



Paying Homage: The Participation of Guild Confraternities in Archbishopal Entries into Tarragona

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Volume 31, Number 2, Fall 2020

IBERIAN CONFRATERNITIES AND URBAN SOUNDSCAPES

URI: <https://id.erudit.org/iderudit/1100120ar>

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.33137/confrat.v31i2.38069>

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Publisher(s)

Iter Press

ISSN

1180-0682 (print)

2293-7579 (digital)

[Explore this journal](#)

Cite this article

González, S. (2020). Paying Homage: The Participation of Guild Confraternities in Archbishopal Entries into Tarragona. *Confraternitas*, 31(2), 36–62. <https://doi.org/10.33137/confrat.v31i2.38069>

Article abstract

The original significance of the public entry of a new archbishop into Tarragona lies in the fact that the city, through its confraternities, honoured one of its social elite with a popular celebration. Urban government was based upon two authorities: the king and the archbishop. In Tarragona, a city of deeply rooted customs and traditions, the entry ritual remained almost unchanged from medieval times to the modern era. Guild confraternities were active participants in urban ritual, with their dances, figures, and fantastic animals, and thus created a nexus of identity among the urban community as a whole. Detailed descriptions in municipal chronicles make it possible to study which confraternities existed in Tarragona, and in what ways they participated in the festive celebrations and were connected to the social network, as, for a brief moment, they enjoyed an activity far removed from the daily grind of work. The aim of this article is to observe how the ecosystem of guild confraternities in Tarragona varied little over time, how they always participated with the same dance and, as a result, how the soundscape of those dances became a characteristic soundmark of urban ceremony there.

Paying Homage: The Participation of Guild Confraternities in Archiepiscopal Entries into Tarragona

Sergi González González

Summary: The original significance of the public entry of a new archbishop into Tarragona lies in the fact that the city, through its confraternities, honoured one of its social elite with a popular celebration. Urban government was based upon two authorities: the king and the archbishop. In Tarragona, a city of deeply rooted customs and traditions, the entry ritual remained almost unchanged from medieval times to the modern era. Guild confraternities were active participants in urban ritual, with their dances, figures, and fantastic animals, and thus created a nexus of identity among the urban community as a whole. Detailed descriptions in municipal chronicles make it possible to study which confraternities existed in Tarragona, and in what ways they participated in the festive celebrations and were connected to the social network, as, for a brief moment, they enjoyed an activity far removed from the daily grind of work. The aim of this article is to observe how the ecosystem of guild confraternities in Tarragona varied little over time, how they always participated with the same dance and, as a result, how the soundscape of those dances became a characteristic soundmark of urban ceremony there.

Daily life for members of guild confraternities in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century society in the Iberian peninsula, as elsewhere, revolved around two major poles: work and brotherhood.¹ These fundamental and inter-related activities, rooted in the daily experience of confraternity members, resulted in a well ordered social structure that was primarily concerned with their physical and spiritual welfare, but also with their social status and identity. In many ways, the ludic aspect of society was inextricably linked with guild confraternities, as in the case of the dances performed by confraternity members in the different processions held in the city, above all for Corpus Christi and for the processions organized by the confraternities themselves to mark their patronal feast days. In addition,

¹ This article is based on my doctoral thesis on the subject of the festive urban soundscape of Tarragona (“Evolució del paisatge sonor del seguici festiu”). I wish to thank Tess Knighton for her guidance in the realization of this thesis (co-supervised with Silvia Martínez), and in this article.

many of the daily activities that took place in urban churches were the responsibility of confraternities that had their chapels there, and which thus promoted the mounting of processions and liturgical and devotional ceremonies for patronal feast days.² The sounds heard in the festive context, and in the corresponding acoustic spaces occupied by the festivities, generated a sequence of sound signals that were shared by, but nevertheless uniquely combined for, each guild confraternity: the bells that announced meetings and festive occasions, as well as the handbell of the confraternity caretaker (*andador*) who called members together,³ the sounds created by the work activities of those members—sounds that ceased on patronal and other feast days—formed an intrinsic part of the overall urban soundscape. The different musics associated with the guild confraternities, especially on feast days—either their own or as part of the larger urban festivities in which they participated (such as the annual Corpus Christi procession or royal entries)—, played a key role in such events, and served as identifying soundmarks for each trade or professional group. The inhabitants of the city would thus have been able, in many instances, to identify their presence and performative involvement in urban ceremony by hearing alone.

Tarragona, though of ancient foundation and significance, and the first and only archiepiscopal see of Catalonia, was a small city in comparison with Barcelona to the north or Valencia to the south. A census of 1359 listed 1071 hearths (*fochs*), a figure that, even if multiplied by the possible number of people residing in each, would nevertheless indicate a city of limited size. To this, however, should be added a substantial floating population that visited and sojourned temporarily in the city: clergy members with business or contacts in the archiepiscopal see; military personnel resident in the army garrisons that remained from the time when Tarragona was at the frontier of Al-Andalus; fairly regular royal visits for which lodging had to be supplied for members of the royal family and court; and the constant coming and going of commercial activity in the port and market squares of the city which, though small, was the largest in the region with a productive agricultural hinterland involving the wine and other trades.

Situated on the east coast of the Iberian peninsula and deeply rooted in Mediterranean commerce and culture, Tarragona still abounds in centuries-old customs and traditions. The city first flowered with the arrival of the Romans in 218 BCE, when it was considered to be the capital of north-eastern Spain. When Lucius Annaeus Florius (c. 70/75–c. 145 CE) wrote

² Kamen, *Canvi cultural a la societat del Segle d'Or*, esp. 153–159.

³ The caretaker (*andador*) was a key figure in each confraternity. Paid a small salary, he had to take care of various aspects of the confraternity's activities, including calling members to attend meetings and the sickbeds and funerals of members, for which purpose he generally used a bell. He often also had a ceremonial role in leading confraternity members in processions, holding a rod in the manner of a church vergier.

the memoirs of the Roman emperor Hadrian (117–38 CE), he coined the phrase “Tarragona, city of eternal spring” (“Tarraco, civitas ubi ver aeternum est”). Earlier, when Emperor Augustus took up residence in the city in 26–25 BCE, it was, in effect, capital of the Roman empire for that brief period. In 364 CE, Tarragona was elevated to the status of archdiocese by Pope Siricius (334–399). Tarragona’s ancient history and unique standing as the archiepiscopal see of Catalonia lent it prestige and power beyond its relatively small size and coastal position. The cult of St Thecla (first century CE)—patron saint of the cathedral—began in the Visigothic period, between the fifth and eighth centuries, and the early martyr came to be highly venerated by the inhabitants of Tarragona; an annual procession in her honour has been held in the city, with few interruptions, since the early fourteenth century.⁴

Tarragona’s devotion to the saint, a follower of St Paul, was such that in 1319 the drawn out process to secure a relic was begun; two years later, on 19 May 1321, the relic of an arm belonging to the saint was accorded triumphal entry into the city. A contemporary account of this event, dated 1321, now lost but once held in the cathedral archive, survives as an appendix to an early seventeenth-century history of St Thecla by Enrique Vilar Iglesias entitled *The Miraculous Triumph of Omnipotence, Martyrdom and Miracles of the Illustrious Virgin, and Unvanquished Protomartyr of Women, Santa Thecla* (1607).⁵ The 1321 account, entitled *True Chronicle of the Translation of the Arm of the Glorious Virgin, and Unvanquished Protomartyr Saint Thecla, Disciple of the Apostle St Paul, and Patron St of the City and Metropolitan Cathedral of Tarragona, Primate of the Spains: from Armenia to Said City*,⁶ affords a major source of information for the activities of Tarragonese guild confraternities, including the order in which their standards should go in processions (see below). Both the history of St Thecla and the account of the translation of the relic were reprinted by Joseph Barber in 1746, and this is the edition used in this article.

Guild Confraternities in Fourteenth-Century Tarragona

The majority of the inhabitants of medieval Tarragona were independent artisanal workers who belonged to the parish in which they lived and who swore obeisance to king and archbishop. They formed trade- and profession-based guilds in order to strengthen their communities and have greater social impact, as well as to regulate and be able to carry out their main activities in terms of their organization, trade activities, and pious

⁴ González, “Evolució del paisatge sonor del seguici festiu.”

⁵ *El triunfo milagroso de la omnipotència*.

⁶ *Relació verdadera de la translació del bras de la Gloriosa Verge*.

works (including care of the sick and widows).⁷ However, in Tarragona, as elsewhere in Catalonia and Valencia, the guilds also functioned as confraternities grouped together under the advocacy of a patron saint, and were based in the cathedral or in other churches in the city in order to be able to realize their devotional aspect to the best of their ability. According to the account in the 1607 appendix, ten main guild confraternities existed in Tarragona in the late medieval period, including: fishermen under the advocacy of San Pere and Sant Andreu; market-gardeners of Santa Magdalena; butchers (no advocacy given); carpenters of San Josep; blacksmiths of San Eloy; wool-carders of San Antoni; sailors, stevedores, and other port workers of Nostra Senyora de la Candelera [Candlemas] and San Simeó (which subsequently joined with the bakers to form a single confraternity of two of the city's most important trades); furriers of Santa Tecla; merchants of San Salvador; and pharmacists of San Damià.⁸ Table 1 lists these confraternities with the number of members and the colour associated with each, as given in Barber's 1746 edition of the 1321 account.

Table 1. Confraternities, memberships and associated colour in 1321
(source: Barber 1746)

Confraternity	Members	Associated colour
San Pere i San Andreu (fishermen)	80	blue
Santa Magdalena (market-gardeners)	80	brown
Butchers	30	red
San José (carpenters)	30	not indicated
San Eloy (blacksmiths)	30	blue
San Antoni (wool-carders)	60	purple
NS de Candelera i San Simeó (bakers and stevedores)	50	not indicated
Santa Tecla (furriers)	?	not indicated
San Salvador (merchants)	40	not indicated
San Damià (pharmacists)	?	not indicated

Table 1 shows that confraternity members were visually identified—in addition to the standard they displayed on festal occasions and carried in processions—with particular colours that, at least in some cases, were

⁷ Benítez Bolorinos, *Las cofradías medievales en el reino de Valencia*.

⁸ Barber, *Relació verdadera de la translació del Bras*.

symbolic of their trade or professional activity: blue for the port-workers of San Pere i San Andreu associated with the sea; earth brown with the market-gardeners; meat red with the butchers; and purple for the blood of Christ's Passion with the confraternity of San Antoni. The blue indicated for the blacksmiths was possibly associated with the dark blueish hue of worked metal. Unfortunately, the 1321 account does not specify the colours associated with the other guild confraternities of the time. It does, nevertheless, show that, from the second decade of the fourteenth century, what might be termed the ecosystem of the city's guild confraternities had already been established and membership of a confraternity was identified through association with a specific devotional avocation. Little information on these guild confraternities during the fifteenth century has so far come to light, but the situation changes for the later sixteenth century onwards with a range of extant documentation.

Since these guild confraternities originally grew out of the guild system, membership was at first limited to people practising that particular trade or profession. As their devotional aspect began to expand, these guild confraternities opened membership up to anyone—regardless of trade, or, indeed, membership in another confraternity—with a special devotion to the corresponding patron saint. Probably the most striking example is that of the Confraternity of the Puríssima Sang de Jesucrist [the Most Pure Blood of Jesus Christ], which, in the first half of the seventeenth century increased, in the space of four decades, from only six members, all of them ropemakers, to fifty-six brothers from several different trades.⁹ As will be noted later, the number of confraternities also increased until, by the mid-seventeenth century, there were nineteen. Sixteen of these brotherhoods had their corresponding chapel in the cathedral, while three had their own church: the Confraternity of the Puríssima Sang de Nostre Señor Jesucrist in the church of that avocation; the Confraternity of San Llorens in St Lawrence's church; and the Confraternity of St Miquel in the church of San Miquel del Pla.

The activities of confraternities clearly formed an intrinsic part of Tarragona's public and social life, and also in its architectonic development as a city. Their contribution to this process of urban development occurred on several levels, from the architectonic to the cultural, according to the various needs they identified in the different spaces in which they were active.¹⁰ Their need for a meeting-place as well as a chapel or altar for divine worship (in some cases, the selected space might serve both purposes), contributed to a considerable degree to the fabric of the city. For

⁹ Bertrán, *El mestratge de la Sang de Tarragona*, 72.

¹⁰ Segura Rovira, "Gremis i Confraries"; Arts Roca, *Els carrers dels menestrals*; Kamen, *Canvi cultural a la societat del Segle d'Or*; and Güell, "Les confraries pageses de Tarragona."

example, the Confraternity of the Puríssima Sang de Nostre Señor Jesucrist became responsible for the restoration, maintenance, and decoration of the church of Santa María de Nazaret as well as the neighbouring house where the confraternity had its headquarters. The earliest references to the church date from the mid-twelfth century, but almost no trace of the original Romanesque building, originally linked with the princely dynasty of the Agulló family, survives. It underwent various degrees of restructuring and restoration up to 1742, since when it has barely changed.¹¹ However, in 1545 the upkeep of this church passed to the guild confraternity of the makers of canvas sandals and esparto grass workers under the advocacy of the Precious Blood of Christ. This was recorded in the cathedral chapter acts of 18 August of that year:

The first act of the newly founded Confraternity of the Blood of Jesus Christ determined that it should be decreed that, with the approval of the Vicar General, they be granted by the illustrious chapter the chapel they request in the manner and form that seems best [to them].¹²

An early decision taken by the new confraternity was to commission a statue of an *Ecce Homo*; in 1592 this was placed above the entrance to the church from the Plaça del Rei in 1592, where it remains to this day (fig. 2.1).

Another good example is that of the Confraternity of Linen Weavers (*teixidors de lli*) based in the church of San Miquel del Pla.¹³ By 1600, the church was badly in need of repairs, but the confraternity no longer had the economic resources to undertake the necessary restoration. It was decided to transfer the church to the Congregation of Priests of Tarragona Cathedral on condition that they rebuild the church, that a burial ground for confraternity members be set aside in the church, and that the confraternity be granted a space where they might hold their meetings and keep its banners, standards, and ornaments.¹⁴ Not only did guild confraternities contribute to the city's infrastructure, but they also provided key elements

¹¹ Bertrán, *El mestratge de la Sang de Tarragona*.

¹² Morera, "Reseña histórica de la Congregación de la P. Sangre de N.S. Jesucristo": "El primo superfacto de la Confraria que novament se vol fer de la Sang de Jesucrist, determinarunt que decretarà que per lo Vicari General se donarà per lo Ilm. Capítol la capella que demanen i lo modo i forma que millor apparrerà."

¹³ This church remains in the same position today; it is now deconsecrated, but continues to serve as the headquarters for a confraternity created in 1903, known as the Reial Germandat de Jesús de Natzalet.

¹⁴ González, "Evolució del paisatge sonor," 151.

in the soundscape of ceremonial entries of archbishops into Tarragona and other major festive occasions.

Solemn Entries made by Archbishops into Tarragona over the Course of Three Centuries

The chronicling of archiepiscopal entries into Tarragona from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries provides a major source for the city's confraternity ecosystem.¹⁵ The history of the archbishops of Tarragona can be taken to have begun in 259 CE with the martyrdom of St Fructuosus, one of the earliest martyrs documented in the Iberian peninsula, and the first known bishop of Tarragona, with two deacons, named as Eulogius and Augurius. Later, in 370, Pope Siricius granted Bishop Himerius the title of "first among equals" (*primus inter pares*), and he subsequently came to be addressed as archbishop. In 475, the Visigothic king, Euric (c. 420/8–484), took Tarragona and razed the city to the ground, but the archiepiscopal see continued to function, as is demonstrated by the organization of the First Provincial Council of Tarragona in 516–517 and the participation of early Tarragonese archbishops in various synods held in Toledo.

With the Muslim presence in the Iberian peninsula starting in 711, San Próspero, then Archbishop of Tarragona, abandoned the see and it remained vacant until 1091, when Pope Urban (1042–1099) appointed Berenguer Sunifred to be archbishop. Tarragona was occupied by the Muslims until 1117, when Count Ramon Berenguer III conquered the city, and two years later Pope Gelasius II appointed San Olegario (1060–1137) as archbishop, though he never actually resided in Tarragona. The first resident archbishop was Bernardo Tort, who was appointed in 1145, and from that time the archiepiscopal see has been occupied continuously.¹⁶ When either of Tarragona's two authorities—king or archbishop—first entered the city for the oath-taking ceremony, major festivities were held: the inhabitants went to receive him outside the city walls and accompanied him in procession to the cathedral. During the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, these extraordinary events were chronicled in some detail, enabling us to trace the confraternities' presence and involvement in urban ceremonial.¹⁷

¹⁵ These contemporary accounts are preserved in the Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Tarragona [AHCT], and were drawn up by the city scribe. They describe, in greater or lesser detail depending on the scribe in question, the ceremonial followed for the occasion, and the urban spaces it occupied.

¹⁶ Morera, "Reseña histórica de la Congregación de la P. Sangre de N.S. Jesucristo."

¹⁷ Archbishop Alfonso de Aragón, entry dated 28 April 1514 (AHCT, Documents aïllats. Signatura topogràfica 19/1912. 2 fols.); Archbishop Antoni Agustí, entry dated 10 March 1577 (AHCT, Economia i Hisenda Municipal, núm 42, fols. 37–38); Archbishop Joan Vic,

As the number of confraternities based in Tarragona expanded over the course of the sixteenth century, so did the number of dances performed on the occasion of royal and archiepiscopal entries. In 1514, when Archbishop Alfonso de Aragón took possession of his new see and entered the city in 1514, nine confraternities took part in the procession from outside the city gates to the cathedral, each one bearing its standard, and contributing to the urban soundscape through the performance of its dance. A contemporary account offers specific information as to the guild confraternities that took part in this event:¹⁸ the linen-weavers under the advocacy of San Miguel; the wool-carders of San Antoni; the fishermen of San Pere; the farmers of San Llorens; the ropemakers of Santa Lucía; the stevedores and the bakers with the advocacy of Nostra Señora de la Candelera i San Simeó; the tailors of Nostra Señora i el Arcángel Gabriel; the market-gardeners of Santa Magdalena; and finally the carpenters of San Josep.

Later in the sixteenth century, three Tarragonese archbishops participated in the Council of Trent—Fernando de Loazes (1560–1567), Gaspar Cervantes de Gaete (1568–1575) and Antoni Agustí (1576–1586)—and the ideals of the Counter-Reformation were more rapidly implemented in the city than elsewhere in Spain. However, the impact of Tridentine reform on the processional route followed for royal entries and those of archbishops was minimal as far as the city's confraternities were concerned.¹⁹ By 1572, at the time of Archbishop Cervantes, the number of confraternities active in Tarragona had increased to nineteen, fourteen of which can be considered guild confraternities representing a particular trade or profession: Santa Lucia of the ropemakers; Nuestra Señora i el Arcángel San Gabriel of the tailors; San March of the shoemakers; San Antoni of the wool-carders; San Miquel of the linen-weavers; San Lluís of the apprentice tailors; San Josep of the carpenters; the Puríssima Sang of the sandal-makers and esparto grass workers; San Pere of the fishermen; San Llorens of the farmers; Santa Magdalena of the market-gardeners; San Eloy of the blacksmiths; Santa Tecla of the tanners, furriers, and leather curers; and Nostra Señora de la Candelera i San Simeó of the bakers and stevedores. Three confraternities drew their membership from the professional classes: San Salvador of the merchants; Sants Cosme i Damià of the medical doctors, surgeons, and pharmacists; and San Lluch of the notaries and lawyers.²⁰ Finally, the

entry dated 16 August 1604 (AHCT, *Llibre del Consolat 1604/1605*, fols. 43^v–45); Archbishop Juan Manuel Espinós, entry dated 12 Mat 1664 (AHCT, *Llibre del Consolat 1663/1665*, fols. 42–44).

¹⁸ AHCT, 19/1912, unfoliated.

¹⁹ González, "Evolució del paisatge sonor," 147.

²⁰ AHCT, *Memorial de la Catedral de Tarragona* (1572), unfoliated.

high-ranking clergy and noble classes were each represented by a single confraternity: the *Confraria de la Naixença de la Mare de Deu* (Nativity of the Virgin) of the cathedral clergy is known to have existed from 1345,²¹ and references to the *Confraria de San Jordi dels Cavallers* (St George of the Knights) are found from at least 1542.²² By the time of the entry of Cervantes's successor as archbishop, Antoni Agustí, in 1577, two further guild confraternities participated in the procession: that of San Pons of the innkeepers, and that of master builders under the advocacy of San Josep, so that by the last third of the sixteenth century, twenty-one confraternities (more than double the number in 1514) were active in Tarragona.

An early seventeenth-century source, the *Llibre del Consulat*, 1617–18, preserved in the Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Tarragona as a separate document, includes the “List of the confraternities together with the members of [each] confraternity” (*Memorial de les confradies juntament ab los confreres de la confradia*), in which nineteen confraternities are listed with an overall total of nine hundred and eighty-five members. The purpose of this document was to assign confraternity members to the five military divisions of Tarragona, and thus the nobles' confraternity of San Jordi, and that of cathedral clergy with the advocacy of the Nativity of the Virgin, were not included. Table 2 shows that in the second decade of the seventeenth century, the farmers' confraternity of San Llorens had the most members, with two hundred, and that with the fewest, the Confraternity of the Puríssima Sang de Jesucrist, still only had six members.

Table 2. The number of members of Tarragonese guild and professional confraternities in 1617–1618

Advocation of confraternity	Guild / Trade	Members
San Llorens	farmers	200
San Pere	fishermen	182
Nostra Señora i el Arcángel Gabriel	tailors	84
Santa Magdalena	market-gardeners	66
San Salvador	merchants	60
San Josep	carpenters	not known

²¹ Tomás, *El culto y la liturgia en la Catedral de Tarragona*.

²² Güell, “La petita noblesa durant la primera meitat del segle XVII.” A brief study of the musical activities of the knights' Confraternity of San Jordi in Barcelona, is found in Anglés, *Johannes Pujol*, I.

San Lluçh	notaries and lawyers	43
San Eloy	blacksmiths	36
San March	shoemakers	36
Santa Lluçia	ropemakers	not known
San Miquel	linen-weavers	33
San Pons	innkeepers	31
NS de la Candelera i San Simeó	bakers and stevedores	30
San Antoni	wool-carders	25
San Josep	master builders	24
San Eloy	silversmiths [formerly blacksmiths]	20
Santa Tecla	tanners, furriers, curers	20
Sants Cosme i Damià	doctors, surgeons, pharmacists	18
Puríssima Sang de Jesucrist	sandal-makers, <i>esparters</i>	6

By the second half of the seventeenth century and the entry of Archbishop Juan Manuel Espinós in 1664, the number of participating confraternities listed in the *Llibre del Consolat 1663–65* remained largely unchanged. The only modification that took place concerned the wool-carders' Confraternity of San Antoni: it is noted in the account of this entry that this guild confraternity should normally follow that of the carpenters, but this did not occur as no members showed up ("La confraria de St. Antoni auria de anar consecuemnt y no ana per no haverhi confreres.")²³ In the present state of research, this is the only known change to the confraternal ecosystem in Tarragona before the mid-eighteenth century, as analysis of the royal entry of the Archduke Charles of Austria into Tarragona in 1706, and the 1755 entry of Archbishop Jaume Cortada attests. This noteworthy lack of change in the number of confraternities surely reflected the stagnation in the overall number of inhabitants in the city for more than a hundred years.²⁴ Nevertheless, confraternity members were actively involved not only in occasional special events, but also in the

²³ AHCT, *Llibre del Consolat 1663/65*, fol. 43. The reason for their absence is not clear; it may have been the result of a dispute, or a decision taken not to appear for lack of economic resources. By the end of the century the confraternity had disappeared.

²⁴ It is possible that other smaller and less prestigious confraternities existed in Tarragona that did not participate in these ceremonial entries, but no records of them have yet been found.

celebrations for their patronal feast day, and in general urban processions such as that of Corpus Christi and St Thecla, patron saint of Tarragona (23 September). The different ritual dances of the guild confraternities both demonstrated obeisance to the royal, civic, and ecclesiastical authorities, and added a characteristic and highly popular ludic element to the festivities held in their honour.

Demonstrating Obeisance and Providing Entertainment: the Dances of the Guild Confraternities

The extant contemporary accounts of the entries of archbishops into Tarragona detail the order in which guild confraternities processed on these major occasions for the city. Table 3 confirms that the order of procession was usually determined by the seniority of the confraternity: “The oldest confraternities defended their privileges on the basis of their antiquity, thus provoking disputes and rivalries with the ecclesiastical hierarchy, new confraternities, and even the archbishop, that were not easily resolved.”²⁵ Table 3 lists the guild confraternities that participated in archiepiscopal entries from 1514 to 1604, in their order of appearance and with their corresponding dance. It is important to note that no dance would have used the same music, with the implication that each confraternity was identified by specific sounds as well as movements. Any attempt on the part of one confraternity to borrow or imitate a dance from another was deemed unacceptable, and resulted in the kinds of disputes that quickly broke out in the context of festive ritual, as will be discussed below. These ritual dances, and their corresponding music, thus became highly symbolic as a sign of identity for each confraternity. Furthermore, the social connections that resulted from preparation of the dance and its performance emanated from the confraternity and contributed to the sense of group identity that was consolidated over time.

²⁵ Kamen, *Canvi cultural a la societat del Segle d’Or*, 225: “Les confraries més antigues ficaven en valor els seus privilegis degut a la seva antiguitat, cosa que va provocar discussions i rivalitats amb l’estament eclesiàstic, noves confraries i, fins i tot, amb l’arquebisbe, que eren de difícil solució.”

Table 3. Guild Confraternities and Their Ritual Dances in Archbishopal Entries into Tarragona

Entry	Guild Confraternity	Ritual Dance
1514: Alfonso de Aragón	San Miquel	San Miquel i diables (St Michael and devils)
	San Antoni	San Antoni ([Temptations of] St Anthony)
	San Pere	Titans (Titans)
	San Llorens	Cristians (Christians)
	Sang de Jesucrist	Cossis (buckets)
	Candelera i San Simeó	Damas i vells (ladies and old men)
	San March	Cercolets (hoops)
	Santa Magdalena	Núvia (bride)
	San Josep	Gegants (giants)
1577: Antonió Agustí	San Pere	Titans (Titans)
	Candelera i San Simeó	Damas i vells (ladies and old men)
	San Miquel	San Miquel i diables (St Michael and devils)
	San Llorens	Cristians (Christians)
	Sang de Jesucrist	Cossis (buckets)
	San Josep dels mestres de cases	Gitanes (gypsies)
	San Josep [dels fusters]	Gegants (giants)
	San Antoni	San Antoni (St Anthony)
	San March	Cercolets (hoops)
	San Gabriel	Reis (kings)
	Santa Magdalena	Dotze mesos (twelve months [of the year])
	San Eloy	Àliga (eagle)

1604: Joan Vic	San Pere	Titans (Titans)
	Candellera i San Simeó	Damas i vells (ladies and old men)
	San Miquel	San Miquel i diables (St Michael and devils)
	San Llorens	Cristians (Christians)
	Sang de Jesucrist	Cossis (buckets)
	San Josep dels mestres de cases	Gitanes (gypsies)
	San Josep [dels fusters]	Gegants (giants)
	San Antoni	San Antoni (St Anthony)
	San March	Cercolets (hoops)
	San Gabriel	Reis (kings)
	Santa Magdalena	Dotze mesos (twelve months [of the year])
San Eloy	Àliga (eagle)	

Table 3 shows that Tarragonese guild confraternities performed the same dance in archiepiscopal entries throughout the period in question. A striking addition to the 1577 entry procession for Archbishop Agustí was the dance of the Eagle (*Àguila*) performed by the silversmiths' confraternity of San Eloy.²⁶ In 1531, the Confraternity of San Eloy asked the municipal authorities if they might participate in festive processions in the city with the dance of the Eagle, which would be held to represent both St John Evangelist and the city of Tarragona:

Item. The honourable council, in response to the proposal made by the honorable consuls (*consolls*) as regards the petition by the Confraternity of St Eloy to create an eagle for the city [council] to grant it the role it customarily holds in Barcelona and other cities. [The city council] reached the decision and agreed that, in God's name, the said Confraternity of St Eloy create the eagle, and that it be taken in processions held for the feasts of Corpus Christi and St Thecla, dancing, as is customary, before the monstrance, and before the relic of the Holy Arm of the protomartyr St Thecla, and participating in each procession and in the said places, and freely, wherever

²⁶ The Confraternity of San Eloy was originally linked with the blacksmiths, but by the sixteenth century the silversmiths dominated and the designation was changed in their favour.

the dancer of the eagle, and the members of the confraternity who accompany it, wish during the processions.²⁷

The inclusion of this new representational element, especially given the privilege with which it was endowed to move freely in processions, gave rise to a series of disputes in the various festive events in which the guild confraternities participated with their dances. For this reason, an edict was issued in 1660 in order to regulate the order in which the Tarragonese guild confraternities processed: the Statutes of the Office of Weights and Measures (*Ordinacions per l'offici del Sr Mostsaphetes en lo any 1660*; see fig. 2.2). The public office of *mostàsaf*, established in Catalonia by Pere IV the Ceremonious in the fourteenth century, had responsibility for ensuring the accuracy of the weights and measures used in the city, together with control over the quality of goods sold there. He was also responsible for ensuring that the streets were kept clean and free of rubbish, and for mediating certain disputes originating in public spaces in the city; the position was more or less equivalent to that of bailiff.²⁸ It is significant that the disputes that arose from the freedom granted to the Eagle, and the members of the confraternity who accompanied it, to go wherever they wished during processions, were sufficiently intractable that they were handed over to the bailiff in order to seek resolution. The disputes seem to have been particularly serious during the Corpus Christi procession of 1657, and thus resulted in the drawing up of new statutes, which took three years to negotiate.²⁹

The original author's note at the foot of the page (fig. 2.2) indicates that, in the future, any newly formed guild confraternities should be positioned after that of St Pere of the fishermen ("Nota que las banderas ho Confrarias que nouament faran an de anar per orde apres la bandera de Sant Pera"). In principle, the older and more prestigious the confraternity, the closer it processed—with its standard, members, dance and music—before the agent—archbishop or king—to whom obeisance was to be

²⁷ AHCT, *Llibre del Consolat* (1531), 13 April 1531, fol. 72: "Item lo dit honorable consell satisfient a la proposicioo feta per los honor. Consolls sobre que la confraria de Sent Aloy demanen vol fer un aliga, donantli la ciutat son loch com se acostume en la ciutat de Barcelona y altres ciutats. Determena e concloueren que es contenta la ciutat que en nom de Deu dita confraria de Sent Aloy fassa la aliga, e que vage en les festivitats de Corpore Cristi y de Santa Tecla en les professons de dites festes devant lo Corpus, dansant com es acostumat, y davant lo Sant Bras de la gloriosa verge et prothomartir Santa Tecla, e discorrent en quiscuna professo y en dits lochs y per les professons allà hon voldrà, a sa llibertat del qui danserà dita aliga y dels cofrades de dita confraria que acompanyaran la dit aliga."

²⁸ Bajet, *El mostassaf de Barcelona*.

²⁹ AHCT, *Ordinacions*, 1660, unfoliated.

pledged,³⁰ while the most recently founded confraternities were placed furthest away, at the head of the procession. However, the oldest and most prestigious guild confraternity of all, which, in Tarragona, was that of St Pere of the Fishermen, was given the honour of heading the procession, with the other brotherhoods following behind, in the order most recent to oldest. Once the processional order of Tarragonese guild confraternities was fixed by statute in order to avoid further disputes, it remained unchanged for well over a century until the guilds and their confraternities were dismantled in the nineteenth century.³¹

The guild confraternities took great pride in their ritual dances which gave them identity and status, and added to the ludic and popular element of public ceremonial events in the city on major feast days and festive events. Preparations began for their performance months before festive ceremonies were held, and those who were to perform in the dances were chosen by lot at council meetings well in advance. A typical example is found in the minutes of the meeting held on 9 March 1664 by the Confraternity of the Virgen de la Candelera i San Simeó in preparation for the entry that year of the new archbishop, fray Joan Manuel de Spinosa (1633–1679):

It was proposed by the procurators that dances should be performed, in the customary manner, for the Most Illustrious and Reverend Lord, don fray Joan Manuel de Spinosa, archbishop of the holy see of Tarragona.

It was decided that they [the dances] should be performed in accordance with established practice, and immediately a lot [*rodolí*] was drawn from the leather bag,³² and the names chosen [for the dance of the ladies and the old men] were: Pau Salas, lady; Andreu Aleu, also lady; Joseph Salas, old man; Gil Pera, old man; Joseph Valls, lady; Marquesa Nogués, lady; Farriol, old man; and Francesch Navarró, also old man. And in the same way, the drawing of lots for the stevedores yielded the names of: Francesch Garau, old man; Jaume Oliver, lady; Llorens Claravalls, old man; Francesch Navarró, old man; Gabriel Fontanet, old man; Andreu Genís, lady; Francesch

³⁰ In other major festive processions, the agency represented was an artefact such as the monsternace (Corpus Christi) or relic (the arm of St Thecla).

³¹ González, "Evolució del paisatge sonor," 170.

³² The *rodolí* was a small piece of paper on which the names of participants in the draw were written, and rolled up so that the name could not be seen while the draw was taking place. Once taken out of the bag, it was unrolled and the name was read out. Since the confraternity comprised two guilds, lots were drawn twice, with a different leather bag for each group.

Buada, lady; Batista Matheu, confraternity official (*veguer*);³³ and Silvestra Palacio [lady?].³⁴

The taking of lots here resulted in the selection of four “ladies” and four “old men” from each of the groups that formed the confraternity—the bakers and the stevedores—, together with a rod-bearing official in charge of proceedings. The dance thus involved a total of sixteen dancers.

The performance of each dance by the guild confraternity as part of the procession was accompanied by music, with the musicians adding to the number of people involved, and thus to the general spectacle. In accordance with the bailiff’s 1660 statutes, pride of place was given to the fishermen’s Confraternity of San Pere, and so to their processional dance of the Titans, which consisted of a sequence of mythological characters and animals drawn from Greek mythology. According to the Aragonese historian Antonio Beltrán, the dance of the Titans took the following form:³⁵

They [the dancers] form a row inside four pieces of cloth, two blue and two scarlet, with blue and scarlet on each side so that the colours appear alternately; these are attached to the shoulders of each performer, so that only their heads can be seen, and [the heads of each] are covered by a fine, dazzling gold headpiece in the manner of a bird, dragon, siren or other kind of fish, according to the type of dancer. Each dancer wears a very ugly mask with a bendy nose that hangs down in a haphazard way with no more than a single small bell attached to the end, but more bells attached to their legs. Arranged in this way, and to the accompaniment of instrumental music, [each dancer] follows the first of the line, leaping in time [to the music], with some bowing and inclining their heads to one side while others

³³ The *veguer* was an official representative of the confraternity who carried a rod in processions, both as a sign of authority and to control proceedings, if necessary.

³⁴ AHCT, Gremis i Cofradies: Forners i Bastaixos, fol. 42: “Fonch proposat per dits procuradors en què se façan los balls com se acostuman a fer a l’il.lustríssim y reverendíssim señor don fra Juan Enmanuel de Spinosa, arcabisbe de la santa seu de Tarragona.

Fonch determinat que es faça conforme se és praticat sempre y en continent se a tret un rodolí de la bossa y és aixit Pau Salas, dama, Andreu Aleu, també dama, Joseph Salas, vell, Gil Pera, vell, Joseph Valls, dama, Marquesa Nogués, dama, Farriol, vell, y Francesch Navarró, també vell. Y així mateix isqueren de la bossa dels descarragadós Francesch Garau, vell, Jaume Oliver, dama, Llorens Claravalls, vell, Francesch Navarró, vell, Gabriel Fontanet, vell, Andreu Genís, dama, Francesch Buada, dama, Batista Matheu, veguer y Silvestra Palacio.”

³⁵ Unfortunately, Beltrán does not identify the primary source for this description, which is more detailed than is usually found in the accounts of archiepiscopal entries in the *Llibres del Consulat*. The orthography and style would suggest the seventeenth, or possibly eighteenth, century. The dance died out in the early years of the nineteenth century.

inserted [in the line] alternate with the opposite movement [keeping their heads held high], so that, at the same time and with each beat, half the group can be seen inclining the heads and leaning their bodies to one side, alternating with the other half [who stay upright], with the whole group as one with their costumes, tinkling bells and musical instruments.³⁶

The tinkling sound of the small bells (*cascaveles*) worn by the dancers and the instrumental accompaniment formed the soundmarks of this dance, and, more generally, characterized the soundscape of festive processions, such as the ceremonial entries of archbishops in Tarragona. Almost nothing is known of what music was played since it was largely improvised and written musical sources do not survive, but it is possible to know more about the make-up of the instrumental ensembles that sounded intermittently along the procession. The fishermen's dance, for example, was usually accompanied by a small wind-band (*cobla, copla*), referred to as "music of minstrels" ("musica de jutglars"), in the account of Archbishop Agustí's 1577 entry, or simply as "music" ("musica") in the description of Archbishop Vic's 1604 entry. Even the later account of Archbishop Jaime Cortada's entry into Tarragona in 1775 refers to a "copla" of minstrels, indicating a continuity and consistent identity in sound over several centuries:

First [came] the Confraternity of San Pere dels Pescadors, with their standard and dances of Titans, which involved forty-two men or dancers, the rod-bearers with the flag, and an ensemble of instrumentalists all well-dressed and turned out.³⁷

³⁶ Beltrán, *El dance aragonés*, 485: "Estos à lo forman una hilera metidos dentro quatro pieças de paño, dos azules, y dos colorades; azul y colorada por cada lado unides con correspondència encontrada del un color al otro, y ajustades por encima los ombros de todos, de suerte que no se les vea mas que la cabeça, y esta se cubre con un capecete dorado todo con el mayor primor, á manera de una ave, ù dragon, sirena, ù otro genero de pescado, y figura segon el tipo de danzante. Llevan todos una mascarilla muy fea de nariz flegible, pendiente, y diforme con un cascabel en su punta, sin otros, que llevan en las piernas. Dispuestos de esta forma al son de sus instrumentos van siguiendo al primero de la hilera dando compassados saltos con inclinaciones de cuerpo, y cabeça de unos, y de otros opuestas con interpolación, de modo que en cada salto que dàn, se vè à un mismo tiempo, y à un mismo compàs que la mitad tuerce el cuello con inclinacion del cuerpo à un lado, y la otra metad interpolada al otro; con la correspondència que les haze su trage, sonido de cascaveles, è instrumentos."

³⁷ AHCT, *Libro Capitular* 1755, fol. 46: "Primeramente la Cofradia de Sant Pedro de Pescadores, con su estandarte y Bayles de titans, que se componia de quarenta y dos Hombres o Bayladores sus vegueros con la Bandera y copla de Musicos menestrelis todos bien vestidos y adresados."

The dance of the Ladies and Old Men (*Damas i vells*) of the Confraternity of the Candelera i San Simeó of bakers and stevedores was satirical in nature, telling of the trials suffered by young women married to old men. Given that all the dancers were originally men, the performance was characterized from the start by a strong ludic element. Details of the instrumental accompaniment for this dance are scarce, although the account of Archbishop Vic's 1604 entry makes mention of the involvement of minstrels (*jutglars*).³⁸

The linen-weavers' Confraternity of San Miquel performed the dance of St Michael and the devils in which the fight between good and evil was clearly represented; naturally, the confraternity's patron saint was always the victor. The dance had a strong pyrotechnical element, since all the devils let off fireworks in an evocation of hell. No mention is made of accompanying wind-players for this dance, probably because the sound of firecrackers would have been so deafening as to render any musical accompaniment inaudible.

The dance of the Christians was mounted by the farmers' Confraternity of San Llorens as a symbolic representation of the age-old fight between Christian knights and their potential conquerors, the Turks. A choreographed dance ended in the defeat of the Turks in a further example of the victory of good over evil. Interestingly, the instrumental accompaniment comprised two angel musicians:

Then came the Confraternity of San Llorens with their standard and the Knights' Dance. This consists of eight small horses³⁹ with their well-dressed and turned out knights, and sixteen Turks and two Angels with their music, all magnificent [to behold].⁴⁰

It is striking that in this dance a total of twenty-four dancers were accompanied by just two angel musicians. Musicians dressed as angels, usually in white and with wings, who sang and played string instruments, such as harps, lutes and vihuelas—as was so often depicted in devotional paintings of the period—⁴¹ were a characteristic sound of the Corpus Christi

³⁸ González, "Evolució del paisatge sonor," 190.

³⁹ The "cavallitos" were made of cardboard cut in the shape of a horse, that were, in effect, worn by the dancers, being held up by shoulder straps. They remain a popular feature of urban processions in Tarragona and elsewhere in Catalonia.

⁴⁰ AHCT, *Libro Capítular 1755*, fol. 46^v: "Seguiase a estos la Cofraria de San Lorenzo con su Estandarte y Bayle de Cavallets. Esto es ocho cavallitos con sus cavalleros riquisimamente adresados y vestidos Diez y seis turcos y dos Angeles con su musica y todos muy lucidos."

⁴¹ Kreitner, "The Ceremonial Soft Band."

procession where they immediately preceded the monstrance.⁴² It is thus likely that the angel musicians accompanying the dance of the Christians in Tarragona also played string instruments and possibly also sang.

The sandal makers' Confraternity of the Puríssima Sang de Jesucrist was responsible for the so-called dance of the buckets which related to a large water deposit that symbolized the necessity of water for a good harvest, and, by extension, the blessed water of Christian ritual. The instrumental accompaniment for this dance was the pipe and tabor, played by a single musician,⁴³ as indicated in a description of the 1403 Corpus Christi procession in Tarragona: "a minstrel who played the pipe [*flabiol*] for the dance of the buckets."⁴⁴ Later accounts mention only that the dance involved ten or twelve dancers, who were accompanied by "their music" ("su musica"). If they did indeed dance to the sound of the pipe and tabor, it is highly likely that only one musician would have been involved.

The origin of the dance of the Gypsies, performed by the master builders' Confraternity of San Josep is unclear. The great Catalan folklorist Joan Amades suggested that this dance evolved from that of the Jews performed in Barcelona as part of the Corpus Christi procession.⁴⁵ In sixteenth-century Catalan society, both Jews and Gypsies were derogatory figures subject to general scorn, and, in terms of traditional symbolism, were forced to yield to the Holy Monstrance, as represented symbolically on top of a pole to which ribbons were attached and woven by the movements of the dancers. Few musical indications are found for this dance; only the account of Archbishop Vic's 1604 entry alludes to minstrels (*juglars*), suggesting that it was also accompanied by a small wind-band or *cobla*.⁴⁶

The dance of the Giants featured tall, generally anthropomorphic figures, made from wood and cotton cloth, and were usually held to represent the contest between the Biblical giant Goliath and the young shepherd David. In Tarragona, it was the carpenters' Confraternity of San Josep that

⁴² A detailed account of the medieval Corpus Christi procession in Barcelona in the city ceremonial (*Llibre de les Solemnitats*), describes various groups of twelve angel musicians singing at different points in the procession, and indicates the incipits of the Catalan songs they sang; ten angel musicians played before the monstrance. See Kreitner, "Music in the Corpus Christi Procession."

⁴³ In Catalonia, this small, high-pitched pipe (*flabiol*) was, unusually, played with all five fingers of the left hand; it still features today as part of the band (mostly wind-instruments) that accompanies the Catalan round dance known as the *sardana*. When the bucket dance was revived for the processions of St Thecla in 2004, I had the pleasure of playing the pipe and tabor to accompany it.

⁴⁴ Morera, *Tarragona Cristiana*, 905: "un juglar que toca lu flabiol al ball del stoci."

⁴⁵ Amades, *Costumari Català*, 48.

⁴⁶ AHCT, *Llibre del Consolat 1604/1605*, fol. 44.

took on and performed this dance. In preparation for the 1601 celebrations held in Tarragona (and elsewhere in Catalonia, notably in Barcelona) for the canonization of St Raymond of Penyafort (c. 1175–1275), two of these highly popular figures were to be made: “and the carpenters should be asked to make two giants to follow in the procession.”⁴⁷ The description of Archbishop Antonio Pérez’s entry some years later, on 8 March 1634, affords some useful information as to the accompanying instrumental ensemble: “then came the carpenters’ standard, with their representation and dance of the Giants, with their wind-band.”⁴⁸ Up to this point in the procession, four *cobles* of wind-players, with their distinctively festive sound, would have been playing to accompany the dancing. While it is not clear whether the *cobles* were differentiated as regards the instrumentation for each dance, the music they played would have been specific to its character.

The dance of St Anthony, patron saint of the wool-carders’ Confraternity of San Antoni, represented the saint’s temptations by devils in the desert. The dance is listed in the account of Archbishop Vic’s entry of 1604, but sixty years later had disappeared from Archbishop Joan Espinós’s 1664 entry procession. This later account mentions that the confraternity was represented only by its standard, and that the dance was not performed because of a lack of members; as mentioned previously, the guild confraternity did not survive the second half of the seventeenth century.⁴⁹ Up to that point, this dance, as mentioned in the 1604 account, was also accompanied by minstrels (*jutglars*).⁵⁰

The following dance was directly linked with the blessing of wine and its transubstantiation into Christ’s blood. The Hoop dance was performed by the shoemakers’ Confraternity of San March, and involved wooden hoops (*cercols*) like those used to bind wine-barrels, and was thus closely linked to the local viticulture. Given Tarragona’s age-old cultivation of grapevines, it is not surprising that a dance of this nature was included among the festive processional dances.⁵¹ As in the case of the dance of the Gypsies, the accounts of archiepiscopal entries mention only that it was accompanied by “their music” (“su música”), without specifying which instruments were played.⁵²

⁴⁷ AHCT, *Llibre d’actes del Consistori 1601/1602*, fol. 34: “y se fasse que los fusters fassan dos gegants perque vagen en la proces[s]o.”

⁴⁸ Salvat, *Los Gigantes y Enanos de Tarragona*, 57: “après venia la bandera dels fusters ab son joch y ball de Gegants ab sa cobla de ministrils.”

⁴⁹ AHCT, *Llibre del Consolat 1663/1665*, fol. 43.

⁵⁰ AHCT, *Llibre del Consolat 1604/1605*, fol. 44.

⁵¹ Garrich, *El ball de cercolets: Arquets de festa*, 7.

⁵² González, “Evolució del paisatge sonor,” 194.

The tailors' Confraternity of Nostra Senyora i el Arcàngel San Gabriel had responsibility for the dance of the Twelve Kings, who, in the Bible, were the representatives of the tribes of Israel: Ruben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Zebulun, Dan, Naphtali, Gad, Asher, Joseph, and Benjamin. Through the ritual dance, with the aid of costume and symbolic items held in the dancers' hands, Biblical episodes were enacted that reinforced the prevailing Christian-based morality.⁵³ The dance of the Kings was included in Archbishop Agustí's 1577 entry (though not in that of 1514 by Alfonso de Aragón), and the 1604 account of Archbishop Vic's entry is of particular interest for its specific reference to the music accompanying this dance: "[...] with their instrumental ensemble (*cobla*) playing, and dancing to the tune of Ausias Marc."⁵⁴ The revival of the poetry of the Valencian knight and poet Ausiàs March (c. 1397–1459) had a renewed impact on developments in vernacular lyric verse from the sixteenth-century onwards. It was also set to music by Catalan composers such as Pere Alberch Vila (1517–1582; Vich, and organist of Barcelona Cathedral) and Joan Brudieu (c. 1520–1591; Seu d'Urgell, and Barcelona).⁵⁵ In 1565 the organist Vila was involved in the assessment of a new organ built for the Tarragona cathedral.⁵⁶ Whether or not the "Ausias Marc" music for this dance was based on one of these composers' settings, it would appear to reflect an interest in March's lyric verse that, at some point in the sixteenth century, extended to popular culture.⁵⁷

The market-gardeners' Confraternity of Santa Magdalena performed the dance of the Twelve Months of the Year, for which a rather general description is included in the *Llibre del Consolat* 1663/1665.⁵⁸ The dance involved a number of different characters: four ladies, four Turks, four knights, a peasant, and a Frenchman; a pair of Ethiopians was added at a later date. The dance tells of the salvation, by Christian knights captured by the Frenchman, of the ladies sequestered as slaves by the Turks. Minstrels (*jutglars*) accompanied the performance for Archbishop Vic's

⁵³ Bertran y López Monné, *Santa Tecla: Les festes de Santa Tecla*, 306.

⁵⁴ AHCT, *Llibre del Consolat* 1604/1605, fol. 45: "[...] ab sa cobla sonant i ballant al so de Ausias Marc."

⁵⁵ Veny-Mesquida, "Les musicacions de textos d'Ausiàs March." Settings by both composers were included in music books printed in Barcelona: Vila, *Odorum (quas vulgo madrigales appellamus) ... liber primus* (Barcelona: Jacobo Cortey, 1561), and *Odorum spiritualium ... liber secundus* (Barcelona: Jacobo Cortey, 1560); and Brudieu, *De los madrigales* (Barcelona: Hubert Gotard, 1585).

⁵⁶ Gregori, "Notes per a l'estudi de la música", 68.

⁵⁷ González, "Evolució del paisatge sonor," 196.

⁵⁸ AHCT, *Llibre de Consolat* 1663/1665, fol. 24^v.

entry in 1604,⁵⁹ but by the time of Archbishop Espinós sixty years later, the account specifically mentions that this representation was performed without music.⁶⁰ Probably the guild confraternity of market-gardeners was faced with financial difficulties and decided to forego the hiring of minstrels on that occasion, an occurrence—often temporary—common to many confraternities in the early modern period. The impact of the absence of musicians would surely have been noted by those attending the entry: the lack of sound very probably signalled lack of financial resources to all present.

Finally, the dance of the Eagle was granted, as already mentioned, the privilege of moving around and dancing wherever it wished during the procession (fig. 2.3). In general, it was probably found for much of the time in front of the person to whom homage was being paid. Curiously, the accounts of the archiepiscopal entries do not mention the music or musical ensemble that would have accompanied the Eagle's dance. Given the Eagle's close symbolic association with the city council, it was probably accompanied by the municipal wind-band, but this remains speculative for the time being. This group of instrumentalists was already documented in the fourteenth century:

Miquel Pages [...] [is to] pay the city minstrels (*juglars*) listed below the amounts indicated, which the City [Council] is accustomed to give them for their salary each year at Christmas-time: firstly, to Anthoni Arago trumpeter, 60 sous; to Miquel Ortoneda trumpeter, 60 sous; to Johan Tarrasses cornemuse-player, 80 sous; to Arnau Busquet drummer, 60s; to P. Marti shawm-player, 100s. Item, in addition, he [Pages] is to pay for the work of repairing their robes, 16 sous 6 diners.⁶¹

This city wind-band—which by the sixteenth century would have consisted of shawms and sackbuts—was the highest profile ensemble of its kind in Tarragona, and would have been placed closest to the most important element in the procession. In this way, the symbiosis of the Confraternity of San Eloy and the city council would have enhanced the prestige of the

⁵⁹ AHCT, *Llibre del Consolat 1604/1605*, fol. 45ʳ.

⁶⁰ AHCT, *Llibre del Consolat 1663/1665*, fol. 43ʳ.

⁶¹ Morera, *Tarragona Cristiana*, 471: “En Miquel Pagès [...] dats als juglars de la Ciutat davall scrits les quantitats davall següents les quals per la Ciutat lo son acostumbrades de donar cas-cun any en la festa de Nadal de soldada. Primerament an Anthoni Arago trompador sexanta sous. Item an Miquel Ortoneda trompador sexanta sous. Item an Johan Tarrasses cornamuser octuaginta sous. Item an Arnau Busquet tabaler sexanta sous. Item an P. Marti xeramiller cent sous. Item li dats daltre part per costures obs de les averies de les sues robes setze sous .vi. diners.”

Eagle's dance, distinguishing it from all the rest in terms of social supremacy, conveyed visually through the uniforms worn by the musicians, even if the overall sound the ensemble made would not have differed greatly from other dances accompanied by wind-bands.

Conclusions

Obeisance and entertainment were inextricably linked in the confraternal ecosystem of Tarragona in the early modern period. The relationship between confraternities and city, based on their desire and willingness to contribute to and be involved in the cultural and devotional life of the city, and their participation in archiepiscopal entries with their dances and music to enliven the processional route and signal the event's festive nature, demonstrates a symbiosis between civic authority and popular tradition that found few other outlets for expression. Urban society, and its daily work routines, revolved around the guild confraternities, which not only provided support and succour, both physical and spiritual, but also added a highly popular ludic aspect to urban ceremonial. This is not to downplay the rivalries and conflicts that arose between civic authorities and confraternities, or among confraternities themselves. Participation in festive urban events, such as archiepiscopal entries, was highly competitive, with each confraternity seeking to present the most impressive dance. Festive processions often afforded the touch-paper for the conflagration of long-standing conflicts as regards gaining prestige for the brotherhood and precedence in processional order, each vying to secure a position as close as possible to the archbishop as an act of homage and in order to increase their own honour by association. Only the municipal authorities could resolve, through statutory regulation, the fierce disputes that arose.

This competitive spirit has continued to the present day, despite profound changes in society and the reincarnation in recent times of the trade confraternities as cultural associations. As recently as the late twentieth century, civic authorities in Tarragona were impelled to take action to restore "order", and, as if the wheel of time has turned full circle, the Eagle is still the main cause of dispute for its privileged role in urban processions. Similarly, the processional soundscape is still dominated by instrumental ensembles—some of which have reconstructed the sounds of early modern *cobles*—that continue to convey the ludic quality of these festive events. Just as the ritual dances still strive to be the most attractive or eye-catching, so the music that accompanies them has had its competitive aspect over the centuries by aiming to draw on the most popular or best known song texts (as in the early case of the lyric verse of Ausias March), to maintain or increase the number of musicians involved—perhaps to create ear-catching variety—and, above all, to protect their signature dance and its music. In

this way, the sonic signals of identity inextricably linked with these dances were forged over time and became embedded in the DNA of Tarragonese society, all the more so in the case of members of confraternities (or of the associations that form their modern equivalent), both then and now.

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Fig. 2.1. Statue of the Eccehomo placed in the church of Santa Maria de Natzaret above the door to the Plaça del Rei. (Photo: Sergi González González)

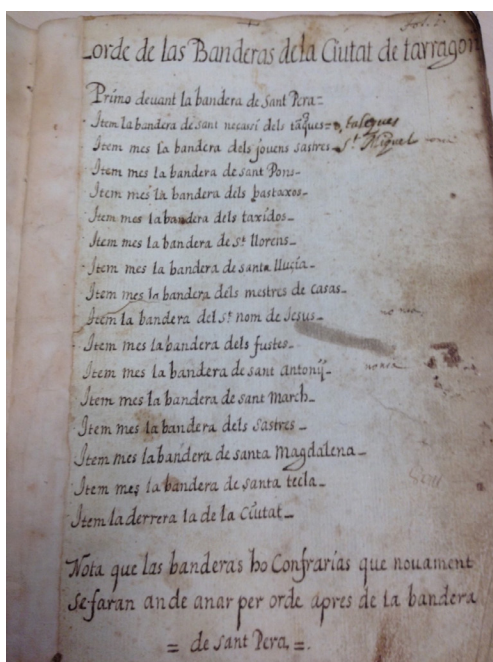


Fig. 2.2. Ordinacions per l'ofici del Sr Mostsaphetes en lo any 1660 (AHCT). (Photo: Sergi González González)



Fig. 2.3. The present-day Tarragonese Eagle dancing in front of Tarragona Cathedral. (Photo: Sergi González González)