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Notre-Dame as the Memory of Paris: Hugo, the Historical Novel and Conservation

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Abstract

Controversies surrounding the restoration and representation of the narrative and memory of Notre-Dame de Paris are not new. The latest debates remind us that the building has been at the centre of conservation controversies since the nineteenth century. But why is Notre-Dame de Paris central to these debates? The answer appears to lie in its function as a mnemonic device for Paris and the French nation.

This paper focuses on the four literary pieces published by Victor Hugo in the period between 1823 and 1832 – ‘Le Bande Noir’ (‘The Black Band’), ‘Note sur la Destruction des Monuments en France’ (‘Note on the Destruction of Monuments in France’), ‘Guerre aux Démolisseurs!’ (‘War on the Demolishers!’) and Notre-Dame de Paris (also known as The Hunchback of Notre-Dame). Through an analysis of these four texts, the paper will attempt to understand Hugo’s convictions about the role of buildings – especially Notre-Dame de Paris – in establishing the memory of the city and the nation, and how these in turn underpinned his arguments for conservation.

Whilst these texts were all written in a period before the development of key contemporary concepts in the psychology and neuroscience of memory, this paper nevertheless uses the concepts of memory, imagination and Mental Time Travel to try to understand the kind of memory work that the Cathedral performs, and that Hugo suggests it performs in his writing. By examining how Hugo’s literature augmented and engaged the reader’s memory and imagination of the past, this paper will explain how Hugo romanticised the idea that the building was a witness to history. The paper ultimately argues that Hugo positioned Notre-Dame de Paris not only as the centrepiece in his own fiction, but as a beacon of memory for Paris and France, and as such the building came to represent Paris, and indeed the nation as a whole.

Introduction

This paper will focus on the four literary pieces published by Victor Hugo in the period between 1823 and 1832 – ‘Le Bande Noir’ (The Black Band), ‘Note sur la Destruction des Monuments en France’ (Note on the Destruction of Monuments in France), ‘Guerre aux Démolisseurs!’ (War on the Demolishers!) and *Notre-Dame de Paris* (also known as *The Hunchback of Notre-Dame*).¹ Using literary interventions and tropes to outline his claims for historic architecture, Hugo establishes the city and buildings as guardians and witnesses to France’s history and past glory. By romanticising architecture, Hugo’s literature catalyses the building, in particular Notre-Dame de Paris’ role as a beacon of memory and cultural identity for Paris and France. Collectively, the four texts position the Cathedral as the central place of life in both the city and nation. Hugo proposes that both civic and national memory are embedded in the historical life of the building. This paper will analyse these four texts using key contemporary concepts in the psychology and neuroscience of memory, to elaborate on the kind of memory work Hugo promotes through his writing.

Memory and Imagination

Ancient orators and philosophers beginning with Aristotle emphasised the importance of human sight and perception on the ability to produce *phantasia* (imagination). The word *phantasia* comes from the Greek *phaos* which means to be ‘visible’ or to have images ‘appear’. In order to remember and imagine, Aristotle believed that humans “employ *phantasmata* which are bodily marks (*tupoi*) that are carved in the matter of the heart or *proton aisthetikon*.”² These *tupoi* are like memory traces, which leave fragments of images (*phantasmata*) in our brains – the “primary perceptive part of the soul”³ (the *proton aisthetikon*) – through which we are able to exercise perception and use our senses to understand memory cues and imagine. The sense of sight is particularly important to the idea that memory and imagination can be generated through perceptible objects and visual cues such as nature and architecture, or through representations like literature, photographs and paintings. As a causal result, imagination and memories imprint a *phantasmata*, an image or memory trace within the brain of the perceiver, much like “the way in which a piece of wax takes on the impress (*semeion*) from a signet-ring without the iron or gold.”⁴ This process provides an environment where the human mind has the “capacity or power... to create, to recombine or reproduce and to call up mental images of objects, events, faces or

scenes, which are not present to the senses”⁵ and thereby mentally travelling through different spatial-temporal zones.

As scientific research into memory and imagination developed in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, a consensus emerged that the “neurocognitive machinery by which humans flexibly (re)construct past, future, and atemporal representations”⁶ required both personal and acquired knowledge – *episodic* and *semantic memory*. Furthermore, it was identified that memory and imagination cannot be separated from our material, cultural and social environment, but rather it occurs through an active creative engagement with the world, whereby the imagined world or memory can be created or recreated – transforming the reality of an object or scene (like the built environment) into a *phantasm* (memory trace).⁷ In this way, contemporary research reaffirms that through literature like Hugo’s, that text can ignite our imagination, enabling us to engage with our perceptions of what it means for buildings to act as witnesses to history and somehow possess memory. Reorganising information we possess through our senses and perceptions of buildings/landscapes, or through our knowledge of these places, we can create a complex understanding and (re)imagining of the past, present and the future.⁸

Ground-breaking research in memory developed by Dr Endel Tulving in the 1980s, explained that the difference between humans and animals is dependent on the evolutionary emergence of *autonoetic consciousness* and the ability for humans to look backwards and forwards in time.⁹ Tulving highlights that through the perspective shifting qualities of *autonoetic consciousness* and the recreative qualities of imagination,¹⁰ humans can mentally travel through time, placing themselves in the past, in the future or in counterfactual situations, and thus have the ability to examine their own thoughts while crossing the spatial-temporal divide – a phenomenon Tulving coined *Mental Time Travel*.¹¹

Both *episodic* and *semantic memory* draw heavily on a core brain system which allows a perspective shift from the present (immediate environment) to an alternative and imagined perspective (a past or future environment) that is based largely on the ability for imagination to weave together experienced and acquired knowledge of the past.¹² This perspective shift and navigation of different spatial-temporal zones provides the ideal conditions for *Mental Time Travel* to occur.

Literature, and in particular the novel, emerged in the nineteenth century as the ideal vehicle for enabling such travel across spatial-temporal zones. Novels could engage the reader in a historic past, in order to precipitate an awareness of present conditions or the absence of a quality in the past which was evoked by the novel.

Drawing upon their *semantic memory* of France's past that was partly constructed in fiction, and their *episodic memory* of their own lives in Hugo's Paris, a growing group in society began to rebel against the upheavals and encroachment of modernity. Placing value on targeted and disappearing structures as witnesses and repositories of memory of past achievements, a national consciousness about France's historic past, and a desire to preserve architecture and the environment burgeoned.

Using literature to highlight the devastation of the preceding generations, impassioned writers like Victor Hugo attempted to capture the nation's memory about their past, endeavouring to engage the reader's *autonoetic consciousness* and imagination in order to "engage with the past and the present and to consider the historical circumstances of both."¹³ Doing so, Hugo and his contemporaries fostered the perspective that these elements are important vessels of collective memory and history and can provide lessons from the past – *magistra vitae*. Thus, through his writing Hugo encouraged the reader to personally connect and re-connect with this collective memory and history, and catalyse change in society's protection of these significant places, Notre-Dame de Paris being the most significant one of all.

Victor Hugo and Notre Dame de Paris

The Île de la Cité on which Notre-Dame de Paris was constructed, was described by twelfth-century writer Guy de Bazoches as the "the head, the heart, the very marrow of the whole city."¹⁴ King Louis IX of France further refined the Île de la Cité, to become the jewel of the Seine, by financing the construction of the palace chapel Sainte-Chapelle (1242-48) and the construction of the now landmark Notre-Dame de Paris.

Paralleling the building of the Cathedral with the building of the nation,¹⁵ architectural historian Kevin D. Murphy intimates that Hugo saw, much like Guy de Bazoches centuries before him, "the island with Notre-Dame as its most prominent landmark was the epicentre of Paris, and some would argue, of the nation."¹⁶ Not only was Notre-Dame architecturally significant, but Hugo establishes the importance of Gothic architecture to the national memory and identity, explaining that architecture's ability to

act as a palimpsest and witness to the nation's history made it a repository of memory. Hugo writes: "admirable monument of the Middle Ages, upon which the historic glory of our nation is imprinted and to which are bound both the memory of our kings and the traditions of our people."¹⁷

The French Revolution and related destruction and dilapidation of the estates of both the Church and State in France, in particular Paris, was a life-giving force for Hugo. Consequently, Hugo took advantage of the politically and literary awakened bourgeoisie, using writing as a catalyst for change in society. By making people aware of their surroundings and important issues like the destruction of architecture, Hugo intended to invigorate society's interest in their national memory and identity.

Hugo viewed Paris not only as the capital of France, and capital of society in the nineteenth century, but as the preeminent civilisation and centre of the educated and cultural world. To Hugo Paris was a city of ideas and ideals whose memory lives in the forest of the city's buildings. These buildings were the living roots, foundations and witnesses of society.¹⁸



Figure 1. Chevet de Notre-Dame-de-Paris, vue pris du Quai de La Tournelle, 1860s (Charles Soulier, Getty Museum Collection, www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/1043RH; Creative Commons Licence).

Ceci Tuera Cela: Loss of Memory and the Conservation Movement

As a result of the social-political upheavals of the French Revolution and Industrial Revolution at the end of the eighteenth century, and the concurrent emergence of historical consciousness in France, in the Spring of 1792 the *Commission*

Conservatrice de Monuments (Monuments Conservation Commission) was established in Paris (later known as the *Commission des Monuments Historiques* (Commission for Historic Monuments) by 1837). The Commission's role was twofold – serving both the Revolution and heritage, it was tasked with overseeing the obliteration of evidence relating to the ousted monarchy and Catholic Church, whilst also preventing further destruction of significant works of art and architecture.¹⁹

However, despite appointing Alexandre Lenoir to safeguard structures and art, the Commission was largely unsuccessful, as during the decades that followed, France lost many important works of art and historic buildings, many of which were either demolished or adapted for new purposes. By 1819, however, a new attempt to conserve France's built heritage was launched by the Ministry of the Interior, with the provision of an 80,000 Francs allowance for the preservation of historical monuments. Despite this allowance, France's heritage and national memories continued to fall victim to destruction and dilapidation through neglect. It is no surprise therefore, that in this context Hugo, an ardent proponent of France's Gothic and historical architecture, took it upon himself to call the nation and the Ministry to action, pleading on behalf of France's monuments.

Prior to his publication of *Notre-Dame de Paris* in 1831, Hugo wrote two politically inclined pieces about the destruction of France's monuments and a call for their conservation. The first of these pieces, published in 1823, was the poem 'Le Bande Noir'. The poem was followed by a pamphlet in 1825 entitled 'Note sur la Destruction des Monuments en France'. A later essay entitled 'Guerre aux Démolisseurs!' was published in 1832 a year after the first release of *Notre-Dame de Paris* in 1831. 'Note sur la Destruction des Monuments en France' and 'Guerre aux Démolisseurs!' have over the years been contracted and bundled together as one essay and understood to be Hugo's first political piece discussing the destruction of France's monuments and conservation. However, they were in fact written seven years apart and the latter of the two essays over a decade after his first political piece on the destruction of France, 'Le Bande Noir', was published. 'Le Bande Noir' and 'Note sur la Destruction des Monuments en France' have rarely been translated from their original French, which may indicate why 'War on the Demolishers!' is the better-known piece of the three.

In 'Le Bande Noir' Hugo dedicated the poem to Charles Nodier, his friend and fellow conservation activist, lamenting that he, like Nodier, was a traveller experiencing the

ruins and devastation of France's architectural heritage. Hugo split the poem into two cantos. In the first canto Hugo calls for the respect of France's monuments, using the reader's *semantic memories* and literature induced *phantasms* to romantically frame these monuments as witnesses to France's glory, with architectural ruins described as the repositories of memory, and the picturesque muse of a poet. However, in the second canto, Hugo's voice changes, and it is here that the desperation for the plight of the historical monuments are narrated. The romantic descriptions of the first canto are juxtaposed with a dismissal of these ideas as a poet's folly.

— Hush, lyre! Silence, O lyre of the poet!
Ah, let these glorious debris fall in peace
To the abyss where no friend, in his silent pain
Will not long follow them with his eyes!
Witnesses that old times have left in our age,
Guardians of a past that is outraged,
Ah! flee this enemy century!...²⁰

Personifying the ruin as guardian of, and witnesses to, the past, Hugo is identifying in this stanza that the ruins and architectural monuments of France no longer have friends within the Republic. For why should the nation care for these ruins, when instead they can achieve progress through political and industrial revolutions? Hugo explains that the virtues and honour of the old French order have been replaced by the crime and destruction of the political and technological upheaval of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century.

Hugo's second last stanza employs reverse psychology to plead with the reader for action, which is juxtaposed with the final stanza, where Hugo's authorial intervention invites the reader to engage their *autonoetic consciousness* to imagine a counterfactual situation, a future where France is bereft of its architectural monuments, a shadow of her former self.

When France is stripped of her memories,
Alas! will have lost her old majesty,
Still fighting for some soiled purple,
They will laugh at her nakedness!
We, do not profane this sacred mother;

Let us comfort her mournful glory,
Let us sing her eclipsed stars;
For our young muse, facing anarchy,
Will not shake her banner, whitewashed
Of the powder of past times.²¹

Hugo's poetic entreaties to protect France's monuments achieved little traction, and two years later in 1825, Hugo penned another piece, this time in prose, again calling for change. In 'Note sur la Destruction des Monuments en France' Hugo begins his opinion piece by singling out Baron Taylor and Charles Nodier, criticising them for neglecting various monuments in their 1820s survey of France's historical buildings and landscapes – which he believed disregarded buildings and ruins which lacked romantic appeal and ones which restorers sought to modernise. Arguing that these monuments – the everyday fabric of France – may lack romantic appeal but have value for their age, history and ability to tell the story of France's past. Buildings can act as both a physical witness to what has transpired but also through human perception and imagination, act as a cue for people to *mentally time travel* and thereby develop a sense of having witnessed that past. This, he believed, was key to building a sense of collective memory of the nation.

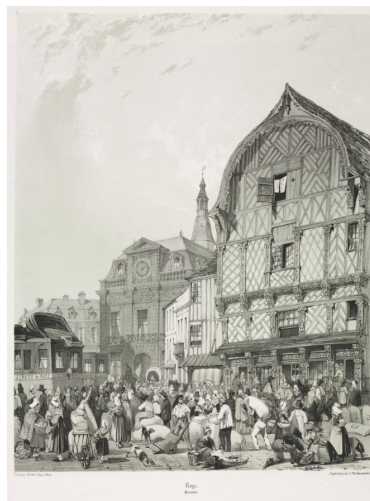


Figure 2. Picturesque and Romantic Journeys in Ancient France, Picardie (Vol. 2): Roye (Voyages pittoresques et romantiques dans l'ancienne France par Charles Nodier, J. Taylor, et Alphonse de Cailleux: Roye), 1824 (Cleveland Museum of Art, Gift of John Bonebrake 2010.603).

In 'Note sur la Destruction des Monuments en France' Hugo continues to detail several buildings and locations across France which had fallen into disrepair or been destroyed due to the actions of the Revolution, but also through the incompetency and neglect of the French people and lawmakers. Reiterating the importance of France's monuments as paramount to the national memory and glory of the people, Hugo uses impassioned language to describe the fabric as imprinted with the memories and traditions of France, and therefore anthropomorphising the fabric, as key witnesses to the glory that is France.

The time has come when no one is allowed to remain silent. A universal cry must at last call the new France to the aid of the old. All kinds of profanation, degradation and ruin threaten at once the little that remains of these admirable monuments of the Middle Ages, in which the old national glory was imprinted, and to which the memory of kings and the tradition of the people are attached...²²

Hugo emphasises that the buildings belong to the nation and are part of the French national memory and landscape. As such, these buildings should not be demolished and replaced by new buildings. Abhorring this practice, Hugo refers to it as a form of degradation and memory loss.

It is in this 1825 article that Hugo speaks directly to the Ministry of the Interior, calling for a law to protect the historic monuments and objects of France. It took another five years before any real action was taken towards safeguarding France's monuments and required further political change, with the establishment of the July Monarchy after the July Revolution. Under the July Monarchy, in 1830 the Minister of the Interior proposed that a position as the Inspector-General of Historic Monuments should be created. The first post was assigned to Ludovic Vitet on 25 November 1830, and later reassigned to Prosper Mérimée on 27 May 1834. The Inspector-General of Historic Monuments was charged with the classification of buildings across France, and the distribution of funds for their maintenance and restoration. In 1840, the first list of historic monuments was compiled and published by the Commission which detailed over 1000 historical monuments, most of which were buildings.

With the slow development of the Commission and its protection and conservation of historic monuments, Hugo was disconcerted by the lack of action, penning another

political opinion piece in 1832 entitled 'Guerre aux Démolisseurs!' Throughout the article Hugo outlines his disdain at the Commission and his opinions about their restoration programme and how modern developments were destroying the memories of France. Hugo saw the forward movement of history, changes in architectural style, political upheaval and development of technology all as enemies of the historic monument, leading to its destruction or neglect. Prefiguring John Ruskin, Hugo deplores the restoration efforts in France. He believed they negated the age and historical value of the building by removing the patina and palimpsest, which he saw as evidence of the witnessing these buildings were perceived to have taken apart of. Describing the erasure caused by restoration and destruction as a loss of France's memories, the story of the nation: "It must be said, and loudly, that this demolition of the old France, which we decried many times as 'restoration', continues with more tenacity and barbarousness than ever."²³

Hugo ends his tirade with a plea to the French people to call the government to account, which by 1832 had only recently employed the Inspector-General Vitet and had not begun to implement a procedure to document and allocate funds for the historic monuments of France. His plea for the fate of the nation's monuments was detailed as something which should be undertaken for the posterity of future generations, insisting that the protection of monuments is one of public and national interest to stave from further loss of memory and nationhood:

... say forcefully to the government, to the communes, and to the individuals that they are responsible for all the national monuments that fate has left in their hands. We must account for the past in the future. *Posterī, posterī, vestra res agitur* [descendants, descendants, this thing is kept for you]

Repair these beautiful and solemn edifices. Repair them with care, with intellect, with sobriety

You have jurisdiction over those that are public; defend them from being demolished

This is a question of public interest, indeed one of national interest²⁴

Building upon the ideas espoused in 'Le Bande Noir' and 'Note sur la Destruction des Monuments en France', Hugo used his historical novel *Notre-Dame de Paris* to further reiterate to the French public the impacts of destruction on the historic fabric of Paris and France, and in turn the impacts on the French identity. Paris was a city of ideas and ideals whose memory lived in the forest of the city's buildings. To Hugo, these buildings were the living roots, foundations and witnesses of society.²⁵

The choice to set *Notre-Dame de Paris* in the historical setting of 1482 is highly significant in the light of the socio-political milieu surrounding Hugo's writing. By narrating the book in 1482, during the Cathedral's hey-day before its decline into disrepair and desecration, Hugo was able to juxtapose history against the fresh memories and reality of post-Revolutionary France. By utilising and playing upon the social and collective memories of the reader, Hugo used his writing to engage the imagination of the reader and transport them across spatial-temporal zones, whilst also underlining his alternate agenda – calling for the restoration of the French cultural identity through the conservation of its architectural monuments (like Notre-Dame de Paris). Setting the novel in 1482 and juxtaposing it with the reader's context (the 1830s), Hugo provided two temporal coordinates through which the reader can *mentally time travel* to navigate Paris and the story. Through this, Hugo intended to engage the reader with the characters and buildings within the narrative, whilst subliminally highlighting that the city and its buildings are significant witnesses to the passage of time, and the events which lead to the reader's present.

Hugo also establishes the Cathedral as the main character and heart of the novel, with the building performing an important function as an interpretive mirror within the text. Not only do the surrounding characters of the story read themselves and the world around them through their interactions with the Cathedral, but so too does the reader. By positioning the Cathedral as the main character and the centre of Paris, Hugo also emphasises the building as one of the principal achievements of the Parisians. In this way, Hugo treats the building metonymically. The Cathedral is Paris, Paris and the Cathedral are the nation. Thus, Hugo makes the reader and the French people generally, the building's guardians, and thereby sought to change the dynamic, from destroyers to protectors.

To achieve this dynamic shift, Hugo employs the reader's *imagination*, and the brain's ability to undergo *Mental Time Travel*, to transport the reader through time and space.

This process forces the reader to undergo a self and societal reflection, in particular reflecting on the impacts that social and political upheaval had had on their city and surroundings. Through this self-reflection, the reader is able to engage the forward projection capabilities of *autonoetic consciousness* and travel between the past, present and future to imagine the compounding impacts and consequences of the events of the past and present, and thereby begin to comprehend how this may impact the future of Notre-Dame de Paris and other buildings which Hugo has so carefully crafted in the narrative as key to their French identity.

Hugo also dedicated a whole chapter – Chapter II in Book V entitled ‘Ceci tuera cela’ (This will kill that) – to the discussion of the impacts of not the French Revolution per se but instead the Industrial Revolution, primarily the technological advances of the period like the printing press. This chapter, along with two others were not published in the first edition of the novel in 1831. It has been said that Hugo ‘lost’ the chapters, however it is more likely that he did not think that the chapters would be well received, and the book would not be published. Instead, these chapters were published in 1832, after the publication of his last article ‘Guerre aux Démolisseurs!’ and were likely his last-ditch effort to appeal to the French people against the destruction occurring to the historic cities and landscapes of France.

In ‘Ceci tuera cela’, Hugo reiterates the ideas espoused by his contemporary Sir Walter Scott in his 1823 novel *Quentin Durward*, which predicts the consequences of technology like the printing press. In the narrative, Scott depicts a scene where the character Galeotti Martivalle predicts the consequences of technology like the printing press, which would allow a stream of new ideas and science to enter the public discourse, which, left uninterrupted and unbounded, would change “the whole form of social life; establishing and overthrowing religions; erecting and destroying kingdoms.”²⁶ This technology Scott compares to a “young tree, which now newly planted, but shall, in succeeding generations, bear fruit as fatal, yet as precious, as that of the Garden of Eden; the knowledge, namely, of good and evil.”²⁷ Hugo took Scott’s ideas further, exclaiming that “Printing will kill architecture”²⁸ and thereby be the tree which bears the fatal fruit to France’s historic architecture and cities. As through the dissemination of new ideas through written media like pamphlets, the printing press became the ‘mother’ of the French Revolution,²⁹ garnering greater support and therefore leading to the neglect and destruction of France’s historic monuments.

Dramatically, Hugo describes this shift and competition between architecture and printing as akin to the ‘survival of the fittest’, where each generation develops and replaces their predecessors’ form of expression through new mediums which present new ideas.³⁰ Hugo’s fear, however, was that through these modern technological developments, humanity, and most importantly for him, the French, would forget how to interpret, understand and interact with the old mediums (architecture) which speak of their identity and history, abandoning them, and thus through neglect and destruction cause the loss of French identity and memory.



Figure 3. “This Will Kill That.” The illustration depicts the book killing the edifice, in this case, Notre Dame Cathedral (Illustration by H. Scott, from Victor Hugo, *Notre-Dame de Paris*, 1877 edition, 227).

By trying to mobilise the ideas of nationhood, collective memory and identity through the novel, Hugo specifically crafted the narrative to bear witness to the life of the city and its great cathedral and act as a cue for memory. Resigned to believe that if he could not persuade the public who were reading the novel, that Notre-Dame would face ruin and destruction, Hugo ensured that the novel became a cue to the historic building. Hugo described the building in exacting detail as “a literary and historical narrative written in stone, wood, and glass.”³¹ Employing the brain’s ability to figuratively travel through time and space, Hugo seeks to create self-reflection in the reader. By harnessing their *episodic* and *semantic memories* so that they can observe the historical impacts of the passage of time, the novel, through a reciprocal interaction between the text and the reader, becomes a witness to history.

Despite detesting the printing press and the advance of technology, Hugo utilised it, much like the Revolutionaries, to mass produce the novel and spread his message far and wide. As a result, Hugo safeguarded the building in two ways. First, he sought to change the public perception about architecture, and the perception of the past, by reconnecting the reader with the building. The literary version of Notre-Dame is constructed through words and literary images, which helps the reader to understand the actual building.³² Using literature as his weapon of choice, Hugo advocated for the memory and identity of France imbedded in the physical stones of the building and the city. Secondly, by printing the novel, should the building succumb to the destruction of people, time, war or force majeure, the building and social history of France would be forever encapsulated in the pages of the book, and could be replicated, shared and read ad infinitum, its memory forever stored.

Printing therefore did not kill the building, the built fabric of Paris and France. On the contrary it helped to save Notre Dame de Paris and other buildings throughout the country, as Hugo's written word calling for conservation countered the Revolution's written word which called for destruction. However, did it save architecture? Did France's memory repositories retain their mnemonic function? Or did the conservation that ensued, falsify the memory? Hugo emphasised that the national French identity and collective memory of society are imbued in the stones of the Gothic architecture throughout France, where the fabric itself could be used as a positive re-affirmation of the French history, memory and identity. Through his work, human memory, and the ability to imagine and undergo *Mental Time Travel*, Hugo helped to capture society's attention and re-engage their memories, catalysing change, which in turn helped the development of the conservation movement in France.

Endnotes

¹ Hugo's literature will henceforth be referred to by its original French title.

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⁴ Aristotle and J. A. Smith, "De Anima: On the Soul," 350BCE, <http://classics.mit.edu/Aristotle/soul.html>; and Greenstein, "Icons and Memory," 11.

⁵ Christina S. Papachristou, "Three Kinds or Grades of Phantasia in Aristotle's De Anima," *Journal of Ancient Philosophy* 7, no. 1 (8 June 2013): 29.

⁶ Muireann Irish, "Chapter 27: On the Interaction Between Episodic and Semantic Representations - Constructing a Unified Account of Imagination," in *The Cambridge Handbook*

of the *Imagination*, 1st edn, ed. Anna Abraham (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 447.

⁷ Koukouti and Lambros, Chapter 3 in *The Cambridge Handbook of the Imagination*, ed. Abraham, 38; and Martin Bressani, *Architecture and the Historical Imagination: Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-Le-Duc, 1814-1879* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2014), 57.

⁸ Anna Abraham and Andreja Bubic, "Semantic Memory as the Root of Imagination," *Frontiers in Psychology* 6, no. 325 (March 2015): 1; Anna Abraham, "The Imaginative Mind: The Imaginative Mind," *Human Brain Mapping* 37, no. 11 (November 2016): 4204; and Arne Dietrich and Sandra Zakka, "Chapter 9: Capturing the Imagination," in *The Cambridge Handbook of the Imagination*, ed. Abraham, 138.

⁹ Endel Tulving, "Chapter 2: Origin of Autonoesis in Episodic Memory," in *The Nature of Remembering: Essays in Honor of Robert G. Crowder*, ed. Henry L. Roediger et al (Washington: American Psychological Association, 2001), 29.

¹⁰ David Davies, "Chapter 34: Imagination in the Philosophy of Art," *The Cambridge Handbook of the Imagination*, ed. Abraham, 469.

¹¹ Endel Tulving, "Episodic Memory: From Mind to Brain," *Annual Review of Psychology* 53, no. 1 (February 2002): 5.

¹² Daniel L. Schacter, Donna Rose Addis and Randy L. Buckner, "Remembering the Past to Imagine the Future: The Prospective Brain," *Nature Reviews Neuroscience* 8, no. 9 (September 2007): 660.

¹³ Katharina Boehm and Victoria Mills, "Introduction: Mediating the Materiality of the Past, 1700-1930," *Word & Image* 33, no. 3 (3 July 2017): 237.

¹⁴ Kevin D. Murphy, *The Cathedral of Notre-Dame of Paris: A Quick Immersion*, Quick Immersions 11 (New York: Tibidabo Publishing, 2020), 39.

¹⁵ Julie Lawrence Cochran, "The Gothic Revival in France, 1830-1845: Victor Hugo's Notre-Dame de Paris, Popular Imagery, and a National Patrimony Discovered', in *Memory & Oblivion*, ed. Wessel Reinink and Jeroen Stumpel (Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 1999), 394.

¹⁶ Murphy, *The Cathedral of Notre-Dame of Paris*, 39.

¹⁷ Victor Hugo and Danny Smith, "War on the Demolishers!," *West 86th: A Journal of Decorative Arts, Design History, and Material Culture* 25, no. 2 (September 2018): 228.

¹⁸ Victor H. Brombert, *Victor Hugo and the Visionary Novel* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1984), 51.

¹⁹ Murphy, *The Cathedral of Notre-Dame of Paris*, 94.

²⁰ Hugo, "Le Bande Noire" (author's translation).

²¹ Hugo, "Le Bande Noire" (author's translation).

²² Victor Hugo, "Note Sur La Destruction Des Monuments En France," 1825, https://fr.wikisource.org/wiki/Litt%C3%A9rature_et_philosophie_m%C3%AAI%C3%A9s/1825-1832_Guerre_aux_d%C3%A9molisseurs_!

²³ Hugo and Smith, "War on the Demolishers!," 232 (author's translation).

²⁴ Hugo and Smith, "War on the Demolishers!," 246-47 (author's translation).

²⁵ Brombert, *Victor Hugo and the Visionary Novel*, 51.

²⁶ Walter Scott, *Quentin Durward* (Project Gutenberg, 1823), l. 2939 (ebook).

²⁷ Scott, *Quentin Durward*, 2943 (ebook).

²⁸ Hugo, *The Hunchback of Notre Dame*, 215

²⁹ Hugo, *The Hunchback of Notre Dame*, 223.

³⁰ Elizabeth Emery, *Romancing the Cathedral: Gothic Architecture in Fin-De-Siècle French Culture* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001), 16.

³¹ Nicola Minott-Ahl, "Nation/Building: Hugo's 'Notre-Dame de Paris' and the Novelist as Post-Revolutionary Historian," *Partial Answers: Journal of Literature and the History of Ideas* 10, no. 2 (2012): 251.

³² Minott-Ahl, "Nation/Building," 251.