

101 • 2023

REVUE BELGE DE PHILOGIE ET D'HISTOIRE

FASC. 1: ANTIQUITÉ



AFL. 1: OUDHEID

BELGISCH
TIJDSCHRIFT
VOOR FILOGIE
EN GESCHIEDENIS

101 • 2023

**SOCIÉTÉ POUR LE PROGRÈS
DES ÉTUDES PHILOLOGIQUES ET HISTORIQUES**
fondée en 1874

Présidente: Michèle GALAND, 106, rue de Rosières, 1332 Genval.

Secrétaire général: Denis Morsa, 29/3, avenue Émile Vandervelde, 1200 Bruxelles.

Trésorier: David GUILARDIAN, 326 (boîte 5), Avenue Brugmann, 1180 Bruxelles.

L'organe de la Société est la *Revue belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, recueil trimestriel dont le tome I est paru en 1922.

Het *Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Filologie en Geschiedenis* wordt uitgegeven door de Société. Het Tijdschrift werd gesticht in 1922.

**REVUE BELGE DE PHILOLOGIE ET D'HISTOIRE
BELGISCH TIJDSCHRIFT VOOR FILOLOGIE EN GESCHIEDENIS**

Website : <http://www.rbph-btfg.be>

Directeur: Alexis WILKIN.

Comité directeur – Bestuurcomité: il rassemble les membres du Bureau de la Société (voir ci-dessus) et du Comité de Rédaction de la Revue (voir en p. 3 de couverture) – Het Bestuurcomité bestaat uit de leden van het Bureau van de “Société” (zie hierboven) en van de Redactieraad van het Tijdschrift (zie blz. 3 van de omslag).

Membres honoraires – Ereleden: M. BOUSSART (ULB), J.-M. D'HEUR (ULg), P. FONTAINE (UCL), L. LESUISSE (ISL), Chr. LOIR (ULB), J.-P. VAN Noppen (ULB).

Comité de lecture international – Internationaal leescomité: Jan ART (Gent); Philip BENNETT (Edinburgh); Marc BOONE (Gent); Laurence BOUDART (Bruxelles, Archives et Musée de la Littérature); Véronique BRAGARD (Louvain-la-Neuve); Claude BRUNEEL (Louvain-la-Neuve); Keith BUSBY (Madison); Ruth BUSH (Bristol); Angelos CHANIOTIS (Oxford); Dominique COMBE (Paris, École Normale Supérieure); François DE CALLATAY (Bruxelles, Bibliothèque royale et Paris, École pratique des Hautes Études); Sophie DE SCHAEPDRIJVER (Pennsylvania State University); Juliette DOR (Liège); Robert FOTSING MANGOUA (Dschang, Cameroun); Éric GEERKENS (Liège); Robert HALLEUX (Liège et Paris, Institut de France); Paul JANSSENS (Gent); Stéphane LEBECQ (Lille III); Christiane MARCHELLO-NIZIA (Lyon et ILF-CNRS); Michel MARGUE (Luxembourg); Rudolf MUHR (Universität Graz); David MURPHY (Stirling); Janet POLASKY (University of New Hampshire); Jean-Manuel ROUBINEAU (Rennes III); Carl STRIKWERDA (College William and Mary, Williamsburg); Jo TOLLEBEEK (Leuven); Herman VAN GOETHEM (Antwerpen); Piet VAN STERKENBURG (Leiden); Karel VELLE (AGR-ARA); Christophe VERBRUGGEN (Gent); Renate ZEDINGER (Wien).



PUBLIÉ AVEC L'AIDE FINANCIÈRE DE LA POLITIQUE SCIENTIFIQUE FÉDÉRALE (BELSPO), DU FONDS DE LA RECHERCHE SCIENTIFIQUE - FNRS ET DE LA FONDATION UNIVERSITAIRE. LA BIBLIOGRAPHIE DE L'HISTOIRE DE BELGIQUE EST ÉTABLIE AVEC L'AIDE DES ARCHIVES GÉNÉRALES DU ROYAUME, DE LA COMMISSION ROYALE D'HISTOIRE ET DE LA LOTERIE NATIONALE.

**UITGEGEVEN MET DE STEUN VAN HET FEDERAAL WETENSCHAPSBELEID (BELSPO)
EN VAN DE UNIVERSITAIRE STICHTING.**

**DE BIBLIOGRAFIE VAN DE GESCHIEDENIS VAN BELGIË KOMT TOT STAND DANKZIJ DE STEUN
VAN HET ALGEMEEN RIJKSARCHIEF, VAN DE KONINKLIJKE COMMISSIE VOOR GESCHIEDENIS
EN VAN DE NATIONALE LOTERIJ.**

A Journey into the Past: John Durant Breval and the Roman Antiquities of the Dutch Republic and the Austrian Netherlands (1726)⁽¹⁾

Olivier LATTEUR

Assistant en histoire – UNamur - UCLouvain

The “*Knowledge of Antiquity, History and Geography, which I will not fear to pronounce the three noblest branches of polite Learning*”⁽²⁾. With these words, the British scholar John Durant Breval (c. 1680-1738) presented his programme in the preface to the first volume of his *Remarks of several parts of Europe relating chiefly to the history, antiquities and geography of those countries* (1726). This two-volume work (1726 and 1738), can be considered both a travel guide and a scholarly work, is full of observations and reflections on the three points mentioned in his preface: antiquities (inscriptions, descriptions of ancient monuments), history (presentation of the history of the regions travelled through based on ancient, medieval and early modern authors) and geography (origins of towns and landscapes). Breval’s writings are valuable for their precision and originality: as Alicia María Canto has pointed out in relation to the Iberian Peninsula, they are undoubtedly one of the best sources of information on antiquities in the first half of the 18th century⁽³⁾. Moreover, they are a perfect illustration of the passion for antiquity felt at the time by learned circles and the development of research based on the joint analysis of texts and material remains (antiquarianism and its influence on historical research).

Despite its undeniable interest, John Breval’s travel guide has been little studied until now. Most often, it is only briefly mentioned in the context of research on French sites (notably Versailles, Saint-Omer and Bézier⁽⁴⁾) or Italian sites (Calabria, Florence and the Brescello monetary treasure⁽⁵⁾), which devote little commentary to it. Only three studies have attempted to analyse Breval’s figure and the content of his writings in greater depth: Constantia Maxwell’s study (1932)⁽⁶⁾ offers a brief overview of Breval’s interests during his various visits to France; Barbara Welch’s article (1980)⁽⁷⁾, which places Breval’s activity and that of other British travellers in the intellectual cultural context of the first half of the 18th century; and, finally, Alicia María Canto’s

(1) I would like to thank the anonymous reviewers of this article for their insightful comments.

(2) BREVAL, 1726, unpaginated preface.

(3) CANTO, 2004, p. 267.

(4) CONWAY, 2009, p. 842; WIEBENSON, 1994, p. 61; MARCHAL, 2019, p. 62.

(5) LIBERTI, 2017, p. 42-43; SWEET, 2007, p. 851; CALZOLARI, 1992, p. 87-90.

(6) MAXWELL, 1932, p. 56-67.

(7) WELCH, 1980.

article (2004)⁽⁸⁾, which is the most recent and comprehensive study conducted on Breval, but which focuses mainly on the criticism of his epigraphic surveys in the Iberian Peninsula.

This relative lack of interest in Breval's writings is probably due to the fact that early modern travel literature has long been neglected by historians as uninteresting, as they felt that travellers generally simply reproduced what they had read elsewhere without showing originality⁽⁹⁾. The German scholar Emil Hübner (1834-1901)⁽¹⁰⁾, for example, rejected most of the inscriptions copied by Breval in his *Remarks of several parts of Europe* as mere transcriptions of inscriptions published in earlier works, a view that was corrected by Alicia María Canto⁽¹¹⁾. More generally, recent research has demonstrated that early modern travel literature is a primary source for studying the interests and imaginations of travellers⁽¹²⁾ and for documenting the state of conservation of the monuments and ruins they observed⁽¹³⁾.

It is in this perspective of cultural history and history of heritage and its reception that this article intends to analyse the chapters that John Breval devoted to the past and the ancient remains of the Low Countries (including the Dutch Republic and the Southern Netherlands)⁽¹⁴⁾, in the first volume of his *Remarks of several parts of Europe* (1726). Apart from the fact that they have never been studied before⁽¹⁵⁾, the data he provided in these chapters are interesting for several reasons. On the one hand, because Breval's writings perfectly illustrate the fascination with antiquity that prevailed in literary and aristocratic circles in Europe: at that time, young aristocrats and artists frequently went on the Grand Tour, the main purpose of which was to observe the antiquities of the Continent and to learn by doing so⁽¹⁶⁾. Breval clearly addressed this erudite readership. On the other hand, because the remains and antiquities of the Low Countries rarely attracted the interest of foreign travellers. Few in number and less prestigious than the temple or amphitheatre ruins of southern France and the Italian peninsula, these remains generally

(8) CANTO, 2004, p. 265-364.

(9) JAUMAIN and LOIR, 2003, p. 11-14.

(10) About Hübner and his historical works, see notably: LEROUX, 2011, p. 83-98.

(11) CANTO, 2004, p. 272-273.

(12) CHALES DE BEAULIEU, 2000, p. 15-22; HARBSMEIER, 1982, p. 1-11.

(13) LEMERLE, 2018, p. 219-245; CHEVALIER and CHEVALIER, 1984.

(14) In this article, the term "Low Countries" refers to the Dutch Republic (Northern Netherlands, Calvinist), the Southern Netherlands (Austrian Netherlands, Catholic) and the Principality of Liege (Catholic). This area corresponds approximately to the present-day Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg. Breval described each of the "provinces" of the "United Provinces" (Dutch Republic), with a varying degree of precision (Utrecht and Overijssel, for example, are much more briefly described than Holland). He then mentioned all the principalities forming the Southern Netherlands (Flanders and Brabant are the most extensively mentioned), with the exception of Hainaut and Limburg, which he said he had not visited. He made no specific mention of the Prince-Bishopric of Liege, although he had passed through it (as his description of Tongeren attests).

(15) Breval's account was mentioned by Jacobsen Jensen, who pointed out that his travelogue offered a description of Amsterdam's city hall without offering further commentary (JACOBSEN JENSEN, 1919, p. 93-94). It was also included in the online database *Visiting the Golden Age* coordinated by the Dutch Institute for Art History (The Hague), again without further analysis.

(16) BOYER, 2000, p. 13-55; SWEET, 2012, p. 2-10; BERTRAND, 2008, p. 6-7, 48-49; BLACK, 2003, p. 8-14.

aroused little interest among travellers (particularly British) passing through the region. The supposed “modernity” of the Dutch Republic, especially in terms of trade and social organization, also attracted much attention from foreign travellers. As far as “sights” were concerned, they generally preferred to spend their time contemplating the paintings, churches, urban fortifications and transport infrastructures (canals, roads, etc.)⁽¹⁷⁾ rather than the local antiquities⁽¹⁸⁾. Furthermore, in the first half of the 18th century travel guides and travelogues were far less numerous than in the second half of the century. This was particularly true for the Southern Netherlands, which had been largely devastated during the wars between Louis XIV and most of Europe, notably the War of the Spanish Succession (1700-1714). Moreover, the Southern Netherlands had recently come under the control of the Austrian Habsburgs (1713/1714), who were still struggling to administer this region on the periphery of their possessions⁽¹⁹⁾. In this difficult context, the Austrian Netherlands attracted few foreign “tourists”, except for a brief visit to the major cities in the region⁽²⁰⁾. Breval’s reflections therefore offer a unique insight into the reception of antiquity in the Low Countries, which was poorly documented at the time, and the (often original) viewpoint of a foreign scholar on this topic.

John Durant Breval and its travelogue

Before beginning the analysis of these reflections, it seems useful to provide some data on the work, its author and its production context. The *Remarks of several parts of Europe* are the result of observations and research carried out by John Breval during his various journeys on the European continent. Breval was a tutor in charge of the education of young British aristocrats. In 1720, he accompanied the young Lord Viscount Malpas on his “Grand Tour”⁽²¹⁾. In the first half of the 18th century, the practice of the Grand Tour was essentially reserved for the British aristocracy and strongly marked by a form of “classical nostalgia”. It was then fashionable to show a fascination for Antiquity and erudition on the subject. This type of journey was prepared for by extensive reading, which was intended to provide an understanding of the nature of the sites visited and the monuments observed, and by learning some French and Italian⁽²²⁾. By 1724 at the latest, Breval had finalised his notes with a view to publishing the first two volumes of his *Remarks of several parts of Europe* (1726), which he dedicated to his young pupil⁽²³⁾. The work does not follow the chronological pattern of the journey, since the author reported that he visited the Austrian Netherlands on his return from Italy, whereas this description appears at the beginning of his publication⁽²⁴⁾.

(17) VERHOEVEN, 2009, p. 208-210; STOLS, 1987, p. 508-509; VAN STRIEN, 1998, p. 5-6; VAN STRIEN, 2001, p. 274-279; VAN STRIEN-CHARDONNEAU, 1994, p. 45-46.

(18) LATTEUR, 2021, p. 149-156.

(19) HASQUIN, 1987, p. 71-94; VAN GELDER, 2019, p. 117-132.

(20) STOLS, 1987, p. 508-509; LATTEUR, 2021, p. 149-156.

(21) CANTO, 2004, p. 271; WATT, 1882, p. 1197-1198; MAXWELL, 1932, p. 57.

(22) SWEET, 2012, p. 2-9; BOYER, 2000, p. 41; CALARESU, 1999, p. 141-142.

(23) CANTO, 2004, p. 271.

(24) BREVAL, 1726, p. 108.



The book, which is large in size (folio) and include many engravings, was clearly intended for British aristocrats preparing for their Grand Tour: in his preface, Breval compared the journey to the continent to entering “*a vast school*” to learn to observe “*Sculpture, Painting, Medals and Architecture*”⁽²⁵⁾. The *Remarks of several parts of Europe* are characterised by a real focus on the past of the regions travelled through⁽²⁶⁾ and include relatively few descriptions of recent monuments and local populations. This programme is clearly evident in the frontispiece of the work (**figure 1**), which shows three female figures, perhaps an evocation of the muses: the first consults the *Gesta Francorum* (other readings can be discerned alongside her: Caesar, Tacitus, Ammianus Marcellinus, Gregory of Tours, etc.), the second paints a representation of the Battle of Soissons, Clovis’ victory that enabled him to control most of Gaul, and the third plays a musical instrument. The architectural decoration (triumphal column and building decorated with antique busts) clearly evokes classical antiquity, as does the statue of the “Hercule Gaulois” that can be seen. The god Mercury probably symbolises the journey undertaken by the author. History is thus at the heart of *Remarks of several parts of Europe*, especially ancient history. Breval also dealt with the more recent history of the regions he travelled through, particularly in the Low Countries, which had relatively few ancient remains: he provided a wealth of commentary on the region’s medieval past and the course of the Eighty Years’ War. However, it is Roman history that takes first place, especially in comparison to the number of monuments described. For example, the three engravings relating to the Netherlands in the book all show “antiquities”: the Burcht in Leiden (considered a Roman fort), the ruins of the Roman fort in Katwijk and the transcription of three Latin inscriptions. This passion for history and the depth of the comments provided demonstrate, on the one hand, Breval’s great erudition and, on the other, the originality of his approach and his view of the past of the Low Countries.

Breval already enjoyed a good reputation as a scholar during his lifetime. For the publication of the first volume of his *Remarks of several parts of Europe*, he was able to count on the support of several subscribers from the upper nobility, including the Prince of Wales Frederick (1707-1751)⁽²⁷⁾. Although the reception of the work has not yet been studied in detail, it seems certain that it met with a certain success since an additional volume was published in 1738. The fact that Alexander Pope (1688-1744) amused himself by mocking Breval and his rather dry erudition in his famous *Dunciade*⁽²⁸⁾ is also indicative of his fame at the beginning of the 18th century. Although Breval’s family origins are relatively poorly documented⁽²⁹⁾, it is certain that

(25) BREVAL, 1726, unpaginated preface.

(26) WELCH, 1980, p. 16-17.

(27) BREVAL, 1726, the names of the subscribers; CANTO, 2004, p. 271-272 and 323.

(28) MAXWELL, 1932, p. 58; WELCH, 1980, p. 10. The two authors did not like each other. Nevertheless, Pope’s mockery shows that Breval enjoyed a certain reputation in London’s literary circles.

(29) CANTO, 2004, p. 267; MAXWELL, 1932, p. 56-57. John Breval’s father, Francis, was obviously of French origin. According to some authors, he was a Huguenot who fled the repression of Protestantism by King Louis XIV, but according to others (including Alicia María Canto), he was a Catholic and entered the service of the Queen of England, also a Catholic, before converting to Anglicanism. Francis Breval was active in the Protestant

he received a thorough education. He was admitted to Westminster School as a Queen scholar (1693) and then to Trinity College (Cambridge), from which he graduated in 1702 and 1704. Perhaps intending to pursue a career in the Anglican clergy, he remained at Trinity College until 1708, when he was expelled due to a scandal involving adultery⁽³⁰⁾. It appears that the young John Breval was already considered a scholar by his peers by this time, but, driven out of Cambridge and without a fortune, he had to join the army with General Marlborough to fight against France. After the peace was concluded (1713), he returned to London, where he published several poems and began to tutor young British aristocrats⁽³¹⁾.

Breval's solid intellectual training is reflected in the quality of the ancient sources he cites in his travel guide. His readings include a number of classical authors, mainly Tacitus, Caesar, Ptolemy and the main ancient maps and Itineraries (Antonine Itinerary, Tabula Peutingeriana, etc.), which are frequently quoted, sometimes *in extenso*, in the pages he devoted to the Netherlands. The consultation of these renowned authors was of course indispensable for studying the past of the region, Caesar and even more so Tacitus being the main authors who dealt with the Gauls and the Batavians⁽³²⁾. Tacitus was particularly favoured by Breval, who quoted him frequently and seemed to give him even more credit than Caesar, deciding in his favour when the two authors contradicted each other⁽³³⁾.

In addition to these ancient authors, who were still frequently consulted by travellers in the 18th century⁽³⁴⁾, the *Remarks of several parts of Europe* regularly includes references to early modern works, mainly the *Germania antiqua*⁽³⁵⁾ by Philipp Clüver, known as Cluverius (1580-1622)⁽³⁶⁾ and the *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi*⁽³⁷⁾ by Lodovico Guicciardini (1521-1589)⁽³⁸⁾. Breval also mentioned the works of several local scholars, such as Menso

churches of the Westminster district and later at Rochester Cathedral. Some of his sermons were published. He died in 1707. The name and social status of John Breval's mother are not known.

(30) Breval has always maintained his innocence. According to Alicia María Canto, this may have been the result of machinations by Richard Bentley, Master of Trinity College, who did not appreciate Breval's father. CANTO, 2004, p. 269-270.

(31) On Breval's biography: CANTO, 2004, p. 267-273; MAXWELL, 1932, p. 56-58; WATT, 1882, p. 1197-1198.

(32) VERSCHAFFEL, 1998, p. 310-311.

(33) For example: *"The earliest certain Account we have of the Batavi is from Tacitus, who begins their History from Nero's Reign; all beyond which is Fable, and Obscurity"*. BREVAL, 1726, p. 51-52. On his caution regarding Caesar's testimony, see in particular: BREVAL, 1726, p. 31.

(34) VERHOEVEN, 2009, p. 335-355; HAFID-MARTIN, 1995, p. 123-125.

(35) CLUVERIUS, 1616.

(36) About Cluverius, see notably: HÄFNER, 2001, p. 27-33; VAN DER HEIJDEN, 2002, p. 222-244; JANSSENS, 2016, p. 847-851.

(37) GUICCIARDINI, 1567.

(38) Guicciardini's work was translated into many languages. Although its publication date (1567), it was still frequently cited by travellers in the 18th century. STOLS, 1987, p. 511; VAN STRIEN, 1998, p. 2. On Lodovico Guicciardini, see notably: TOUWAIDE, 1975.

Alting (1637-1713)⁽³⁹⁾ or Johannes Smith, known as Smetius (1590-1651)⁽⁴⁰⁾, both of whom were described by the author as “*learned*”⁽⁴¹⁾. Finally, he referred to the most widely read English authors on the Northern Netherlands, in particular the *Observations upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands* by William Temple (1628-1699)⁽⁴²⁾ and the travel guide by Francis Misson (c. 1650-1722)⁽⁴³⁾. Breval quoted his various sources of information, both modern and ancient, relatively accurately, a practice that was rare in travel literature of the period⁽⁴⁴⁾.

As we have seen, the consultation and compilation of travel accounts and previous works by many authors of travel guides has long contributed to their poor reputation among historians. Although the value of these sources has since been demonstrated, some of the travel literature is still not very original, especially when the observations are provided by authors who all shared the same cultural background⁽⁴⁵⁾. This phenomenon can be observed, on a few occasions, in the *Remarks of several parts of Europe*, notably when mentioning and describing the little-known site of Velzeke, which almost entirely repeats the data proposed by Guicciardini a century and a half earlier⁽⁴⁶⁾. Breval also reproduced some of the stereotypes frequently found in the literature of his time⁽⁴⁷⁾, such as the cleanliness of the Dutch and their houses⁽⁴⁸⁾ or the usefulness of the dikes and canals, whose symmetry he appreciated⁽⁴⁹⁾. However, the observations on the landscape and the inhabitants of the regions crossed are relatively few and rather neutral. The author makes few value judgements. Most of the negative comments relate to the southern Netherlands, where he emphasises the poverty and small number of inhabitants (particularly in the Duchy of Brabant⁽⁵⁰⁾, Mechelen⁽⁵¹⁾ and Marche-en-Famenne⁽⁵²⁾),

(39) Menso Alting was a mayor of Groningen. He was mainly known for his scholarly works on Friesland and the Batavians: *Descriptio, secundum antiquos Agri Batavi et Frisii, sive Notitiae Germaniae Inferioris* (Amsterdam, 1697) and *Descriptio Frisiae inter Scaldis Portum veterum et amissiam* (Amsterdam, 1701). VAN DER AA, 1969, p. 69.

(40) OTTENHEYM, 2019, p. 266-268.

(41) BREVAL, 1726, p. 87, 97.

(42) SECCOMBE, 1898-1899, p. 522-531.

(43) SECCOMBE, 1894, p. 499-500.

(44) As Alicia María Canto has rightly noted: CANTO, 2004, p. 274, 312-313.

(45) CALARESU, 1999, p. 142.

(46) GUICCIARDINI, 1567, p. 223-224; BREVAL, 1726, p. 110.

(47) BREVAL, 1726, p. 14-15.

(48) VANHEE-NELSON, 1983, 46; VAN STRIEN-CHARDONNEAU, 1994, p. 286.

(49) VANHEE-NELSON, 1983, 44. As a good lover of Roman antiquity, Breval took the opportunity to develop a digression on the construction of dikes in Roman times, after having admired the canals of the Dutch Republic. BREVAL, 1726, p. 48-49.

(50) “*There is a very visible Difference between the Dutch and the Austrian Brabant: In the former you see a general Face of Ease, Wealth, and Plenty; whereas in the latter the Soil is poor, and the Inhabitants few, oppress’d, and miserable; especially the nearer you approach Antwerp. The Avenue to this City on the Western side is a kind of barren Heath or Desert, many Miles in length, in which you scarce meet with anything else but Shepherd’s Huts*”. BREVAL, 1726, p. 122.

(51) “*No Town has had a greater share in the Calamities of the Netherlands than Malines, and that is the Reason of the poor and dejected Condition we see it in at present*”. BREVAL, 1726, p. 128.

(52) “*My first Stage, as I pass’d the Ardennes, was Marchen-Famine [sic], in the very thickest Part of the Forest; a Town formerly in some reputation, but now miserably poor and*

especially in comparison with the situation in the Dutch Republic. Breval's few statements reflect the tastes and assumptions of British travellers in this period. Cleanliness, symmetry and open spaces were appreciated, as were educated people who did not give in to fables and superstition. Conversely, he did not enjoy his journey through the Ardennes forest and the inhabitants who populated it: "*The Way from Namur to Luxemburg lies mostly through the Ardennes, where the Roads being rocky and difficult, you travel commonly for two or three Days in a Wilderness, and the few human Creatures you meet with are as much Sauvages in a manner (two or three little Villages excepted) as you could expect to find the Inhabitants of the most uncultivated Regions of Africa and America*"⁽⁵³⁾.

Despite the presence of a certain number of commonplaces, reflecting the period of production of the travel guide and the education received by its author, the *Remarks of several parts of Europe* are mainly characterised by the originality of their remarks concerning the Dutch Republic and the Southern Netherlands. Breval did not describe much of what most of his contemporaries were interested in: fortifications, paintings, religious architecture, etc. He devoted, for example, only two pages to Brussels, one of the largest cities in the Southern Netherlands, but which had neither ancient origins nor many antiquities on display. Breval preferred to refer his readers to other publications concerning more recent monuments and paintings: "*Brussels contains a thousand other Curiosities, as the Church of Gudule, the Armory, the Jesuits College, the Town-house, &c. for which I shall refer my Reader to the Descriptions of this City that are extant both in English and French*"⁽⁵⁴⁾. He proceeded in the same way in Antwerp and Namur⁽⁵⁵⁾. Conversely, as mentioned above, he placed great emphasis on the history, geography and ancient monuments of the region, subjects that were of little interest to other authors of guidebooks and travelogues about the Low Countries. This makes him a unique case study within the travel literature of this period, because of Breval's systematic "scientific" approach.

Denouncing the local foundational legends

One of John Breval's main objectives was undoubtedly to denounce the local foundational legends or traditional local narratives relating to the ancient past of the Low Countries⁽⁵⁶⁾. This visceral opposition to unfounded traditions, which generally sought to endow a city or region with a prestigious founder, was characteristic of many antiquarians and scholars, especially in

thin of Inhabitants". BREVAL, 1726, p. 146.

(53) BREVAL, 1726, p. 145. When the landscape became more open, in Gaume and in the Arlon region, it is judged much more positively: BREVAL, 1726, p. 147.

(54) BREVAL, 1726, p. 131.

(55) BREVAL, 1726, p. 123, 143-144. For example, about Antwerp (p. 123): "*The fine Pictures, and other noble Productions of Art, that are in Antwerp, would of themselves fill a Volume: Of these there are so many Accounts already extant, that it is a Subject I shall be silent upon*".

(56) The author was equally critical of those that were circulating in the Iberian Peninsula at the same time. CANTO, 2004, p. 313.

the 18th century (both in England⁽⁵⁷⁾ and elsewhere in Europe⁽⁵⁸⁾). Breval was inspired by the critical rationalism of his more learned contemporaries who wished to present the facts with moderation and without personal bias⁽⁵⁹⁾.

The British author mainly denounced the local foundational legends that sought to associate the Dutch Republic with the Batavians and the figure of Civilis. During his stay in Amsterdam, he visited the “*Stadthouse*” (town hall) which included paintings depicting the Batavian revolt, led by Civilis, against the Roman Empire in 69-70 CE⁽⁶⁰⁾. The Batavians were a people living on the fringes of the Roman Empire who revolted against its rule in the Year of the Four Emperors, led by Gaius Julius Civilis, a former Roman army officer⁽⁶¹⁾. The depictions of this episode in the Amsterdam town hall were based on a political programme. The Dutch Republic was a young state, officially recognised in 1648 (the year in which Amsterdam’s town hall was built)⁽⁶²⁾ in the midst of its quest for legitimacy. In the early modern period, one of the most important ways to increase legitimacy was to have a distant and prestigious past⁽⁶³⁾. Following the Eighty Years War, the Dutch Republic had adopted a republican system, taking the form of a federation of provinces without a monarch at their head. Ancient Greece could provide suitable models (the League of Delos, the Achaean League and the Aetolian League) which were mobilised by some Dutch scholars⁽⁶⁴⁾. However, Ancient Greece was far removed, both geographically and culturally, from the Low Countries and most scholars preferred another model: that of the Batavians. Several of them, following the example of the famous Hugo Grotius, defended the idea that the populations that inhabited the *Gallia Belgica* formed a kind of confederation or republic before the Roman conquest⁽⁶⁵⁾. The Batavians, the supposed ancestors of the inhabitants of the Dutch Republic, would have been deeply attached to their form of government and hostile to tyrannical monarchy. They would also have developed a brilliant urban civilisation and would have been endowed with numerous virtues (frugality, sense of commerce, etc.) which their “descendants” would have inherited⁽⁶⁶⁾. The revolt of Civilis was naturally compared with that of the Northern Netherlands against Catholic Spain, the “tyrannical monarchy” of the Romans corresponding to that of Philip II of Spain and the figure of Civilis to that of the Orange family, stadhouders of

(57) WELCH, 1980, p. 11, 17.

(58) As an example, see: VERSCHAFFEL, 1998, p. 306-310.

(59) WELCH, 1980, p. 11, 17. This criticism also developed with regard to ancient texts, which had previously been regarded as authorities. RASKOLNIKOFF, 1992, p. 3-23.

(60) BREVAL, 1726, p. 42. He was not very enthusiastic about the artistic quality of the architectural ensemble and of the paintings: “*there is a certain Heaviness that reigns through the whole Building, and a Poverty of Taste in the several Sculptures, Paintings, and Ornaments of it, that demonstrates them manifestly to be the Work of Dutch Hands*”.

(61) Tac. Hist. 4.12-79, 5.14-26; COSME, 2012, p. 221-257.

(62) OTTENHEYM, 2019, p. 267-268.

(63) HESSING, 2001, p. 131-135; ENENKEL and OTTENHEYM, 2019, p. 1-2, 11-13; OTTENHEYM, 2019, 261; ALEXANDER-DAVEY, 2017, p. 89.

(64) DENBOER, 1979, p. 419-436.

(65) ALEXANDER-DAVEY, 2017, p. 77.

(66) LANGEREIS, 2001, p. 205-230; ALEXANDER-DAVEY, 2017, p. 77-87; OTTENHEYM, 2019, p. 267-268; HESSING, 2001, p. 131-135; ENENKEL and OTTENHEYM, 2019, p. 7.

the Dutch Republic⁽⁶⁷⁾. The Batavian revolt was in the minds of many Dutch scholars a form of prefiguration of the Eighty Years War. According to them, the results of the uprising were successful, as the Batavians retained their independence, but in most cases maintained an alliance with Rome⁽⁶⁸⁾.

John Breval was familiar with the Roman history mobilised by local scholars and the evidence they frequently cited to support their reasoning (mainly Tacitus)⁽⁶⁹⁾. While he provided his readers with a summary of the major events of the revolt⁽⁷⁰⁾, he ardently denounced the idea of continuity between the former Batavians and the inhabitants of the Dutch Republic: “*The Story of Civilis, the pretended Founder of their Liberty, is painted in some of their Rooms, where the Magistrates hold their Assemblies; which was a good Thought, and very a propos; but in reality the Hollanders are no more sprung from the antient Batavi (as they would insinuate to the World) than we or the French are from the Trojans*”⁽⁷¹⁾. The idea of a direct continuity between ancient and modern populations did not make sense to him. The comparison with the Medieval and Renaissance accounts that associated the origins of France and England⁽⁷²⁾ with the Trojans is, in this sense, significant, since these traditions were rejected by almost all scholars in the 18th century⁽⁷³⁾. To this first remark, Breval added: “*And it is with as little Foundation that they affirm themselves to be an unconquer’d People, since it is well known that the Romans, the Franks, the Frisons, the Normans, and Danes, have all by turns been Masters of their Country*”⁽⁷⁴⁾. The author of the *Remarks of several parts of Europe* was therefore very sceptical about the supposed independence of the Batavians. He noted that they must have been (at least partially) subjected to “*the cruel oppression of the Romans*”, before Civilis’ revolt, otherwise it would not have happened. Moreover, ancient sources and Roman monuments found in the area showed that the Romans had succeeded in putting down the revolt and setting up garrisons in the area to control it, which also belies the idea of the independence of the Batavians. Finally, after the fall of the Roman Empire, other peoples (*the Franks, the Frisons, the Normans, and Danes*) took turns to conquer the region⁽⁷⁵⁾.

Moreover, Breval was also wary of associating the entire territory of the Dutch Republic with these supposed Batavian “ancestors”. In the scholarly works of Dutch authors of the 17th and early 18th centuries, the Batavians were associated either with the entire population of the Northern Netherlands or only with that of Holland. In the latter case, the Mattiaci people were frequently associated with the inhabitants of Zeeland and the Frisians with those of Friesland. Breval clearly adopted the second view and denounced the

(67) LANGEREIS, 2001, p. 205-230; ALEXANDER-DAVEY, 2017, p. 77-87; OTTENHEYM, 2019, p. 267-268; HESSING, 2001, p. 131-135; ENENKEL and OTTENHEYM, 2019, p. 7.

(68) LANGEREIS, 2001, p. 209-210, 218-225; ALEXANDER-DAVEY, 2017, p. 84-87.

(69) BREVAL, 1726, p. 50-51. For example, Breval, relying on Tacitus, did not deny that the Germanic peoples adopted a less authoritarian system of government than the Gauls and other ancient populations.

(70) BREVAL, 1726, p. 51-60.

(71) BREVAL, 1726, p. 42.

(72) POU CET, 2003; PARRY, 1995, p. 26-29; ENENKEL and OTTENHEYM, 2019, 20, 30-34.

(73) SCHNAPP, 1998, 144; WOOLF, 2005, p. 23

(74) BREVAL, 1726, p. 42.

(75) BREVAL, 1726, p. 42-43.

interpretation that would make the territory of the Batavians the major part of the Dutch Republic, including the whole territory between the Rhine and the IJssel. On the basis of Tacitus, he placed this territory in a much smaller area between the course of the Old Rhine and the Waal (*Vahal*). He also pointed out the existence of other ancient peoples in the area corresponding to the Dutch Republic: the Mattiaci (in Zeeland), the Frisians (in Friesland) and the Cananefates (around Harlem)⁽⁷⁶⁾. Beyond these considerations, which he considered reliable, Breval felt that it was impossible to locate more precisely the regions in which these different peoples, and in particular the Batavians, were settled, including the precise location of the island on which they lived. If “*Nothing has been a Subject of greater dispute among learned Men, than the settling of the Limits and Extent of the antient Island of the Batavi*”⁽⁷⁷⁾, he considered the debate to be sterile for lack of reliable sources, and criticised authors such as Cluverius or Menso Alting who had indulged in lengthy digressions on the subject⁽⁷⁸⁾. However, it seemed clear to him that this territory must have been reduced in Roman times, since the Romans had settled in a large part of the Dutch Republic (especially around Leiden, Utrecht and Roomburg)⁽⁷⁹⁾.

Breval therefore argued that the Batavians were only settled in a relatively small area, which in no way corresponded to the whole or most of the Dutch Republic. He also strongly criticised the idea of continuity between the former Batavians and the inhabitants of the Dutch Republic and the idea that freedom was inseparable from them. He was clearly of the opinion that the role of the Batavians in the early history of the region was overestimated. The Romans were “*the first who began to make this Country habitable by clearing it of the Woods it was covered with, and they probably laid the Foundation of some of those Cities we now see, as Utrecht and Leyden; there are Authors that believe Harlem too might have been of the number*”⁽⁸⁰⁾. Like most British authors of his time⁽⁸¹⁾, the scholar saw the Romans as a civilising people who had cleared the region (Breval’s aversion to dense forests comes to mind) and established a “more polite” society. He also emphasised that the Batavians, far from being in constant struggle against “Roman tyranny”, remained close to this civilised Rome, long after the revolt of Civilis⁽⁸²⁾, as various ancient sources attest⁽⁸³⁾.

Other traditions that Breval tackled concerned the origins of certain towns in the Low Countries. In the Southern Netherlands, many of them were attributed to Julius Caesar who would have founded them during his conquest

(76) BREVAL, 1726, p. 4-6, 33-34, 38.

(77) BREVAL, 1726, p. 31. Indeed, there were numerous debates on this topic: LANGEREIS, 2001, p. 207.

(78) BREVAL, 1726, p. 30-33.

(79) BREVAL, 1726, p. 48-50.

(80) BREVAL, 1726, p. 50.

(81) SWEET, 2004, p. 155.

(82) “*It appears that the Hollanders continued a long time very faithful to the Romans, after this second Reduction*”. BREVAL, 1726, p. 59.

(83) The events that marked the end of the Batavian revolt and its consequences remain poorly known, due to the loss of Tacitus’ *Annals* from book five onwards. However, as Breval assumed, it is clear that the Romans won the war and that the Batavians continued to serve in their army after the revolt of Civilis. COSME, 2012, p. 222, 254-256.

of Gaul⁽⁸⁴⁾. Caesar was a highly regarded figure at the time, as a man of letters, a man of war and the first author to describe Gaul and Brittany. His courage, military and literary skills, and the clemency he showed to most of his defeated enemies were qualities that were appreciated in the early modern period, both in popular and learned circles⁽⁸⁵⁾. Caesar's conquest of the region was also the most distant past documented by sources, as there were no written records from earlier periods. All this explains Caesar's popularity as a founder, especially in the Southern Netherlands, as Breval notes, but also in France, England and some German principalities⁽⁸⁶⁾. In Brussels, the British traveller noted: "*Brussels, like most of the Towns in the Netherlands, was first built, in all probability, by the antient Franks; tho' some ridiculously ascribe it, as they do Ghent, to Julius Caesar*"⁽⁸⁷⁾. He made a similar analysis of the origins of Ghent⁽⁸⁸⁾. As can be seen, he considered these assertions to be "ridiculous" and gave them no credence. He also described as "ridiculous legend"⁽⁸⁹⁾ the local traditions attributing the foundation of Antwerp to a giant named Antigone, whose hand was cut off and thrown away by a Roman officer named Salvius Brabon, an episode which supposedly gave rise to the name of the city ("*Ant/hand*" meaning "hand" and "*werpen*" meaning "to throw away" in Dutch)⁽⁹⁰⁾. He cautiously considered that the origins of the metropolis were very uncertain. He also denounced the "fabulous" accounts that traced Leuven's origins to the Antiquity and to a certain Lupus who was said to have named it "Luposina"⁽⁹¹⁾. He rightly placed its origins more towards the 9th century CE⁽⁹²⁾. As for the city of Harlem, he denounced the "*fabulous stories*" that traced its origins to the distant past, but without citing them specifically: they were, according to him, part of the "*German Mythology*"⁽⁹³⁾. The denunciation of all these local narratives relating to the origin of cities was not completely new, as some scholars had already begun to fight against them in the last third of the 16th century⁽⁹⁴⁾. However, John

(84) LATTEUR, 2021, 396-403, 418-422; DOUTREPONT and DOUTREPONT, 1895, p. 88-90.

(85) WOOLF, 2005, p. 314-315; DOUTREPONT and DOUTREPONT, 1895, p. 81-87; LESTRINGANT, 1985, p. 169-171; GRELL, 1995, p. 1114.

(86) LESTRINGANT, 1985, p. 169-179; ARNAUD, 1985, p. 519-523; GRELL, 1995, p. 1113-1118; LIAROUTZOS, 1998, 208-209; DOUTREPONT and DOUTREPONT, 1895, p. 87-88.

(87) See also: BREVAL, 1726, p. 130.

(88) BREVAL, 1726, p. 110-111.

(89) "*To pass by then the ridiculous Legend of Antigonus the Gyant, I shall in the first place acquaint my Reader, that there is nothing more uncertain than the Original of Antwerp; and therefore those who suppose this to have been the Capital of the antient Aduatici, or Ambivariti, lie under a palpable Mistake, and their System has not the least Foundation from any Author of the Roman Times*". BREVAL, 1726, p. 123.

(90) LATTEUR, 2021, 359, 394-395; DOUTREPONT and DOUTREPONT, 1895, p. 88.

(91) LATTEUR, 2021, 388-389; DOUTREPONT and DOUTREPONT, 1895, p. 89.

(92) "*I look upon all that is said concerning the old Luposina, and other such Matters, as fabulous; and that, till about the ninth Century, we know nothing either of Louvain, or of the Princes it belong'd to*". BREVAL, 1726, p. 131.

(93) "*THERE is no end to the fabulous Stories concerning the Antiquity of Harlem; for as there are in Holland but few Cities of older standing than five or six Centuries, those which have an earlier Origin than that, are sure to run it as far backward as possible, and never fail of some Royal Founder or other, ready made to their hand, in that spacious Field of the German Mythology*". BREVAL, 1726, p. 38.

(94) LATTEUR, 2021, notably p. 367-369; LESTRINGANT, 1985, p. 181.

Breval was obviously aware of them and found it useful to refute them, which seems to indicate that they were still circulating in his time. On the other hand, he did not mention the traditions that associated certain ancient (Roman or prehistoric) remains with giants, magic or even the Devil⁽⁹⁵⁾. It is likely that he was either unaware of them because they were no longer sufficiently circulating in his time, or that he considered them so implausible that it was not necessary to refute them.

Ancient and modern geographies

Breval was so consistent in denouncing foundational legends because he wanted to offer his readers a correct and precise view of the Roman presence in the area corresponding to the Low Countries (as he did in the rest of his *Remarks of several parts of Europe*⁽⁹⁶⁾). To do this, he mainly used the Ancient Itineraries to identify ancient place names. In a second phase, he tried to establish correspondences with the localities he was passing through, by observing the topography of the places and the ancient remains that might still exist. This working method is quite similar to that developed by other scholars and antiquaries such as Abraham Ortelius, William Camden and Cluverius, with Breval making extensive use of the latter's research⁽⁹⁷⁾. More generally, in the 17th and 18th centuries, many scholars and antiquaries used this direct observation of sites as part of their research into the past of their region⁽⁹⁸⁾. John Breval's specificity is to have used this method in a space that was not limited to a region he knew particularly well and to have integrated the results, not in an "antiquarian" sum, but in a travel guide intended for a wider public.

Ancient sources played an important role in his research: they were the best source for him. For example, Utrecht is considered a Roman town: even though Breval believed that there were no Roman remains there, its mention in the Antonine Itinerary, under the name of "Trajectum", seemed sufficient to the author to establish the correspondence⁽⁹⁹⁾. This view was shared by many other scholars⁽¹⁰⁰⁾. Breval made a similar observation about Tongeren, which is mentioned by Caesar, Ptolemy and the Ancient Itineraries as *Atuatuca Tungrorum*, but about which he said: "*I saw not the least Track of Antiquity here*"⁽¹⁰¹⁾. This observation is surprising, as the remains of the ancient wall had been well identified by Abraham Ortelius (1527-1598) and were still perfectly visible in the 18th century, as evidenced by the work of the scholar Pierre-Joseph Heylen (1737-1793), who drew up a plan of it⁽¹⁰²⁾.

(95) OTTENHEYM, 2019, p. 270-278; LATTEUR, 2021, p. 355-360.

(96) For example, in the South of the Italian peninsula: LIBERTI, 2017, p. 43.

(97) OTTENHEYM, 2019, 264-265; SWEET, 2004, p. 167-172; PARRY, 1995, p. 22-25; HÄFNER, 2001, p. 28; LATTEUR, 2021, notably p. 410-418; DEMAROLLE, 2010, p. 4.

(98) SWEET, 2004, p. XVIII-XIX, 1-4.

(99) BREVAL, 1726, p. 77-78.

(100) OTTENHEYM, 2019, p. 264-265.

(101) BREVAL, 1726, p. 134-135. Breval only pointed to the presence of an (unidentified) inscription which he considered ancient.

(102) ORTELIUS and VIVIANUS, 1584, p. 21; HEYLEN, 1783, p. 451-455; LATTEUR, 2021, p. 275-279; LATTEUR, 2019, p. 134-135.

Breval appeared to be unaware of the works of Ortelius or neglected them, despite their availability and renown (perhaps because Breval carried out his research alone and based solely on his own readings). But this “lack of material remains” did not prevent him from asserting the ancient origin of Tongeren on the basis of the testimony of ancient authors.

The case of Leiden is perhaps the one that best illustrates Breval’s method and his search for clues about the ancient origins of cities. Like many other scholars since the 17th century, he identified the city with Lugdunum Batavorum (in reality, this site was located further west)⁽¹⁰³⁾. Breval also mobilised the ancient sources (Tacitus, Ptolemy, “*the two Itineraries*” and the “*Notitia Imperii*”) which “*are sufficient [...] to convince us, that it was a town of importance even in the Roman Times*”. Analysing the situation of the city, he added: “*and I am apt to think from its Situation upon the Rhine, and so near to the Sea, that it was the great Magazine from whence the Romans convey’d their Stores and Ammunition to Utrecht, Alphen, and other inland places where they had Garrisons. And I may likewise venture to add, that in all probability the foundation of Leyden is owing to Nero Drusus*”⁽¹⁰⁴⁾. The author added a final element: the presence of a supposed Roman remnant, the Burcht (Fort) of Leiden, which will be discussed in detail in the following section. Considering that the ruins of the Burcht were those of a Roman fortification, Breval thought that the site of Leiden was part of the *limes*, a defensive network erected on the frontier of the Roman Empire that was mentioned by some Latin authors such as Florus⁽¹⁰⁵⁾. The proposed identification of Leiden is inaccurate in the light of our present knowledge, but it was based on a logical reasoning, supported by ancient authors, the supposed presence of remains, the location of the town and the most recent scholarly writings.

In his examination of the origins of Nijmegen, Breval also cross-checked various sources. From the 17th century onwards, Nijmegen was reputed to be one of the oldest cities in the Dutch Republic and was associated with the ancient Noviomagus⁽¹⁰⁶⁾. The author of *Remarks of Several Parts of Europe* based his interpretation on this reputation, mainly on the works of the local scholar Smetius to whom he referred his readers. Smetius was an antiquarian who had assembled an extensive collection of local antiquities and attempted to demonstrate that Noviomagus was the ancient capital of the Batavians (hence the title of his major work: *Oppidum Batavorum seu Noviomagus*)⁽¹⁰⁷⁾. His research and his collection enjoyed a certain credit, as attested by their mention by another English traveller, James Drummond (1648-1716), Earl of Perth, during his visit on 29 November 1694 to Nijmegen⁽¹⁰⁸⁾. Breval did not deny the ancient origins of the city in the light of the finds made by Smetius, but he was cautious: he stated that he had not had the opportunity to observe the antiquities collected by Smetius himself (which he assumed had since

(103) OTTENHEYM, 2019, p. 264-265.

(104) BREVAL, 1726, p. 21-22.

(105) BREVAL, 1726, p. 22.

(106) OTTENHEYM, 2019, p. 264-265; VERHOEVEN, 2009, p. 208-210; VAN STRIEN-CHARDONNEAU, 1994, p. 45-46.

(107) OTTENHEYM, 2019, p. 266-268.

(108) VAN STRIEN, 1998, p. 300.

been lost)⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ and was sceptical about the interpretation that it was the capital of the Batavians. He thought that it should rather be located in *Durestet* (Wijk bij Duurstede), because of the ancient ruins that were visible there (“*from the great number of Monuments here found*”)⁽¹¹⁰⁾.

In some places, Breval also had to deal with remains that were not necessarily linked to an ancient place name. This is particularly the case at Velzeke (*Velsik*), a small Roman settlement located on a road leading to Bavay (*Bagacum Nerviorum*). Based on the testimony of Guicciardini (1567) and perhaps other more recent sources, he reported the existence of “*Vestiges of old Walls, among which little Idols of Brass, Coins, Fragments of Columns and Statues; and other such certain Indexes of Roman Town, have been frequently discovered*”⁽¹¹¹⁾. But the name of the Roman locality was not known, and still is not, to the great despair of Breval who exclaimed: “*It is a thorough Devastation indeed, when the very Names of Places exist no more; and here I think the Ignorance of former Times deserves to be lamented full as much as their Cruelty*”⁽¹¹²⁾. In Arlon, too, the uncertainties surrounding the ancient name of the town did not prevent it from being identified as a Roman foundation, particularly because of the ruins of the ancient wall that could still be seen⁽¹¹³⁾.

In the case of Groningen, Breval adopted the interpretation of the recently deceased Frisian scholar Menso Alting, who considered the town to have Roman origins. Surprisingly enough, he was not moved by the lack of ancient remains (“*that there happen to be very few Monuments of the Romans in this Country*”) and the silence of the Ancients about the site. He considered that the site was probably frequented at the time of Corbulo’s campaign against the Cherusicians (1st century CE), but was careful not to assert that the Roman general would have installed a fortification there, which would have been the origin of the city⁽¹¹⁴⁾. In a rather original way, he pointed out that the earliest

(109) “*NIMEGUEN is but eight Miles from Arnheim, and is situate upon the Vahal. As I had not the Leisure I could have wish’d for to survey this antient and famous City, for the Monuments that have been found there, I shall refer my Reader to the Learned Smetius, who has fill’d a Volume with them. Most of these were in his or his Father’s possession; and as things of that kind seldom continue in private hands longer than two or three Generations, I fear there is but a very bad Account of them at present*”. BREVAL, 1726, p. 87.

(110) BREVAL, 1726, p. 78-79, 92.

(111) BREVAL, 1726, p. 110.

(112) BREVAL, 1726, p. 110.

(113) “*On the top of a little Eminence at Arlon are yet seen some Vestiges of Walls that have the air of the Roman Times. It appears that there was an ancient Town in this very Place from the Itineraries, which mention it by the Name of Orolaunum; tho’ some will rather have it that Arlon is a Corruption from Ara Lunae, and that Diana had a Temple there*”. BREVAL, 1726, p. 146. About the polemics on the name of Arlon, see in particular: LATTEUR, 2021, p. 443-454.

(114) “*I shall only add what is a little extraordinary, that there happen to be very few Monuments of the Romans in this Country; but this may be occasioned perhaps because the Romans drew away their Troops from these Parts by order of the Emperor Claudius, and sent all their Garrisons towards the Rhine. It is not easy to tell, whether the Castle of Corbulo in the time of the Romans became a Town, as many other Garrisons and Magazines of the Romans did: In all probability it did not*”. BREVAL, 1726, p. 98-99. During the early modern period, the use of medieval sources in toponymic research was relatively rare, but it is attested in some cases (as Alexandre Wiltheim’s works in the Duchy of Luxembourg). LATTEUR, 2017-2018, 9.

medieval documents refer to Groningen as a “villa”, which would mean, according to him, that the site was not fortified⁽¹¹⁵⁾. In the end, Breval’s main argument may seem surprising: it is a supposed resemblance of the city’s institutions and law to those of ancient Rome⁽¹¹⁶⁾.

Despite his constant desire to establish correspondences between early modern towns and ancient toponyms, the author of *Remarks of several parts of Europe* never tried to force identifications that seemed doubtful or uncertain. For example, he stated bluntly that it seemed impossible to find the ancient names of Bruges or Ostend, due to the lack of sources and probably the lack of urban settlements in this region during classical antiquity⁽¹¹⁷⁾. He pointed out that there were few clues as to the ancient origin of the city of Luxembourg, either from texts or from Roman monuments⁽¹¹⁸⁾. He also denounced theories that Antwerp was the ancient capital of the Aduatics or Ambivariti⁽¹¹⁹⁾. In some cases, Breval did not hesitate to share his doubts with his readers, especially in Delft, Maastricht and Namur. In the case of Delft, he took a stand against Cluverius’ hypothesis that it was one of the crossing points of the canal that Domitius Corbulo had dug in the region: the British scholar considered that it was impossible to determine with certainty the route of this canal and therefore to establish a correspondence with the site of Delft⁽¹²⁰⁾. In Maastricht, he was cautious about the ancient origin of the city traditionally known as “Trajectum”, believing that this toponym had only been associated with it at a later date⁽¹²¹⁾. Finally, he returned to the case of Namur, whose origins were sometimes attributed to the Gallic tribe of the Aduatics: according to some early modern authors, Namur could have been the site of their oppidum or the place where they took refuge after

(115) BREVAL, 1726, p. 99.

(116) “WHAT renders this Conjecture still more probable, is the great Conformity observed between the Government of Groningen, and that of antient Rome: There was there a Senate vested with the supreme Authority, Consuls, Praetors, Censors, Aediles; and sometimes (when the Necessity of the Time required it) they carry’d the Resemblance so far, as to create a Dictator. But beyond all this there are many Laws received in the Town, which appear to be an Extract of the twelve Tables; for example, it was a Law in those Tables, that the Praetors should judge all Processes before Noon, that the nearest Relation should have the Guardianship of Infants who had lost their Fathers; that there should be no drinking at Funerals, and that the Decisions of the People should be without Appeal”. BREVAL, 1726, p. 98-99.

(117) BREVAL, 1726, p. 112, 116.

(118) “I Cannot find any very great Antiquity that Luxemburg has to boast of either from Records or Histories. I observ’d indeed in two or three Parts of the Town some old Roman Relievo’s, one of which was pretty entire, and represented a Sacrifice; but these might possibly be brought from Arlon”. BREVAL, 1726, p. 147.

(119) BREVAL, 1726, p. 123.

(120) “But if we consider the various Revolutions and Turns that have happen’d even in the Body and Frame of this Province, and the numerous Canals that have been cut between the Meuse and the Rhine, at one time or other; to pronounce boldly and decisively in Matters of this kind would be a pedantick presumption”. BREVAL, 1726, p. 16-17.

(121) “MAESTRICHT is situate [sic] upon the Meuse, six Leagues below Liege, and is called in Latin Mosae Trajectum, and also Trajectum Superius, to distinguish it from Utrecht, which is Trajectum Inferius; but that this was a Name the Romans gave it, or that there was any Town here in their Days we cannot pretend to affirm: For Gregorius Turonensis is the antientest Author that gives any Account of it”. BREVAL, 1726, p. 135.

being defeated by Caesar⁽¹²²⁾. Observing the topography of the site, Breval concluded that it could correspond to the one described by the Roman general in his *De Bello Gallico*, yet the British scholar was cautious and explained: “*But still, as there are other Situations of the same kind in Brabant, and other Places hereabouts, and as there is not the least mention made in this Passage either of the Meuse or Sambre, I am apt to believe we must look for this Town somewhere else, and perhaps shall be still at a loss where to fix it after all our Enquiries*”⁽¹²³⁾.

In the end, the *Remarks of several parts of Europe* present a true state of knowledge of the ancient geography of the Low Countries in the first half of the 18th century. In the tradition of the antiquaries and scholars of the preceding centuries, Breval used the data provided by ancient sources, the observation of local topography and the presence (or absence) of material remains to try to establish or refute the correspondences between Roman sites and contemporary localities. In part, he followed in the footsteps of earlier authors (principally Cluverius, Smetius and Menso Alting), but also criticized or cautioned them where he felt it necessary.

Ruins and ancient inscriptions

The mention of ancient remains played an important role in Breval's investigation of the ancient origins of the cities of the Netherlands. But what about their study and description by the author, who was one of the few travellers of this period to have taken the time to study them? It is difficult to provide a simple answer to this question.

In fact, the author only really provides a few descriptions of ancient ruins and is mostly content to refer vaguely to the presence or absence of “monuments” or “tracks” dating back to Roman times. Moreover, he only transcribed the text of five Latin inscriptions⁽¹²⁴⁾, a far cry from the 49 inscriptions copied in the Iberian Peninsula⁽¹²⁵⁾. Nevertheless, it should be remembered that few material remains could be found in the early modern period, both in the Dutch Republic⁽¹²⁶⁾ and in the Southern Netherlands⁽¹²⁷⁾. Moreover, Breval stated that he did not visit Hainaut⁽¹²⁸⁾ and spent little time in Nijmegen⁽¹²⁹⁾ and Luxembourg. For example, Breval reported that he did not have the opportunity to visit the palace of Count de Mansfeld (1517-

(122) LATTEUR, 2021, p. 393, 420.

(123) BREVAL, 1726, p. 143.

(124) BREVAL, 1726, p. 18, 25-29, 135. The four inscriptions copied in the Dutch Republic are: CIL XIII, 9165 (4, p. 147) = CIL XVII, 2, 588 = AE 2006,913; CIL XIII, 8824 (4, p. 145) = D, 9178; CIL XIII, 8828 (4, p. 145) = AE 1976, 518; CIL XIII, 8823 (4, p. 145). Breval also mentioned a very fragmentary inscription in a fountain in Tongeren. Its text does not seem to have been included in the main epigraphic collections (CIL, ILB2, etc.): “[...] CIVIBUS AUXILIVM TENDEBAT [...]”. Yet it is reasonable to assume that this is not a Roman inscription.

(125) CANTO, 2004, p. 272-319.

(126) HESSING, 2001, p. 128-129.

(127) LATTEUR, 2021, p. 29-41.

(128) BREVAL, 1726, p. 108.

(129) BREVAL, 1726, p. 87.

1604)⁽¹³⁰⁾, in Clausen, near Luxembourg, which was famous for its collection of antiquities⁽¹³¹⁾. Abandoned for most of the 17th century, the palace was in a state of serious disrepair when Breval visited the region⁽¹³²⁾ and most of its collections had been moved⁽¹³³⁾. Breval's information on Clausen Castle shows that he spent only a short time in the Duchy of Luxembourg and that he had little information about it. This also explains his silence on the mausoleum of Igel⁽¹³⁴⁾, the most famous monument in the Duchy of Luxembourg immortalised in several engravings, but little known to British travellers⁽¹³⁵⁾. It was in the Duchy of Luxembourg, the county of Hainaut and the city of Nijmegen, however, that a significant proportion of the region's antiquities had been discovered.

Having established this first observation, it is necessary to dissociate the author's comments on the inscriptions from those relating to architectural structures. As far as the inscriptions are concerned, there are relatively few of them (5) to be transcribed in the *Remarks of several parts of Europe*. The comments are relatively brief (with the exception of a long commentary on the function of the censor), but are based on the consultation of renowned authors such as Jan Gruter (1560-1627) or Gronovius (1645-1716)⁽¹³⁶⁾. Despite the short analysis of most of the inscriptions, three of them (Katwijk) are presented in one of the three engravings in the chapters on the Netherlands. Breval stated: "*I have for the better Satisfaction of the Curious given a Draught of the Stones and Inscriptions, just as they are at present*"⁽¹³⁷⁾. This passage is quite significant as to the importance Breval and his readers attached to the inscriptions. They were considered of sufficient interest to hold the attention of the "*curious*", those learned readers eager for antiquities of all kinds, and to merit being included on one of the expensive large-format plates of the book. Breval even called these inscriptions "*the most valuable part of the Discovery*" made at the Katwijk site. It is also worth noting that the author stated that he reproduced them "*just as they are at present*". This naturally echoes Alicia María Canto's research into the quality of Breval's epigraphic

(130) On Mansfeld and his palace, see: DE JONGE, 2019, p. 237-260; MOUSSET, 2007.

(131) "*I have been assur'd , that about an hundred Years ago a Count of Mansfield [sic], who was a Connoisseur, and a Man of Learning, collected several Roman Inscriptions, Coins, Idols , and other Monuments of Antiquity, that were dug up among the Ruins I speak of; and that they are yet to be seen at Luxemburg, in the Palace belonging to that illustrious Family; but my Stay was too short in that Town to allow me Leisure for this Enquiry*". BREVAL, 1726, p. 146.

(132) REITER, 2019, p. 392-417.

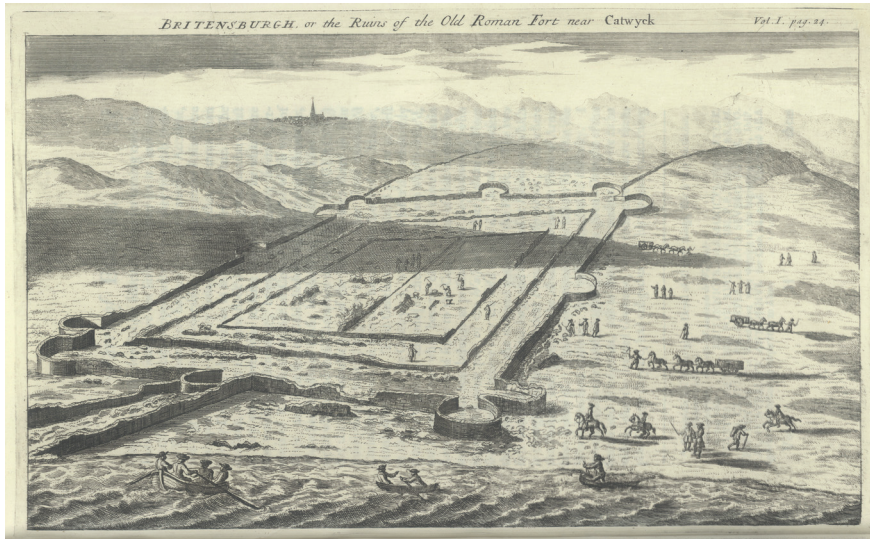
(133) HEYLEN, 1783, 465-466; LATTEUR, 2021, p. 222-225; MARTENS, RÖDER and GARCÍA GARCÍA, 2007, p. 310-312, 322.

(134) On the reception of this mausoleum, see: MERSCH, 1985, p. 87-161; LATTEUR, 2021, p. 207-219, 265-274, 486-490.

(135) During his visit to Igel, Henry Temple, second Viscount Palmerston (1739-1802), claimed that he had never heard of the mausoleum until then (MULLER, 1982, p. 379-382; LATTEUR, 2021, 490). Although it had been extensively studied and depicted since the 16th century, the mausoleum was therefore not included in the guidebooks used by British travellers (including those used by Breval). This absence may explain the lack of knowledge of this monument, at a time when the routes taken by British travellers were strongly shaped by the travel literature available to them and by the reputation of the sites concerned. BOYER, 2000, p. 54.

(136) BREVAL, 1726, p. 25-29.

(137) BREVAL, 1726, p. 25.



Ghent University Library, BIB.HIST.008304/1726

records in the Iberian Peninsula. Criticised by epigraphers in the 19th and 20th centuries as mere copies from earlier works⁽¹³⁸⁾, Alicia María Canto has shown that many of them were in fact original. Breval, who later specifies the exact location of the inscriptions in his time (in contrast to other remains found in Katwijk, but since lost⁽¹³⁹⁾), evidently did the same during his visit to the Dutch Republic. In general, his transcriptions are quite similar to those in contemporary editions.

The observation of the sites was often more detailed than the inscriptions. Unsurprisingly, one of those to which the *Remarks of several parts of Europe* devote the most space, and an engraved plate (**figure 2**), is that of Katwijk⁽¹⁴⁰⁾. This was probably the best known ancient site in the Dutch Republic in the early modern period⁽¹⁴¹⁾. It is a small Roman fort, also known as “*Arx Britannica*”, located not far from *Praetorium Agrippinae* (Valkenburg) and *Forum Adriani* (Voorburg). On the basis of the data currently available, it is assumed that it was a double *horreum* surrounded by a later wall. Its ruins have been swallowed up by the sea (and now by dunes), making it inaccessible most of the time. However, for short periods from the 15th and 16th centuries (notably in 1401, 1520, 1562 and 1588), the remains of the fort became accessible and attracted

(138) CANTO, 2004, p. 272-274.

(139) “*But as all these [antiquities] have since pass’d through Variety of Hands, and as the present Heir of this antient Family is an Infant, it was impossible for me to learn whether these Curiosities, or the Coins and Images I have spoken of, are still in being. I am apt to believe the contrary, because few of the Nobility and Gentry in Holland have a Taste for this sort of Literature, and those who apply them selves to Learning turn their Thoughts chiefly to Civil Law, or the rougher Paths of Criticism; Studies more suitable to their Genius and Pursues*”. BREVAL, 1726, p. 29.

(140) BREVAL, 1726, p. 24-25.

(141) OTTENHEYM, 2019, p. 265-266; VERHOEVEN, 2009, p. 208-209.

many curious visitors⁽¹⁴²⁾. The antiquarian and cartographer Abraham Ortelius (1527-1598) was the first to propose a plan of the site, which was circulated in the form of an engraving and inspired most of the subsequent representations of the site. His fame was definitively established through various editions and translations of Lodovico Guicciardini's *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi*, some of which contained engravings⁽¹⁴³⁾. From the beginning of his own description, Breval referred directly to the Florentine author's guide⁽¹⁴⁴⁾. The main part of his commentary focused on the various antiquities discovered in Katwijk, including the inscriptions mentioned above, but he also provided the reader with a very interesting engraving (**figure 2**). A few years later (1734), the same engraving was published by Cannegieter in his *Dissertatio de Brittenburgo*, without it being known at this stage whether he copied Breval or whether the two authors shared a common source⁽¹⁴⁵⁾. This is a view of the site, not a plan as was the case with most of the earlier engravings⁽¹⁴⁶⁾. This view gives the reader an overview of the site at the time of its discovery, Breval pointing out that the scene shows the local peasants excavating the ruins as they might have done following a shipwreck⁽¹⁴⁷⁾. The whole picture is therefore a somewhat idealised and "picturesque" view of the ruins of the fort, appealing to the imagination of the engraver, but it is nonetheless original. Although some engravers, such as Jacob Schijnvoet (1711), had already opted to use views of Katwijk, the engraving in the *Remarks of several parts of Europe* has a significantly different composition. In addition, it includes a tower to the south of the ancient wall, which is not mentioned until 1701⁽¹⁴⁸⁾. It is therefore a very interesting source both for the history of the site and its reception and for the tastes of British readers at the time.

The second monument that particularly caught John Breval's attention was the Burcht of Leiden, which he assumed to be the ruins of a Roman *limes* fortification on the Rhine. As in Katwijk, he accompanied his brief description with an elegant engraving which shows the remains of a circular fortification on top of a hill (**figure 3**)⁽¹⁴⁹⁾. Although the conditions under which it was made are not known, it appears that it is a work of the engraver Elisha Kirkhall (ca. 1682- ca. 1742), a Sheffield-born artist active in London⁽¹⁵⁰⁾. In fact, the Burcht does not have an ancient origin, as excavations in the early 20th century have definitively shown that it is a medieval castle that was probably built in the 11th century⁽¹⁵¹⁾. Although it may seem surprising today, Breval's interpretation is based on the idea, widely held in the early modern period, that most ancient circular or polygonal buildings date back

(142) KASZAB-OLSCHEWSKI and GRIMM, 2014, p. 43-44.

(143) MEGANCK, 2017, p. 41-49; KASZAB-OLSCHEWSKI and GRIMM, 2014, p. 44-46, 67; OTTENHEYM, 2019, p. 265-266.

(144) The constant references to the works of Guicciardini rather than those of Ortelius, a renowned antiquarian, tend to show that Breval was probably not aware of the latter.

(145) CANNEGIETER, 1734, unpaginated illustration (preceding p. 1).

(146) KASZAB-OLSCHEWSKI and GRIMM, 2014, p. 45-55.

(147) BREVAL, 1726, p. 25.

(148) KASZAB-OLSCHEWSKI and GRIMM, 2014, p. 53.

(149) VAN DER VLIST and WITKAM, 2001, p. 2, 26.

(150) Son of a Sheffield locksmith, Elisha Kirkhall moved to London where he worked as an engraver. He was mainly known for his work as an illustrator. BENEZIT, 1999, p. 819.

(151) HOLWERDA, 1924, p. 51-52.



to Roman times⁽¹⁵²⁾. More generally, most scholars had only vague reference points in the history of architecture and, apart from Gothic architecture, could not usually tell the difference between a Roman, Carolingian or Romanesque monument from observation alone⁽¹⁵³⁾. Breval's interpretation was also in line with that of previous scholars, such as Pieter Schrijver, known as Scriverius (1576-1660)⁽¹⁵⁴⁾, who also associated Leiden with Lugdunum Batavorum, considering the Burcht as a Roman fortification⁽¹⁵⁵⁾. The Burcht was popular with travellers⁽¹⁵⁶⁾, and was seen by the Englishman John Farrington, who in 1710 attributed its construction to Julius Caesar⁽¹⁵⁷⁾. Critical of local traditions, John Breval did not adopt this analysis, but affirmed the Roman past of the ruins despite the opinion of certain authors who linked it to the Saxons or Danes. The author of *Remarks of several parts of Europe* considered that there was no evidence for this, while the testimony of ancient authors (Tacitus and Florus) attested to the presence of the *limes* in this region⁽¹⁵⁸⁾. It is especially interesting that he was in favour of excavations to put an end to these discussions: "*It is not impossible but that, if they dug in the Foundations of the Burch, some Monument or other might be found, that would put an end to all these Disputes concerning the Antiquity of it*"⁽¹⁵⁹⁾. This view was very innovative, as the practice of excavation was not institutionalised at that time: most discoveries of antiquities were fortuitous (agricultural work or construction of new buildings) and, when excavations were set up (mainly in the Italian peninsula), it was most often a matter of collecting antiquities in order to resell them. The idea of excavation as a means of gaining knowledge and understanding of the past was still relatively uncommon. The first major excavation sites, at Herculaneum, Pompeii or Veleia, did not begin until the second third of the 18th century⁽¹⁶⁰⁾. Breval's remark is therefore interesting, as a testimony to the credit that excavation was beginning to acquire as a means of understanding the past and the exact nature of the sites observed. While his fairly traditional analysis of the Burcht was based primarily on the reading of ancient authors and the work of earlier scholars, this comment demonstrates that the British traveller was not closed to more innovative methods of investigation. Breval also paid attention to the state of conservation of the site, lamenting "*the poor Condition*" of the fortification⁽¹⁶¹⁾, which is also an interesting comment in the context of a study of the relationship to ancient monuments. While many remains were destroyed without much scruple in

(152) NAGEL and WOOD, 2010, p. 137.

(153) NAGEL and WOOD, 2010, p. 135-146; ENENKEL and OTTENHEYM, 2019, p. 4.

(154) On Scriverius, see: LANGEREIS, 2001, p. 105-154.

(155) LANGEREIS, 2001, p. 119-120, 220; VAN DER VLIST and WITKAM, 2001, p. 23-24.

(156) VAN DER VLIST and WITKAM, 2001, p. 26-33.

(157) VAN STRIEN, 1998, p. 232.

(158) BREVAL, 1726, p. 22.

(159) BREVAL, 1726, p. 24.

(160) On the practice of excavation in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, see in particular: SCHNAPP, 1998, p. 187-215, 241-262, 297-302; PINON, 2009, p. 34-35, 46-52; CAMPBELL, 2004, p. 14-18; BIGNAMINI, 2004, p. 91-96; CAVALIERI, 2019, p. 92-98; FURLOTTI, 2019, p. 9-27; MOORMANN, 2015, p. 10-27; GRELL, 1995, p. 193; SWEET, 2004, p. 300; KARMON, 2011. More specifically on excavation practice in the Netherlands: LATTEUR, 2021, p. 331-343; BAKKER, 2010, p. 62-63.

(161) BREVAL, 1726, p. 23.

the early modern period, some scholars began to complain that they were not better protected and maintained, as did many travellers in the south of France and in the Italian peninsula⁽¹⁶²⁾.

As previously stated, the originality of the *Remarks of several parts of Europe* lies largely in the fact that their author was interested in the ancient remains of a region that did not attract travellers for this reason. This is fully confirmed by John Breval's visit to the Hesbaye, a fertile agricultural region situated at the crossroads of the prince-bishopric of Liège, the duchy of Brabant and the county of Hainaut (the latter two being integrated into the Austrian Netherlands). This rural area was not often mentioned by early modern travellers who were more attracted to the cities than to the countryside (especially those who did the Grand Tour)⁽¹⁶³⁾. This was the case of John Breval who structured his *Remarks of several parts of Europe* principally by principality and then, within each principality, town by town. But this subdivision did not prevent the British scholar from noting the presence of burial mounds in the Tienen region (the Grimde tumuli), which were also rarely mentioned by foreign travellers⁽¹⁶⁴⁾. Breval rightly assumed their origin to be Roman, referring to a passage in Tacitus in which Germanicus erected a cippus for the Roman soldiers who fell in the Battle of the Teutoburg Forest⁽¹⁶⁵⁾. The most innovative aspect of Breval's analysis, however, was the comparison he made with the tumuli visible in England: "*three circular artificial Mounts of Earth [...], which have the Air of those old Monuments, so frequent in England, that are suppos'd by us to be of the Time of the Saxons and Danes*". He is, to our knowledge, the first author to have proposed a comparison between the burial mounds of Hesbaye and those of Great Britain, which are indeed the two regions in which the Romans mainly used this type of burial, unusual in the rest of their empire. It should also be noted that, despite the hesitations of scholars of the time, Breval clearly affirmed the Roman origin of these burial mounds (rightly so in the case of those observed in the Southern Netherlands). Breval also took advantage of his visit to Hesbaye to admire the Roman road from Bavay (*Bagacum Nerviorum*) to Tongeren (*Atuatuca Tungrorum*), whose Roman origin and route he correctly identified⁽¹⁶⁶⁾. Even if his description

(162) For example, see: LEMERLE, 2018, p. 219; FORO, 2017, p. 183

(163) SWEET, 2012, p. 2-3.

(164) On the reception of the tumuli in the Southern Netherlands, see: LATTEUR, 2018, p. 155-176.

(165) "*Tirlemont, or, as the Natives call it, Tienen, is within four hours of Louvain, a little pleasant Town upon the Geete, where I met with nothing that was remarkable besides three circular artificial Mounts of Earth near one of the Gates, which have the Air of those old Monuments, so frequent in England, that are suppos'd by us to be of the Time of the Saxons and Danes. I do not see, for my part, why we may not as well ascribe them to the Romans; for it was an usual thing among them too (in their Expeditions especially) as we find in antient Authors, to raise the Earth in this manner over their Dead; and this they call'd Cippus or Tumulus*". Breval referred in note to the passage of Tacitus and added: "*Of this kind was the tomb that Germanicus caus'd to be erected to the Honour of those unfortunate Legions that has perish'd in the mad enterprise of Varus against the Cherusci and Arminius their king. There are several more of these scatter'd up and down the Netherlands*". BREVAL, 1726, p. 133.

(166) "*In its Neighbourhood are some Remains of that fine old Causeway, which is commonly known by the Name of Chaussée de Brunehaut; but Authors will not have this to be that Brunehaut or Brunehild, that was Queen of Austrasia, and that caused so much*

was probably partly inspired by Guicciardini's, notably by refuting the traditions that attributed the construction of the road to a Gallic king or a queen named Brunehaut, his analysis was, for the most part, original and critical: for example, he did not take up the route proposed by Guicciardini (Paris-Tongeren) and did not mention the traditions that attributed the Roman road to the action of the Devil⁽¹⁶⁷⁾.

Conclusion

The *Remarks of several parts of Europe* are a primary source for studying the interest in classical antiquity in the first half of the 18th century. Despite a decline in the practice and teaching of Latin⁽¹⁶⁸⁾, antiquity remained a model at that time: the contents of Breval's book were largely devoted to its study and all the engravings in the section on the Low Countries concern "antiquities". The support that John Breval received from a large part of the British aristocracy and the publication of a second volume (1738) show how much this type of work interested the wealthier social classes. Throughout Western Europe, classical antiquity was at the heart of education and intellectual debate⁽¹⁶⁹⁾, particularly in England where the Grand Tour continued this tradition as evidenced by the emergence of the *Dilettanti* in the 1730's⁽¹⁷⁰⁾, just a few years after the publication of *Remarks of several parts of Europe*.

Breval's chapters on the Dutch Republic and the Southern Netherlands are interesting in many ways. They show us the Roman remains as they appeared and as they were interpreted in the early 18th century. As the Low Countries were not a popular destination for ancient "monuments", Breval's testimony is all the more valuable, especially in a period when travel accounts were relatively scarce (especially in comparison with the second half of the century). The *Remarks of several parts of Europe* also highlight the "antiquities" that might attract the attention of a foreign traveller.

Beyond these data, the book also and perhaps above all illustrates the concerns of its author and his readership. John Breval's main aim was to educate his readers and help them prepare for their journey to the Continent. In his eyes, such a journey could not be undertaken without having read and reread the ancient authors, so as to better understand their testimony and to better enjoy the various visits. The purpose of the Grand Tour was to train minds, and Breval offered his readers a real "journey through time". This objective was achieved by establishing correspondences between modern places and ancient sites, which are one of the author's major preoccupations (Utrecht, Nijmegen, Leiden, Groningen, Tongeren, Arlon, Velzeke). This

Mischief in France; but a king of Hainault of that Name antienter than Julius Caesar, or any of the Romans that conquer'd the Netherlands. [...] But for my own part I believe it a Roman Work. It began at Baway in Hainault, and ended at Tongres". Breval added in a note: "*This was the Bagacum of the Antients, the Capital of the Nervii mention'd in Ptolemy and the Itineraries. It was ruin'd by Attila at the same time with Tongres and many other Cities*". BREVAL, 1726, p. 138-139.

(167) On these traditions, see notably: LATTEUR, 2015, p. 221-248.

(168) GRELL, 1995, p. 3-5; ROCHE, 2003, p. 26.

(169) VERHOEVEN, 2009, p. 76-94; FLAMARION and VOLPILHAC-AUGER, 1995, 6; ROCHE, 2003, p. 690; HAFID-MARTIN, 1995, p. 124-125.

(170) REDFORD, 2008, p. 1-2.

work was carried out with caution by Breval, who mainly used the testimony of ancient authors and the research of local scholars (Cluverius, Smetius, Guicciardini...), without neglecting the contribution of material remains and topographical observation. In doing so, he denounced a number of identifications that were considered dubious (Delft, Namur, Maastricht, Luxembourg) or local narratives relating to foundations associated with the Batavians, Caesar or other prestigious figures (Ghent, Brussels, Antwerp, Harlem or the Batavian territory).

In this perspective, the study of monuments was not central. The descriptions of the remains were, as we have seen, often rather brief and sometimes vague. The *Remarks of several parts of Europe* are certainly not the work of an antiquarian intended for antiquarians. Moreover, Breval spent only a short time in Nijmegen or in the Duchy of Luxembourg, two regions in which many antiquities were visible. Apart from being cited as “proof” of the antiquity of a site, the remains were mainly of interest to the “curious”, as is shown by the presence of three careful engravings in the book, two of which present sites in what might be described as “picturesque” views (Burcht of Leiden and Katwijk). This moderate interest in the study of material remains did not prevent Breval from carefully observing those he came across along his route and from offering some original reflections on them, recommending for example the excavation of the Burcht of Leiden to settle the question of its origins, or drawing a parallel between the burial mounds of the Southern Netherlands and those of Great Britain.

All in all, the *Remarks of several parts of Europe* are a very important source for a study of the reception of Antiquity in the 18th century, in relation to the Low Countries as well as the rest of the regions visited by John Breval. Let us hope that future research will allow a more complete analysis of this interesting but little-known testimony.

Bibliography

Primary sources

BREVAL, 1726 = J. BREVAL, *Remarks of several parts of Europe relating chiefly to the history, antiquities and geography of those countries*, vol. 1, London, 1726.

CANNEGIETER, 1734 = H. CANNEGIETER, *Dissertatio de Brittenburgo*, The Hague, 1734.

CLUVERIUS, 1616 = P. CLUVERIUS, *Germaniae antiquae libri tres*, Leiden, 1616.

GUICCIARDINI, 1567 = L. GUICCIARDINI, *Descrittione di M. Lodovico Guicciardini di tutti i Paesi Bassi, altrimenti detti Germania inferiore*, Antwerp, 1567.

ORTELIUS and VIVIANUS, 1584 = A. ORTELIUS and J. VIVIANUS, *Itinerarium per nonnullas Galliae Belgicae partes*, Antwerp, 1584.

HEYLEN, 1783 = P. J. HEYLEN, *Dissertatio de antiquis Romanorum monumentis*, in *Mémoires de l'Académie impériale et royale des Sciences et Belle-Lettres de Bruxelles*, 4, 1783, p. 405-490.

Secondary sources

ALEXANDER-DAVEY, 2017 = E. ALEXANDER-DAVEY, *Nationhood and Constitutionalism in the Dutch Republic: an Examination of Grotius' Antiquity of the Batavian Republic*, in *History of Political Thought*, 38/1, 2017, p. 64-91.

ARNAUD, 1985 = J.-P. ARNAUD, *Présence de César en Anjou*, in R. CHEVALLIER (ed.), *Présence de César. Actes du colloque des 9-11 décembre 1983. Hommage au doyen Michel Rambaud*, Paris, 1985 (Caesarodunum, XX bis), p. 517-532.

BAKKER, 2010 = J. A. BAKKER, *Megalithic Research in the Netherlands, 1547-1911. From Giant's Beds and Pillars of Hercules to accurate investigations*, Leiden, 2010.

BENEZIT, 1999 = E. BENEZIT, *Dictionnaire critique et documentaire des peintres, sculpteurs, dessinateurs et graveurs*, new edition, 7, Paris, 1999.

BERTRAND, 2008 = G. BERTRAND, *Le grand tour revisité. Pour une archéologie du tourisme: le voyage des Français en Italie, milieu XVIII^e siècle – début XIX^e siècle*, Rome, 2008 (Collection de l'École française de Rome, 398).

BIGNAMINI, 2004 = I. BIGNAMINI, *British Excavations in the Papal States during the Eighteenth Century: Written and Visual Sources*, in I. BIGNAMINI, *Archives & Excavations*, London, 2004, p. 91-108.

BLACK, 2003 = J. BLACK, *Italy and the Grand Tour*, New Haven, 2003.

BOYER, 2000 = M. BOYER, *Histoire de l'invention du tourisme, XVI^e – XIX^e siècles*, n.p., 2000.

CALARESU, 1999 = M. CALARESU, *Looking for Virgil's Tomb: the End of the Grand Tour and the Cosmopolitan Ideal in Europe*, in J. ELSNER (ed.), *Voyages and Visions: towards a Cultural History of Travel*, London, 1999, p. 138-161.

CALZOLARI, 1992 = M. CALZOLARI, *Una nuova fonte sul « tesoro di Brescello »*, in *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica e Scienze Affini*, 94, 1992, p. 87-90.

CAMPBELL, 2004 = I. CAMPBELL, *Rescue Archaeology in the Renaissance*, in I. BIGNAMINI, *Archives & Excavations*, London, 2004, p. 13-22.

CANTO, 2004 = A. M. CANTO, *Los viajes del caballero inglés John Breval a España y Portugal: novedades arqueológicas y epigráficas de 1726*, in *Revista Portuguesa de Arqueologia*, 7/2, 2004, p. 265-364.

CAVALIERI, 2019 = M. CAVALIERI, *Between Aesthetics and Research. The Reception of Antiquity in the Duchy of Parma and Piacenza during the Bourbon Age*, in M. CAVALIERI and O. LATTEUR (eds.), *Antiquitates et Lumières. Étude et réception de l'Antiquité romaine au siècle des Lumières*, Louvain-la-Neuve, 2019, p. 87-120.

CHALES DE BEAULIEU, 2000 = A. CHALES DE BEAULIEU, *Deutsche Reisende in den Niederlanden. Das Bild eines Nachbarn zwischen 1648 und 1759*, Frankfurt am Main, 2000.

CHEVALLIER and CHEVALLIER, 1984 = E. CHEVALLIER and R. CHEVALLIER, *Iter Italicum: les voyageurs français à la découverte de l'Italie ancienne*, Geneva, 1984.

CONWAY, 2009 = S. CONWAY, *Christians, Catholics, Protestants: The Religious Links of Britain and Ireland with Continental Europe, c. 1689-1800*, in *The English Historical Review*, 124, 2009, p. 833-862.

COSME, 2012 = P. COSME, *L'année des quatre empereurs*, Paris, 2012.

DE JONGE, 2019 = K. DE JONGE, *Resurrecting Belgica Romana: Peter Ernst von Mansfeld's Garden of Antiquities in Clausen, Luxembourg, 1563-90*, in K. CHRISTIAN and B. DE DIVITIIS (eds.), *Local Antiquities, Local Identities. Art, Literature and Antiquarianism in Europe, c. 1400-1700*, Manchester, 2019, p. 237-260.

DEMAROLLE, 2010 = J.-M. DEMAROLLE, *Les antiquités de la Gaule mosellane en 1575, au miroir de l'Itinerarium d'Abraham Ortelius et Jean Vivien*, in *Les formes du voyage : Approches interdisciplinaires* [online], 2010, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4000/books.pus.8318>.

DENBOER, 1979 = W. DENBOER, *The Dutch Republic and Antiquity*, in *Bijdragen en mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden: The Low Countries Historical Review*, 94/3, 1979, p. 419-436.

DOUTREPONT and DOUTREPONT, 1895 = A. DOUTREPONT and G. DOUTREPONT, *La légende de César en Belgique*, in *Compte rendu du III^e congrès scientifique international des catholiques, 5^e session*, Brussels, 1895, p. 80-108.

ENENKEL and OTTENHEYM, 2019 = K. ENENKEL and K. OTTENHEYM, *Ambitious Antiquities, Famous Forebears. Constructions of a Glorious Past in the Early Modern Netherlands and in Europe*, Leiden-Boston, 2019.

FLAMARION and VOLPILHAC-AUGER, 1995 = É. FLAMARION and C. VOLPILHAC-AUGER, *L'Antiquité au 18^e siècle. État des recherches et tendances actuelles. La source est un miroir*, in *Dix-huitième siècle*, 27, 1995, p. 5 -16.

FORO, 2017 = P. FORO, *L'Antiquité sous un regard français: Montesquieu en Italie*, in P. FORO (ed.), *L'Italie et l'Antiquité du Siècle des lumières à la chute du fascisme*, Toulouse, 2017, p. 181-191.

FURLOTTI, 2019 = B. FURLOTTI, *Antiquities in Motion. From Excavation Sites to Renaissance Collections*, Los Angeles, 2019.

GRELL, 1995 = C. GRELL, *Le 18^e siècle et l'Antiquité en France. Étude sur les représentations sociales, politiques, littéraires et esthétiques de la Grèce et de la Rome païennes*, 2 vol., Oxford, 1995.

HAFID-MARTIN, 1995 = N. HAFID-MARTIN, *Voyage et connaissance au tournant des Lumières (1780-1820)*, Oxford, 1995.

HÄFNER, 2001 = R. HÄFNER, *Das Altertum interpungieren. Beobachtungen zur archäologischen Methodenbildung Philipp Cluvers (1580-1622) und ihrer Wirkung*, in *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte*, 3, 2001, p. 25-41.

HARBSMEIER, 1982 = M. HARBSMEIER, *Reisebeschreibungen als mentalitätsgeschichtliche Quellen: Überlegungen zu einer historisch-anthropologischen Untersuchung frühneuzeitlicher deutscher Reisebeschreibungen*, in A. MACZAK and H. J. TEUTEBERG (eds.), *Reiseberichte als Quellen europäischer Kulturgeschichte. Aufgaben und Möglichkeiten der historischen Reiseforschung*, Wolfenbüttel, 1982 (Wolfenbütteler Forschungen, 21), p. 1-31.

HASQUIN, 1987 = H. HASQUIN, *Le temps des assainissements (1715-1740)*, in H. HASQUIN (ed.), *La Belgique autrichienne, 1713-1794. Les Pays-Bas méridionaux sous les Habsbourg d'Autriche*, Brussels, 1987, p. 71-94.

HESSING, 2001 = W. A. M. HESSING, *Foreign Oppressor versus Civiliser: the Batavian Myth as the Source for Contrasting Associations of Rome in Dutch Historiography*, in R. HINGLEY (ed.), *Images of Rome. Perception of Ancient Rome in Europe and the United States in the Modern Age*, Portsmouth, 2001, p. 127-143.

HOLWERDA, 1924 = J. H. HOLWERDA, *De Leidsche Burcht*, in *Oudheidkundige mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden*, 1, 1924, p. 51-52.

KARMON, 2011 = D. KARMON, *The Ruins of the Eternal City. Antiquity & Preservation in Renaissance Rome*, Oxford, 2011.

KASZAB-OLSCHEWSKI and GRIMM, 2014 = T. KASZAB-OLSCHEWSKI and G. V. GRIMM, *Überlegungen zur Brittenburg*, in *Bonner Jahrbücher*, 214, 2014, p. 43-69.

JACOBSEN JENSEN, 1919 = J. N. JACOBSEN JENSEN, *Reizigers te Amsterdam: beschrijvende lijst van reizen in Nederland door vreemdelingen vóór 1850*, Amsterdam, 1919.

JANSSENS, 2016 = L. JANSSENS, *Antiquarianism and National History. The Emergence of a New Scholarly Paradigm in Early Modern Historical Studies*, in *History of European Ideas*, 43/8, 2016, p. 843-856.

JAUMAIN and LOIR, 2003 = S. JAUMAIN and C. LOIR, *Les guides de voyages: une source pour l'histoire de Belgique*, in *Archives et Bibliothèques de Belgique*, 74, 2003, p. 11-33.

LANGEREIS, 2001 = S. LANGEREIS, *Geschiedenis als ambacht. Oudheidkunde in de Gouden Eeuw: Arnoldus Buchelius en Petrus Scriverius*, Hilversum, 2001.

LATTEUR, 2021 = O. LATTEUR, *Cohabiter avec l'Antiquité (XVI^e-XVIII^e siècles). Antiquarisme, traditions locales et impact paysager des vestiges antiques dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux et la principauté de Liège (1565-1794)*. Unpublished Doctoral Thesis. Namur and Louvain-la-Neuve, 2021.

LATTEUR, 2019 = O. LATTEUR, *La Dissertatio de antiquis romanorum monumentis de Pierre-Joseph Heylen, premier inventaire des vestiges romains situés dans l'espace belge (1783)*, in M. CAVALIERI and O. LATTEUR (eds.), *Antiquitates et Lumières. Étude et réception de l'Antiquité romaine au siècle des Lumières*, Louvain-la-Neuve, 2019, p. 121-148.

LATTEUR, 2018 = O. LATTEUR, *Observing, Interpreting, and Excavating Roman Barrows: Landscape and Proto-archaeology in the Spanish Netherlands and the Prince-Bishopric of Liège (c. 1500-1700)*, in *Erudition and the Republic of Letters*, 3, 2018, p. 155-176.

LATTEUR, 2017-2018 = O. LATTEUR, *Sources et méthodes d'un antiquaire du XVII^e siècle: le jésuite Alexandre Wiltheim (1604-1684), « père de l'archéologie luxembourgeoise »*, in *Les Carnets du LARHRA* [online], 1, 2017-2018, <https://publications-prairial.fr/larhra/index.php?id=331> (last consultation: 27/09/2022).

LATTEUR, 2015 = O. LATTEUR, *La perception d'une chaussée romaine au cours de la première modernité: le cas de la voie Bavay-Tongres (1560-1660)*, in *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, 93/1, 2015, p. 221-248.

LEMERLE, 2018 = F. LEMERLE, *Le voyage architectural en France (XVI^e-XVII^e siècles). Antiquité et Modernité*, Turnhout, 2018 (Collection Études Renaissance).

LEROUX, 2011 = P. LE ROUX, *Chapitre V. E. Hübner ou le métier d'épigraphiste*, in P. LE ROUX, *La toge et les armes: Rome entre Méditerranée et Océan*, Rennes, 2011, p. 83-98 (DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4000/books.pur.122754>).

LESTRINGANT, 1985 = F. LESTRINGANT, *César au fil des guides de voyage à la Renaissance (Charles Estienne, Jacques Signot, Jean Bernard)*, in R. CHEVALLIER (ed.), *Présence de César. Actes du colloque des 9-11 décembre 1983. Hommage au doyen Michel Rambaud*, Paris, 1985 (Caesarodunum, XX bis), p. 169-182.

LIAROUTZOS, 1998 = C. LIAROUTZOS, *Le pays et la mémoire. Pratiques et représentations de l'espace français chez Gilles Corrozet et Charles Estienne*, Paris, 1998 (Les géographies du Monde, I).

LIBERTI, 2017 = R. LIBERTI, *Viaggiatori in Calabria nel XVIII secolo: John Durant (de) Breval (1725)*, in *Storicittà. Rivista d'altri tempi*, 26/239, 2017, p. 42-43.

MARCHAL, 2019 = S. MARCHAL, *Béziers en Languedoc ou les voies de la non-renommée*, in *Histoire urbaine*, 56/3, 2019, p. 53-69.

MARTENS, RÖDER and GARCÍA GARCÍA, 2007 = P. MARTENS, B. RÖDER and B. J. GARCÍA GARCÍA, *De Luxembourg à Madrid. Les voyages de la collection et son sort en Espagne*, in J.-L. MOUSSET (ed.), *Pierre-Ernest de Mansfeld (1517-1604): un prince de la Renaissance*, vol. 2, Luxembourg, 2007, p. 309-325.

MAXWELL, 1932 = C. MAXWELL, *The English Traveller in France, 1698-1815*, London, 1932.

MEGANCK, 2017 = T. L. MEGANCK, *Erudite Eyes. Friendship, Art and Erudition in the Network of Abraham Ortelius (1527-1598)*, Leiden-Boston, 2017.

MERSCH, 1985 = J. MERSCH, *La colonne d'Igel – Das Denkmal von Igel. Essai historique et iconographique – Historisch-ikonographische Studie*, Schwebsange, 1985.

MOORMANN, 2015 = E. M. MOORMANN, *Pompeii's Ashes. The Reception of the Cities buried by Vesuvius in Literature, Music and Drama*, Boston-Berlin-Munich, 2015.

MOUSSET, 2007 = J.-L. MOUSSET (ed.), *Pierre-Ernest de Mansfeld (1517-1604): un prince de la Renaissance*, 2 vol., Luxembourg, 2007.

MULLER, 1982 = J.-C. MULLER, « *A very fine piece of Roman Antiquity* ». *Lord Palmerston und William Pars in Igel 1770*, in *Trierer Zeitschrift*, 45, 1982, p. 377-383.

NAGEL and WOOD, 2010 = A. NAGEL and C. S. WOOD, *Anachronic Renaissance*, New York, 2010.

OTTENHEYM, 2019 = K. OTTENHEYM, *On Romans, Batavians and Giants: the Quest for the True Origin of Architecture in the Dutch Republic*, in K. CHRISTIAN and B. DE DIVITIIS (eds.), *Local Antiquities, Local Identities. Art, Literature and Antiquarianism in Europe, c. 1400-1700*, Manchester, 2019, p. 261-285.

PARRY, 1995 = G. PARRY, *The Trophies of Time. English Antiquarians of the Seventeenth Century*, Oxford-New York, 1995.

PINON, 2009 = P. PINON, *Les pratiques de l'archéologie et les circonstances des découvertes au XVI^e et au début du XIX^e siècle*, in J.-P. DEMOULE and C. LANDES (eds.), *La fabrique de l'archéologie en France*, Paris, 2009, p. 34-53.

POUCET, 2003 = J. POUCET, *Le mythe de l'origine troyenne au Moyen Âge et à la Renaissance*, in *Folia Electronica Classica*, 5, 2003, online: <http://bcs.fltr.ucl.ac.be/fe/05/anthenor2.html> (last consultation: 23/01/2023).

RASKOLNIKOFF, 1992 = M. RASKOLNIKOFF, *Histoire romaine et critique historique dans l'Europe des Lumières*, Strasbourg, 1992.

REDFORD, 2008 = B. REDFORD, *Dilettanti. The Antic and the Antique in eighteenth-century England*, Los Angeles, 2008.

REITER, 2019 = B. REITER, *Le château de Mansfeld aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles. Nouvelles découvertes sur la « fontaine Roÿale » dans les archives de Simancas et les Archives nationales de Luxembourg*, in *Hémecht. Zeitschrift für luxemburger Geschichte. Revue d'histoire luxembourgeoise*, 71/4, 2019, p. 391-432.

ROCHE, 2003 = D. ROCHE, *Humeurs vagabondes. De la circulation des hommes et de l'utilité des voyages*, Paris, 2003.

SCHNAPP, 1998 = A. SCHNAPP, *La Conquête du passé. Aux origines de l'archéologie*, Paris, 1998.

SECCOMBE, 1898-1899 = T. SECCOMBE, *Temple, Sir William*, in *The Dictionary of National Biography*, 19, London, 1898-1899, p. 522-531.

SECCOMBE, 1894 = T. SECCOMBE, *Misson, Francis Maximilian*, in *The Dictionary of National Biography*, 13, London, 1894, p. 499-500.

STOLS, 1987 = E. STOLS, *Regards étrangers sur les Pays-Bas autrichiens*, in H. HASQUIN (ed.), *La Belgique autrichienne, 1713-1794. Les Pays-Bas méridionaux sous les Habsbourg d'Autriche*, Brussels, 1987, p. 505-532.

SWEET, 2012 = R. SWEET, *Cities and the Grand Tour. British in Italy, c. 1690-1820*, Cambridge, 2012.

SWEET, 2007 = R. SWEET, *British Perceptions of Florence in the long Eighteenth Century*, in *The Historical Journal*, 50/4, 2007, p. 837-859.

SWEET, 2004 = R. SWEET, *Antiquaries. The Discovery of the Past in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, London-New York, 2004.

TOUWAIDE, 1975 = R. H. TOUWAIDE, *Messire Lodovico Guicciardini, gentilhomme florentin*, Nieuwkoop, 1975.

VAN DER AA, 1969 = A. J. VAN DER AA, *Biographisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden*, 1, Amsterdam, 1969.

VAN DER HEIJDEN, 2002 = H.A.M. VAN DER HEIJDEN *Philippus Cluverius and Dutch Cartography. An Introduction*, in *Quaerendo*, 32, 2002, p. 222-244.

VAN DER VLIST and WITKAM, 2001 = E. VAN DER VLIST and J. J. WITKAM, *De burcht van Leiden*, Leiden, 2001.

VAN GELDER, 2019 = K. VAN GELDER, *Succession et stratégies de légitimation de l'empereur Charles VI dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux*, in P.-O. DE BROUX et alii (eds.), *La transmission du pouvoir monarchique : entre droits et devoirs, du Moyen Âge à nos jours*, Brussels, 2019, p. 117-132.

VANHEE-NELSON, 1983 = L. VANHEE-NELSON, *La République des Provinces-Unies*

vue par les voyageurs étrangers du XVII^e siècle, in *Canadian Journal of Netherlandic Studies*, 4/2, 1983, p. 44-49.

VAN STRIEN, 2001 = K. VAN STRIEN, *De ontdekking van de Nederlanden. Britse en Franse reizigers in Holland en Vlaanderen, 1750-1795*, Utrecht, 2001.

VAN STRIEN, 1998 = K. VAN STRIEN, *Touring the Low Countries. Accounts of British Travellers, 1660-1720*, Amsterdam, 1998.

VAN STRIEN-CHARDONNEAU, 1994 = M. VAN STRIEN-CHARDONNEAU, *Le voyage de Hollande: récits de voyageurs français dans les Provinces-Unies. 1748-1795*, Oxford, 1994.

VERHOEVEN, 2009 = G. VERHOEVEN, *Anders reizen ? Evoluties in vroegmoderne reiservaringen van Hollandse en Brabantse elites (1600-1750)*, Hilversum, 2009.

VERSCHAFFEL, 1998 = T. VERSCHAFFEL, *De hoed en de hond. Geschiedschrijving in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden, 1715-1794*, Hilversum, 1998.

WATT, 1882 = F. WATT, *Breval, John Durant*, in *The Dictionary of National Biography*, 2, Oxford-London, 1882, p. 1197-1198.

WELCH, 1980 = B. A. WELCH, *Curiosities and Reflections: British Travelers on the Continent in the Eighteenth Century*, in *Modern Language Studies*, 10/2, 1980, p. 10-25.

WIEBENSON, 1994 = D. WIEBENSON, *English Observations on the Park at Versailles*, in *Dalhousie French Studies*, 29, 1994, p. 55-64.

WOOLF, 2005 = D. R. WOOLF, *The Social Circulation of the Past. English Historical Culture, 1500-1730*, Oxford, 2005.

ABSTRACT

Olivier Latteur, “*A Journey into the Past: John Durant Breval and the Roman Antiquities of the Dutch Republic and the Austrian Netherlands (1726)*”

In 1726, John Durant Breval (ca. 1680-1738) published the first part of his *Remarks of several parts of Europe relating chiefly to the history, antiquities and geography of those countries*. This work, which is both a travel guide and a scholarly work, stands out from the rest of the travel literature of its time because of the importance the author gave to the ancient history of the regions he traveled through, describing the origins of the localities and the antiquities that were observable there. The analysis of the chapters devoted to the Dutch Republic and the Southern Netherlands is particularly interesting, as these regions were not known for their ‘antiquities’: most of the descriptions and reflections proposed by the author are original and reflect the interests of the scholarly community in the first half of the 18th century. After presenting the work and its author, this article sheds light on Breval’s main concerns: the denunciation of local traditions, the establishment of correspondences between ancient and modern geography, and the description of the most notable antiquities of this region.

John Breval – Travel writing – Antiquarianism – Grand Tour – Classical Antiquity Reception – Batavians – Low Countries – Katwijk – Leiden – Barrows

RÉSUMÉ

Olivier Latteur, « *Un voyage dans le passé : John Durant Breval et les antiquités romaines des Provinces-Unies et des Pays-Bas autrichiens (1726)* »

En 1726, John Durant Breval (vers 1680-1738) publie la première partie de ses *Remarks of several parts of Europe relating chiefly to the history, antiquities and geography of those countries*. Cet ouvrage, à la fois guide de voyage et somme érudite, se démarque du reste de la littérature de voyage de son époque par la place que l'auteur accorde à l'histoire ancienne des régions qu'il traverse, en décrivant les origines des localités et les antiquités qui y étaient observables. L'analyse des chapitres que l'auteur consacre aux Provinces-Unies et aux Pays-Bas méridionaux s'avère particulièrement intéressante, car ces régions n'étaient pas réputées pour leurs « antiquités » : la plupart des descriptions et réflexions proposées par l'auteur s'avèrent originales et reflètent les centres d'intérêt des milieux savants de la première moitié du 18^e siècle. Après avoir présenté l'ouvrage et son auteur, cet article aborde tour à tour les principales préoccupations de Breval : la dénonciation des traditions locales, l'établissement de correspondances entre géographies ancienne et moderne et la description des antiquités les plus remarquables de cette région.

John Breval – Littérature de voyage – Antiquarisme – Grand Tour – Réception de l'Antiquité – Bataves – Pays-Bas – Katwijk – Leyde – Tumuli

SAMENVATTING

John Breval - Reisliteratuur - Antiquarisme - Grand Tour - Receptie van de Grieks-Romeinse oudheid – Bataven - Nederlanden - Katwijk - Leiden - Tumuli

**RÉDACTION: 4, boulevard de l'Empereur,
1000 Bruxelles.**
**Prière d'adresser à la Rédaction les manuscrits
et les ouvrages pour compte rendu.**

**REDACTIE: 4, Keizerslaan,
1000 Brussel.**
**Gelieve teksten en boeken ter recensie
aan de Redactie te zenden.**

DIRECTION ET COMITÉ DE RÉDACTION - DIRECTIE EN REDACTIECOMITÉ

DIRECTION - DIRECTIE

Directeur: Alexis WILKIN [alexis.wilkin@ulb.be]

Conseillers/Adviseurs: Michèle GALAND [Michele.Galand@ulb.be], Guy VANTHEMSCHE [guy.vanthemsche@vub.be]

Trésorier / Penningmeester: David GUILARDIAN [David.Guilardian@ulb.be]

Secrétaire général / Secretaris-generaal: Denis Morsa [denis.morsa@gmail.com]

Webmaster: Sébastien DE VALERIOLA [sebastien.de.valeriola@ulb.be]

COMITÉ DE RÉDACTION - REDACTIECOMITÉ:

Antiquité - Oudheid

Didier VIVIERS [dviviers@ulb.be] (Monde grec - Griekse wereld)

Françoise VAN HAEPEREN [francoise.vanhaeperen@uclouvain.be] (Monde romain - Romeinse wereld)

Koen VERBOVEN [Koen.Verboven@ugent.be] (Monde romain - Romeinse wereld)

Secrétaire - Secretaris: Jean VANDEN BROECK-PARANT [jean.vanden.broeck-parant@ulb.be]

Histoire - Geschiedenis

Alain DIERKENS [Alain.Dierkens@ulb.be] (Moyen Âge - Middeleeuwen)

René VERMEIR [Rene.Vermeir@UGent.be] (Temps modernes - Nieuwe Tijd)

Jeffrey TYSENS [Jeffrey.Tyssens@vub.be] (Époque contemporaine - Hedendaagse periode)

Secrétaire / Secretaris: Christoph DE SPIEGELEER [Christoph.DeSpiegeleer@liberas.eu]

Secrétaire / Secretaris: Nicolas SCHROEDER [Nicolas.Schroeder@ulb.be]

Bibliographie de l'Histoire de Belgique - Bibliografie van de Geschiedenis van België

Luc FRANÇOIS [Luc.Francois@UGent.be]

Sofie ONGHENA [Sofie.Onghena@arch.be]

Langues et littératures modernes - Moderne taal- en letterkunde

Sabrina PARENT [Sabrina.Parent@ulb.ac.be] (Langues et littératures romanes - Romaanse taal- en letterkunde)

Wim VANDENBUSSCHE [Wim.Vandenbussche@vub.be] (Langues et littératures germaniques - Germaanse taal- en letterkunde.)

**Prière d'adresser les demandes d'abonnements,
les commandes diverses, etc.,**

Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire

KBR - Bibliotheque Royale

4, boulevard de l'Empereur, B-1000 Bruxelles.

rbph@belgacom.net

**Tous les paiements doivent être faits au compte
bancaire 000-0131507-72**

(IBAN BE38 0000 1315 0772 - BIC BPOTBEB1)

**de la Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire,
B-1050 Bruxelles.**

Informations pratiques: <http://www.rbph-btfg.be>

Chaque article est signé. L'auteur est responsable des idées qu'il émet. La *Revue* n'accepte qu'une seule réplique à un article ou à un compte rendu. L'auteur de celui-ci aura la faculté de la faire suivre de ses observations. Après quoi, le débat sera tenu pour clos.

**Voor abonnements en andere bestellingen,
zich wenden tot**

Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Filologie en Geschiedenis

KBR - Koninklijke Bibliotheek

4, Keizerslaan, B-1000 Brussel.

rbph@belgacom.net

**Alle betalingen dienen te gebeuren
op bankrekeningnummer 000-0131507-72
(IBAN BE38 0000 1315 0772 - BIC BPOTBEB1)**

**van het Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Filologie en
Geschiedenis, B-1050 Brussel.**

Praktische informatie: <http://www.rbph-btfg.be>

Elke bijdrage vermeldt de naam van de auteur. Deze alleen is voor de in zijn studie uiteengezette opvattingen en verdedigde zienswijzen verantwoordelijk. Het *Tijdschrift* aanvaardt slechts één replek op een artikel of een recensie. De schrijver ervan mag op de ingezonden replek antwoorden. Van verdere polemieek wordt beslist afgezien.

IMPRIMERIE GROENINGHE DRUKKERIJ, KORTRIJK

ISSN 0035-0818

Éditeur responsable et directeur de la publication

Alexis WILKIN, 69, rue de l'Espérance, 4000 Liege

ANTIQUITÉ – OUDHEID

Emmanuel ROUMANIS & Klaas BENTEIN, <i>The Power of Judgement: A Comparison of Evaluative Stance in the Atticist Lexica of Phrynichus and Moeris</i>	5
Eleonora CATTAFI, <i>Relative Articles in Greek Documentary Texts</i>	33
Alexis DAVELOOSE, <i>The Etruscan Metronymic: from Matriarchy to Maternal Prestige</i>	69
Liselotte LIEGEOIS, <i>Le collège fétial en contexte diplomatique et guerrier. Évolution de deux missions : la rerum repetitio et l'indictio belli</i>	91
Alessio QUAGLIA, <i>Templum e tescum: quale relazione</i>	115
Michel CHRISTOL, <i>Un témoignage épigraphique de la législation de Valentinien, Valens et Gratien sur les grands travaux d'urbanisme dans la province d'Afrique</i>	127
Simon LAMBERT, <i>Antoninus Imperator dans le Panégyrique de Constantin x (4), xxiv, 6-7 : une référence à Marc Aurèle plutôt qu'à Antonin ou à Lucius Verus ?</i>	147
Olivier LATTEUR, <i>A Journey into the Past: John Durant Breval and the Roman Antiquities of the Dutch Republic and the Austrian Netherlands (1726)</i>	169