

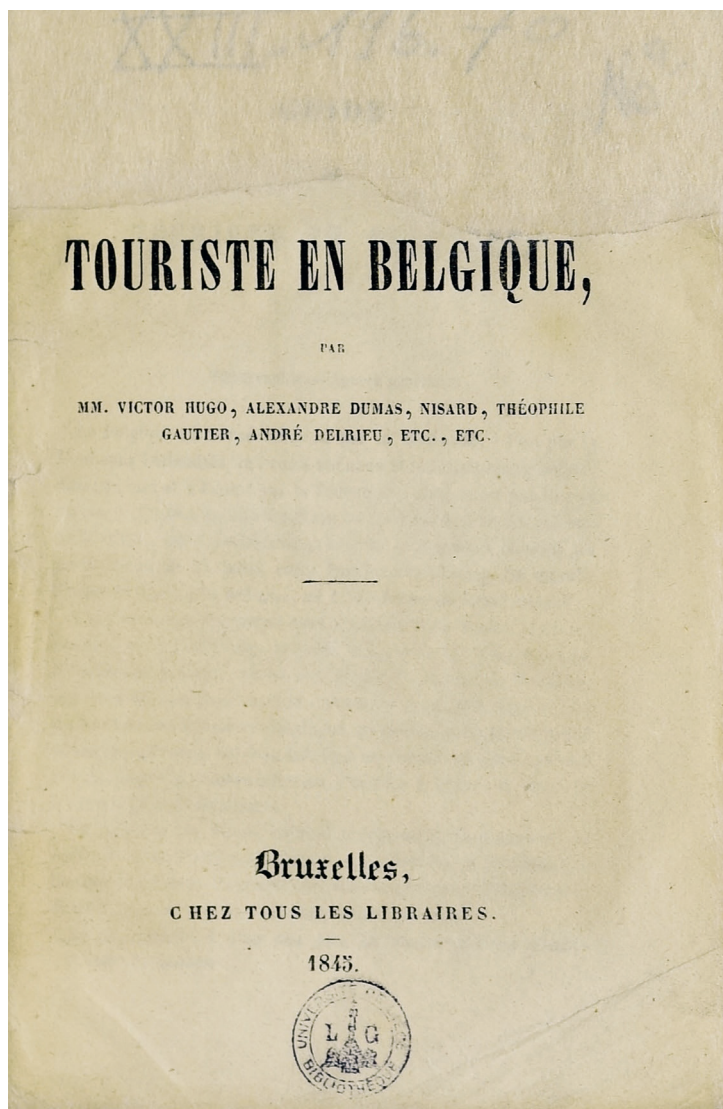


fig. 1 Title page of Victor Hugo, Alexandre Dumas, Nisard, Théophile Gautier, André Delrieu, etc., etc., *Guide du touriste en Belgique* (Bruxelles: Chez tous les libraires, 1845).

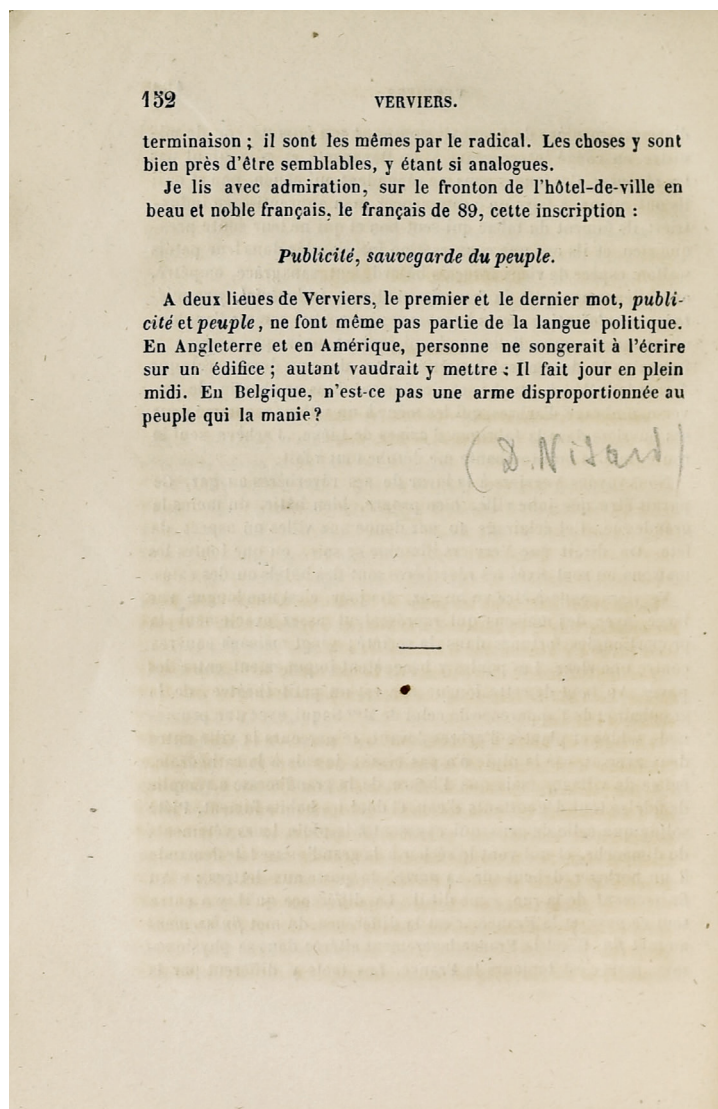


fig. 2 Page 152 of Victor Hugo, Alexandre Dumas, Nisard, Théophile Gautier, André Delrieu, etc., etc., *Guide du touriste en Belgique* (Bruxelles: Chez tous les libraires, 1845), 152. Manuscript note identifying Désiré Nisard as the author of a section of the *Guide*.

The *Guide du touriste en Belgique* of 1845 and French Travel Writing in the First Two Decades of Belgian Independence

fig.1 In 1845, the cream of French travel writers—Victor Hugo, Alexandre Dumas, Désiré Nisard, Théophile Gautier, André Delrieu, and others—jointly published a guidebook for Belgium, the *Guide du touriste en Belgique*.¹ Or so its title page suggests. Bearing no other imprint than Imprimerie N.-J. Slingeneyer Jeune in Brussels, the *Guide* is in fact a collection of previously published material.² Texts by the listed authors are strung together with sections from various guidebooks; summary footnotes refer to Alexandre Ferrier's *Promenades sur le chemin de fer*, a *Guide du voyageur en Belgique*, and Ferrier's *Liège et ses environs*. The resulting composite presents an itinerary across Belgium, echoing the trips described in its various sources. Starting in Brussels and Waterloo, the *Guide* follows the *Promenades sur le chemin de fer* by moving to Mechelen, the center of the Belgian railroad network, and from there by train to Antwerp, Ghent, Bruges, and the Belgian coast, and finally to Liège. Each destination is described by one or more of the celebrated French authors.

fig.2 As a montage of republished fragments tentatively attributed to their author, the *Guide du touriste en Belgique* provides a compelling entry point into French travel literature about Belgium in the 1830s and early 1840s. Drawn from a sizeable body of texts, the *Guide* is a node in a network of voices and publications. In fact, it offers two interlocking kaleidoscopic views: one of how the mostly French authors saw Belgium, and the other of the range of French language publications written about the country. The guidebook's fragments and literary descriptions purporting to portray Belgium fifteen years after its independence are taken from a plethora of widely circulating material, which was subject to seemingly limitless citing, copying, and editing. The *Guide* fully participates in this publication culture. Probably few if any of the authors featured in the *Guide* were involved in its production; texts are taken from their sources wholesale, with minor changes to suit the publication.³ This process befitted the Belgian publishing world, which thrived on the production of *contrefaçons*, unauthorized reprints or counterfeits, and suited a market eager for travel writing.

Claude Pichois, Nicole Savy, and others have mapped how nineteenth-century French authors viewed Belgium in their novels and *récits*.⁴ This essay uses the *Guide du touriste en Belgique* as an entry point into the periodical and guidebook literature devoted to the young kingdom, to explore how Belgium was composed in popular print.⁵ The French exploration of Belgium was a shared and intertextual endeavor. Writings traveled in an environment where publishing practices, genre conventions, and authorial strategies were as decisive for the impact of a text as its originality or authenticity. This condition affected the very construction of a Belgian *patrimoine* and its associated values. Composite Belgium emerged between the observations of the guidebook and the artful appraisal of a particular voice, between the worn enumeration of sights and the well-honed evocation of personal discovery and judgment. Particular items, be they buildings, anecdotes, or observations, accrued weight and importance both to those authors who chose to rehearse them and the nation they came to represent. By probing some micronarratives that were reproduced and exchanged in popular travel literature on the young nation, this essay foregrounds how a Belgian *patrimoine* was constructed and canonized within the very fabric of the printed word.

The many French authors who visited Belgium in the first decades following its independence portrayed the country as much by means of discoveries and unexpected encounters as by layering literary experiences and reproducing texts. The various distribution channels of the *réçits de voyage*, legitimate or not, ensured that views of the young kingdom circulated rapidly. Authors and readers shared an awareness of facts, expectations, and tropes. Certain cultural works became must-sees, such as Peter Paul Rubens' *Descent from the Cross* in the Antwerp cathedral, a painting dear to French visitors as it had been at the Louvre from 1794 until 1815. Exchange was enhanced by shared travel experiences. When Gautier first visited Belgium, he was accompanied by Gérard de Nerval, who visited Belgium five times between 1836 and 1852. Together they scaled the spire of the Antwerp cathedral, an experience Gautier recalled in his *réçit* and in a poem.⁶ But even when they did not travel together, authors were well aware of each other's texts. In his novel *Lorely*, published seven years after the *Guide du touriste en Belgique*, Nerval would refer his reader to Dumas' description of Liège in the three-volume *Excursions sur les bords du Rhin*, published in 1841.⁷ When Hugo visited Belgium, he knew of the novel *Virginité* (1837) by André Delrieu, a well-known travel writer, who featured his observations of the Low Countries in the dramatic love story of a young French painter in Antwerp.⁸

If common travel experiences and shared references formed a repository that various authors could draw on, episodes were also reworked within a single literary oeuvre. Before the Belgian reminiscences of Désiré Nisard—a critic, classicist, and future member of the French establishment—became a particularly popular reference, the author had honed his views of Belgium over multiple publications. The “Souvenirs de voyage” of Antwerp and Rubens that Nisard published in the *Revue de Paris* of 1836 opened with the statement, “Anvers est plein de la gloire de Rubens” (“Antwerp is full of the glory of Rubens”), a phrase that also introduces Antwerp in *Promenades d'un artiste: Bords du Rhin, Hollande, Belgique*, a book issued anonymously in 1835.⁹ The texts resemble each other to a point that confirms Nisard's authorship of the anonymous account. But the two versions approach their subject differently. *Promenades d'un artiste* dwells on the traces of the siege of Antwerp by Maréchal Gérard during the recent Franco-Dutch battle. When turning to Rubens, Nisard analyzes the *Descent from the Cross* with the reluctance of an author forced to meet the expectations of his readers. By contrast, the siege is scarcely mentioned in his essay “Souvenirs,” and when facing the *Descent from the Cross*, Nisard hides behind his alleged amateurism to analyze in depth the work and Rubens' “two styles.” A sketch biography of Quentin Matsys in *Promenades d'un artiste* is developed into a careful comparison between Rubens and his master. If in the first publication Nisard still poses as an artist who casts his penetrating but blasé gaze over the city, in the second he finds his voice as an astute cultural critic preoccupied with understanding art and tradition in a changing world.

The *Guide du touriste en Belgique* taps a particular vein of the rich material available. Its closing section consists of dated but unsigned copies of Letters V to VIII of *Le Rhin*; Hugo's authorship can be inferred only from his mention on the *Guide's* cover. Apart from these letters, the *Guide* selects material from French periodicals or Belgian counterfeits rather than sanctioned editions and books. For Dumas' contributions, the *Guide* refers summarily to his *Excursions en Belgique*. This book is a counterfeit edition of the accounts about Belgium extracted from the *Excursions sur les bords du Rhin*, published as part of the *Muséum littéraire* by Jamar; the *Guide* avails itself of the sections on Brussels, Waterloo, and Ghent.¹⁰ As was customary, Dumas had published his accounts first



fig. 3

fig. 3 Alexandre Dumas, *Excursions en Belgique* (Bruxelles: A. Jamar, 1841), title page.



fig. 4 Front page of *L'Indépendant*, 357 (December 23, 1835), with Désiré Nisard, "Le Pays de Liège. Seraing" at the bottom.

in periodicals, such as the *Revue de Paris*.¹¹ This journal provided the bulk of the literary contributions to our *Guide*. It draws four installments from the "Souvenirs de voyage" that Nisard published there in 1835–1836: on Cockerill's establishments in Seraing, the mining industry (with a first-person account of a descent into a coalmine), the city of Liège, and finally a trip by train from Brussels to Mechelen and visits to Mechelen and Antwerp.¹² Delrieu's contribution to the *Guide* appeared in the *Revue de Paris* in 1836.¹³ Théophile Gautier's *Un tour en Belgique*, as our *Guide* calls it, is drawn from a series of articles in yet another periodical, the *Chronique de Paris* of 1836.¹⁴

The selection in the *Guide du touriste en Belgique* points to the importance of periodicals as an outlet for travel writing. Journals like the *Revue de Paris* and the *Revue des deux Mondes* covered France, Europe, and beyond. Belgium is well represented in their pages. Besides the writings of Nisard and Delrieu, the *Revue de Paris* also included Roger de Beauvoir's assessment of Belgian art past and present.¹⁵ *L'Artiste* was another important venue.¹⁶ There de Beauvoir published a poem on Antwerp, and Louis Batissier issued articles on Belgian churches and the city of Liège.¹⁷ Nerval, Gautier's travel companion, would publish his own impressions of Belgium in the *Messenger*, *La charte de 1830*, and *La Presse*.¹⁸ From its inception in 1833, the *Magasin pittoresque* included features on the young nation.¹⁹ These periodicals provided a rich context for travel accounts of Belgium. In their pages, they were flanked by contributions on such topics as contemporary buildings and the history of art and architecture, often penned by the same authors.²⁰ In addition to an article on "the Gothic museums of Leuven and Brussels," Delrieu published several polemical articles on the present state of art and architecture in France.²¹ Batissier's texts on Belgium reflect his architectural historiography that roots the character of architecture in geography.²²

Numerous republications increased the scope of this production, first of all in the counterfeited editions of the journals themselves. The *Revue de Paris* appeared as counterfeit in Brussels, combined with articles from its competitor the *Revue des deux Mondes*.²³ Articles appeared in translation as well, such as the German version of Delrieu's chronicle of the Belgian coast.²⁴ The most popular piece of those surveyed here is Nisard's account of his visit to Seraing and the factory of John Cockerill. In line with a common counterfeit practice, it graced the page bottom of the Belgian daily *L'indépendant* almost simultaneously with its publication in France.²⁵ It would be reprinted until as late as 1860, in Fernand Lagarrigue's *Études et voyages*.²⁶ By then, it had become a staple of the guidebook literature that provided much material for the *Guide du touriste*.

Guidebook literature and the impact of Nisard

Unpacking the guidebook literature incorporated into the *Guide du touriste en Belgique* reveals yet another channel of reproduction. The *Guide* refers to a *Guide du voyageur en Belgique* as well as Ferrier's *Promenades sur le chemin de fer de Liège et ses environs*, but this is approximate at best. Connecting these references to publications opens a window onto the rich guidebook production in post-independence Belgium. Close examination of this production lays bare how guidebooks reused and transformed available chronicles and descriptions. Well before our *Guide*, guidebooks included literary *récits* such as Nisard's and combined them with other sources. The composite texts of these guidebooks directed the attention of travelers like our French authors to certain sites and monuments and affected how they described an emerging *patrimoine*.

The *Guide du touriste en Belgique* claims to rely on two guides by Alexandre Ferrier. By 1845 Ferrier was probably the most prominent author of popular pocket guides in Belgium. After

fig. 4

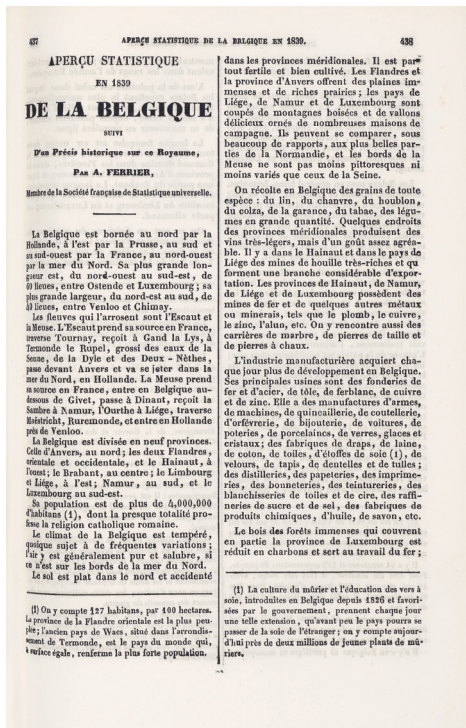


fig. 5 First page of Alexandre Ferrier, “Aperçu statistique en 1839 de la Belgique suivi d’un Précis historique sur ce Royaume,” *Journal des travaux de la Société de la statistique universelle* 1 (1839).

fig. 6 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), 30–31.

fig. 7 Alexandre Ferrier, *Guide pittoresque et artistique du voyageur en Belgique* (Bruxelles: Société belge de librairie, Hauman et compagnie, 1838), 244–245.

failing to establish a privately run telegraph network in France, Ferrier became a member of the French expat community in Belgium so well characterized by Dumas and Nerval.²⁷ From 1836 onward, Ferrier published with the Société belge de librairie of the brothers Hauman—prolific purveyors of counterfeits—a series entitled “Descriptions historiques et topographiques,” of Brussels (1836), Antwerp (1836), Bruges (1836), Mechelen (1836), Louvain (1837), Ghent (1838), and Liège (1838), which went through numerous reprints and translations.²⁸ Nearly sixty pages of the Liège *Description* would end up in the *Guide*.²⁹ These short guidebooks also fed into Ferrier’s own illustrated *Guide pittoresque et artistique du voyageur en Belgique*, first published in 1838. As the title of the city guides suggests, Ferrier rooted his appraisal of the artistic and picturesque marvels in history, topography, and statistics. On the title page of the *Guide pittoresque*, Ferrier presents himself as an engineer and a member of the Société de géographie de Paris and the Société française de statistique universelle, in whose journal he published the general overview of Belgium that opens many of Ferrier’s guides as well as our *Guide*.³⁰ With his armada of publications, Ferrier was prominent in the burgeoning guidebook market. The *Promenades sur le chemin de fer* (1838), a guidebook for visiting Belgium by train, published under the initials M.d.W., repeatedly defers to Ferrier for more detailed historical and artistic information, a courtesy that did not prevent Ferrier from issuing his own *Manuel du voyageur sur le chemin de fer Belge* in 1839.³¹

The almost simultaneous publication of two guides with very similar titles on the same topic—travel by train—is one example of a general trend: the emergence of pocket guides for the popular market published under generic titles. The *Guide du touriste en Belgique* incorporates large portions of such material, but misidentifies its sources. It refers to Ferrier’s *Promenades sur le chemin de fer*, but rather than cribbing from his *Manuel du voyageur sur le chemin de fer Belge*, it includes large sections of the earlier *Promenades sur le chemin de fer*, not by Ferrier. Conversely, the title *Guide du voyageur*, which the *Guide du touriste en Belgique* does not attribute to Ferrier, in fact refers to a later edition of Ferrier’s *Guide pittoresque*, now published as *La Belgique: Guide pittoresque et artistique du voyageur*.³² Whether this confusion attests to Ferrier’s involvement in the *Guide du touriste en Belgique*, to his reputation as a guidebook author, or to a deliberate obfuscation on the part of our *Guide*’s compiler must remain an open question.³³ But the imprecise use of what seem almost interchangeable references hints at an underlying phenomenon. In addition to their titles, the guidebooks also exchange much of their content. Ferrier’s *Guide pittoresque* bears a more than passing resemblance to a guidebook actually titled *Guide du voyageur en Belgique*, a remarkable booklet published in 1838 by the railroad employee Auguste Gobert under the full title *Guide du voyageur en Belgique sur le parcours du chemin de fer de l’état*. Both guidebooks reproduce and adapt existing texts, some of which would again feature in our *Guide*.³⁴

This process is best illustrated by examining the section on Liège in various guidebooks. To describe the cathedral there, Gobert’s *Guide du voyageur en Belgique* quotes “ce qu’en dit M. Nisard dans ses Souvenirs de voyage en Belgique” (“what M. Nisard says about it in his Souvenirs de voyage en Belgique”). Gobert proposes to “[écouter] encore le même auteur” (“listen to more from the same author”) on the subject of the Gothic St. Jacques church, and offers an abbreviated version of the description Nisard published in the *Revue de Paris*.³⁵ The section on Seraing consists of Nisard’s essay on Cockerill, because “il serait impossible d’en donner une idée plus grande et surtout plus exacte” (“it would be impossible to impart a more extensive and particularly more precise notion of it”) than the full essay provides. It is reproduced over a full twenty pages, neatly captured between quotation marks.³⁶ Ferrier follows Gobert’s example in relying on Nisard for certain sections of his own *Description historique et topographique de Liège*.³⁷ The essay

fig. 5

fig. 6

Henri II. Ce fut d'abord un couvent de cénobites, au milieu des vastes forêts de Liège. Au couvent succéda une abbaye, dont l'église abbatiale est Saint-Jacques. Le portrait du fondateur, sculpté en bas-relief sur une feuille de marbre noir, est adossé à la paroi d'une des chapelles, dans la galerie à droite. C'est une belle tête d'abbé avec le rochet et le grand costume. Les mots me manquent pour peindre cette nef si vaste, si majestueuse, si légère, qui élève l'âme sans peser sur elle, et où les chants de la prière ont quelque chose d'aigu et de joyeux. La voûte, terminée à peu près vers le même temps que celle de la cathédrale, semble comme dérobée sous un réseau de fines arêtes, qui s'entre-croisent avec symétrie, et courent autour de médaillons où sont peintes des têtes, les unes nues, les autres portant le casque du XVI^e siècle; celles-ci d'hommes, celles-là de femmes; mystérieux assistants placés entre la terre et le ciel. On dirait un immense berceau, dont le treillis de pierre offre à chacun de ses points d'intersection un camée antique, et dont les ouvertures laissent voir l'azur du ciel, figuré par les fresques bleues qui remplissent les parties vides de la voûte. Ce berceau tombe en s'arrondis-

sant, sur de légères murailles coupées d'immenses fenêtres et portées par deux galeries en arcades ogivales, que surmonte un balcon à jour, dont la pierre a été tressée comme du jonc et qui semble posé sur la pointe des arcades. Les profils des ogives sont des broderies. Un élégant feston monte du bas des deux arcs jusqu'à leur sommet, et de là encore s'élance et grimpe le long du mur en manière de bas-relief. Dans l'espace plein qui s'étend entre les têtes de chaque arcade, sont représentés en médaillons les portraits des rois, princesses, prophètes et prophétesses de l'Écriture, avec leurs noms et les versets du livre sacré qui les concernent, et qui forment, de chaque côté de la nef, comme une inscription continue, écrite en caractères gothiques. La même disposition d'arcades et d'ogives brodées est répétée sur les parois extérieures, et semble figurer un nouveau rang de galeries, comme des creux en forme de fenêtres, sur un mur, figurent les fenêtres qui y manquent.

L'orgue, d'une richesse extraordinaire, déploie, à ses deux côtés, d'immenses panneaux dorés, dont l'intérieur est couvert de peintures. Ces panneaux se fermaient dans les jours ordi-

Église cathédrale de Saint-Paul. — Cette église ne porte le nom de cathédrale que depuis 1795. Avant cette époque la cathédrale, dédiée à saint Lambert, s'élevait sur la belle place de ce nom. L'extrémité de sa flèche formait avec le sommet des tours du château fort une ligne horizontale. Des statues d'or et d'argent décoraient ses nombreuses chapelles; tout autour du chœur, fermé d'une magnifique balustrade dorée, étaient les tombeaux des princes ecclésiastiques de Liège, histoire sculptée de cette grande ville. La cathédrale actuelle est une belle église, sans entrée principale, avec des voûtes peintes et des oiseaux dorés, posés sur un feuillage vert qui court en treillis dans toute l'étendue des voûtes. La date de l'achèvement de cette église se lit sur un médaillon, au milieu de la voûte; on y travaillait encore vers le milieu du XVI^e siècle. Il y a quelques bons tableaux de peintres liégeois; un entre autres justement remarqué, et qui représente *le Baptême de Jésus-Christ par saint Jean*. La disposition en est d'une belle simplicité. Jésus-Christ est debout, les mains croisées sur la poitrine, au bord du Jourdan, dont l'eau vient mourir à ses pieds. Saint Jean, vêtu d'une peau de bête, un genou sur le rocher, verse l'eau avec sa main, sur la tête du Christ. A droite, quatre personnages, assis ou debout, dans des attitudes naturelles, admirablement ajustés, regardent le Christ et saint Jean. L'exécution en est large, la couleur forte et harmonieuse. On admire encore, dans une chapelle particulière, un marbre représentant *le Christ au tombeau*, gardé par deux anges, en bois peint. Le corps est d'un beau modèle, et d'une exécution très-fine. Une balustrade en bois ferme la chapelle. — La cathédrale de Liège est très-ornée. La porte du chœur, en cuivre poli, est un magnifique travail de serrurerie. Il n'y a plus de vitraux peints. Le plomb qui en liait les délicats compartiments servit à faire des balles. L'église elle-même fut pendant quelque temps une boucherie publique.

Église Saint-Jacques. — C'est la merveille de Liège;

les voyageurs en citent de plus belles; je doute qu'il y en ait de plus gracieuses. C'est l'architecture gothique avec toute la coquetterie de l'art arabe dont elle est née. La fondation de l'église Saint-Jacques remonte à l'an 1014, sous l'empereur d'Allemagne, Henri II. Ce fut d'abord un couvent de cénobites, au milieu des vastes forêts de Liège. Au couvent succéda une abbaye, dont l'église abbatiale est Saint-Jacques. Le portrait du fondateur, sculpté en bas-relief sur une feuille de marbre noir, est adossé à la paroi d'une des chapelles, dans la galerie à droite. C'est une belle tête d'abbé avec le rochet et le grand costume. Les mots me manquent pour peindre cette nef si vaste, si majestueuse, si légère, qui élève l'âme sans peser sur elle, et où les chants de la prière ont quelque chose d'aigu et de joyeux. La voûte, terminée à peu près vers le même temps que celle de la cathédrale, semble comme dérobée sous un réseau de fines arêtes, qui s'entre-croisent avec symétrie, et courent autour de médaillons où sont peintes des têtes, les unes nues, les autres portant le casque du XVI^e siècle; celles-ci d'hommes, celles-là de femmes; mystérieux assistants placés entre la terre et le ciel. On dirait un immense berceau, dont le treillis de pierre offre à chacun de ses points d'intersection un camée antique, et dont les ouvertures laissent voir l'azur du ciel, figuré par les fresques bleues qui remplissent les parties vides de la voûte. Ce berceau tombe en s'arrondissant, sur de légères murailles coupées d'immenses fenêtres et portées par deux galeries en arcades ogivales, que surmonte un balcon à jour, dont la pierre a été tressée comme du jonc et qui semble posé sur la pointe des arcades. Les profils des ogives sont des broderies. Un élégant feston monte du bas des deux arcs jusqu'à leur sommet, et de là encore s'élance et grimpe le long du mur en manière de bas-relief. Dans l'espace plein qui s'étend entre les têtes de chaque arcade, sont représentés en médaillons les portraits des rois, princesses, prophètes et prophétesses de l'Écriture, avec leurs noms et les versets du livre sacré qui les concernent, et qui forment, de chaque côté de la nef, comme une inscription continue, écrite en caractères gothiques. La même disposition d'arcades et d'ogives bro-

on Cockerill is also quoted in full.³⁸ St. Jacques is introduced as a “marvel” on the authority of Nisard’s *Voyage en Belgique*, and Ferrier includes the same shortened description drawn from Nisard as Gobert. In contrast to Gobert, however, Ferrier does not identify Nisard as its author.³⁹ By the time Ferrier incorporates this section in his *Guide pittoresque* of 1838, any mention of Nisard has disappeared, and the French author’s words have become part of the running text.⁴⁰

The slow erosion of the marks of Nisard’s authorship changes the voice in the text. Nisard’s original account employs the first person emphatically: “Les mots vagues comme les mots techniques me manquent pour peindre cette nef si vaste, si majestueuse, si légère, qui élève l’âme sans peser sur elle.”⁴¹ Nisard’s evocation of unspeakable beauty, which serves to position him as a literary critic devoid of architectural expertise, becomes in the *Guide pittoresque* a statement voiced implicitly by Ferrier. Moreover, Gobert had already cut the “comme les mots techniques” from the quote, changing Nisard’s avowal of limited expertise into a pure expression of awe.⁴² Between the first edition of his *Guide pittoresque* and the *Description historique et topographique de Liège*, Ferrier changes “me manquent” into “manquent,” further eliding the presence of the author in the text.⁴³ This process carries over into later texts. In 1845 Ferrier’s publisher issued the *Guide illustré du voyageur en Belgique*. One of the earliest pocket guides to Belgium with in-text illustrations, it relied heavily on Ferrier’s guidebooks. The section on St. Jacques still contains snippets of Nisard’s letter: “La merveille de Liège, c’est Saint-Jacques. C’est l’architecture gothique avec toute la coquetterie de l’art arabe.”⁴⁴ At this stage, Nisard’s words serve as impersonal comments, and his appraisal lies embedded in seemingly generic guidebook prose. Between Gobert and the *Guide illustré*, replication has transformed Nisard’s personal appreciation, staged in a refined description, into a generic value judgment that points the visitor toward a picturesque highlight.

The progressive absorption of an auctorial stance into the both impersonal and normative statements of the guidebook could follow different paths. Henaux’ *Description historique et topographique de Liège* of 1837, which was mined extensively by Ferrier, also adapts Nisard’s text on St. Jacques. Here there is no mention of the author at all, and in the text the presence of a viewing subject is completely erased.⁴⁵ By contrast, Alphonse Wauters’ *Les délices de la Belgique* of 1844, an ambitious record of the artistic and natural wonders of the young nation, interrupts its description of St. Jacques to mention that “[un] des plus spirituels écrivains de la France, M. Nisard, a donné de Saint-Jacques une description à la fois poétique et exacte” without, however, quoting it.⁴⁶ As these two approaches suggest, descriptions could become authoritative either through the anonymous repetition of their very fabric or through the fame of their author. On the subject of Cockerill, as we have seen, several guidebooks rely on both strategies by quoting Nisard’s entire article.⁴⁷ Replication slowly canonizes works and their representation in the very texture of the prose.

The combined forces of replication and canonization turn guidebook texts into testing grounds for interpretation and judgment. This happens with another building in Liège, the Palace of Justice, formerly the residence of the Prince-Bishops. Philippe Vandermaelen’s *Dictionnaire géographique de la province de Liège* of 1831 provided a prototypical description. It points out that the building is structured around two large courtyards circumscribed by a vaulted gallery that is supported by “une superbe colonnade.” The neoclassical façade of the building, built by Johannes Andreas Anneessens after a fire in 1734, is celebrated for its portico crowned with a “magnifique corniche.”⁴⁸ Vandermaelen’s description is reproduced in Bellet’s *La Belgique pittoresque* of 1834 and serves as the basis for Gobert, Ferrier’s various guides, and the *Guide illustré du voyageur en Belgique*. The most significant textual

fig. 7

fig. 8

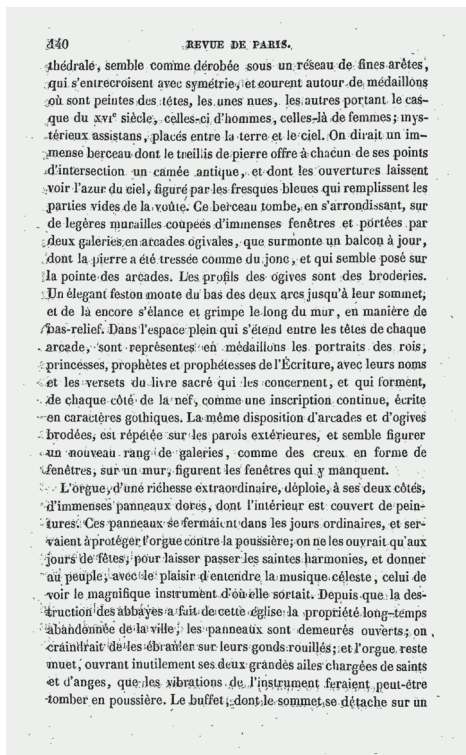
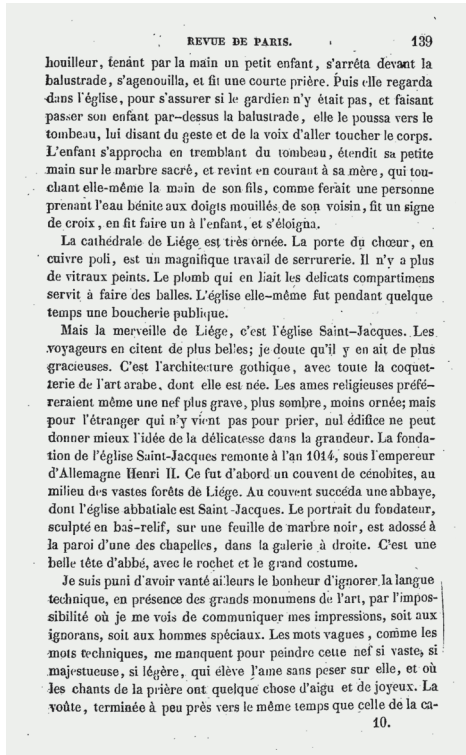


fig. 8 Désiré Nisard, “Souvenirs de voyage III. Liège. Septembre 1835,” *Revue de Paris* 29 (1836): 139–140.

variation concerns the columns of the courtyard. Bellet follows Vandermaelen and characterizes them as “taillées en candélabres et chargées d’ornements du meilleur goût,” which Ferrier and the *Guide illustré du voyageur en Belgique* develop into “chargées d’arabesques, qui ressemblent assez à celles du palais ducal de Venise.”⁴⁹ Gobert extends the horizon even further by incorporating some ideas of Henaux; he marvels at the “figures bizarres” decorating the columns, which recall “les monuments de la Haute-Égypte, avec leurs signes hiéroglyphiques.”⁵⁰ True to its title, the *Guide illustré* provides a view of the courtyard.

The changing description of the columns suggests that the critical appreciation of works evolves according to available descriptors and references. In parallel to the process observed at St. Jacques and Cockerill, where specific texts provide the matrix for subsequent descriptions, such modifications reflect and shape aesthetic appreciation and stylistic categorisation. Our French authors participate in this process by providing models—as in the case of Nisard—but also by adopting them. Hugo’s Belgian encounters provide particularly telling examples of how available texts became absorbed into a literary response.

Victor Hugo’s Belgian discoveries

Hugo’s first two visits to Belgium took place in 1837 and 1840. The letters he wrote during his first trip would not be published until 1892, but his trip to Givet, Dinant, Namur, Liège, and Verviers in August 1840 fed into *Le Rhin* of 1842.⁵¹ In 1837, the author carried with him yet another contender in the guidebook market, the *Guide du voyageur en Belgique et en Hollande*—the so-called *Richard*, after the pseudonym of its author.⁵² The *Richard* went through numerous editions. It wears its multiple sources on its sleeve and probably inspired Ferrier to introduce Belgium with Frances Trollope’s words.⁵³ Over time, the number of references only increased; from at least 1839 onward, the *Richard*, too, would incorporate Nisard’s article on Cockerill.⁵⁴

Nevertheless, the guidebook did not impress Hugo at all. He called it a “stupide livre.”⁵⁵ But if he was still using it when visiting Liège in 1840, it would have introduced him to the Palace of Justice in Vandermaelen’s words.⁵⁶ Not that Letter VII of *Le Rhin* mentions the guidebook. Hugo writes how, wandering through a narrow street from one church to another, he brushed past “une vaste et sombre muraille” (“a vast and dark wall”) which suggested the presence of a palace behind it. “Une porte obscure” gave access to a “une vaste cour. Cette cour, dont personne ne parle et qui devrait être célèbre, est la cour intérieure du palais des princes ecclésiastiques de Liège. Je n’ai vu nulle part un ensemble architectural plus étrange, plus morose et plus superbe.” Hugo did not fail to remark upon the columns of the gallery:

Ces piliers sont en granit gris comme tout le palais.—Selon qu’on examine l’une ou l’autre des quatres rangées, le fût du pilier disparaît jusqu’à moitié de sa longueur, tantôt par le haut, tantôt par le bas, sous un renflement enrichi d’arabesques. ... Mais ce qui rend l’archéologue perplexe, c’est que les arabesques ciselées sur ces renflements, c’est que les chapiteaux de ces piliers, naïvement et grossièrement sculptés, chargés, aux talloirs près, de figures chimériques, de feuillages impossibles, d’animaux apocalyptiques, de dragons ailés presque égyptiens et hiéroglyphiques, semblent appartenir à l’art du onzième siècle, et pour ne pas rendre ces piliers, courts, trapus et gibbeux à l’architecture byzantine, il faut se souvenir que le palais ... ne fut commencé qu’en 1508.⁵⁷

Hugo’s enthusiastic analysis reaches well beyond Vandermaelen’s “candélabres” or Gobert’s hieroglyphs. However, their descriptions suggest that when Hugo explored the four ranges of the

grosses pierres noircies par le temps et qui tombent en poussière de vétusté. L'intérieur de l'église est d'une propreté remarquable; il renferme quelques statues et quelques tableaux d'artistes liégeois, qui ne manquent pas de mérite.

Les autres églises de Liège n'ont rien qui mérite d'arrêter le voyageur.

LE PALAIS, ancienne résidence des princes de Liège, est remarquable par l'étendue et la magnificence de ses bâtiments. Il consiste en deux grandes cours carrées, autour desquelles règnent de larges galeries voûtées, soutenues par des colonnes taillées en candelabres et chargées d'arabesques, qui ressemblent assez à celles du palais ducal de Venise. La principale façade, qui donne sur la place de



Le palais, à Liège.

Saint-Lambert, est d'un aspect imposant; le portique, d'ordre composite, présente une corniche magnifique, appuyée sur six colonnes du même ordre, et douze pilastres bien proportionnés. Cette corniche supporte elle-même deux autres colonnes et douze pilastres d'ordre corinthien qui soutiennent un fronton au milieu duquel on a placé un cadran.

L'évêque Notger jeta, en 973, les premiers fondements de ce palais, qui fut consumé en 1185 avec une partie de la ville. Reconstitué peu de temps après, il fut de nouveau incendié en 1505. Erard de La Marck fit commencer en 1508, sur un plan beaucoup plus vaste, celui que nous voyons aujourd'hui.

Marguerite de Navarre, épouse de Henri IV, qui y logea en 1577, dit dans ses Mémoires qu'elle ne put trouver d'expressions pour témoigner son étonnement, « à la vue de ce palais très-magnifique, accompagné de très-belles fontaines, et de plusieurs jardins et galeries : et le tout, tant doré et accompagné de tant de marbre, qu'il n'y a rien de plus magnifique et de plus délicieux. »

L'ancien palais renferme aujourd'hui le palais de justice, les archives et la prison des filles; les galeries de la première cour sont garnies de nombreux étalages de marchands. Dans cette cour se tient aussi le marché aux herbes.

HÔTEL DE VILLE, sur le Grand-Marché. — La première pierre de cet édifice fut posée en 1714, par le baron de Selys, au nom du prince Joseph-Clément de Bavière. C'est un bâtiment régulier qui forme un carré parfait et isolé de chaque côté. Le rez-de-chaussée de la façade, auquel on arrive par un perron, présente un beau dégagement décoré de colonnes élégantes.

On voit sur la place de l'hôtel de ville ou du marché, trois belles fontaines dont la plus élevée, placée entre les deux autres, est l'ouvrage du Liégeois Delcour. Elle est surmontée d'une colonne très-mince en marbre blanc, qui supporte un groupe des trois Grâces, perché à une hauteur où l'œil ne peut rien distinguer, et au-dessus une pomme de pin. Ce grêle échafaudage, qui deviendrait peut-être gracieux, s'il était plus près de terre, offre au moins le mérite de rappeler l'antique palladium de Liège, le Perron, qui fut enlevé de cette place et transporté à Bruges, par le duc de Bourgogne Jean sans Peur (1).

L'UNIVERSITÉ, créée par un arrêté royal du 25 septem-

(1) Le Perron de Liège était une colonne surmontée d'une pomme de pin. On retrouve cette image sur plusieurs anciens monuments, et les candelabres qui illuminent la ville sont exécutés d'après le même modèle.

fig. 9 Guide illustré du voyageur en Belgique présentant les vues des localités les plus intéressantes; une carte; un itinéraire des chemins de fer exécutés, et un aperçu des chemins de fer en projet (Bruxelles: Hauman [1845]), 214-215.

quadrangle, he walked well-trodden ground. The fame of the courtyard had even extended south of the border well before Hugo's visit. In an extensive account of Belgium published in 1836, the *Magasin pittoresque* singled out the Palace of Justice as "un monument gothique d'un style particulier," and described the columns as "décorées de formes végétales, sculptées à l'imitation de la figure humaine."⁵⁸ But Hugo may have been drawn to the courtyard in particular by the final of Louis Batissier's three essays on Belgium in *L'Artiste* in the same year.⁵⁹ Intending to capture the character of Liège, Batissier singles out the quadrangle and compares the columns to "Byzantine monuments," as Hugo would do: "C'est la renaissance gothique, avec son luxe d'ornemens et sa profusion de détails; les piliers de la galerie, qui ressemblent à des colonnes lampadaires ou à des candélabres antiques, sont variées à l'infini, et ont de plus une grande affinité avec ceux des monuments byzantins."⁶⁰ The courtyard is further highlighted in a lithography of a view by Ignace-François Bonhommé, with the columns at its center.

fig. 10

Guidebooks and Batissier's article prefigured Hugo's account of the Palace of Justice. The modest modifications of the guidebook descriptions over time already suggested a persistent fascination with the ornamentation in the courtyard. In Batissier's text, the evocations of arabesques, Venetian Gothic, and hieroglyphs are echoed in a description that sees the courtyard as a typical example of the "caractère qui se remarque dans plusieurs édifices de Belgique élevés ou embellis pendant la domination de Charles-Quint et de ses successeurs," where Spanish and "Arab traditions" intermingle.⁶¹ But if Batissier casts the mould for Hugo's encomium of the courtyard, he pays no attention to the new neoclassical façade of the palace, widely praised in the guidebook descriptions. By contrast, Hugo sets off his celebration of the pseudo-romanesque monument against a damning rejection of the recent restoration. It is an "oeuvre glaciale et déclamatoire." This fits Hugo's general appreciation of "cette architecture du dix-huitième siècle": "il n'y a pas de milieu: des oripeaux ou de la nudité, clinquant ou misère."⁶² Thanks to the author's vigor and reputation, the rhetorical opposition of the old and more recent parts would shape the reception of the palace. In his contribution to *La Belgique monumentale, historique et pittoresque* of 1844, a multi-authored historical introduction to Belgium's landscapes and monuments, Félix Stappaerts' hugolian reading of the monument draws a damning contrast between the original courtyard and the recent additions.⁶³ The text is illustrated with one of the many courtyard views that were circulating by then. Some years later, Nerval's description of Liège in *Lorely* opens abruptly: "Allons vite au plus pressé, c'est à dire au plus beau." It is the Palace of Justice, "un vaste carré long, entouré de magnifiques galeries aux colonnes de granit sculptés; les voûtes et les murs sont en brique rouge, sur laquelle se détache la colonnade noire et polie, ce qui rappelle certains palais de Venise. ... L'extérieur, du côté de la place, ne répond pas à ces magnificences: c'est l'aspect d'un hôpital ou d'une caserne, et pourtant c'est le plus bel édifice de Liège."⁶⁴

Nerval clearly echoes the enthusiasm and value judgments of Hugo's Letter. With the available texts on the palace in mind, the Letter in turn should be read less as the account of an unexpected encounter with an unknown and challenging masterpiece than the digestion of an available trope into the author's "archeological" categories and aesthetic considerations. By 1840, Hugo's predilection for Gothic and romanesque architecture over classicism was well established.⁶⁵ His description of the Liège gallery reiterates his fascination for the graphic dynamism and mysterious appeal of arabesque ornament. The victims of this operation are the neoclassical restorations and façade, cast as the feeble antithesis of the intriguing courtyard. In this sense, Belgium served as a testing ground for Hugo's fascination with hybrid forms, intricate



fig. 10 Lithography by Benard and Frey after Ignace-François Bonhommé, Palais du Primat à Liège, in *L'Artiste*, 12 (1836).

ornament, and capricious invention. But rather than moments of individual revelation, encounters like the one in Liège are part of an ongoing reflection on art and architecture that appropriates widely shared fascinations and activates them in emphatic judgments. Hugo explored Belgium in a sustained dialogue with multiple voices, from guidebook prose to literature, and in the reading room as much as on the spot.⁶⁶

Extending this fascination to the art and architecture of Renaissance, Baroque, and what Hugo calls “rococo,” too, is part of this dialogue.⁶⁷ The often-repeated claim that Hugo was forced to reassess his aesthetic predilections and engage with Baroque and rococo in the face of Belgian art and architecture should be nuanced.⁶⁸ Hugo shared his interest in Baroque forms with Gautier.⁶⁹ How this enthusiasm was shaped by exchange and appropriation is well illustrated by an episode which stands out among Hugo’s encounters with post-Gothic Belgian art. In a letter of August 17, 1837, to his wife, Adèle, he described the monumental pulpit of St. Gudule Cathedral in Brussels, carved by Hendrik-Frans Verbruggen and originally installed in Louvain in 1699. In contrast to the author’s celebration of the Liège courtyard, this letter did not affect the critical reception of the piece until 1892, when it was published.⁷⁰ Nevertheless, Hugo’s interpretation sits perfectly at the intersection between his own preoccupations and a reception history that would develop undisturbed from the late eighteenth to the late nineteenth century.

Hugo’s description of the pulpit is quite well known:

C’est la création toute entière, c’est toute la philosophie, c’est toute la poésie, figurées par un arbre énorme qui porte dans ses rameaux une chaire, dans ses feuillages tout un monde d’oiseaux et d’animaux, à sa base Adam et Eve chassés par l’ange triste et suivis par la mort joyeuse et séparés par la queue du serpent, à son sommet la croix, la Vérité, l’enfant Jésus et sous le pied de l’enfant la tête du serpent écrasée. Tout ce poème est sculpté et ciselé à pleine chêne de la manière plus forte, la plus tendre et la plus spirituelle.

The account has received notice because it not only treats the visual arts as a form of poetry but also departs from firmly held aesthetic norms by embracing the “rococo” style of the pulpit:

L’ensemble est prodigieusement rococo et prodigieusement beau. Que les fanatiques du *sévère* arrangent cela comme ils voudront, cela est. Cette chaire est dans l’art un de ces rares points d’intersection où le beau et le rococo se rencontrent.⁷¹

As in Liège, Hugo unleashed his critical appreciation for an object that had received ample attention. The French public knew the work thanks to the large frontispiece of the *récit de voyage* in the *Magasin pittoresque* of 1836. The *Magasin*’s illustrator probably never set foot in St. Gudule, as the frontal view is inverted and the body of the snake crawling over the entire construction is rendered instead as a billowing veil; the illustration may have been based on an illustration in Paquet-Syphorien’s *Voyage historique et pittoresque fait dans les Pays-Bas*, first published in 1813. Still, the text singles out the pulpit as the only thing worth seeing inside the church.⁷² Hugo’s despised *Richard* also marks the work as “un modèle extrêmement rare de sculpture en bois” (“an extremely exceptional example of wooden sculpture”) and offers a brief description of the scene to emphasize its wealth and complexity.⁷³ It is also duly mentioned in Ferrier’s guidebooks and the *Guide illustré du voyageur en Belgique*.⁷⁴ By 1840, an engraving after Thomas Allom of the interior of St. Gudule fully canonized “the celebrated carved pulpit,” which would be included in several guides and would serve as model for numerous other images.⁷⁵



fig. 12 Paquet-Syphorien, *Voyage historique et pittoresque fait dans les Pays-Bas, et dans quelques départemens voisins, pendant les années 1811, 1812, 1813*, vol. 2 (Paris: Firmin Didot, maintenant P.J. De Mat, Bruxelles, 1816), plate XIV.

par les Chinois; mais dans la suite ayant fait périr tous ceux de cette nation qui étaient à la cour avec l'ambassadeur, les Chinois ne voulurent plus entretenir de relations ni avec lui, ni avec ses successeurs. Ce dernier événement date à peu près de l'an 50 avant J.-C. C'est vers cette époque qu'il faut placer une guerre entre les Parthes et les Scythes, racontée par Justin. Pirrète, dévoué du trône, avait imploré leur secours; Tiridate, qui regnait alors, ne fut pas plutôt informé de l'arrivée de ces barbares qu'il se retira vers les Romains; mais il ne put obtenir de troupes, et l'armée fut vaincue.

Dans la suite, les Bactriens furent sous la domination de leurs femmes et ne firent plus rien de remarquable; puis, dans le sixième siècle, ils furent soumis aux Turcs, qui étaient alors puissants en Tartarie.

Telle fut donc, en quelques mots, la série des révolutions qui se succédèrent dans cette partie de l'Asie qui avoisine le royaume de Lahore. Mais il ne faut pas perdre de vue que les numismatiques ont seuls permis à la science historique de placer dans la chronologie une suite aussi complète de rois. En effet, à la consultation que les monuments historiques, on ne trouverait que les dynasties grecques que Theodotus I^{er} et II^e, Euthymène, Apollodote, Menandre, Heliothès, et deux Eucratides; encore pourrait-on contester, sinon l'existence, du moins le règne réel et de fait de presque tous ces princes. Depuis 1827, les médailles rapportées de Bockarie par M. Burnes, celles que nous devons aux voyages du major Tod et à M. Millingen, sont venues compléter les traditions écrites, et certifier les règnes d'Euthymène, de Menandre et d'Apollodote. Tout récemment, M. Honigberger a rapporté des médailles trouvées dans le Cachoul et dans le Bactria, qui non seulement confirment l'existence des deux rois Eucratides et Heliothès, mais qui ajoutent à notre suite le chef de la dynastie Agathocle, puis Démétrius, le plus important peut-être de tous ces princes; Antimachus, inconnu jusqu'ici, ainsi qu'Herménès; enfin les premiers connus des rois indo-scythiques, c'est-à-dire Mohadphisès, Onones, Azès, Kanerkès et Antiochès. Il est difficile de reconnaître dans ces noms grecs ceux indiens ou chinois par lesquels nous avons désigné ces premiers conquérants indo-scythiques: et voilà ce qui explique cette difficulté.

Après la chute de l'empire des princes grecs, leurs successeurs indo-scythiques qui n'avaient aucune notion des arts, trouvant sur le sol conquis des ateliers monétaires et des artistes habiles, leur laissèrent le soin de graver leurs monnaies; ceux-ci, soit d'après les ordres des princes, soit d'après leurs propres idées, firent de leurs noms indiens des noms grecs qui y ressemblaient fort peu. De plus, comme on ne se lise des rois indo-scythiques est encore loin d'être complète, il est très possible que les rois que les médailles nous font connaître ne soient pas les mêmes que ceux nommés par les livres chinois.

Enfin, les médailles rapportées par le général Allard, outre qu'elles vont donner de la force aux inductions faites à propos de la découverte antérieure d'autres médailles, enrichissent encore ces dynasties de princes jusqu'ici inconnues, telles que les princes Phylaxène et Lysias, et surtout d'un grand nombre de princes indo-scythiques dont les noms ne rapportent ni mieux, du moins à l'œil, l'appeler aux noms chinois donnés par M. de Guignes. Ces médailles vont être publiées, dit-on, dans le Journal des Savants, par l'un des conservateurs de la Bibliothèque royale.

En terminant cet article, nous appelons l'attention de nos lecteurs sur les dessins de médailles qui l'accompagnent. Ils remarqueront que l'une de ces médailles, frappée sous les princes grecs, est d'un travail pur et d'une belle fabrication, tandis que la seconde, frappée sous les princes indo-scythiques, quoique rappelant encore le souvenir des bonnes traditions de l'art grec, est d'un travail moins fin et plus barbare que la première.

Ces médailles font partie de la collection du Cabinet des

Médailles, qui au reste les a précédés avant le don du général Allard.

Médaille de fabrique grecque. — Le roi Démétrius, la tête tournée à droite et ceinte du diadème. — R. Pallas casquée, s'appuyant de la main gauche sur sa lance, et de la droite sur l'épée qui est placée à terre. Légende: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ. (Monnaie) du roi Démétrius (le mot monnaie est sous-entendu comme dans toutes les médailles grecques). Dans le champ, les lettres Α et Μ.



Médaille de fabrique indo-scythique. — Le roi Mohadphisès debout, vu de face; il porte un bonnet cylindrique orné de bandes, et est revêtu d'une tunique à manches et d'une sorte de pantalons; il tient la main droite sur la hanche et la gauche sur un petit anel. Dans le champ, à gauche, un trident avec un appendice en forme de croissant, qui pourrait servir de bache. Dans le champ, à droite, un sceptre en forme de massue, et au-dessus un symbole particulier aux peuples indo-scythiques. La légende, ainsi que



celle du revers, est peu lisible; on y distingue ces mots: ΜΟΧΑΔΦΙΣΗΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΔΕΙΤΙΡ ΜΕΤΑΛΛΗ. — R. — Boudhaghiat, roi des rois, souverain, grand... — R. Le dieu indien Siva, debout de face, appuyé sur le bouc Nandi. La légende est en caractères bactériens.

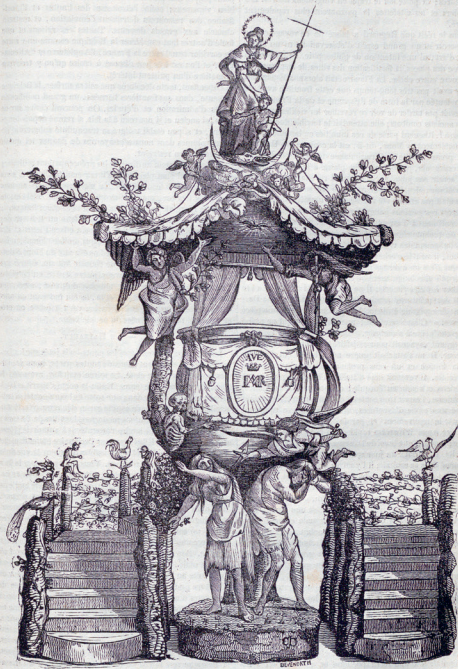
Le triomphe est la plus belle chose du monde: les titres le roi! les chapeaux en l'air au bout d'une baïonnette; les compliments du maître à ses guerriers; la visite des reîtres, des villages et des redoutes; la joie, la gloire, la tendresse... Mais le plancher de tout cela est du sang humain, des larmes de chair humaine.

D'ARCKSON, extrait d'une lettre datée de Fontenoy.

Offrande de Seuil à son bailli. — Jehan Mallet a consacré dans sa Chronique de Seuil, qu'en l'année 1489 les habitants de cette ville donnèrent à leur bailli une douzaine de fèves seriettes dont il fut fort content. Cet acte de reconnaissance était la récompense du service que ce personnage avait rendu à la ville en faisant rappeler la compagnie du seigneur de Fies, qui y venait garnison. Avoir garnison n'était pas encore une faveur du pouvoir.

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(Chaise en bois d'ans l'église de Sainte-Gudule, sculptée par Van Bruggen; dix-septième siècle.)

§ I. — LA FLANDRE EN 1681.

Le poète comique Regnard avait vingt-six ans lorsqu'il entreprit le voyage de Flandre; il partit de Paris, le 20 avril 1681, par le carrosse de Bruxelles, où il trouva tous jeunes gens à peu près du même âge que lui. Le premier soir on

coucha à Seelis; le deuxième à Gourmay; le troisième à Peronne; le quatrième à Cambrai; le cinquième à Valenciennes; le sixième à Mons; le septième à Notre-Dame-de-Halle; le huitième à Bruxelles. La chose ne serait pas croyable, si Regnard lui-même n'avait pris soin de l'écrire, et de nous instruire des choses qu'il voyait tous les soirs, dans cha-

TOUR IV. — Mai 1826.

28

fig. 11 "Une excursion en Belgique," Magasin pittoresque 3, no. 22 (1836): 169.

Hugo's emphasis on Verbruggen's grandness of invention ("la création toute entière, c'est toute la philosophie, c'est toute la poésie") may have had its roots in Mauvy's *Bruxelles et ses environs* (1834), which sees in Verbruggen's work "tout le poème de Milton."⁷⁶ Mauvy's suggestion that the pulpit is the marvelous sculptural expression of a magnificent poetic idea is picked up and developed in subsequent descriptions. One publication that includes the Allom image is *La Belgique en 1841*, a multi-authored guide published by Hauman. There, Victor Joly treats the pulpit briefly but incisively: "L'artiste a su enfermer dans son oeuvre une belle et grande pensée: *La chute du premier homme*, qui y est symbolisée avec une admirable entente."⁷⁷ In the *Revue nationale de Belgique* of 1842, the critic Eugène Robin devotes two pages to the "idée grande et simple" of the sculptor, in full admiration of "la profondeur et l'unité de sa pensée," expressed in a "poème [sic] plastique."⁷⁸ If Hugo amplified Mauvy's reference to *Paradise Lost* into a giant microcosm teeming with life, transforming the six animals seated on the balustrade into "un monde d'oiseaux et d'animaux," his description fits the mould of an established critical tradition perfectly. As in the case of Liège, Hugo's amplification of an available trope supports an aesthetic judgment: pushed to the precipice of bad taste by exuberance, the pulpit's poetic force exonerates Verbruggen. This trade-off, too, is not without precedent. The critical reception of the pulpit in the nineteenth century weighed the originality of Verbruggen's invention against its aesthetic appropriateness. Ferrier would caution that "[cette] oeuvre est exécutée avec soin, mais l'auteur y montre plus d'imagination que de goût."⁷⁹ In *Belgium: In a Picturesque Tour*, Ferrier's words are voiced by a "Belgian critic" who wishes to temper the enthusiasm of an English visitor in the face of "the wholly novel and original" design.⁸⁰ The assessment, by Dumas, that ends up in the *Guide du touriste en Belgique* deems the work "plein de puissance," even though it was "une oeuvre de mauvais goût sans doute."⁸¹ As in the case of St. Jacques, a critical judgment coalesced around a limited number of tropes, but now less by the repetition of a single text than by the rehearsal of similar considerations.

What Hugo inserts into this perception is the notion of "rococo," a category he brought with him from Paris. In fact, Hugo's tentative association of rococo with beauty when faced with the pulpit echoes an ongoing reappraisal of the notion in Romantic circles.⁸² In 1833 a theatre critic bemoaned the renewed popularity of rococo among Parisian high society, blaming writers for its resurgence. Hugo in particular was accused of having betrayed his "chevalerie du moyen âge" by hanging his apartment with "tapis à ramage et les fauteuils de satin brodé qui descendent en ligne directe de Mme de Pompadour."⁸³ Hugo's taste in interior design reflects a reassessment of the style along lines that had been indicated by the great author himself. The novel *Monsieur de l'Argentière* (1833), by the Hugo-acolyte Petrus Borel, opens with a chapter called "Roccoco" that sets the scene in a monumental dining room decked out in Louis XV style.⁸⁴ Borel's description contrasts the "funestes et ignorantes copies de l'antique" ("dreary and ignorant copies of antiquity") of contemporary neoclassical architecture with rococo, much as one year earlier, in his *Notre Dame de Paris*, Hugo had condemned Renaissance architecture and its offspring in comparison to the capacity of the Gothic to encapsulate the ideas of an entire society. Borel, in fact, states that in the eyes of future generations, the "style Louis XV" will carry the "imprint" of its time, in the same way that Hugo celebrated the Gothic as the stone record of the society that produced it.⁸⁵ In his own assessment of Verbruggen's pulpit, Hugo invokes the same trope, casting the work both as "rococo" and a material poem.

Because Hugo tested his aesthetics against Belgian monuments, his absorption of existing material inherent to his writing process became enmeshed with the construction of a *patrimoine* and its values. Similar to the slow incrustation of Nisard's writings

in guidebook prose, Hugo's literary amplifications transformed available tropes into critical positions and aesthetic interpretations.⁸⁶ The impact of these positions depends on their circulation; *Le Rhin* affected discourse more than private letters. At the same time, Hugo's judgments remained deeply embedded in the universe of texts from which they emerged. Amplified by Hugo's fame and reputation, they became beacons in a slowly coalescing landscape of monuments and values. If Hugo did not uncover these lands, he did help plant the flags.

A counterfeit

By the year the *Guide du touriste en Belgique* was published, 1845, most of its content was five to ten years old. Many of its components had been reprinted, counterfeited, cited, copied, and transformed in the process that generated a Belgian *patrimoine* in print. The *Guide* makes the process of replication at the heart of this construction explicit, to the point that it consists of two layers of texts: the counterfeited publications and the works they quote. Nisard's essay on Cockerill sits in the *Guide* as its reproduction in Ferrier's *Description historique et topographique de Liège*, and the *Guide* quotes Trollope's *La Belgique et l'ouest de l'Allemagne* as part of Ferrier's *Guide pittoresque*. In fact, because our *Guide* provides some indication of its sources, it displays the practices of replication that characterized the travel literature about Belgium in general, and allows the identification of its composing parts. The *Guide* exhibits a process of appropriation that elsewhere is largely dissimulated. However, as a counterfeit, the *Guide* remains clearly distinguished from contemporary multi-authored guides. Ferrier also contributed to *La Belgique en 1841*, another publication by Hauman that included such authors as Victor Joly and H.G. Moke. Just like the two-volume *La Belgique monumentale, historique et pittoresque* of 1844, the Hauman book is larger and heavier than a pocket guide. The various authors are assigned a clearly delineated topic, and their authorship serves as a mark of distinction. Ferrier rose to the occasion: his texts on Ghent and Liège in *La Belgique en 1841* offer far more elaborate versions of his texts in the "topographical descriptions." In contrast, our *Guide* is a patchwork of ready-made components, combining the generic structure of the guidebooks with the most eminent available voices.

Nevertheless, a perusal of our *Guide* suggests an editorial strategy at work.⁸⁷ The sequence of literary authors plays to their strengths. Dumas' opening accounts of Brussels and Waterloo provide the reader with a typical historical introduction to Belgium, at once wide-ranging and anecdotal. Introducing a recurring theme, Dumas emphasizes the historical parallels between the sixteenth century and the present. Nisard continues the narrative in his accounts of Mechelen and Antwerp. The diptych on Antwerp first published in the *Revue de Paris* is used to great effect. After characterizing the people of Antwerp as the pious, clean, carnal, and not particularly elevated Belgians many French authors took them for, he turns to Rubens and Matsys to understand how such materialist disposition translates into art. Nisard's careful analysis reverses his initial value judgment, and Belgium is upheld over France as a "pays de faits" rather than a "pays des idées."⁸⁸ This view is complemented with Gautier's Antwerp experiences, which add a more visceral and comical dimension. Ghent is handed back to Dumas, who again combines ample sixteenth-century historical details with yet more anecdotes and a visit to such highlights as the Van Eyck altarpiece. Delrieu's piece changes the tone of the *Guide*. After criticizing how tourism runs after industrial development, Delrieu turns his attention to the forlorn western part of the country. He visits Bruges ("Bruges est tout un musée" ("Bruges is an entire museum"), with Memling—written as Hemling—as its star), before exploring the Belgian coast and its partly forgotten towns.⁸⁹ Again the sixteenth

century resonates with the present, as Delrieu muses on the fate of the Spanish army and the Armada, and discovers the “style Arabe” on the main square of Furnes.⁹⁰

The connecting tissue of our *Guide* is travel by train. Together with the material drawn from the *Promenades sur le chemin de fer*, including a digression on how the railroad challenges the remit of architecture, the new infrastructure tinges the Belgium of the *Guide*.⁹¹ Modernization becomes even more prominent in its final part, when the reader is taken to the east side of Belgium. Making up nearly half of the *Guide*, this section forfeits the largely linear succession of authors from the first part, and confronts two voices: Nisard and Hugo. For his visit of September 1835, Nisard approached Liège by train from the west, moving from the historical city to its industry: Cockerill and the coalmines. Hugo entered from the south, along the river Meuse, passing Dinant and Namur before encountering the factories lining the valley and arriving in Liège. The *Guide* includes both accounts and inserts between them guidebook visits to the surroundings of Liège, ensuring that Verviers appears three times in its pages.⁹²

This loop merits one final examination, as it complicates our understanding of the composite Belgium of French travel writers. The main overlap between Nisard and Hugo concerns the area of Liège and its industry. The two authors start from a similar premise, juxtaposing the churches and factories of Liège.⁹³ But in the city, the two men largely avoid each other, with Hugo describing churches of little interest to Nisard, who turns a blind eye to the Palace of Justice. These omissions are striking. Nisard must have noticed the prominent palace, as he details the destruction of the adjacent cathedral, but perhaps it did not suit his characterization of the city as composed of “two kinds of monuments,” churches and factories.⁹⁴ When Hugo visited, nearly five years after Nisard, St. Jacques was well established as the Gothic marvel of Liège, in part thanks to the descriptions by Batissier and Nisard. Even if Hugo does not engage with Nisard or his views in his letters, it seems implausible that the Romantic author had not been aware of Nisard’s writings, if not through the *Richard* then the *Revue de Paris*. Otherwise rarely daunted by adverse circumstances in his quest for archaeological pearls, Hugo claims that on his day in Liège, rain prevented him from visiting more than four churches, all situated at some, but only little, distance from St. Jacques.⁹⁵

If the two authors identify Liège with different historical highlights, they do face off over the region’s modernization and industry. Even in the city, they view modernization with different eyes. Nisard is pleased to contrast “[les] rues de la vieille ville ... étroites, sales et sombres” with “quelques quartiers nouveaux ... plus riants” (“the streets of the old city ... narrow, dirty and dark”; “some new neighborhoods ... more cheerful”), but sees a city in suspense as well as in transformation, in the grips of incessant industry but mired in bigotry, and all too dependent on coal. His characterization of Liège as hanging between France and Holland is echoed by Hugo, who, however, draws a far sharper line between the old and the new: the modernizing city destroys much that is of value to the *antiquaire*.⁹⁶ This difference in appreciation extends to the city’s industry. Confronted with the works of Cockerill, Nisard further develops his reading of Belgium as a country of “facts” and Liège as a modern city. He tries to come to terms with his own status as a man of letters in the face of industry, all while remaining alert to the social and economical realities underpinning these developments.⁹⁷ Particularly compelling is the account of his descent into a coalmine, a mix of astonishment, fear, estrangement, and outright admiration: “Voir l’ouvrier de trop loin donne des illusions, le voir de trop près donne des désenchantements, deux choses qui sont peu propres à inspirer de bons jugemens.”⁹⁸ Hugo’s description of the same establishments is much shorter, more distant, and of a different tone: “Ce spectacle de guerre est donné par la paix; cette copie effroyable

de la dévastation est faite par l'industrie. Vous avez tout simplement là sous les yeux les hauts fourneaux de feu Cockerill. ... Là, j'ai admiré véritablement l'industrie."⁹⁹ Hugo values the industry for its potential for myth and because it appeals to his aesthetic appreciation, in contrast to the modern city.¹⁰⁰

By bringing both Nisard and Hugo to bear on Liège and its industry, our *Guide* puts stress on the composite image of Belgium emerging from its pages. At the time of its publication, the two authors had become antagonists. In the same *Revue de Paris* that contained his "Souvenirs de voyage," Nisard had published the scathing "M. Victor Hugo en 1836," casting the Romantic writer as the victim of his own febrile imagination, deprived of intelligence, taste, or judgment.¹⁰¹ By contrast, Nisard fashioned himself as a classicist, a keeper of tradition. From this position he both criticized Romanticism and explored Belgium. The juxtaposition of Nisard's and Hugo's views of Liège and its industry thus amounts to a confrontation.¹⁰² That the two authors face off in the pages of the *Guide* is possibly merely a matter of their prominence or—especially in Nisard's case—the status of their writings on Liège. But even if the editor had remained aloof to more sophisticated critical considerations, the reader of the *Guide* would have encountered two different views of Liège, signaled by the topographical loop in its structure. At this point, the *Guide* is no longer a repository of echoing, converging, or complementary voices, but a site of implicit debate about an issue at the heart of the French perception of Belgium: the effects of unbridled modernity on a territory whose historical patrimony bears witness to a particular mentality, tinged as much by indigenous factors as foreign influence. As such, the debate goes to the core of the interpretations and values that French authors inscribe in Belgium's *patrimoine*. If our authors always considered Belgium as a counterfeit of France, they nevertheless produced different copies.¹⁰³

1 Victor Hugo, Alexandre Dumas, Nisard, Théophile Gautier, André Delrieu, etc., *Guide du touriste en Belgique* (Brussels: Chez tous les libraires, 1845). Abbreviated as *GTB* in the notes that follow.

2 As noted by Lut Pil, "Pour le plaisir des yeux": *Het pittoreske landschap in de Belgische kunst: 19de-eeuwse retoriek en beeldvorming* (Leuven: Garant, 1993), 54–55.

3 Some minor editing reflects changing circumstances between the *GTB* and the source text, as for instance with Dumas' visit to Waterloo. Compare this phrase from the *GTB*, "Trente ans se sont écoulés," with its source by Dumas, "Vint-cinq ans se sont écoulés," in reference to the date of the battle (*Excursions en Belgique* (Brussels: A. Jamar, 1841), 52). Likewise, in the *GTB*, on page 24 in the section on Brussels, a footnote mentions that the historian Auguste Voisin, mentioned by Dumas, "est mort depuis ceci est écrit." These additions suggest that readers of the *GTB* would have been perfectly aware of how the guidebook had been composed.

4 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. See also Robert Houzee, ed., *Bruxelles carrefour de cultures* (Antwerp: Mercatorfonds, 2000), 38–41; 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.

5 Claude Pichois emphasizes the importance of periodicals to grasp the French fascination for Belgium, in "Introduction à une méthodologie de l'image de la Belgique en France," in *Les Flandres dans les mouvements romantique et symboliste*, ed. Marcel Bataillon, Jacques Voisin, and Guy Debever (Lille: Bibliothèque universitaire, 1958), 41–44.

See also Claude Gély, Introduction to *Voyages: France et Belgique (1834–1837)* by Victor Hugo, ed. Claude Gély (Grenoble: Presses Universitaires de Grenoble, 1974), 32, and the introductory remarks in Friedrich Wolfzettel, "Fabrik und Schwan: Zum Verhältnis zwischen Tourismus und Industrie im französischen Reisebericht der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts," *Romantische Zeitschrift für Literaturgeschichte* 8, no. 1–4 (1984): 591–614.

6 The poem is "Le Sommet de la tour," first published in the collection *La comédie de la mort* (1838); see Gerald W. Spink, "Théophile Gautier's Architectural Tastes," *The Modern Language Review* 55, no. 3 (1960): 345–350.

7 Gérard de Nerval, *Lorely: Souvenirs de l'Allemagne* (Paris: D. Giraud et J. Dagneau, 1852), 278. Nerval had traveled with Alexandre Dumas on the Rhine, but not through Belgium; see Lieven D'hulst, "Le voyage allemand de Nerval et Dumas en 1838," *Études nervaliennes et romantiques* 3 (1981): 53–57.

8 For Hugo's awareness of Delrieu, see Gély, "Introduction," 32.

9 Compare *Promenades d'un artiste, avec gravures d'après Stanfield et Turner*, vol. 1: *Bords du Rhin, Belgique, Hollande* (Paris: Jules Renouard, [1835]), 345–348, with Désiré Nisard, "Souvenirs de voyages," *Revue de Paris* 32 (1836): 166–175, "Siv. Rubens et Quinten Metsys." Bibliographies and catalogues, such as the Bibliothèque nationale de France catalogue, list Nisard as the author of the *Promenades*. In a research paper written under supervision of Maarten Liefvooghe, Emma Bekaert has established that when writing the *Promenades*, Nisard based his work on Leitch Ritchie's *Travelling Sketches: On the Rhine, and in Belgium and Holland with Twenty-Six Beautifully Finished Engravings*, the 1833 edition of Heath's *Picturesque Annual*, which contained the same set of illustrations used in the *Promenades*.

10 Dumas, *Excursions*. The book consists of the accounts about Brussels, Waterloo, Antwerp, Ghent, Bruges, Mechelen, and Liège.

11 See Claude Schopp, "Les excursions de Dumas sur les bords du Rhin (1838):

Restitution chronologique," *Études nervaliennes et romantiques* 3 (1981): 59–72, which lists five letters on Belgium published in the *Revue de Paris* in 1838 (vols. 57–59, for Sept. 30; Oct. 7 and 28; Nov. 11), and three in *Siècle* in 1840 (Aug. 13 and 23; Sept. 12).

12 Désiré Nisard, "Souvenirs de voyage: Le Pays de Liège," *Revue de Paris* 24 (1835): 129–48 (Seraing and Cockerill); "Souvenirs de voyage: Le Pays de Liège II: Descende dans la houlère de la nouvelle espérance," *Revue de Paris* 25 (1836): 81–103; "Souvenirs de voyage III: Liège, Septembre 1835," *Revue de Paris* 29 (1836): 137–171 (the city of Liège); "Souvenirs de voyages," *Revue de Paris* 32 (1836): 145–175 (Mechelen and Antwerp). A selection of "Souvenirs de voyage" is published as Désiré Nisard, *Mélanges*, vol. 1: *Souvenirs de voyage* (Paris: Delloye et Lecou, 1838), of which a counterfeit edition appeared, published by Hauman in Brussels, in 1839. It does not include the fourth essay of this series but incorporates an essay on Ghent.

13 André Delrieu, "La côte des Flandres," *Revue de Paris* 26 (1836): 218–236.

14 See the references given in the online collection of Théophile Gautier, "Récits de voyages: articles," <http://www.theophilegautier.fr/recits-de-voyages-articles/>. The *GTB* refers to Tiophile rather than Théophile Gautier.

15 See Gély, "Introduction," 32; Roger de Beauvoir, "De l'art et des artistes en Belgique," *Revue de Paris* 15 (1835): 217–244 and 16 (1835): 149–176. Adopting a well-established trope (see note 103 below), De Beauvoir accuses Belgians of the "vice saillant" of "imitation" in the opening pages of the second article; see also Claude Pichois, *L'image de la Belgique*, 35.

16 See Pil, "Pour le plaisir des yeux," 61, and notes 147–148.

17 Roger de Beauvoir, "Anvers," *L'Artiste* 12 (1836): 181, signed with place and date: Antwerp, January 1835. The editor's note refers to de Beauvoir's forthcoming collection *La cape et l'épée*, which would be published in 1837. Gautier met de Beauvoir in Antwerp; see *GTB*, 79. On Batissier's articles, see below, note 59.

18 On Nerval's early essays on Belgium, see 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), 913–950. Accounts of Liège and Brussels are in Fritz [Gérard de Nerval], "Une journée à Liège," *La Presse* (February 11, 1841), and "L'hiver à Bruxelles," *La Presse* (February 18, 1841). See also Pichois, *L'image de la Belgique*, 17.

19 See, for instance, "Anvers," *Magasin pittoresque* 1, no. 9 (1833): 65–66.

20 The role of non-specialist journals in French architectural criticism of the period is touched on by Richard Wittman, "Print Culture and French Architecture in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: A Survey of Recent Scholarship," *Perspective: Actualité en histoire de l'art* 1 (2015): 125; Barry Bergdoll, "Le véritable but de la Renaissance": Léon Vaudoyer and the Discourse on the Renaissance in Romantic Historicist Architecture in France," in *Le XIX^e siècle et l'architecture de la Renaissance*, ed. Frédérique Lemerle, Yves Pauwels, and Alice Thomine-Berrada (Paris: Picard, 2010), 229–241; Adrien Goetz, "La place de l'architecture dans la revue *L'Artiste* à l'époque romantique (1831–1848)," in *Les périodiques d'architecture, XVIII^e–XX^e siècle: Recherche d'une méthode critique d'analyse*, ed. Jean-Michel Leniaud and Béatrice Bouvier (Paris: École des Chartes, 2001), 115–134.

21 André Delrieu, "Musées gothiques de Louvain et de Bruxelles," *Revue de Paris* 31 (1836): 187–203. As an example of criticism, see André Delrieu, "Situation des embellissements de Paris: Physionomie générale," *Revue de Paris* 25 (1836): 180–190, or the wonderful piece on the royal mausoleum at Dreux, "La chapelle de Dreux," *Revue de Paris* ser. 4, 7 (1842): 346–354.

22 On Batissier's outlook, see Armelle Legendre, "Batissier, Louis," in *Dictionnaire critique des historiens de l'art actifs en France de la Révolution à la Première Guerre mondiale*, ed. Philippe Sénéchal and Claire Barbillon, <https://www.inha.fr/fr/ressources/>

publications/publications-numeriques/dictionnaire-critique-des-historiens-de-l-art/batissier-louis.html.

23 See the “notice de périodique” for the *Revue de Paris* in the BNF, <https://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb41304908b>; see also Pichois, *L'image de la Belgique*, 34.

24 André Delrieu, “Die Küste von Belgien,” in *Europa: Chronik der gebildeten Welt ... herausgegeben von August Lewald*, vol. 2 (Leipzig: J. Scheible, 1836), 115–128.

25 Amélie Favry, “Les Belges face à leurs industries (1780–1850): Points de vue sur un paysage inédit,” *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 85, no. 3–4 (2007): 781–804. Note 62 in that text gives the reference to the first installment, *L'indépendant* 357 (December 23, 1835): 1–3: “Le Pays de Liège: Seraing.” The second installment is in issue 358 (December 24, 1835): 1–3. Nisard’s article appeared in the December issue of the *Revue de Paris*. François Godfried, *Aspects marginaux de la contrefaçon en Belgique* (Brussels: Académie royale de langue et littérature française, 2012), 166: “Contrefaçon dans les colonnes des quotidiens belges” refers to a practice of counterfeiting in the Belgian dailies where pirated texts were generally placed at the bottom of pages 1 and 2, a location also called “rez-de-chaussée,” the ground floor.

26 As mentioned by Pichois, *L'image de la Belgique*, 46 and note 2. See Fernand Lagarigue, *Études et voyages: Paris, la Belgique, la Hollande* (Paris: Ferdinand Satorius, 1860), 224–245: “[la description] est longue, mais elle est trop attachante pour que mes lecteurs ne veuillent pas la lire sans en entier.”

27 On Ferrier’s telegraph project, see Geoffrey Wilson, *The Old Telegraphs* (London: Philimore, 1976), 139. Wilson characterizes Ferrier as a historian and argues that Ferrier’s company, set up in 1833, ran into various forms of resistance before a government monopoly on telegraphs put an end to his endeavor. Ferrier moved to Belgium, where he set up a private telegraph for “a rich senator” and built a line between Brussels and Antwerp. Wilson gives no references; the intriguing combination of telegraph building and guidebook writing in the persona of Ferrier awaits further exploration, keeping in mind the frequent comments on telegraphs in guidebooks and travel accounts. Whether the omission from the *GTB* of Dumas’ remarks on French expatriates in Brussels, quoted in part in note 9 above, and the logical conclusion of the previous passage betrays the hand of Ferrier remains to be seen; compare *GTB*, 31–32, with Dumas, *Excursions*, 38–39.

28 The brothers Hauman published Ferrier’s guides mostly under the imprint “Société belge de librairie”; see the catalogue in Jacques Hellemans, “Les éditions Hauman (1829–1845),” in “Contrefaçons,” *Cahiers du Déclic* 2, no. 4 (January 2003): 79–163.

29 Alexandre Ferrier, *Description historique et topographique de Liège et ses environs, avec une notice particulière sur Spa et ses eaux minérales* (Brussels: Société belge de librairie, Hauman, 1838), 91–150, in *GTB*, 153–184, with some edits and additions.

30 Alexandre Ferrier, “Aperçu statistique en 1839 de la Belgique suivi d’un Précis historique sur ce Royaume,” *Journal des travaux de la Société de la statistique universelle* 1 (1839): 437–442. The text is identical to the introduction to Alexandre Ferrier, *Guide pittoresque du voyageur en Belgique* (Brussels: Hauman, 1838): 1–8; in the second edition of 1839 it is slightly altered. The long quotes in the *Guide*’s introduction taken from Frances Trollope, *La Belgique et l’ouest de l’Allemagne en 1833* (trans. Mademoiselle A. Sobry [Paris: Librairie de Fournier, 1834], vol. 1, 114–115, 119–120), are shortened and absorbed into the “Aperçu statistique” published in the *Journal*; on this process, see also note 53 below. The *GTB* does not include Ferrier’s “Précis historique”; see *GTB*, 5–12.

31 See M.d.W., *Promenades sur le chemin de fer* (Brussels: Longue-rue-neuve, 79 et chez tous les libraires de la Belgique, 1838), 16, 66, 80, 109; Alexandre Ferrier, *Manuel du voyageur sur le chemin de fer* (Brussels: Hauman, 1840).

32 The first section in Ferrier’s guide is titled “Guide du voyageur en Belgique”; see Alexandre Ferrier, *La Belgique: Guide*

pittoresque et artistique du voyageur (Brussels: Hauman, 1843), 1. This edition is labeled as the fifth, with a second and a third published in 1839 and 1841, under the title *Guide pittoresque du voyageur en Belgique*. In 1844 a *Nouveau guide* would appear, with additions by Victor Joly. Hauman published an English translation as early as 1838.

33 The section on Ghent in the *GTB*, which is taken from Dumas, includes an extra reference to Ferrier’s *Description topographique* of the same city (*GTB*, 101). Whether this points to Ferrier’s involvement or an uncharacteristic concern of the *GTB*’s editor to credit Dumas’ sources must remain open to speculation.

34 Strikingly, a long passage borrowed by the *GTB* from the *Promenades sur les chemins de fer* omits the explicit reference in the latter work to Delrieu’s article on the Gothic museums of Brussels and Louvain (cf. note 21); compare *GTB*, 128–135, with *Promenades sur le chemin de fer*, 88–94.

35 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), 27 and 29.

36 Gobert, *Guide du voyageur*, 41–60. Gobert also incorporates authors other than Nisard, including Trollope, whose description of the palace of the Prince of Orange, or the Palace of the Academies, in Brussels he quotes on pages 174–176.

37 Given that both authors publish an identical excerpt of Nisard’s description, but Ferrier is less precise about Nisard’s authorship, I presume that Ferrier based himself on Gobert.

38 “Nos lecteurs sauront gré de leur donner ici la belle description que M. Nisard a publiée de cet immense établissement dans la *Revue de Paris*.” Ferrier, *Description historique et topographique de Liège*, 92–107.

39 Ferrier, *Description historique et topographique de Liège*, 62–65.

40 Ferrier, *Guide pittoresque* (1838), 244–246. Nisard’s description of the Cockerill figures is quoted identically (253–263). In the 1839 edition of the *Guide*, it has been removed, perhaps because the site had become inaccessible to visitors, as mentioned in Ferrier, *Guide pittoresque* (1839), 246–247.

41 “I lack the beautiful words as much as the technical words to paint a nave that is so vast, so majestic, so light, which lifts the soul without weighing it down.” Nisard, “Souvenirs de voyages III,” *Revue de Paris* 32 (1836): 139.

42 “Les mots me manquent pour peindre ce nef si vaste.” Gobert, *Guide du voyageur*, 41.

43 “Les mots manquent pour peindre ce nef si vaste.” Ferrier, *Description historique et topographique de Liège*, 62; identical in Ferrier, *Guide pittoresque* (1839), 237.

44 “The marvel of Liège, is Saint Jacques. It is Gothic architecture with all the coquetry of Arabic art.” *Guide illustré du voyageur en Belgique* présentant les vues des localités les plus intéressantes; une carte; un itinéraire des chemins de fer exécutés, et un aperçu des chemins de fer en projet (Bruxelles: Hauman [1845]), 212. For Cockerill, the *Guide illustré* defers to Ferrier’s *Description historique et topographique de Liège*, 221.

45 Compare Ferdinand-J. Henaux, *Description historique et topographique de Liège, ou guide du voyageur dans cette ville* (Liège: N. Redouté, 1837), 82–86, with Nisard, “Souvenirs de voyages,” *Revue de Paris* 32 (1836): 139–142. The statement quoted in note 41 above becomes “La nef est vaste, légère, riche de majesté” in Henaux, *Description historique*, 82.

46 “... one of the most spiritual authors of France, M. Nisard, has provided an at once poetic and precise description of Saint-Jacques.” Alphonse Wauters, *Les délices de la Belgique, ou description historique, pittoresque et monumentale de ce Royaume* (Brussels: Société des beaux-arts, 1844), 314–315.

47 A late example of an inclusion of Nisard’s description is Eugène van Bemmel, ed., *La Belgique illustrée: Ses monuments, ses paysages, ses oeuvres d’art*, vol. 3 (Brussels: Bruylant-Christophe et cie, 1878–1882), 190, 192–194. The quote is restored to the original: “Les mots vagues, comme les mots techniques, ... me manquent.” On *La Belgique illustrée*, see Marianne Michaux, “Monumentale ou pittoresque, la Belgique illustrée,” *Textyles*,

no. 56 (2019): 25–44. The three-volume edition quoted here was published after the slightly smaller and less luxurious two-volume edition, which also contains Nisard’s texts.

48 Philippe Vandermaelen, *Dictionnaire géographique de la province de Liège précédé d’un fragment du mémorial de l’établissement géographique de Bruxelles* (Brussels: Établissement géographique, 1831), 130–131. Vandermaelen in turn took his inspiration from *Délices du Pays de Liège ou description des monumens sacrés et profanes* ..., vol. 1 (Liège: Everard Kints, 1738), 241–243, a source mentioned by Henaux.

49 Louis Bellet, *La Belgique pittoresque: histoire, géographie, topographie, histoire naturelle, moeurs, coutumes, industrie, commerce, beaux-arts, biographies, statistiques* (Brussels: Librairie moderne, 1834), 121: “cut into candelabras and charged with ornaments of the best taste”; Ferrier, *Description historique et topographique de Liège*, 74; *Guide illustré du voyageur en Belgique*, 214: “charged with arabesques, which quite resemble those of the Ducal palace in Venice.” Ferrier, in *Guide pittoresque* of 1838, on page 248, refers to “arabesques,” while in *Guide pittoresque* of 1839, on page 240, Ferrier follows the *Description historique et topographique*.

50 Gobert, *Guide du voyageur*, 24: “the monuments of High Egypt, with their hieroglyphic signs”; compare with Henaux, *Description historique et topographique de Liège*, 116: “Ces colonnes, taillées en formes de chandeliers d’église, varient à l’infini par les ornemens qui les surchargent et leurs bases et leurs chapiteaux, et leurs fûts et jusqu’aux cintres des arcades qu’elles supportent. Cette superbe colonnade qui est tout à la fois de style mauresque et gothique, rappelle assez les monumens de la Haute Égypte, par les diverses figures qu’on y remarque et qui ressemblent à des signes hiéroglyphiques.” (“These columns, cut in the shape of church candelabras, infinitely vary the ornaments that overload their bases and their capitals, and their shafts and up to the arches of the arcades they support. This superb colonnade which is at once of a Moorish and gothic style, quite recalls the monuments of High Egypt, thanks to the various figures one remarks and which resemble hieroglyphic signs.”)

51 For a succinct chronology of Hugo’s trips to Belgium, see Victor Hugo, *Bruxelles et la Belgique: Exposition tenue en la salle ogivale de l’Hôtel de Ville du 22 mars au 28 avril 1885*, ed. Léon Zylbergeld (Brussels: Crédit communal, 1985), 16–18. In *Le Rhin*, these letters are dated 1838.

52 See Jean Mallion, *Victor Hugo et l’art architectural* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1962), 108, and Gély, “Introduction,” 33–34. Gély systematically compares Hugo’s letters of 1837 with the content of the *Richard*’s 1853 edition, as earlier editions were inaccessible to him.

53 Probably the first edition of this guide appeared in 1835: [J.M.V. Audin], *Guide du voyageur en Belgique et en Hollande ... revu, coordonné, mis en ordre par Richard* (Paris: Audin Libraire, 1835). Part of the introduction, pages 9–19, is a long montage of passages from Trollope’s *La Belgique et l’ouest de l’Allemagne*; Ferrier’s citation of Trollope is a much shorter version of this edit.

54 [J.M.V. Audin], *Guide du voyageur en Belgique et en Hollande ... sixième édition revue avec soin et augmentée par Richard* (Paris: Maison successeur de M. Audin, 1839), 312–325. The source is given as the *Revue de Paris*, and the introductory sentence is identical to Ferrier’s; see note 38 above.

55 Hugo, *France et Belgique (1834–1837)*, 300: “Un stupide livre que j’ai acheté et qui s’intitule *Le Guide du voyageur en Belgique*.”

56 [J.M.V. Audin], *Guide du voyageur en Belgique et en Hollande ... revu, coordonné, mis en ordre par Richard* (Paris: Audin libraire, 1836), 308. It lists Vandermaelen’s *Dictionnaire* as a source (305).

57 “This courtyard, of which no one speaks and which ought to be famous, is the interior courtyard of the palace of the ecclesiastic princes of Liege. Nowhere I have seen an architectural ensemble that is more strange, more morose and more superb. ... These pillars are made of grey granite like the whole palace. According to whether one examines

one or the other of the four rows, the shaft of the pillar disappears for up to half its length, either above or below, under a bulge enriched with arabesques ... But what astonishes the *archéologue*, is that the arabesques chiseled on these bulges, the capitals on top of these pillars, sculpted naively and grossly, and charged up to the abacus with chimerical figures, impossible foliage, apocalyptic animals, winged dragons that seem almost Egyptian and hieroglyphical, seem to belong to the art of the eleventh century, and in order not to class these pillars, short, stocky, and gibbous as Byzantine architecture, one should keep in mind that the palace ... was begun only in 1508.” *GTB*, 213–214 (italics mine).

58 “a Gothic monument of a particular style ... decorated with vegetal forms, sculpted in imitation of the human figure.” “Une excursion en Belgique,” *Magasin pittoresque* 4, no. 22 (1836): 176.

59 Gély, in his introduction (32), argues for Hugo’s dependence on two articles by Batissier on Belgian churches, published as “Des églises en Belgique,” *L’Artiste* 12 (1836): 190–192 and 206–209, but he does not mention the third article on Liège, which is signed “Louis B.” Given Hugo’s familiarity with the first two installments, it is highly probable that he knew the piece on Liège as well.

60 “It is Renaissance Gothic, with its luxury of ornaments and its profusion of detail. The pillars of the gallery, which resemble lamp-post columns or ancient candelabras, are infinitely varied, and have the greatest affinity with Byzantine monuments.” [Louis Batissier], “Liège,” *L’Artiste* 12 (1836): 243.

61 “the character that can be noted in several Belgian buildings that were erected or embellished during the rule of Charles V and his successors.” [Batissier], “Liège,” 243.

62 “a glacial and emphatic work”; “this eighteenth-century architecture”; “there is no in-between: tinsel or nudity, glitter or misery.” *GTB*, 214–215. Henaux, in *Description historique et topographique de Liège* (116–117), had already commented on the contrast between the old and new parts: “c’est effectivement la même chose que si on plaçait une rose encore fraîche sur une touffe de cheveux gris” (“it is in effect the same as if one put a still fresh rose on a mop of grey hair”).

63 Félix Stappaerts, “Liège,” in H.G. Moke et al., *La Belgique monumentale, historique et pittoresque*, vol. 2 (Brussels: A. Jamar et Ch. Hen, 1844), 165.

64 “Let’s go quickly to the most pressing, that is, to the most beautiful ... a vast oblong, surrounded with magnificent galleries of columns in sculpted granite; vaults and walls are in red brick, against which the black and polished colonnade stands out, which recalls certain palaces in Venice ... The exterior, to the side of the square, does not correspond with these magnificences: it has the appearance of a hospital or a barrack, even though it is the most beautiful building in Liège.” Nerval, *Lorely*, 277–278. The description was first published in *La Presse* in “Une journée à Liège” (see note 18 above), without the opening sentence. There Nerval simply observes that the palace “est le monument le plus remarquable de Liège.” Maurice Piron, in “Le pays de Liège,” in *Regards venus d’ailleurs sur Bruxelles et la Wallonie*, ed. Georges Sion (Brussels: Trois arches, 1980), 196), gives the reference to the newspaper publication and states that Nerval, who visited Liège once, in November 1840, had read Hugo’s account.

65 See Maarten Delbeke, “A Book Accessible to All,” *AAFiles* no. 69 (2014): 118–122.

66 Hugo’s extensive reliance on and incorporation of source material into his *récits de voyage* is well established; see, for instance, Nicole Savy, *Victor Hugo: Voyageur de l’Europe: Essai sur les textes de voyage et leurs enjeux* (Brussels: Editions Labor et Archives et musée de la littérature, 1997), 131–132, on the subject of *Le Rhin*. For the 1837 trip to Belgium, see in particular Gély, “Introduction.”

67 See Hugo, *France et Belgique (1834–1837)*, 270 (“ce goût tourmenté et bizarre qui résulte ici du choc du Nord et du Midi, de la Flandre et de l’Espagne”); 292 (“beaucoup de façades rocaille ... parmi les pignons gothiques, et des plus tourmentées, ce qui les fait passer. Le rococo n’est supportable

qu'à la condition d'être extravagant"); 298 ("partout où il y a une cathédrale, un hôtel de ville ou un Rubens, j'accours. Cela me fait faire des zigzags sans fin. Mon voyage dessine à travers la Belgique une extravagante arabesque"); 308 ("ce sont les journaux du cru, ils sont tous tapissés de vers néerlandais. Cela est fort agréable à l'œil. On croirait voir les dessins de cailloux et de rocailles dans une grotte rococo. La grotte, c'est *Le Messager de Gand*"); and 323 ("Quand la mer veut faire du rococo, elle y excelle").

68 Jean-Bertrand Barrère, *La fantaisie de Victor Hugo*, vol. 3 (Paris: J. Corti, 1960), 286–287; Gély, "Introduction," 57–61; Jean Gaudon evokes "le choc de Bruxelles" as "un chemin de Damas artistique" in "Éloge du décor," 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), 96; Thomas Coomans and Tom Verschaffel, "Victor Hugo et la Belgique: Regards croisés sur le patrimoine médiéval," in *Victor Hugo et le débat patrimonial*, 211; Cathérine Thomas, "Les petits romantiques et le rococo: Éloge du mauvais goût," *Romantisme* 1 (2004): 34–35. 69 See Jean-Claude Brunon, "Arabesque, baroque, caprice: Essai sur la portée des *Grottesques* dans l'esthétique de Gautier," in *Théophile Gautier: L'art et l'artiste: Actes du colloque international*, ed. Frans Amelincx et al., vol. 2 (Montpellier: Société Théophile Gautier, 1983), 369–379; Savy, *Victor Hugo: Voyageur de l'Europe*, 120–121.

70 It should, however, be noted that, for instance, Maud does not refer to Hugo's description, in "La Chaire de Sainte-Gudule," *La revue mauve: Artistique, littéraire, mondaine* 2 (1898): 236–240.

71 "It is the whole of creation, it is all of philosophy, it is all of poetry, figured by an enormous tree carrying in its branches a pulpit, in its foliage a world of birds and animals; at its base Adam and Eve chased by the sad angel and pursued by happy death, and separated by the snake's tail; at its top the cross, Truth, the child Jesus and underneath the child's foot the crushed head of the serpent. This entire poem is sculpted and chiselled in whole oak in the strongest, most tender and most spiritual possible way. The whole is prodigiously rococo and prodigiously beautiful. That the fanatics of the *strict* resolve this as they want, this is [true]. This pulpit is in art one of the rare points of intersection where the beautiful and rococo meet." Hugo, *France et Belgique (1834–1837)*, 45.

72 "Une excursion en Belgique," *Magasin pittoresque*, 169 and 171. Compare the illustration with Paquet-Syphorien, *Voyage historique et pittoresque fait dans les Pays-Bas, et dans quelques départemens voisins, pendant les années 1811, 1812, 1813*, vol. 2 (Paris: Firmin Didot, Brussels, 1816), plate XIV. This illustration is in turn probably based on an engraving included in J.A. Rombaut, *Het verheerlykt of opgehelderd Brussel, zynde eene Historische en Chronologische Beschryvinge van den voorigen ende tegenwoordigen staat dezer Stad*, vol. 1 (Brussels: Pauwels, 1777), [308]. A similar illustration reoccurs, for instance, in Wauters, *Les délices de la Belgique*, [32].

73 *Guide du voyageur en Belgique et en Hollande* (1836), 84.

74 For instance, Ferrier, *Guide pittoresque* (1839), 19; *Guide illustré du voyageur en Belgique*, 12–13, with illustration.

75 See, for instance, Thomas Roscoe, *Belgium: In a Picturesque Tour*, *Heath's Picturesque Annual* (London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1841), 232, where the Allom engraving is dated October 1, 1841. Emerson Tennyson, *Notes d'un voyageur Anglais sur la Belgique* (Brussels: Société belge de librairie, Hauman, 1841), 158–160, is an extended eulogy of the carved wooden church furniture found in Belgium. See also Batissier, "Des églises en Belgique," 192.

76 M. Mauvy, *Bruxelles et ses environs* (Brussels: Ad. Wahlen, 1834), xxxix–xl. Mauvy's evocation of Milton forms part of a description that claims that the baldachin covering the pulpit is held up by "une femme offrant le symbole de la Vérité." Despite the fact that there is no such figure, the *Richard* picks this up and describes above the pulpit "la Vérité sous forme d'une femme"; see *Guide du voyageur*

en Belgique et en Hollande (1836), 84. Hugo retains the reference to "la Vérité" but identifies it with the figure of the Virgin, standing on top of the baldachin (Hugo, *France et Belgique (1834–1837)*, 267). In the annotation to Hugo's reference, Gély states that Hugo did not base his work on the *Richard*, but Gély does so on the basis of a later edition of the guidebook, where the confusing reference to Vérité was omitted (266, n3).

77 "The artist has been capable of endowing his work with a beautiful and grand idea: *The fall of the first man*, which is symbolized with an admirable understanding." Victor Joly, "Sainte-Gudule," in *La Belgique en 1841* (Brussels: Hauman, 1841), 38, illustrated with the Allom image.

78 "the depth and unity of his thought"; "a plastic poem." Eugène Robin, "Beaux-Arts—monuments: Bruxelles—L'église de Sainte-Gudule," *Revue nationale* 7 (1842): 155–156.

79 "[this] work has been executed with care, but the author displays more imagination than taste." Ferrier, *Guide pittoresque* (1839), 19. 80 *Belgium: In a Picturesque Tour*, 232.

81 "very powerful"; "a work of bad taste no doubt." *GTB*, 27–28; see Dumas, *Excursions*, 32. The pulpit actually appears twice in the *GTB*, since Gautier attributes the pulpit of Antwerp Cathedral to Verbruggen and identifies Adam and Eve as its theme (81). In fact, the work was done by Michiel I van der Voort, and the base consists of female allegories of the four continents. The confusion may have been caused by formal similarities, especially as regards the staircases adorned with birds; Gautier mentions a turkey, which probably refers to the Antwerp staircase. The conflation suggests the reputation of Verbruggen's work and the availability of its description. It also suggests Gautier's debt to popular sources; in another example, his characterization of the plan of Antwerp as "la figure d'un arc tendu dont l'Escaut forme la corde" (*GTB*, 82) had appeared verbatim in the *Magasin pittoresque* (1833), 66, quoted above in note 19; as noted, Gautier first visited Belgium in 1836.

82 See Thomas, "Les petits romantiques."

83 "medieval chivalry ... flowery tapestries and armchairs of embroidered satin that descend in a straight line from Madame de Pompadour." Y., "Théâtre français. *L'Alibi*, comédie en trois actes et en vers, par M. de Longpré." *L'Europe littéraire: journal de la littérature nationale et étrangère* 31, no. 7 (1833), 232.

84 Thomas, "Les petits romantiques," 34; Petrus Borel, "Monsieur de l'Argentière, l'accusateur," in *Champavert: Contes immoraux* (Brussels: J. Blance, 1872), 3. Borel uses the spelling "roccoco."

85 Interestingly, in his exuberant description of the courtyard of the Palace of Justice in Liege, which is replete with hugolian tropes and does not fail to cast it as a mixture of the "romanesque, arab, and hindu," Camille Lemonnier sees in the ornament of the columns a premonition of the rococo: "Les rocailles et chiorées qui, deux siècles plus tard, s'épanouiront comme des végétations parasites sur l'art dégénéré, sont là en germe, dans les volutes et les astragales de cette fantaisie tarabiscotée." ("The rocailles and chicories that, two centuries later, will blossom like parasitic plants on the degenerated art, are there in the bud, in the volutes and astragals of this intricate fantasy.") Camille Lemonnier, *La Belgique*, 2nd ed. (Brussels: Alfred Castaigne, 1903), 672.

86 The different trajectories of Nisard's and Hugo's "voices" are illustrated by the French guide of Edmond Texier, *Voyage pittoresque en Hollande et en Belgique* (Paris: Morizot, [1857]), 397–399. Its description of St. Jacques and the city still carries traces of Nisard's text as it was filtered through various guidebooks, without any mention of author or source, while Hugo's description of the activities on the courtyard of the Palace of Justice is quoted and attributed explicitly. Hugo is referred to repeatedly throughout the book. Texier makes ample use of older texts, such as Nerval's account of the legend of Brussels City Hall, or Gautier's description of Antwerp (267–268, 302–306).

87 In the absence of other sources and indications this editorship must remain

unattributed; see also the discussion of Ferrier's position in the guide above, note 33. 88 *GTB*, 77: "country of facts" rather than a "country of ideas."

89 *GTB*, 112. The confusion of Memling and Hemling is common at the time of Delrieu's writing.

90 *GTB*, 122, 126.

91 See *GTB*, 52–53, for the reflection, taken from the *Promenades sur le chemin de fer*, about the milestone as a proper monument to train travel.

92 *GTB*, 150, 167, 216.

93 Compare Nisard in *GTB*, "Liège a deux sortes de monuments: ses églises et ses fabriques" (138), with Hugo in *GTB*, "Liège n'a plus l'énorme cathédrale des princes-évêques ... mais elle a l'usine de M. Cockerill" (212).

94 In Nisard's view, centuries of ecclesiastical rule had left an imprint of superstition on the city (*GTB*, 143–145). In his description of the palace, Batissier reads the market in the courtyard as the sign of a popular triumph over theocracy, thus mobilizing the palace in his reflection on the transition from the city of churches to the city of industry ("Liège," 243). 95 *GTB*, 212: Hugo lists St. Paul, St. Jean, St. Hubert, and St. Denis. There is no St. Hubert in the center of Liège, but Hugo's reference to its "abside romane ourlée de basses galeries à pleine cintre" (213) suggests that he may have meant Ste. Croix, situated in the Rue St. Hubert; Hugo could have passed the Palace of Justice on his way from St. Denis to Ste. Croix.

96 Compare Nisard in *GTB* (145–147; quote on 146), with Hugo in *GTB*: "Liège est une des ces vieilles villes qui sont en train de devenir villes neuves – transformation déplorable, mais fatale!" ("Liege is one of those old cities that are becoming new cities – a deplorable, but inevitable transformation!") (212).

97 See Wolfzettel, "Fabrik und Schwan," 607–614, for an extensive analysis of Nisard's travel accounts of industry. See also Gerson, "Parisian Litterateurs," 155–156, for Nisard's self-avowed empiricism. Also Favry, "Les Belges face à leurs industries," 793, 798, who casts Nisard as an unambiguous admirer of industrialization.

98 "To see the worker from a distance leads to illusions, to see him from too nearby leads to disenchantment, both of which are hardly suitable for inspiring good judgements." *GTB*, 196. For the conclusion of the visit: "avec un mélange de joie douce et de trouble vague, comme après un danger qu'on est heureux d'avoir impunément connu." ("with a mixture of sweet joy and vague disturbance, as after a danger one is happy to have experienced with impunity") (198).

99 "This spectacle of war is given by peace; this frightening copy of devastation is made by industry. There you simply see the blast furnaces of the late Cockerill ... There I have truly admired industry." *GTB*, 211.

100 See also Wolfzettel, "Fabrik und Schwan," 610, for the distinction between Hugo's "Ästhetisierung" and Nisard's perspective.

101 Désiré Nisard, "M. Victor Hugo en 1836," *Revue de Paris* 25 (1836): 293–329, also included in the second volume of his *Mélanges*, published in 1838.

102 A remark in yet another guide of Liege published by Hauman suggests that Nisard's aversion of Hugo was commonly known. Mathieu Lambert Polain, *Liège pittoresque ou description historique de cette ville et ses principaux monuments* (Brussels: Hauman, 1842), 173 cites Nisard on St. Jacques and refers to the author as "le célèbre adversaire de la littérature facile" ("the famous adversary of easy literature"). As the only author surveyed here, Polain then proceeds to criticize Nisard's description, all while making explicit and implicit use of his text. Nisard had coined the notion "la littérature facile" to condemn Romantic authors, Hugo chief among them.

103 Victor Soelcher, "De l'état intellectuel de la Belgique," *Revue de Paris* 34 (1836): 342–371, offers extensive comments on Belgium as "contrefaçon" of France. On this metaphorical extension of Belgian publishing practices to the characterization of the entire country, see Savy, *Victor Hugo: Voyageur de l'Europe*, 126–127; and Nicole Savy, "Postface," in *Lettres de Belgique*, ed. Marie-Hélène Sabard (Paris: L'École des lettres, 1997), 221–233.

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