writing*, 142, notes that Dumas is one of the few French authors to pick up on the tension between a Flemish-speaking population and French-speaking one; see also Pichois, *L’image de la Belgique*, 57–61.

38 An early example is Louis Dumont-Wilden, *La Belgique illustrée* (Paris: Larousse, [1910–1911]), which includes the chapter “Le Congo, et l’expansion économique de la Belgique” (245–264), as well as a chapter on the Grand-Duchy of Luxembourg. Somville’s *Répertoire bibliographique* does not mention Congo.

39 Busken Huet, *Het land van Rubens—Belgische reisherinneringen* (Amsterdam: Loman, 1879). Eugène Van Bemmelen, ed., *La Belgique illustrée: Ses monuments, ses paysages, ses œuvres d’art*. 3 vols. (Brussels: Bruylant-Christophe et Cie, 1878–1882). Camille Lemonnier, *La Belgique* (Paris: Hachette, 1888). See also Marianne Michaux, “Monumentale ou pittoresque, la Belgique illustrée,” *Textyles*, no. 56 (2019), 25–44. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4000/textyles.3539>.

40 Louis Hymans, *Bruxelles à travers les âges*, 2 vols. (Brussels: Bruylant-Christophe, [1884]); Henri Hymans and Paul Hymans, *Bruxelles à travers les âges. Troisième volume: Bruxelles Moderne* (Brussels: Bruylant-Christophe, [1888]); Jean Baes, *Tours et tourelles de la Belgique d’après les aquarelles de Jean Baes, architecte* (Brussels: Lyon-Claesen, n.d. [1891]).

41 Andreas Stynen and Gerrit Verhoeven, eds., *Bestemming België. Een geschiedenis van toerisme in dertien etappes* (Aalter: Ertsberg, 2022), 12.

42 See André Tavares, *The Anatomy of the Architectural Book* (Zurich: Lars Müller Publishers, 2016).

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