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# Photography and the Spatial Transformations of Ghent, 1840-1914

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## Abstract

During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the photographic visualization of the Belgian city of Ghent is closely connected to its urban planning. On one hand, the city is transformed according to the logics of industrial modernization with its functional and spatial zoning. On the other hand, the city's historical heritage is rediscovered and many medieval buildings were preserved and restored. The planning history of Ghent is usually described in two stages: first, the "Haussmannization" of the city, the creation of boulevards and vistas according to the model of Brussels and Paris, and second, the return to regionalism and a picturesque sensibility during the preparation of the 1913 World's Fair. The photographic representation of the city seems to mirror this evolution, exchanging the image of the city as a series of isolated monuments for a more sensory and immersive experience. However, a close look at a broad range of images produced by both foreign and local photographers allows us to nuance this assumption. Particularly, the work of Edmond Sacré, who photographed Ghent over half a century, combines a "topographical" and a "picturesque" sensibility.

## Keywords

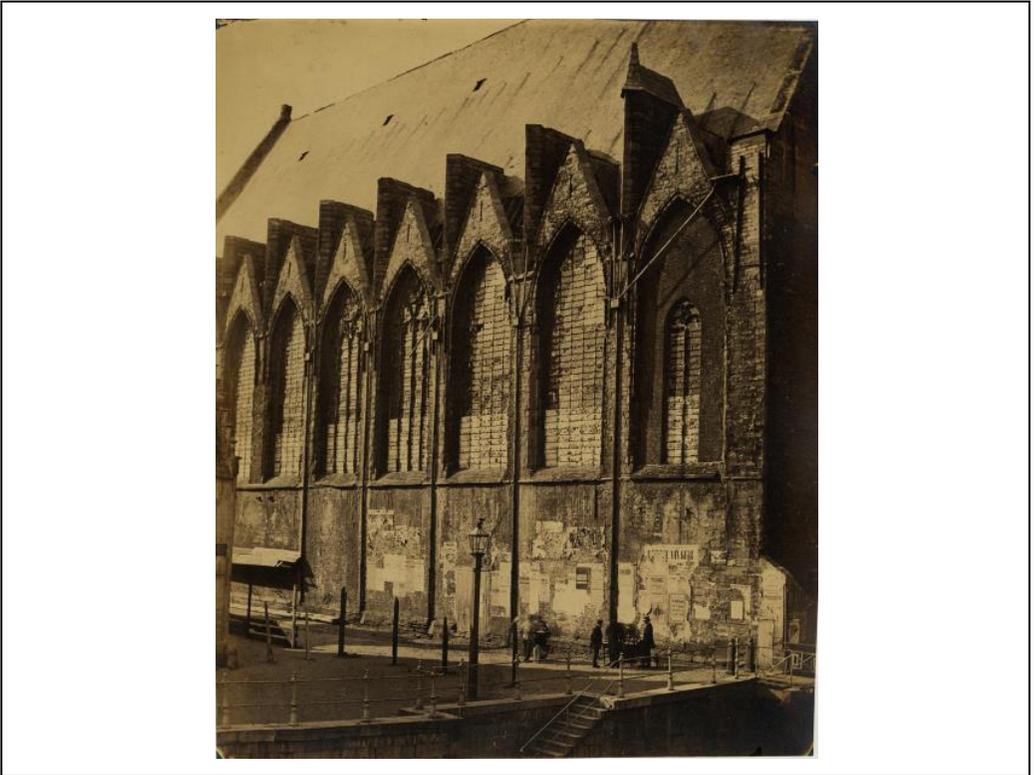
urban photography, nineteenth-century photography, Ghent, Belgium, urban renewal, 1913 World's Fair

## Gand Pittoresque

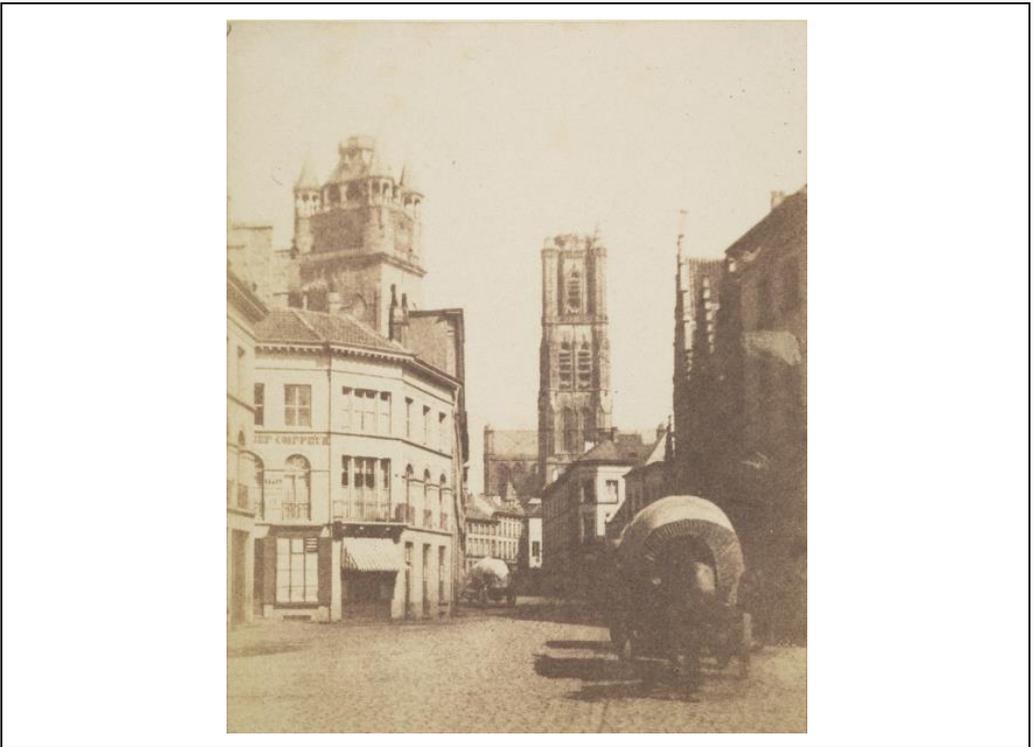
In many European cities, nineteenth-century urbanization implied a dialectic of industrial modernization on one hand and a rediscovery of a medieval heritage on the other. Vast programs of demolition went hand in hand with a politics of conservation, restoration, and reconstruction of individual buildings and entire medieval cityscapes. This was also the case in the Belgian city of Ghent, which hosted the World Exhibition in 1913. The preparations for this event, which had a major impact on the Ghent historical city center, also triggered attempts at the construction of a new urban identity by the local authorities. These attempts interestingly relate to the photographic image production of Ghent throughout the nineteenth century. In the decades preceding the World Exhibition, both Belgian and foreign photographers explored Ghent's urban landscape. Local photographers such as Georges Verhaeghe De Naeyer, François Donny, and Charles D'Hoy directed their cameras at the medieval cityscape and its monuments. Of D'Hoy (1823-1892), in particular, a corpus of high-quality urban photographs from the 1860s and 1870s has been preserved.<sup>1</sup> Often working by appointment of local authorities, D'Hoy photographed several medieval monuments, which were rediscovered or reevaluated in those years as well as buildings that were to be demolished (Figure 1). In the middle of the nineteenth century, also other Belgian photographers have pictured Ghent's monuments. Brussels-based pioneers such as Guillaume Claïne and Gilbert Radoux included Ghent views in their albums containing topographic sights of the 1850s.<sup>2</sup> In addition, Edmond Fierlants, who established the *Société royale belge de photographie* in 1862, photographed Ghent. Although the catalogue of this leading Belgian firm specializing in art and architectural photography consisted first and foremost of views of Brussels, Antwerp, Louvain, and Bruges made in the late 1850s and 1860s, the firm produced a series of pictures in the early 1870s of several monuments of the city as well as of the famous Mystic Lamb polyptych (1432) by Jan and Hubert Van Eyck situated in the Saint Bavo Cathedral.<sup>3</sup> Also in the 1870s, Belgian

photographers were aware of Ghent's unique architectural heritage. The first volume (1874-1875) of the monthly bulletin of the Association belge de photographie (ABP) includes only two illustrations with architectural or urban subjects. They are both photographs of Ghent landmarks by D'Hoy showing the ruins of the abbey of Saint Bavo and a view of the Graslei (Herb Quay), respectively.<sup>4</sup> Also later, the city of Ghent featured prominently in the Bulletin of the ABP. Apart from some years of inactivity in the mid-1880s, the local section of the association was very active and organized several major exhibitions in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In the light of sessions held at Ghent, visits to major landmarks were organized and some of them were extensively covered with illustrations in the Bulletin's pages.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, the ABP saw itself as a major partner in the discussions on the conservation of monuments—an 1895 issue of the Bulletin included even the bylaws of the then new *Société nationale pour la protection des sites et des monuments*.<sup>6</sup> Particularly, the Ghent section of the ABP was interested in historical monuments, and several of its members contributed images to an 1896 guide of Old Ghent.<sup>7</sup> Likewise, the local Archaeological Society asked ABP members to donate "views of Old Ghent."<sup>8</sup>

Strikingly, in the middle of the nineteenth century, Ghent was also extensively visualized by leading British and French photographers such as Daguerre, John Muir Wood, the Bisson brothers, and Adolphe Braun. In the mid-1830s, for instance, the famous Paris diorama by photo pioneer Louis-Jacques-Mandé Daguerre included sights of "le bassin central du commerce à Gand."<sup>9</sup> Daguerre, no doubt, was attracted by Ghent's urban landscape of churches, castles, guild houses, beguinages, and canals that answered to the Romantic fascination for the Middle Ages. This fascination also turned Ghent into an obligatory stop on the *Grand Tour* for British travelers. In the summer of 1847, the city was visited by two Scottish pioneers of photography, George Moir and John Muir Wood. A member of the Edinburgh Calotype Club, Moir contributed two calotypes of Ghent to two albums containing more than three hundred images by pioneering photographers working in Edinburgh and St. Andrews. One of Moir's calotypes shows an architectural detail (probably of the late-Gothic part of the town hall), the other depicts gabled houses at a square.<sup>10</sup> Such details attracted the eye of many travelers. Murray's *Handbook for Travellers* asserted that "the picturesqueness of the old houses of Ghent, the fantastic variety of gable ends rising stepwise, or ornamented with scrolls and carving, arrest the stranger's eye at every turn."<sup>11</sup> Since all other locations of the pictures in the Edinburgh albums are Scottish, English, or Italian, the presence of Ghent is striking. In the decades following the Battle of Waterloo (1815), the city attracted many British tourists—John Muir Wood, the other Scottish pioneer of photography visiting Ghent in 1847, noted in his diary that he encountered in Ghent several British architects making calotypes. Muir Wood's pictures offer valuable information on major monuments such as the belfry and the Gravensteen (Count's Castle) and the ways these monuments were part of the urban landscape (Figure 2). They show the city before the vast urban transformations of the later nineteenth century, which implied the isolation of medieval landmarks and the demolition of adjacent buildings. Also Moir's pictures show the belfry (with its old wooden crowning) surrounded by houses and the Gravensteen still completely enclosed by extensions and houses. Muir Wood and Moir's pictures of the Gravensteen are a typical example of the fascination for the picturesque chaos of medieval cities, which is unmistakably more determined by a preference for general pictorial effects rather than by an interest in topographical or architectural details.<sup>12</sup>



**Figure 1.** Charles D'Hoy, Dominican's Church, shortly before its demolition in 1860 (Ghent City Archives).



**Figure 2.** John Muir Wood, Saint Bavo Cathedral, Calotype, 1847 (The National Galleries of Scotland).

A more architectural approach came to the fore in the Ghent images produced by prominent French photographers such as the Bisson brothers and Adolphe Braun in the third quarter of the

nineteenth century. The oeuvre of the brothers Louis-Auguste and Auguste-Rosalie Bisson includes several Ghent inner-city views. One of them, dated 1857, shows the Gildehuis der Vrije Schippers (Guild House of the Free Boatmen) and the adjacent buildings at the Graslei, the medieval harbor (Figure 3).<sup>13</sup> About 1870, the same site was photographed by Adolphe Braun.<sup>14</sup> The 1530 Guild House, which was restored in 1904, is a preeminent example of the so-called Transition Style between Late Gothic and Renaissance—a style that characterizes several major historical buildings in Ghent and that would become highly influential for the Neo-Renaissance style favored by the architects and urban planners involved in the campaigns of urban renewal, preservation, and beautification around 1900, discussed in the following paragraphs. Both the Bisson and Braun photograph of the houses at the Graslei as the ones taken by Belgian photographers such as D’Hoy and Fierlants demonstrate a growing awareness of the unique character of these buildings.<sup>15</sup> Most of these photographs focus on individual houses (or two adjacent buildings), the sculptural details of their facades, and the way the architectural volumes relate to the water surface of the river on the foreground. Hardly any attempts are made to offer a panoramic view of the site, which would later become a synecdoche or an emblem of the Ghent medieval cityscape. Tellingly, in the 1876 edition of Murray’s travel guide or the 1880 Baedeker tourist guide, for instance, the Graslei is still only briefly mentioned whereas later it would become Ghent’s main tourist attraction and probably most photographed site, mainly because of the construction of new perspectives and viewpoints.<sup>16</sup>

## **Hausmann in Ghent**

The construction of these new viewpoints was a crucial element in Ghent’s program of urban renewal culminating in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The focus on Ghent’s historical heritage in photography has to be read against the background of this thorough transformation process. Throughout the nineteenth century, the city was reordered both spatially and visually to cope with the challenges of a rapidly changing industrial and urban society. After England, Belgium was one of the first countries to go through a fast process of industrialization. Nicknamed the “Manchester of the Continent,” Ghent developed into a major center of textile industry. This implied drastic transformations of the city’s topography. Dominated by the liberal bourgeoisie, local authorities favored from the 1830s onward a program of urban renewal that included slum clearing on one hand and the creation of a comfortable and controllable environment for promenading, shopping, and entertainment on the other. The creation of this new cityscape included the construction of new large public buildings such as the courthouse and the State University, which symbolized the development of a modern civil society. Several of these new buildings attracted the attention of photographers. Adolphe Braun, for instance, not only photographed the old buildings in the medieval harbor but also the new neoclassical courthouse designed by Louis Roelandt in 1836-1846 (Figure 4).

Apart from these new buildings, larger-scale transformations marked the city center in the 1880s when the area between the South railway station (built in 1850) and the medieval city core was changed beyond recognition. Making a direct connection between the city center and the station, the so-called Zollikofer-Devigne plan of 1880-1888 implied the construction of a number of boulevards cutting through the existing urban fabric.<sup>17</sup> The new streets connecting the South station and the medieval Korenmarkt (Corn Market) were accompanied by the creation of a string of new squares around key monuments such as the cathedral, Saint Nicholas church, the town hall, and the belfry. This was achieved by the demolition of the many small-scale buildings that were built against the major monuments over the centuries, which can still be seen in many of the early photographs of Ghent. Furthermore, the creation of these new



**Figure 3.** Louis-Auguste and Auguste-Rosalie Bisson, Guild House of the Free Boatmen, Graslei, Ghent, 1857 (Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris).



**Figure 4.** Adolphe Braun, Courthouse, Ghent, ca. 1865 (Ghent City Archives). squares also implied the massive destruction of the entire urban tissue surrounding the major monuments. The industrialization and (sub)urbanization of the medieval city of Ghent went,

thus, hand in hand with the need to create a legible urban space. The social and functional mix of the medieval town made room for the spatially defined order of the modern city.<sup>18</sup> Strikingly, these new squares not only facilitated circulation but also acted as a series of *parvis* or forecourts for the major monuments. Reframing the cathedral, the town hall, the belfry, and Saint Nicholas church, the string of new squares offered new vistas and therefore also new strategies and formats of depiction—something that was highly relevant for the development of a new cityscape and its photographic depictions (Figure 5).

Obviously, as was the case in Brussels during the administration of Mayor Jules Anspach in the 1870s, the transformation of Paris by Baron Haussmann acted as the model for Ghent's new urban spaces. "Yes, Haussmann, let's try to find one for our city," alderman Adolphe Burggraeve stated while discussing the sanitation of Ghent in the city council.<sup>19</sup> Realized by the Compagnie Immobilière de Belgique that had earned its credits with similar projects in Brussels, the implementation of the Zollikofer-Devigne plan was meticulously photographed in all its stages. As Louis Ghémar had visualized the covering of the river Senne and the disappearance of its picturesque surroundings in favor of the construction of central boulevards in Brussels, photographic commissions documented the progressing works, and the new urban views that gradually enfolded in Ghent.<sup>20</sup> An extensive record of the urban transformation can be found in the work of Ghent-based photographer Edmond Sacré (1851-1921), one of the most successful commercial photographers in Ghent in the decades around 1900.<sup>21</sup> One of his most frequent clients was the Ghent Monument Commission, which used photographic images as a tool for the documentation of those parts of the city that were destined to disappear or be restored, thus creating a photographic archive of the transformation of the city center from a medieval to a modern city. In particular, Sacré documented the various stages of the central thoroughfare and the transformation of the central historical monuments into isolated objects, such as the belfry tower (Figure 5).

## The Return of the Picturesque

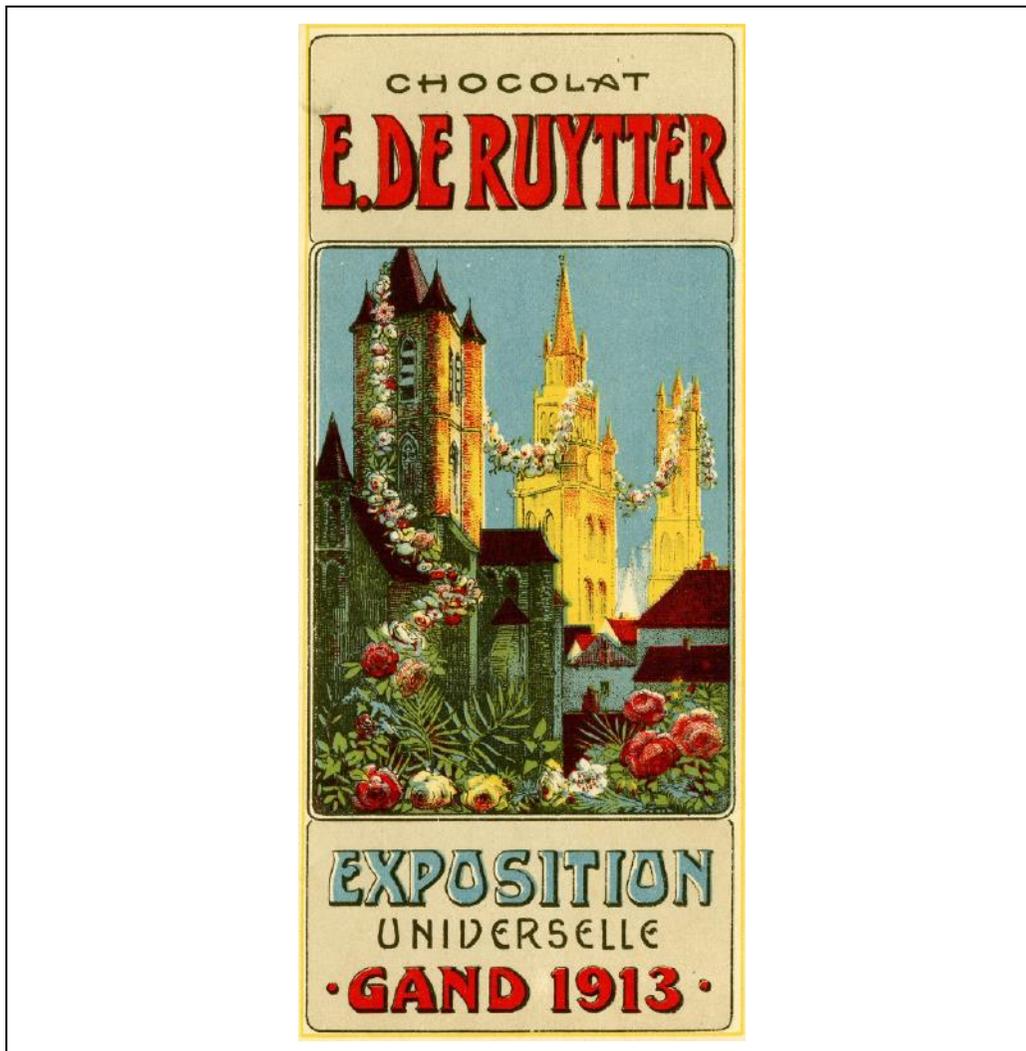
In the early twentieth century, Ghent abandoned its strategy of imitating Paris and focused instead on its medieval past and its position as a regional capital. This evolution is part of a return to regionalism and a picturesque sensibility in town planning internationally, exemplified in the ideas of Viennese architect and urban planner Camillo Sitte, who published his influential *Der Städtebau nach seinen künstlerischen Grundsätzen* (*City Planning according to Artistic Principles*) in 1889.<sup>22</sup> Favoring the irregularity of medieval cities over the obsessive search for order in modern urban planning, Sitte criticized the isolated placement of monuments and emphasized the inherent creative quality of an organically developed urban space. The ideas of Sitte, who had included drawings of the streets of Bruges in *Der Städtebau* to develop his arguments, were highly influential in Belgium. In Brussels, the principles of picturesque town planning were particularly advocated by Charles Buls (1837-1914).<sup>23</sup> As mayor of Brussels from 1881 to 1899, Buls played a leading role in the rehabilitation and preservation of old buildings and parts of the city while opposing to the grand architectural schemes of King Leopold II. In his articles and lectures, Buls often used many photographs evoking the viewpoint of a mobile pedestrian, which also marked his influential book *L'Esthétique des villes* (1893).<sup>24</sup> The importance of photography for Buls is also indicated by his membership of the ABP. Some of his illustrated travelogues were published in the Bulletin of the ABP, in which Buls' ideas were explicitly connected to photography.<sup>25</sup> In an article in a 1909 issue, Ghent pictorialist photographer Marcel Vanderkindere encouraged photographers to apply the principles of *L'Esthétique des villes*. He noted that "professional photographers are perfectly capable of making reproductions of facades," but "it is the synthetic view of a street, a set of architectural constructions that teaches us something about the city," and he urged photographers to photograph monuments together with their context.<sup>26</sup>



**Figure 5.** Edmond Sacré, Saint Bavo Cathedral, salt print, ca. 1900 (City Archive, Ghent).

In Ghent, the local catalyst for the paradigm shift from rationalist to picturesque planning was the decision, taken in 1905, to host the 1913 World Exhibition. Of course, the fair in the first place accelerated the modernization process that was initiated in the previous decades. In the city center, the World Exhibition coincided with the completion of the central thoroughfare of the Zollikofer-De Vigne plan, linking the medieval core with the South station. In addition, new housing development was stimulated along the boulevards that linked the medieval core with the new Saint Pieter Station, which was constructed at the edge of the exhibition grounds outside the city center. As a result, a functionally and socially zoned modern urban agglomeration gradually unfolded.

Tellingly, this process of modernization was paired with a search to create a proper identity, both architecturally and visually. The World's Fair did not only bring along masses of domestic and foreign tourists who required an easy thoroughfare but it also stimulated the search for an urban image that could be distributed and marketed internationally. In the attempts to construct this new cityscape with new vistas, Haussmann's Paris model of rational urban planning was combined with a more picturesque approach. This was possible because the Zollikofer-De Vigne plan, although it entailed the construction of broad new streets destructing entire quarters, was not marked by the "cannon-shot boulevards seemingly without an end" that Sigfried Giedion considered characteristic of Haussmann's planning of Paris.<sup>27</sup> Instead, the Ghent urban tissue was dissected by a gently curving boulevard, gradually offering new sights. Moreover, this system of gently curving roads with progressively shifting perspectives culminated in the construction of the Saint Michael Bridge in 1912, which was first and foremost a grand scenic intervention. Designed by Louis Cloquet, who also drew the plans of the adjacent new Post Office (1898-1910), this bridge maximized new urban views on the



**Figure 6.** Publicity for chocolate with a drawing of the three towers, lithography on publicity folder, 1913 (City Archive, Ghent).

medieval city core. For the first time in Ghent's history, it was possible to see the three central towers (Saint Nicholas Church, belfry, and Saint Bavo Cathedral) in one single view, a "signature" image that was easily adopted in city marketing, from the 1913 World's Fair until today, endlessly repeated in photo albums, postcards, posters, tourist brochures, and advertisements<sup>28</sup> (Figure 6). In addition, Cloquet's bridge turned the Graslei, now combining its historical guild houses with some new buildings (such as Cloquet's post office) designed in historicist styles, into a major Ghent landmark.

Moreover, the process of urban renewal was also combined with an interest in local history and a revival of regionalism. While transforming the city center of Ghent into a modern city in terms of traffic and commerce, the premodern city was an important reference point as far as the architecture—or at least the facades—were concerned. In the years preceding 1913, many iconic buildings were restored in a presupposed historical state, while new constructions in Neo-Renaissance or other eclectic styles referred to Ghent's architectural history. A much-revealing example is the system of the so-called "convention facades," which meant that the

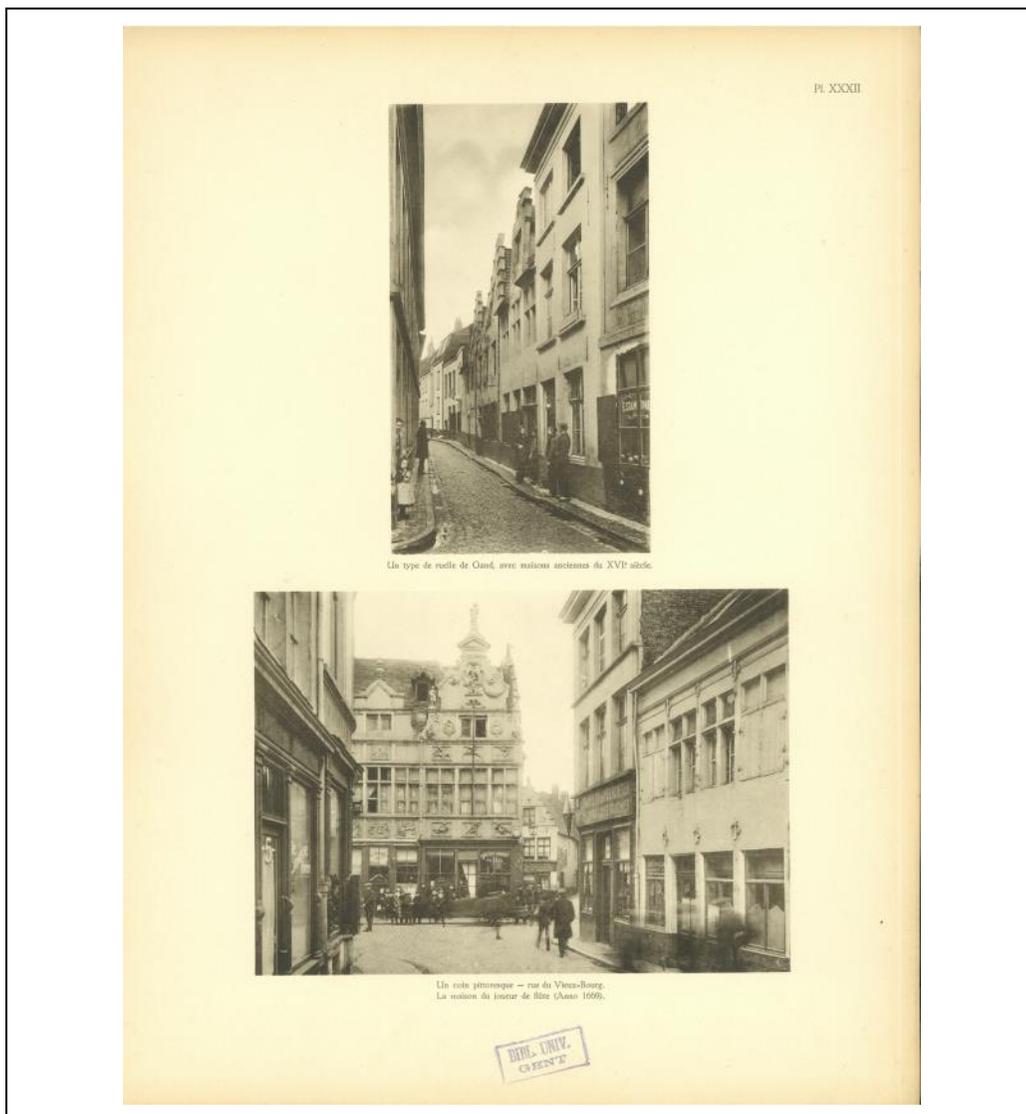


**Figure 7.** Old Flanders, postcard, 1913 (City Archive, Ghent).

city paid for the “restoration” of the facades of private houses in crucial sites in the urban landscape.<sup>29</sup> The shift to regionalism was paired with a rejection of the big city. Art historian, artist, and writer Armand Heins, one of the protagonists of the revival of regionalism, wrote that Ghent had to become a modern city but definitely not a metropolis, not one of the many copies of Paris.<sup>30</sup> At the 1913 exhibition, the small-town imagery culminated in “Old Flanders,” an assembly of plaster reconstructions of mostly sixteenth- and seventeenth-century houses from all over Flanders (Figure 7). During the time of the World Exhibition, the immersion in a (reconstructed) past was even extended to people: both Old Flanders on the exhibition grounds and the city center itself were turned into a décor populated with craftsmen, shopkeepers, and bartenders in historical costumes.<sup>31</sup> It comes as no surprise that Old Flanders attracted the attention of photographers—the Ghent section of the ABP even organized a photography contest of the site.<sup>32</sup>

The tensions or negotiations between urban rationalization and a picturesque interest in the medieval city, which became manifest in situ in the decades leading up to the 1913 exhibition, also mark Ghent’s photographic representations of the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As mentioned above, visualizations of both new monuments and historical buildings illustrate the dialectical relation between the destruction and conservation of old parts of the city. The city of broad boulevards, vistas, and isolated monuments that came into being from the 1880s implied a distance between the viewer and the urban fabric. The revival of regionalism and the abandonment of the Haussmannian ideal in the early twentieth century was an attempt to introduce a picturesque sensibility in both the planning of the city and its visualizations. Photographic albums such as the *Album du Vieux Gand*, published by Armand Heins at the occasion of the 1913 Fair, evoke a nostalgia for an immersion in the old city and a sensory experience of the past (Figure 8).<sup>33</sup> In this album, the collection of isolated monuments, typical for the average tourist guide, was replaced by a city that was gradually and successively discovered by the pedestrian wandering through it, in accordance to the picturesque sensibility promoted by contemporary urbanists such as Charles Buls and Camillo Sitte.

Armand Heins (1856-1938) and the networks in which he operated allow us to understand the dialectics between urbanism and urban imagery. In an era in which the profession of the urban planner did not exist yet, Heins and his fellow members of the Ghent Monument Commission did act as a kind of urban planners *avant la lettre* during the restoration wave of



**Figure 8.** Page from *Album du Vieux Gand* with photos by Edmond Sacré, print on paper, 1913 (City Archive, Ghent).

the early twentieth century. As was the case in the designs Charles Buls proposed for Brussels in the same era, city planning relied on a careful composition of images, an interaction between the inhabitant or visitor and the city's architecture that is staged in a gradual movement through different "plans," as opposed to the Haussmannian straight axes. Both Heins and Buls—who were acquainted—were avid draftsmen, and they used photographic images abundantly in their lectures and publications to make their arguments.<sup>34</sup> However, this return to a more picturesque sensibility should not be understood as a rejection of the modern city and its industry, traffic and mass consumption. Although he regretted the disappearance of old Ghent in the introduction of his 1899 sketch album *Les vieux coins de Gand*, Heins concluded that "complaint and opposition is superfluous because these current changes are mostly necessary."<sup>35</sup> A similar attitude can be found in Buls' writings. Although the medieval city was an inspiration for the city center, he proposed a functionally and socially zoned layout for the new suburbs surrounding the old city. The aesthetics of the old Flemish city, recreated architecturally in situ as well as visually in the countless images that circulated around the world, acted as a counterweight for the deepening ruptures of an industrial society, which entailed a growing unrest among the worker's population on one hand and the fear of the upper

classes for a proletarian revolution on the other.<sup>36</sup> In the twentieth century, the picturesque sensibility and the fascination for the Middle Ages became an active tool in a civic-pedagogical project: the construction of a collective identity and memory by means of a historicizing architectural language was anchored in an idea of urban aesthetics as a unifier.

### **Sacré: The Versatile Photographer**

Between 1840 and the First World War the role of urban photography and the context in which it was produced and consumed changed drastically. While nineteenth-century travel albums consisted of images destined for a market of connoisseurs, in the twentieth century, the photographic image played a role in mass communication and city marketing, made possible by the proliferation of printed images. As outlined above, an aesthetic concept as the picturesque developed along with this changing context: from a notion that contributed to the construction of an urban image that tallied with the Romantic ideal to an operational concept in a process of urban transformation that attempted to reconcile the modern city with the aspiration to imagine a community rooted in history. Consequently, certain recurrent images have multiple meanings and a complex and discontinuous history.

A good example of the complexity of the image production of certain sites can be found in the work of the above-mentioned Edmond Sacré. His enormous and diverse body of work—spanning portraits to urban views produced for a variety of commissioners including official institutions as well as companies and individuals—made him an important protagonist in the production and distribution of Ghent urban imagery from the 1870s until after his death in 1921. His work is an example of how versatile a photographer can be: not only does his work reflect the changing paradigms in urbanism and urban iconography but also some of his images were reused and by consequence recontextualized several times over the years. As Sacré was often asked by the Ghent Monument Commission to photograph urban sites that were about to disappear, his work documents all stages of the transformation of the urban space from a heterogeneous mixture of functions and building types typical of the premodern city into a more homogeneous and uniform urban fabric. However, Sacré's photographs proved to be a useful source for the advocates of a picturesque approach of the city. In the *Album du Vieux Gand*, Armand Heins made a careful selection of images by Sacré and his colleagues to construct an image of a city of winding alleys, picturesque river banks, and crumbling ruins, recontextualizing the photographic archive in a complaint about the loss of “patina” that the modernization of the city center brought along.<sup>37</sup> Perhaps Sacré's best known image, which has been published in tourist guides for decades, was his view of the new Saint Michael Bridge and the three towers, which in 1913 became the quintessential image of Ghent (Figure 9). The image combines the different paradigms that were at stake during the transformation of the city center: the creation of a vista, isolating the monuments as freestanding objects and thereby completing the Haussmannian axis through the city, and the picturesque décor evoked by the facades in old Flemish style. It is interesting to compare this image with another view taken by Sacré a bit more to the north at the same spot, a pictorialist view of the Graslei (Figure 10). Sacré was an active member of the ABP, and the pictorialist techniques this association propagated in those years allowed Sacré to display his technical skills in oil, carbon, and bromide prints. At the same time, this pictorialist aesthetics, which also marks the Ghent snowscapes by Prudens Van Duyse published in the Bulletin of the ABP, enabled Sacré to produce an “artistic,” tactile image of the site.<sup>38</sup> As the site was in fact completely restored just before the photograph was made, the image reintroduced a picturesque quality in an urban space that had been devoid of “patina” during the restoration campaigns preceding the World's Fair, to put it in the words of Armand Heins.<sup>39</sup> Both the photograph of Saint Michael Bridge



**Figure 9.** Saint Michael Bridge and the three towers, silver bromide print, after 1913 (City Archive, Ghent).



**Figure 10.** Edmond Sacré, Graslei, oil print, n.d. (Ghent University, Museum of the History of Sciences).

and the one of the Graslei demonstrate the versatility of the work of Sacré and perhaps of Ghent's urban photography between 1840 and 1914 in general. It continuously went back and forth between a "topographical" and a "picturesque" sensibility, just like urban planning did.

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## Notes

1. On D'Hoy, see Karel van Deuren, "De Belgische fotografie tussen 1850 en 1880," *Openbaar Kunstbezit* 22, no. 3 (July-September 1984): 98.
2. Danielle Leenaerts, *L'Image de la ville: Bruxelles et ses photographes des années 1850 à nos jours* (Brussels: CFC Editions, 2009), 14 and 35.
3. These pictures were advertised in *Journal des Beaux-Arts* (October 16, 1872 and July 15, 1873). See Steven F. Joseph and Tristan Schwilden, *Edmond Fierlants 1819-1869: Photographies d'art et d'architecture* (Bruxelles: Crédit Communal, 1988), 85, 199, and 249.
4. *Bulletin de l'Association belge de photographie* I (1874-1875), issue 2 and 12, respectively.
5. See, for instance, the report of the session of June 1895, which reads as a tourist guide to Ghent in the *Bulletin de l'Association belge de photographie* 10, XXII (1895), 624-48. Also the 1898 Ghent meeting of the Union internationale de photographie included a visit to the major landmarks, see *Bulletin de l'Association belge de photographie* 8-9, XXV (1898).
6. See *Bulletin de l'Association belge de photographie* 5, XX (1893), 327-32.
7. The report of the November 5, 1896 meeting of the Ghent section mentions the distribution of copies of a *Guide de Gand* (with a text by M. Varenberg and illustrations based on negatives made by members of the Association). See *Bulletin de l'Association belge de photographie* 1, XXIV (1897), 23.
8. See the January 14, 1897 session of the Ghent section, in *Bulletin de l'Association belge de photographie* 3, XXIV (1897), 175.
9. See the "Liste des Tableaux Exposés au Diorama de 1822-1839," in *Daguerre: Peintre et Décorateur*, ed. Georges Potonniée (Paris: Paul Montel, 1935), 79-89. See also Barry Daniels, "Daguerre: Theatermaler, Dioramist, Photograph," in Marie von Plessen (ed.) *Sehsucht: Das Panorama als Massenunterhaltung des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Bonn: Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, 1993), 39.
10. George Moir's Ghent photographs are on pages 85 and 86 of Volume II of the Albums of the Edinburgh Calotype Club. See <http://digital.nls.uk/pencilsoflight>.
11. John Murray, *A Handbook for Travellers in Holland and Belgium*, 19th ed. (London: John Murray, 1876), 131.
12. See Steven Jacobs, "John Muir Wood," in *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-Century Photography*, ed. John Hannavy (New York: Routledge, 2007), 1507-1509; Jan Coppens, "Britse kalotypisten in Nederland en België," in *Door de enkele werking van het licht: Introductie en integratie van de fotografie in België en Nederland 1839-1969*, ed. Jan Coppens, Laurent Roosens, and Karel van Deuren (Antwerpen: Gemeentekrediet, 1989), 179-93; and Sara Stevenson, Julie Lawson, and Michael Gray, *The Photography of John Muir Wood: An Accomplished Amateur 1805-1892* (Edinburgh: Scottish National Portrait Gallery, 1988).
13. This photograph is part of the collection of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BTAS 23<sup>e</sup> livr., pl. 64). The Bisson brothers also made photographs of Ypres, Louvain, Bruges, Oudenaarde and Antwerp. In December 1856, collector Daniel Dollfus Ausset, who was associated with the Bisson brothers, exhibited five sights of Ghent at the venue of the *Société des Amis des Arts* in Strassbourg. See Milan Chlumsky, "Espace et exactitude: la photographie d'architecture des frères Bisson," in Milan Chlumsky, Ute Eskildsen and Bernard Marbot (eds.), *Les Frères Bisson Photographes: De flèche en cime 1840-1870* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1999), 81-101.
14. Maureen O'Brien and Mary Bergstein, eds., *Image and Enterprise: The Photographs of Adolphe Braun* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2000). In Ghent, the Braun reproductions of artworks were distributed by photographer Gustaaf De Vylder. Braun was also an honorary member of the Association belge de photographie (ABP).
15. A photograph of the Herb Quay by Charles D'Hoy was included in the first volume (Number 12) of the *Bulletin de l'Association belge de photographie*.
16. See *A Handbook for Travellers in Holland and Belgium*, 138; and Karl Baedeker *Belgien und Holland nebst den wichtigsten Routen durch Luxemburg: Handbuch für Reisende von. K. Baedeker*, 15th ed. (Leipzig: Verlag von Karl Baedeker, 1880), 133.

17. The Zollikofer-De Vigne plan (1880-1888) was named after architect Edmond De Vigne and engineer Edouard Zollikofer. On urban planning in Ghent in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, see Birgit Cleppe and Pieter Uyttenhove, "Infrastructure and Urbanism," in Marc Boone, Gita Deneckere (eds.) *Ghent: A City of All Times* (Ghent: Mercatorfonds/STAM, 2010), 200-49; and André Capiteyn, *Gent in weelde herboren. Wereldtentoonstelling 1913* (Ghent: Stadsarchief, 1988).
18. About the notion of spatial order, see Lyn Lofland, *A World of Strangers. Order and Action in Urban Space* (New York: Basic Books, 1973).
19. André Capiteyn, Johan Decavele, and Christine Van Coillie, *Gentse torens achter rook van schoorstenen, Gent in de periode 1860-1895* (Gent: Stad Gent, 1983), 19-31, quoted in Evelien Jonckheere, "Gand a fini par faire comme des autres . . . Attracting foreigners with an economy of attractions in Ghent (anno 1880-1900)" (paper presented on the conference "Mid-Size City: The Dual Nature of Urban Imagery in Europe during the Long 20th Century," Ghent Urban Studies Team, Ghent, April 19-21, 2011).
20. Leenaerts, *L'Image de la ville*, 27-29.
21. For an overview of the life and work of Sacré, see Bruno Notteboom and Dirk Lauwaert, eds., *Edmond Sacré. Portret van een stad* (Brussels: Mercatorfonds/STAM, 2011).
22. Camillo Sitte, *Der Städtebau nach seinen künstlerischen Grundsätzen: Ein Beitrag zur Lösung moderner Fragen der Architektur und monumentalen Plastik unter besonderer Beziehung auf Wien* (Vienna: Carl Graeser, 1889). On Sitte, see George R. Collins and Christiane Crasemann Collins, *Camillo Sitte and the Birth of Modern City Planning* (New York: Random House, 1965); and Michael Mönninger, *Vom Ornament zum Nationalkunstwerk: Zur Kunst- und Architekturtheorie Camillo Sittes* (Wiesbaden: Vieweg, 1998).
23. On Buls and his relationship with Sitte, see Marcel Smets, *Charles Buls. Les Principes de l'Art Urbain* (Liège: Mardaga, 1995).
24. Charles Buls, *Esthétique des Villes* (1893; repr., Brussels: Émile Bruylant, 1894).
25. See, for instance, Buls' lectures on his voyages to Egypt, the Congo, and Siam in the *Bulletin de l'Association belge de photographie* 5-6, XXV (1898), 320-23; 2, XXVI (1899), 99-101; and 12, XXVII (1900), 736-40, respectively. On Buls and photography, see Bruno Notteboom, "Public and Private Histories: Charles Buls' Travel Albums," in *Imaging History. Photography after the Fact*, ed. Danny Veys (Brussels: ASA Publishers, 2011), 75-86.
26. M. Vanderkindere, "L'Art de bâtir des villes: Rôle de l'amateur photographe," *Bulletin de l'Association belge de photographie* 1, no. XXXVI (1909): 17.
27. Sigfried Giedion, *Space, Time and Architecture: The Growth of a New Tradition* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1941), 739.
28. Dirk Lauwaert, "Edmond Sacré. Fotograaf van Gent' / Edmond Sacré, The Man who photographed Ghent," in *Edmond Sacré. Portret van een stad*, ed. Bruno Notteboom and Dirk Lauwaert (Brussels: Mercatorfonds/STAM, 2011), 40-61, 252.
29. Jo Van Herreweghe en Veerle Vercauteren, "De conventiegevels, een authentiek decor," in *Impact. Wereldtentoonstelling Gent 1913*, ed. Jo Van Herreweghe (Gent: Dienst Monumentenzorg en Architectuur Stad Gent, 2013), 103-23.
30. Armand Heins, "Coup d'Œil sur les Vieux Monuments et les Aspects Pittoresques de la Ville de Gand," in Paul Bergmans, Armand Heins, *Album du vieux Gand. Vues monumentales et pittoresques de la ville de Gand à travers les âges accompagnées de notices historiques* (Brussels: Van Oest, 1913), 15-30.
31. Tim Dickel, "Wereldtentoonstelling Gent 1913. Oud Vlaendren en het Moderne Dorp: schijnbare tegenpolen?" (Master's thesis, Ghent University, 2004).
32. See *Bulletin de l'Association belge de photographie* 6, XL, 1913.
33. Paul Bergmans and Armand Heins, *Album du vieux Gand. Vues monumentales et pittoresques de la ville de Gand à travers les âges accompagnées de notices historiques* (Brussels: Van Oest, 1913).
34. Heins' archive in the Ghent City Museum (Stadsmuseum Gent [STAM]) contains correspondence with Charles Buls.
35. Armand Heins, "Introduction," in Armand Heins, *Les Vieux Coins de Gand* (Ghent: Heins, 1898-1899), n.p.
36. Gita Deneckere, "City of Industry and Labour," in *Ghent. A City of All Times*, ed. Marc Boone and Gita Deneckere (Antwerp: Mercatorfonds, 2010), 144-99.
37. Paul Bergmans and Armand Heins, *Album du vieux Gand. Vues monumentales et pittoresques de la ville de Gand à travers les âges accompagnées de notices historiques* (Brussels: Van Oest, 1913).
38. Several 1910, 1911, and 1912 issues of the *Bulletin de l'Association belge de photographie* contain pictorialist photographs by the Ghent chemist and photographer Prudens Van Duyse showing several sites in Ghent, most of them quays (such as the Sint Antoniuskaai, Muinkaai, Quai de la Maternité, and Quai des Tuileries) covered in snow.

39. Armand Heins, "Coup d'Oeil sur les Vieux Monuments et les Aspects Pittoresques de la Ville de Gand," in *Album du vieux Gand. Vues monumentales et pittoresques de la ville de Gand à travers les âges accompagnées de notices historiques*, ed. Paul Bergmans and Armand Heins (Brussels: Van Oest, 1913), 15-30.

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