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FOUNDATION HISTORY
A TANGIBLE PAST
History Writing and Property Listing by the Brussels Seven Sorrows Confraternity, c. 1685*

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Introduction

As early as the seventeenth century, the English urban middle classes developed a keen interest in history.¹ This evolution was connected with the broadening intellectual and cultural horizon of the middling sort, with changes in consumption and material culture,² and with the rise of the public sphere.³ By the turn of the eighteenth century, for most lay readers, history had become the single most important literary genre next to fiction and religious works. Reading and discussing history became a popular pastime and even served a number of social purposes, e.g. social promotion or marking respectability.⁴

In late seventeenth-century Brussels, the ‘court capital’ and leading cultural centre of the Southern Low Countries, recreational reading was growing in importance as well, and the share of history books in private collections increased.⁵ In the eighteenth century, history made up twenty-five per cent of the subject themes in private libraries and was

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⁵ Hubert Meeus, "Dienstich ende ghenuelijck tyr-verbryf voor siecken, om ghesont te worden, en voor ghesonde om niet sieck te zijn.

outnumbered by religion and theology only. The growth of reading for leisure coincided with the growing commercialization of the reading culture in Brussels, exemplified by a rising number of booksellers and printers, the emergence of newspapers from the 1650s onwards, and the establishment of commercial libraries or ‘reading rooms’ (leeskabinetten) in the eighteenth century. Learned societies and various types of other associations contributed to the late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century interest in science, culture, history, and archaeology.

While the interest in reading history has been well-documented, less is known about the ways in which early modern citizens approached the history of their own social environment, not only by acquiring knowledge of the past but also with regard to the very act of history writing. In scholarly literature, most attention has been devoted to history writing by individual ‘professional’ historians specialized in specific genres such as chronicles, annals, memorieboeken (memory books), national histories, etc. The study of history writing has been barely undertaken from the perspective of early modern associations such as guilds and confraternities. As has been argued by some scholars, the historical consciousness of Netherlandish guilds and confraternities grew in the closing decades of the eighteenth century, on the eve of the Brabant Revolution (1789-90). Worried by rumours about their abolition, guilds and confraternities inquired into their history in order to defend their privileges and public status. However, already well before the end of the old regime, associations studied their own history. We might wonder what motives they had to devote attention to the past.

In this chapter, we investigate how the members of the Brussels’ Seven Sorrows confraternity dealt with the history of their association by combining a ‘genre approach’ (based on a specific historical document) with an ‘association’s approach’ (history writing by a confraternity). Our main source is a seventeenth-century manuscript entitled Philippus van Oostenrijk fondeur der Seven Wée-en geboeders gefonendeer int jaer 1498 (‘Philip van Oostenrijk fondateur der Seven Wée-en gebroeders gefondeert int jaer 1498’).
of Austria, founder of the Seven Sorrows confrères, founded in the year 1498\textsuperscript{11}). The manuscript takes the form of a property inventory, preceded by an introduction relating the confraternity’s history. It offers a detailed overview of the goods and title-deeds the confraternity acquired over time: charters, jewellery, liturgical ornaments, real estate, annuities, and foundations. The various acquisitions are situated in time and described within their historical context by providing metadata, including physical descriptions of the objects, dates of acquisition, the names of donor(s), artists/producers (in the case of artistic or luxury objects), and the confraternity’s members involved, references to official charters, property deeds, and the spatial, religious, and social contexts. In other words, through the inventory, the history of the Seven Sorrows confraternity becomes tangible.

This kind of source is generally considered to be a gold mine for historians, since such inventories contain a unique set of historical facts and data that, in other cases, can only be compiled after a long quest in the archives. As Otto Oexle has argued, however, these documents are not merely containers of historical evidence. They have to be understood likewise as historical constructions themselves, produced within a given context and with a specific intention.\textsuperscript{12} To apply this theory to the Brussels Seven Sorrows inventory, we will first devote attention to the physical characteristics of the document and briefly present its content. Based on internal and external evidence, we will then develop a hypothesis about the author’s identity and try to date the source as precisely as possible. On this basis, it will be possible to gain more insight into the ways in which the confraternity looked back at its own history, unravel the author’s motives for including metadata and historical details, identify the targeted audience, and to situate the inventory within the wider context of history writing among associations in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Low Countries.

### Description and Content of the Seven Sorrows Inventory

**Authorship and Dating**

The inventory is kept in the Brussels’ City Archives and belongs to the so-called Historical Archives, Register 1499.\textsuperscript{13} The document has the shape of a rather small handwritten register (15.5 × 20 cm) and counts 165 paper leafs, on which most pages have been written. The register is well preserved, although the ink has become faint in some instances. The inventory includes two seventeenth-century hands, which are clearly recognizable and easy to read. Most parts of the text have been written by the main hand, which appears

\textsuperscript{11} Archives of the City of Brussels/Archief van de Stad Brussel, Historical Archives/Historisch Archief (hereafter ASB, HA), Register 1499, p. 2. The confraternity was founded in March 1499 (n.s.), but in Brussels the new year started on Easter, which explains the use of the date 1498 (o.s.).


\textsuperscript{13} Charles Pergameni, Les archives historiques de la Ville de Bruxelles (Brussels Wauthoz-Legrand, 1943), p. 209. For a full codicological description and an edition of the inventory, see Brecht Dewilde and Bram Vannieuwenhuyze, ‘De zeventiende-eeuwe inventaris van de broederschap van Onze-Lieve-Vrouw van de Zeven Weeën in Brussel,’ Handelingen van de Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis, in press.
alternately four times with a second one.\textsuperscript{14} The reason for these alternations is hard to
determine, especially since this even happens once in the middle of a sentence. The scribes
are impossible to identify by the manuscript alone, since they did not leave any direct
indications in the text. Regardless of their identity, the confraternity probably did not hire
a clerk. Luckily, a comparison with a handwriting appearing in the Liber authenticus,
the confraternity’s membership register, makes it possible to identify the main hand as that of
Judocus Wouwermans.\textsuperscript{15} Wouwermans graduated from the University of Leuven in 1682
and had joined the confraternity of the Seven Sorrows upon his return to Brussels.\textsuperscript{16} He
was elected a provost (or officer) of the confraternity in 1684 and hereditary provost in
1696.\textsuperscript{17} Unfortunately, the identity of the second scribe of the inventory remains unknown.
Possibly another provost occasionally took over the pencil.

The attribution of the main handwriting to Judocus Wouwermans brings us to
the dating of the manuscript. The uniform and clear layout and handwriting – though
occasionally alternated by the second hand – seem to point to a rather short and systematic
editing process. The manuscript itself is not dated, but it includes many dates of which
the most recent is 28 February 1685.\textsuperscript{18} The manuscript may have then been written during
the year 1685, which corresponds with Wouwermans’ term as provost of the confrater-
nity. The text further refers to persons holding positions in the city council at the time of
its redaction. Among them, Adam de Blieck, ‘current mayor on behalf of the craft guild
nations and head of the Garland chamber’ is mentioned several times.\textsuperscript{19} De Blieck held
the office of city mayor elected by the craft guild nations during the years 1683-84 and 1684-
85.\textsuperscript{20} In the inventory he is also mentioned as the city’s treasurer,\textsuperscript{21} a position he occupied
for the periods of 1685-86 and 1686-87.\textsuperscript{22} These references could possibly indicate that
the manuscript was written during the lapse of time in which Adam de Blieck changed his
position as mayor to that of treasurer. In Brussels, the change of the magistracy generally
took place on 24 June, although the treasurer took up office as late as 1 October. In brief,
it seems that the manuscript was written in the course of the year 1685, perhaps during the
month June.

Layout and Structure

The manuscript’s layout is not conducive to everyday use: it does not include a summary
or an index. Moreover, the compilers did not paginate the manuscript, but pagination

\textsuperscript{14} The second hand appears from p. 13 above until the middle of p. 21; from p. 63 above until p. 64 below; on p. 69; from
the middle of p. 131 until the top of p. 135.
\textsuperscript{15} In the Liber authenticus, Wouwermans copied a contract between Peeter van Curtsem (acting as a spokesperson for the
priest and churchwardens of St Gorik) and Jacques de Condé (acting as a spokesperson for the provosts of the confraternity)
(ASB, HA, Register 3413, fols 9\textsuperscript{st}-10\textsuperscript{st}– information provided by Susie Speakman Sutch).
\textsuperscript{16} Judocus Wouwermans, De sponsalibus et matrimonio (Leuven: typis Martini Hullegaerde antè Academiam, 1682).
\textsuperscript{17} ASB, HA, Register 3413, fols 332\textsuperscript{v} and 334\textsuperscript{v}.
\textsuperscript{18} ASB, HA, Register 1499, p. 59. The year 1685 is also mentioned on p. 68.
\textsuperscript{19} ‘Adam de Blicke, regen woorden borgemeester uijt de natie ende hoofman van de Crans camer’ (ASB, HA, Register
1499, p. 62); ‘monsieur Adam de Blicke, borgemeeester deser stadt Brussel ende hoofman deser Cranksamere’ (p. 88);
‘monsieur Adam de Blicke, borgemeeester deser stadt Brussel’ (p. 106); ‘monsieur Adam de Blicke, borgemeeester deser stadt
Brussel’ (p. 128); ‘monsieur Adam de Blicke, borgemeeester deser stadt Brussele’ (p. 147).
\textsuperscript{20} Alexandre Henne and Alphonse Wauters, Histoire de la ville de Bruxelles, 4 vols (Brussels: Perichon, 1845; repr. 1975),
II, pp. 552-53.
\textsuperscript{21} ‘Monsieur Adam de Blicke, rentmeester deser stadt Brussele’ (ASB, HA, Register 1499, p. 67).
\textsuperscript{22} Henne and Wauters, Histoire de Bruxelles, II, p. 553.
was added in pencil afterwards, at least up to page 75. Further on the pagination appears irregularly, and after page 89, it disappears totally. Despite the lack of index and pagination, navigation in the manuscript was possible by means of chapter titles, which indicate the base structure of the text. Although the authors further structured the text by using full stops and page breaks, it is still awkward to look up properties, objects or facts recorded in the document. In brief, the inventory seems very impractical to use as a manual. Illustrations, rubrics, and page decorations are completely lacking.

Although not apparent at first sight, the text can be divided into four different parts. The first part recounts the roots, genesis, and history of the confraternity (pp. 3-24). It includes, amongst others, the foundation of St Gorik’s church and the chapel of Our Lady (p. 3), the gift of the chapel to the rhetoricians of the Lily and the institution of the Seven Sorrows devotion (pp. 4-5), the alleged foundation of the confraternity by Philip the Fair (p. 6), the confirmation of the confraternity and the grant of indulgences by different popes and church leaders (pp. 7-15), the names of the first chapel masters or provosts (p. 15), the occurrence of a miracle during the first year (p. 16), the organization of the procession and its finances (pp. 16-18), the appointment of provosts among the rhetoricians of The Garland of Mary from 1585 onwards (pp. 18-19), the patronage by the Emperor Maximilian and the Archdukes Albert and Isabella (pp. 19-21), and, finally, the building of the sacristy in the churchyard of St Gorik (pp. 21-24).

The second part of the manuscript contains the ‘Generaeelen inventaris van de meubelen van Onse Live Vrouwe van Seven Wee’en’ (General inventory of the movables of Our Lady of the Seven Sorrows), as the chapter title reads (pp. 25-48). It starts with the description of the statue of Our Lady of the Seven Sorrows and a series of paintings by Wensel Cobergher (p. 25). The inventory continues with all of the items owned by the confraternity: the wooden altarpiece (p. 26), the silver (pp. 27-31), the copper work (pp. 32-33), the gilded woodwork (p. 34), the skirts of Our Lady (pp. 35-36), her cloaks (p. 37), her veils (p. 38), the copes and chasubles (pp. 39-40), the awnings (pp. 41-42), the frontals (p. 42), the linen (p. 43), some other movables from the chapel (p. 44), the paintings (p. 46), and, finally, the woodwork (pp. 47-48). Most objects are described, and in some cases, details on the use, location, artists, expenses, and date of acquisition are added.

The following part of the document relates to the genesis and ‘antiquity’ of the houses of the confraternity (pp. 49-68). First, the author elaborates on the acquisition of a yard and a stable, located in the place called Holland in front of St Gorik’s church, in order to store the tableaux vivants that were carried during the confraternity’s annual procession (pp. 49-51). In 1553, Emperor Charles V allowed the confraternity to buy a parcel of land with two houses, located on the ‘ditch of the White Ladies’ (Wittevrouwengracht, today the Old Grain market), where a stone shed was built, which was reconstructed as the ‘Big house of Our Lady also called the Chamber of the Garland’ (Groot huijs van Onse Lieve Vrouwen van Seven Wee’en gesijt die Crans kamere) in 1624 (pp. 51-58). In 1677, the confraternity also bought the house between its ‘Big house’ and the yard of the hand-bow guild (pp. 60-68). This so-called ‘Small house of Our Lady below the Chamber of the Garland’ (Het Klijn Lieve Vrouwen huijs onder de Crans kamere) was rented to a private person (p. 59). This part ends with a list of redeemed mortgages (pp. 69-74).

Finally, the last and largest part of the manuscript enumerates all the interest to be paid to or by the confraternity (pp. 75-155). Because the list contains such detailed
information extending back many decades, it must have been based largely on the confraternity’s archives, containing an annotated register and the vouchers, which were kept in a chest. In all cases, additional details are given on the date of acquisition, the amount of the interest, the pledges, the generous donors, the current payers, and the paydays. In some cases the author also mentioned for what purpose(s) the money was intended.

**Forms and Functions of History Writing by Associations**

**History Writing and Historical Culture**

Histories produced by associations tend to be rather short. At best, guilds and confraternities devoted a few pages to their past, but generally a few lines recording the collective memories about the origins and most important events of the association sufficed. That does not mean, however, that the associations’ interest in the past was not genuine or only limited. On the contrary: history writing among guilds and confraternities was part of a broader and much more varied historical culture. Associations did not limit history production to written texts. Historical narratives were inserted in a complex visual culture while historical consciousness was present in daily practices. References to the past are apparent in art, theatre, rituals, and other cultural expressions, in record keeping and archival practices, in the care for the association’s material heritage and time-honoured traditions, and in the commemoration of deceased guild members or important events (e.g. jubilees, centenaries).

The Bruges confraternity of Our Lady of the Dry Tree provides a fine example of the connection between history and visual culture. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, two former provosts conducted research into the origins of their association, for which they consulted the archives of the Order of Friars Minor convent (host of the confraternity’s chapel) and interviewed some elder members. The results of their investigation were not written down, however, but were communicated through a painting depicting the Virgin Mary standing in a withered tree, along with Jason and the fleece as a reference to the alleged founder of the confraternity, the duke of Burgundy Philip the Good.

The Brussels Seven Sorrows confraternity merged history and visual culture in a similar way. According to the inventory, there was a painting hanging in the chapel

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commemorating the foundation of the confraternity. The register further lists two carved angels holding a series of genealogical emblems relating to the alleged founders of the confraternity: Philip the Fair, Margaret of Austria, and Emperor Maximilian. Visual culture and history might also have been merged during the confraternity procession or in the theatre plays staged by the rhetoric chamber of The Garland of Mary. In the following, however, we focus on history writing.

Arrangement of Information

There are various ways to structure a historical account. According to Tom Verschaffel, chronology was the most common organizing principle in eighteenth-century religious, local and regional histories. Facts and events were arranged according to their succession in time, although there were numerous ways to divide that time (years, centuries, dynasties, aetates, etc.). Chronology turned out to be a convenient solution to unify isolated facts into a coherent narrative, but it had the side effect that related events could be separated out in time, which made the story appear like a loose collection of data.

Unlike this dominant way of arranging information, the content of the Seven Sorrows inventory is arranged by topic. True, chronology has its part in the Seven Sorrows inventory, but it is not its leitmotiv. The leading principle here is the thematic division into history and property. Both themes are separated by the chapter titles: the history section (pp. 2-24) is announced by the caption Instellingen van het broederschap (‘Foundation of the confraternity’), while the property section (pp. 25-157) starts with the heading Generaëlen inventaris van de meubelen (‘General inventory of the movables’). At first sight, this is how the register is structured. However, if we take a closer look, we discover that history and property are not clear-cut categories at all, but that they are heavily intertwined in both sections. The history section includes an expanded overview of the confraternity’s indulgences and how and when they were obtained, running from 1494 up to 1667, and an account of the acquisition history of the confraternity chapel and the building of the sacristy in the churchyard of St Gorik. The property section contains an inventory of the confraternity’s actual belongings, but this ‘property list’ is combined with a historical view of the context of the acquisition of the goods.

The lack of clear-cut categories makes the Seven Sorrows inventory an interesting example of the intertwining of history writing and property listing. The confraternity’s history is not hung up on chronology – as was the case in many other contemporary histories – but on its possessions. The author reconstructed the history of the association on the basis of property. At the same time, the addition of historical data to the inventoried effects evokes the idea of a clearly defined historical patrimony. This idea is all the more apparent when the author writes about lost, damaged, or stolen property. In his eyes, they undoubtedly belonged to the confraternity’s patrimony. While listing the garments of the statue of the Virgin and the infant Jesus, for instance, the author inserted a quick note that one robe

25 ASB, HA, Register 1499, p. 46.
26 ASB, HA, Register 1499, p. 47.
27 Verschaffel, De hoed en de hond, pp. 273-81.
28 ASB, HA, Register 1499, pp. 7-15.
29 ASB, HA, Register 1499, pp. 21-24.
was stolen.\textsuperscript{30} He did not hesitate, however, to quote the lost skirt among the garments that still hung in the confraternity’s wardrobe. In a similar vein, effects already sold or foregone profits were listed as if they still made up the confraternity’s actual assets.\textsuperscript{31} In other words, looking back from 1685, the author gave the impression that the possessions constituted a unity, which existed through time and in that way reflected the confraternity’s history.

Sources and Selection Mechanisms

To recount the history of the Seven Sorrows confraternity, the author extensively made use of what Marc Jacobs has called ‘powerful texts’ (\textit{krachtige teksten}): recognized and authoritative records with evidential value that surpass oral testimonies, memories, and indirect proof.\textsuperscript{32} Most of the author’s information is summarized from such powerful texts: indulgences, privileges, ordinances, charters, title-deeds, accounts, etc. The practical reasons for this are evident, but at the same time it is remarkable that the author actually identified his sources as if he understood the concept of powerful texts, given the precise information and type of document to which he referred. On page 10, for instance, the author reported that the confraternity obtained an indulgence for those attending the Seven Sorrows procession in 1532. However, he did not end with this statement but continued to support his claim by referring his readers to a bull of Pope Clement VII, which was confirmed by Cardinal Laurentius (Lorenzo Campeggio) in Brussels on 12 January 1532.\textsuperscript{33} The acquisition of the indulgence seemed almost secondary to the very possession of the papal bull. Similar examples of statements supported by references to official records are found throughout the register. Each time, the author specified the type of document (\textit{e.g.} bull, account, title-deed) and gave a precise dating (day, month, year, \textit{gesta}), named the place of publication, and identified the people involved (dignitaries in particular). He explicitly added whether his sources were still present in the archives of the confraternity. Clearly, the express reference to these important documents was an excuse for demonstrating social capital rather than being inspired by methodological concerns.

In addition, the Seven Sorrows inventory may be compared with the cartularies that were produced during the High Middle Ages. According to Patrick Geary, such collections of charters are considered to have served both administrative and commemorative purposes. These combined functions ‘greatly affected the form of these collections, as

\textsuperscript{30} ‘Item, eenen witten geblomden silveren moiren rock geboort met vier goude kanten. Hier van is het rockxken van kindeken gestolen’ (ASB, HA, Register 1499, p. 35).

\textsuperscript{31} The author mentions, for instance, the mortgage interest offered by lord Willem Borreman in his legacy from 1504, which was amortized the same year (ASB, HA, Register 1499, p. 99).


\textsuperscript{33} ‘Het voorschreven broederschap is desgelijks geconfirmeert bij den cardinael Laurentius, als blijkt in de bulle daer af sijnde gegeven binnen Brussel in date pridie idus januarii in het jaer vijftien hondert twee en dertigh, in het negenste jaer des pausdoms Clemens den Sevensten, in de welcke hij is seven jaeren ende seven quarantenen aflaets verleenende aen alle de ghene die de processie van Onse Lieve Vrouwe van Seven Weeen sullen accompaigneren, hun in staet van gratie gestelt hebbende, ende de kapelle van Seven Weeen besoeckende, hunen Vader Onsen ende Weest Gegroet Maria lesende ende Seven Weeen mediterende. Ende aen alle die gene die alle vrijdagen in de maent van meert oft op den Goeden Vrijdagh kommen besoecken de capelle van Onse Lieve Vrouwe van Seven Weeen, is verleenende hondert daegen aflaet als blijkt in de voorschreve bulle’ (ASB, HA, Register 1499, p. 10).
well as the principles of inclusion and exclusion of their contents.\textsuperscript{34} The reproduction of original records in the cartularies is subject to selection, suppression, manipulation and interpolation, which ‘determined what access to the past would be available to future generations’\textsuperscript{35} The compiler of the Seven Sorrows inventory applied similar techniques. Consider, for example, the transaction between the churchwardens of St Gorik and the provost of the Seven Sorrows confraternity, dated 28 June 1660. According to the inventory, the churchwardens of St Gorik endowed the confraternity with a parcel in the churchyard to build a sacristy there, the donation of which attested to the success of the devotion to the Lady of Sorrows and to the confraternity’s ‘high esteem’ (\textit{groote estime}).\textsuperscript{36} The author of the inventory clearly interpreted the transaction as a donation. The text of the contract has been copied in full in the confraternity’s member registry, the \textit{Liber authenticus}, which allows us to verify the information presented in the inventory.\textsuperscript{37} In reality, the churchwardens only granted the usufruct of the parcel with permission to build a sacristy. The contract states that the churchwardens retained their title to the church space and the churchyard, which meant that the confraternity was not allowed to build an extra entrance to the sacristy from the churchyard. Furthermore, the use of the sacristy was restricted to religious services and could not be used for other purposes.\textsuperscript{38} This example shows that the compiler of the Seven Sorrows inventory did not literally copy the powerful texts he employed. Instead, he outlined their content in a schematic or brief way, which allowed him to leave information aside or to slightly modify the information for the benefit of his narrative.

The history of the Seven Sorrows confraternity is conceived as a series of highlights. Important events and acquisition of properties or privileges are carefully listed and described at length. Losses, outstanding debts, or negative occurrences, on the contrary, remain unmentioned or are only mentioned in passing. Discharged annuities are explicitly inventoried to avoid the perception that the confraternity is not able to fulfil its financial obligations.\textsuperscript{39} Annuities for which the author ‘could not find any voucher’ are conveniently ‘considered as settled’.\textsuperscript{40} As mentioned above, his purpose was to reinforce the idea of the unity of the historical patrimony. However, an exception is made when loans are contracted or when properties are sold for the purpose of acquiring more, new, or better goods.\textsuperscript{41} Here, the idea of accumulation is more important. The author stressed the expansion

\textsuperscript{34} Patrick J. Geary, \textit{Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium} (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), pp. 81-107, quotation on p. 84.
\textsuperscript{36} ASB, HA, Register 1499, pp. 21-23.
\textsuperscript{37} ASB, HA, Register 3413, fols 9-10v.
\textsuperscript{38} ‘Sonder dat de voorseide ontfangeren, ofte hunne naercommelinghen op het voorseide kerckhoff sullen vermoegen te maeccken eene deure, tsij om te hebben acces oft entree tot het voorseide kerckhoff, oft andersints ende dat sij ontfangeren de voorseide sacristieje niet voorder oft andersints en sullen gebruickhen dan op den voet ende maniere gelijck sij tot heden de voorseide cappelle van onse L. Vre. hebben gebruickht, ende den dinst is gedaen geweest ende vervolgens, dat de voorseide constituanten, ende ontfangeren sullen blijven in hunne oude gerechticheden, ende privilegien’ (ASB, HA, Register 3413, fol. 10v).
\textsuperscript{39} ‘Dese notie wort alhier gestelt op dat wie voorders eenigh neerstigher ondersoek soude willen doen, niet en souden denecken datter eenighen last ofte obligatie daer toe staet en niet volbracht en soude worden’ (ASB, HA, Register 1499, p. 69).
\textsuperscript{40} ‘Van de welcke men geene brieven is vindende, ergo wort geoordeelt te sijn gequeten’ (ASB, HA, Register 1499, pp. 73-74).
\textsuperscript{41} ASB, HA, Register 1499, pp. 51, 88.
of the confraternity’s collection to add to its already impressive status. As a result, the history of the confraternity, written on the basis of its properties, should be understood as a (hi)story of progress.

Of course, this positive account must not be understood as an objective representation of the confraternity’s history. The author made little or no effort to mark interruptions and breaks or to show evolutions. Though changes in the Seven Sorrows confraternity between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are not evident or manifest in the inventory, a closer look at the dates mentioned in the manuscript yields some interesting trends with regard to the variations over time. Figure 1 presents the frequency of entries in the inventory, rearranged per decade. It makes clear that some periods stand out: the foundation period in the late fifteenth century, the period of Catholic reform starting with the reign of Albert and Isabella, and the decades before the inventory was written. The high frequency in the last decades of the seventeenth century probably reveals the author’s interest in the recent history of the confraternity and/or that he had recourse to oral testimonies by the confraternity’s members and his former colleagues, who evidently knew much more about their own involvement. It is no surprise that he occasionally mentioned people who were in charge at the time, like Adam de Blieck.

Most striking is the lack of references to the position of the Seven Sorrows confraternity during the Calvinist reign in Brussels (1581–85). Many guilds and confraternities – in Brussels as well as in other towns – suffered material losses and a decline in membership numbers during that period, which forced them to suspend their activities or to go underground.42 The Brussels archery guilds, for instance, were abrogated in 1580. The confraternity of St Barbara stopped its activities and administration in 1578 and brought its silverware and other valuables to safety, only to resume after the liberation of the city by Farnese in 1585.43 Catholic services and ritual expressions of Catholic faith were contested and subsequently abandoned from 1577 to 1585.44 At the same time, Brussels’ churches were sacked and appropriated for use for Protestant services. In 1581, Catholic services were prohibited altogether.45

The Seven Sorrows inventory does not provide details about this episode, but it is very likely that the confraternity experienced the same difficulties as the other associations did. The registration of new members and officers in the Liber authenticus stopped after 1555 (except for the registration of a monastic community in 1569), and restarted only in 1586.46 Furthermore, Figure 1 reveals that the frequency of activities was low during the 1570s and 80s. Compared to the first three quarters of the sixteenth century and to the seventeenth century, barely any deed, event, or acquisition is listed for the period 1570-85.

42 Jan de Pottre, Dagboek van Jan de Pottre 1549–1602, ed. by B. de St. Genois (Ghent: C. Annoot-Braeckman, 1861), p. 113.
44 De Pottre, Dagboek, pp. 34, 37, 43, 63, 80-81, 94.
46 ASB, HA, Register 3413, fols 283v, 284v, and 288v.
The lack of inventoried objects with a (demonstrable) fifteenth- or sixteenth-century origin indicates that the confraternity presumably suffered material losses as well. On the other hand, the profusion of entries related to the year of Reconciliation and the following years, and the large investments in art, furniture, and chapel decorations during the first decades of the seventeenth century point to a new start during the reign of Albert and Isabella.

In short, through his selection of facts the author produced a linear history of the confraternity, a story of continuity and progress. He conveyed the idea that things got better, larger, and bigger. Above all it is a story of accumulation – of splendour, wealth, and networks – in which there was no space for crisis, decline, or any other incident.

Processing of Information

Guilds and confraternities were obsessive in their concern about origins and age, since these defined their position in the social pecking order and their access to privileges. There are numerous examples of guilds that pushed their foundation back in time, to the building of a city, the emergence of trade as the governing principle of human interaction, and even to the time of Solomon’s temple, Noah’s ark, or the creation of man.47 Here as well, the history of the Seven Sorrows confraternity starts well before its formal institution. In the opening lines of the inventory, the author mentioned the foundation of St Gorik’s church.

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by Count Lambert the Stammerer, who died on the battlefield in 1063 (sic), followed by
the construction of the chapel of Our Lady at the end of the thirteenth century, and the
institutionalization of the devotion to the Virgin Mary through the grant of an indulgence
in 1401. These three 'historical facts' selected by the author provided evidence for the
ancient roots of the Seven Sorrows devotion, and attested to the association's historical
importance and its prestige.

At the same time, this 'narrative trick' inserts the history of the confraternity
into both the history of St Gorik's church and the ecclesiastical history of the town.
However, a striking 'mistake' in the Seven Sorrows inventory is the confusion between the
Count of Leuven Lambert I (d. 1015, on the battlefield of Florennes), his son the Count
of Leuven Lambert II called Balderik (d. 1062-1063), and Lambert 'the Stammerer', a
twelfth-century priest and reformer from Liège. It is not known who was responsible for
this confusion, but it is probably due to the merging of two traditions which explain the
foundation of St Gorik's church. The episode is based, firstly, on the foundation tradition
established by Hennen van Merchtenen in his Cornicke van Brabant, written in 1414. Van
Merchtenen himself had already mixed up two foundation stories, mentioned separately
in Jan van Boendale’s Brabantsche Yeesten from the first half of the fourteenth century:
on the one hand, the foundation of the canonical chapters of Brussels and Leuven by the
Count of Leuven Lambert II called Balderik in the middle of the eleventh century; on
the other hand the construction of a residence and a chapel on the isle of St Gorik by the
Duke of Lorraine Charles of France during the tenth century. The second source for the
foundation story in the Seven Sorrows inventory is an alternative tradition that existed in
St Gorik’s church, which attributed the foundation of the church to the Count of Leuven
Lambert I, as is explained by the phrase Lambertus comes fundator hujus ecclesie ('Count
Lambert founder of this church') written on a church pillar. By creatively merging both
traditions, the author of the inventory shows that the history of the confraternity was inex-
tricably bound up with that of St Gorik’s church and with the early ecclesiastical history
of the city itself.

Another remarkable feature of the Seven Sorrows inventory is the author’s
tendency to provide metadata about the properties listed: physical descriptions of the
objects, dates of acquisition, cost price or exchange value in the case of gifts, the names of
donor(s), the artists or craftsmen in the case of artistic or high-value items, and the confrat-
ternity’s members involved in the commission. The author mentions, for instance, that
the wooden structure of the confraternity altar was ordered and paid by the noblewoman
Philippina van Busleiden in 1655. The sculpted frame of the Seven Sorrows statue and a
pair of confessionals were partly financed by the Archdukes Albert and Isabella, and the
construction of the frame lasted from 1615 until 1616 and was carried out by cabinetmaker

48 ASB, HA, Register 1499, pp. 3-4.
49 The text of Hennen van Merchtenen’s chronicle reads: ‘Ende des grave Lambrecht waest die de canesie stecht Sente
Peters, te Lovene, in stede, ende te Brussel, Sente Goedelen mede. Ende hij woende te Brussel binnen tusschen .ii. erm van
der Sennen, daer hij i. capelle dede’ (Hennen van Merchtenen’s Cornicke van Brabant (1414), ed. by Guido Gezelle (Ghent:
50 Bram Vannieuwenhuyze, ‘L’histoire des origines et du développement de Bruxelles, est-elle née au Moyen Âge?’, in Ab urbe
condita … Fonder et refonder la ville: récits et représentations (second Moyen Âge-premier XVIe siècle). Actes du colloque international
51 Henne and Wauters, Histoire de Bruxelles, I, pp. 22-23.
Francois Cosijns for the sum of 850 guilders.52 The Seven Sorrows inventory thus provides far more than a trivial list of possessions and properties. It reconstructs the context of acquisition and in so doing it reveals a rich culture of patronage and gift-giving. The author does not calculate an overall estimate of the confraternity’s means, but by providing a number of specific, suggestive details, he evokes at least the impression of splendour and wealth. At the same time, he maps the confraternity’s network of patrons among the Brussels’ elite.

A similar ‘network approach’ can be found in property inventories of other associations across Europe,53 such as the guild of Our Lady of the Dry Tree in Bruges or the confraternity of the Miraculous Sacrament in Leuven.54 In the latter case, the donors’ motives for gift-giving are recorded as well.55 Behind these metadata (the dates in particular) there is a further act of appropriation. The confraternity’s aggregated property clearly possesses historical roots. However, given that the objects described are still part of the confraternity’s actual belongings, they constitute a direct link between present and past. In this way, the author of the Seven Sorrows inventory creates a subtle sense of dynamics in his – for the rest – rather rigid historical account.

Author’s Intentions and Readers’ Experience

This last section compares the Seven Sorrows inventory with other histories produced by associations in order to reveal the intentions of the author and the audience targeted. Some historical accounts were intended for publication. Many confraternities printed small-sized volumes containing a few pages on the foundation history and development of the association, in addition to regulations, model prayers, instructions for a devout way of life, surveys of benefits connected to membership, and so forth. Other histories were not duplicated by the printing press, but were nonetheless generally available since they were written down in splendid books accessible to the public in the confraternity’s chapels or other places.56 Still other histories were produced ad hoc, in communication with the authorities, for instance, or in court documents and were not intended to be distributed at all.57 The Bruges guild of the butchers even integrated a history of its most memorable actions in its printed New Year’s greetings for the year 1788.58

52 ‘Item, het houtwerk van den autaer, het welck heeft doen maken de edele jouffrouwe Philippina van Buselijden ende bekostight in het jaer sesthien hondert vijf en vijftigh. Item, het schrijn houte wercke waer in de Seven W eeen gesneden met twee bichtstoelen, welck maken van die schrijn werck ten deele heeft bekostight den hertogh Albertus ende Isabella, sijne huijsvrouwe, saeliger memorie, waer in hunne wapenen gestelt sijn, welcke van sneijden hebben gecost met negen Bourgonsche cruijcen dri en twintigh gulden. Het voorseijde schrijn werck is gemackt ofte begonst in het jaer een duijsent ses hondert en vijfthien ende voleijndt in het jaer een duijsent ses hondert sesthien door Francois Cosijns schrijnwercker ende heeft gekost volgens accoort acht hondert vijftigh gulden, sonder daer onder begrepen de bichtstoelen ofte gesneden werck’ (ASB, HA, Register 1499, p. 26).


55 Leuven, State Archive/Rijksarchief Leuven, Archive of the church of St James /Archief Sint-Jacobskerk, no. 719 (Liber confraternitatis Sanctissimi Miraculosi apud P.P. Augustinianos Lovanii), fols 85ff (1618-1817) and fols 113ff (1558-1773).


Recently, Susie Speakman Sutch and Anne-Laure Van Bruaene demonstrated how the Habsburg dynasty promoted the devotion to the Lady of Sorrows in order to create ‘a large spiritual and emotional community that identified with the Burgundian-Habsburg dynasty and its ideology of peace and territorial unity’. Key to the promotion of the Seven Sorrows devotion was a network of confraternities in the major cities of Flanders, Brabant, Holland and Zeeland. In 1517, the young future Emperor Charles V ordered Jan van Coudenberghe to redact a volume that retraced the foundation history of this confraternity network. The resulting volume, written in Latin and printed in 1519, was translated into Dutch by the Jesuit Jacob Stratius in 1622. At the request of the Archdukes Albert and Isabella, another book was published in 1615, in both French and Dutch. It contains a brief introduction to the foundation history of the Brussels confraternity, besides a series of spiritual exercises and meditations on the sorrows of the Virgin.

Both printed volumes and their translations were primarily aimed at the promotion of the Seven Sorrows devotion and the confraternity network. The 1519 volume by Van Coudenberghe highlighted the role of Philip the Fair and the pious motives of the Burgundian-Habsburg dynasty. Great efforts were made to explain the miracles that led to the institution of the various confraternity chapters and to defend the theological accuracy of the Seven Sorrows cult. It was the opinion of the court that in the period of civil war and social unrest following the death of Mary of Burgundy, contemplation of the Sorrows of the Virgin might bring peace to the people and free the country of fear and terror. According to Van Coudenberghe, the cult of the Seven Sorrows flourished precisely because it was a joint project of the Burgundian-Habsburg rulers and the ordinary people. Speakman Sutch and Van Bruaene situate the writings of Van Coudenberghe in what they call the ‘Habsburg theatre state’. The same imaginations, identifications, and religious sensitivities were recuperated by Albert and Isabella in the early seventeenth century in order to support the Catholic Reformation. In both cases, the printed histories of the Seven Sorrows confraternity(-ies) served a public goal: the promotion of the cult and membership of the confraternity.

The Seven Sorrow inventory – to return to our source – serves different goals and perhaps also targets another audience. The audience and goals are not manifest in the preparation of the manuscript, but we will propose a possible intention below. The register

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60 Jan van Coudenberghe, Ortuus progressus et impedimenta fraternitatis beatissimae virginis Mariae de passione quae dicitur de septem doloribus (Antwerp: Michiel Hillen van Hoochstraten, 1519).
61 Jacob Stratius, Onse L. Vrouwe der seven weeen met de mirakelen, gezelden, ende misse der selver: ingelyckx den oorspronck, ende voortgang der broederschap (Antwerp: Guilliam Lesteens, 1622).
62 Briefe relation de la confrairie des Sept Douleurs de Nostre Dame instituée par le serenissime prince Philippe de haute mémoire, Archiducz d’Autriche, Duc de Bourgogne, de Brabant etc., en l’an de Nostre Seigneur 1498 en l’église de S. Géry en Bruxelles (Brussels: Hubert Anthoine, 1615); Cort verhael van het broederschap vande Seve[en] Weeden van Onser Lieve Vrouwe. Ingehestet by den doorluchtichsten Prince hooger memorie Philippus Eertzher adec van Oostenrijck, Hertocht van Bourgoignen, van Brabant, etc. int jaer ons Heeren 1498. binnen der kerkew van S. Guericx tot Brussel. Gheedeleeert aen den Magistraet der selver stadt [...] Overheeset uyt het François, door F.I.V.A.M. (Brussels: Huybrecht Anthoon, 1615). This book was translated into Spanish as well; see Annick Delfosse, La ‘Protectrice du Pays-Bas’: Stratégies politiques et figures de la Vierge dans les Pays-Bas espagnols (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), p. 139.
63 Stratius, Onse L. Vrouwe der seven ween, pp. 188-94.
65 Cort verhael van het broederschap, pp. 13-14; Stratius, Onse L. Vrouwe der Seven Ween, preface ‘Aenden devoten Leser’. 
A Tangible Past

bears no visible user traces, nor signs of wear. Its size and layout are modest, since the manuscript does not contain any illuminations, rubrications, or page decorations. Although the handwriting is neat and there are barely any cross-outs or alterations, the manuscript gives a rather sloppy impression. Hence, it seems doubtful that the register was ever used as a showpiece, to be displayed on the altar in the confraternity chapel for public inspection and admiration. Nor could it be interpreted as the rough copy of a text destined for publication, for its structure and content do not correspond to that of other confraternity booklets.

The Seven Sorrows register does, however, possess clear similarities to the register of the Leuven hand-bow guild of St Sebastian, which was begun in 1638. In this volume the overkoningstabel (superintendent) and lord of Lovenjoel Ferdinand van Spoelberch (1596-1675) thematically classified all knowledge and memories about the history, traditions, achievements, and privileges of his beloved guild. Although the content is neatly arranged and presented in a pleasant handwriting, illustrations and decorations are completely lacking. As is the case with the Seven Sorrows inventory, the St Sebastian register only contains a plain text, which indicates that it was not meant for public display. In the preface and dedication, Spoelberch made abundantly clear that the register was intended for the inner circle of guild members. He argued that many guild traditions had fallen into disuse, were corrupted by time or were simply forgotten. He explained the causes for this decline in an allegorical way, as a severe winter and a biting northern wind, which allude to the period of the Dutch Revolt when many associations were no longer functioning or were losing legitimacy as cornerstones of the urban fabric. A ‘return to the past’, as Spoelberch proposed, would help his fellow guild members to arm themselves against outside mockery and would be effective to regain their lost pride.

A steady position requires firm roots. For Spoelberch and the archers of the St Sebastian guild, history and tradition were of major importance for creating a collective identity. Their aim was not so much to present a comprehensive, well-structured account of the foundation and further development of the association, but to picture – or imagine – a continuity between the present and the (idealized) past. In this case, the guild was ‘calling in the past to redress the balance of the present’, as Lawrence Stone put it. It was gazing back to remove that awkward feeling that things were not what they used to be.

The same mechanism seems to apply to the Brussels confraternity of the Seven Sorrows. Though a direct reason for the compilation of the inventory has not surfaced, it might be inspired by a similar concern to increase internal cohesion and corporate identity by taking up the past. In the wake of the Catholic Reform, the Seven Sorrows confraternity regained its prominent position with the support of Albert and Isabella. The archdukes recognized the importance of guilds and confraternities for state formation and confession alization, which resulted in a rich culture of patronage. By 1650, however, the dynamics

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66 Brussels, Collection of Philippe d’Arschot: Antiquiteiten ende privilegien der oude, groete, ende edele hand-boge-gulde binnen dese vermaerde boot-stadt van Loven, c. 1638, with additions up to 1795. For a copy of this manuscript, see: Leuven, University Archives/Universiteitsarchief Leuven, P98: Archives of the Family Spoelberch de Lovenjoel/Archief van de familie Spoelberch de Lovenjoel, Annex.
of the Catholic Reform were waning.\textsuperscript{69} It is not yet clear to what extent the Seven Sorrows confraternity suffered from this development and whether or not it could uphold its position as a cornerstone of the Brussels urban and religious fabric. The inventory demonstrates that a need was felt to collect the memories and the available information about the history and the artefacts of the confraternity. Yet whether this was inspired by a feeling of discomfort with the present functioning of the association or whether this fitted within a new emerging interest in history among broad layers of the Brussels society is difficult to establish.

**Conclusion: A Tangible History**

Until now, not much research has been done on history writing by early modern associations. This article argues that the treatment of the past might vary within a single association, depending on which goal was achieved and which audience was targeted. Our analysis suggests that the Seven Sorrows inventory was destined for the inner circle of confraternity members or at least for a subgroup of board members and affiliates. The internal history was probably used to forge a collective identity. Such a strategy is not unusual, as it is easy to draw a parallel with monastery and abbey histories from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, for instance.\textsuperscript{70}

Interesting, however, is that the author of the Seven Sorrows inventory wrote or compiled a history on the basis of objects or privileges supported by official documents. The author codified the history of the Seven Sorrows confraternity as if there had been no changes or decline through time. On the contrary, readers received a story of continuity, unity, and progress, based on the subtle selection of what to describe and what to leave aside. Such narrative procedure conveys the impression of a prestigious confraternity with a considerable supply of economic and social capital.

But the inventory does more: it makes the confraternity’s history tangible. The objects in the confraternity’s possession are presented as a tangible history, as souvenirs of the past. By looking at the objects described in the inventory, by touching them or by participating in the activities amidst them, the confraternity members might experience the history of their association. The Seven Sorrows inventory, then, is much more than a mere account of the confraternity’s history; it serves as a manual for a historic sensation and evokes the great days of the association by means of a guided tour along the confraternity’s patrimony. Precisely this experience-oriented approach of the Seven Sorrows inventory is one that differs from the approach of the printed confraternity booklets, whose main goal was to produce propaganda and to inspire new members. In any case, the confraternity’s use of the past to pursue multiple objectives reflects the growing importance of and interest in history in Brussels’ culture and society.


\textsuperscript{70} Verschaffel, *De hoed en de hond*, pp. 29-34.