



# The Contribution of Confraternities to the Urban Soundscape of Barcelona in the Early Modern Period

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Article abstract

Sound was important to urban devotional and guild confraternities: sounds of various kinds, including organized and semi-improvised musics, served as acoustic signals that heralded their presence and communicated their identity; and different combinations of sounds characterized their devotional activities and ceremonies. Whether based at the cathedral or a collegiate, parish or conventual church, confraternities developed a sonic identity that drew on shared elements—bells, town criers, the hiring of wind-bands and other musicians such as trumpets and drums, as well as players of stringed instruments, the organ, chant and polyphonic singing, songs and dances—that were combined in various ways according to the devotional needs and economic resources of the confraternity in question, and to the nature of the event in which they were participating. More sound was generally regarded as more prestigious, but this depended on the fluctuating economic situation of individual confraternities. The smaller brotherhoods often struggled to meet the expense of hiring musicians for the annual feast days of their patron saints. Given the proliferation of confraternities in a city such as Barcelona, the density of their devotional activity—in addition to their customary participation in general urban processions, such as those of Holy Week, Corpus Christi, and other major feasts—meant that their contribution to the urban soundscape was considerable: indeed, it is impossible to recover any real sense of it without taking into account their musical patronage and sonic contribution.

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Tess Knighton

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*Summary:* Sound was important to urban devotional and guild confraternities: sounds of various kinds, including organized and semi-improvised musics, served as acoustic signals that heralded their presence and communicated their identity; and different combinations of sounds characterized their devotional activities and ceremonies. Whether based at the cathedral or a collegiate, parish or conventual church, confraternities developed a sonic identity that drew on shared elements—bells, town criers, the hiring of wind-bands and other musicians such as trumpets and drums, as well as players of stringed instruments, the organ, chant and polyphonic singing, songs and dances—that were combined in various ways according to the devotional needs and economic resources of the confraternity in question, and to the nature of the event in which they were participating. More sound was generally regarded as more prestigious, but this depended on the fluctuating economic situation of individual confraternities. The smaller brotherhoods often struggled to meet the expense of hiring musicians for the annual feast days of their patron saints. Given the proliferation of confraternities in a city such as Barcelona, the density of their devotional activity—in addition to their customary participation in general urban processions, such as those of Holy Week, Corpus Christi, and other major feasts—meant that their contribution to the urban soundscape was considerable: indeed, it is impossible to recover any real sense of it without taking into account their musical patronage and sonic contribution.

## Social Identity, Spiritual Investment, and Music Patronage

The contribution of confraternities to cultural developments in Barcelona has attracted the attention of art historians for their commissioning of artworks for their chapels and houses, but as regards their involvement in promoting musical activity, there has been a resounding silence. This is especially true of those feast days of greatest significance for all confraternities, whether guild or devotional: their patronal feast days. Since the sounds generated by these annual festivities rarely coincided with major feast days of the liturgical year and took place in the vicinity of the church where the confraternity had its chapel, they articulated the urban soundscape according to a different dynamic of temporal and spatial patterns.

Festive sounds reached areas of the city that did not form part of the trajectory of major processions and involved a range of shared sound-types that, in a particular combination and in the occupation of urban space identified the confraternity as an acoustic community and communicated its devotional practice to the wider urban populace in the locality. Given the presence of dozens of confraternities in Barcelona in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the spatial and aural density of their patronal feast days, their contribution to the urban soundscape was considerable throughout the year and throughout the city.

Statutes (*ordenacions*) of the devotional and guild confraternities of medieval and early modern Barcelona, as elsewhere, determined their spiritual advocacy(s) and the church or chapel where they were to be based.<sup>1</sup> These statutes were presented to the king for the stamp of royal approval, which gave the confraternity privileged status in a number of respects, including that of practising their devotions in their chosen ecclesiastical institution. Over time, statutes were modified and renewed, and advocations and churches were sometimes changed—often as a result of the merging or separation of confraternities—, but one aspect remained constant: their devotion to a particular saint, to the Virgin Mary, or to an aspect of the faith, such as the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin, was made manifest through the marking of the relevant feast with a combination of ceremonial and festive elements that drew attention to their devotional activities and enhanced their status. Details drawn from statutes, minutes of council meetings (*llibres de consells*), and accounts (*comptes*)<sup>2</sup> and analyzed from the perspective of historical sound studies, confirm that confraternities were indeed major patrons of music through the hiring of musicians on a regular basis for their patronal feasts. Sound was only one festive element among many, and needs to be considered in its intersensorial context.

The question as to why many confraternities spent a substantial amount on sound that, in contrast to an expensive but durable retable, was ephemeral and vanished into the vaults of churches and the thin air of processions, has been addressed by Jonathan Glixon in his major study of Venetian confraternities.<sup>3</sup> His research suggests that the justification of costly festivities lay in the honour they represented as an act of homage to God, as a contribution to the magnificence of the city and to the identity of

<sup>1</sup> Manuel de Bofarull y de Sartorio, archivist of the Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, published two volumes of confraternity statutes from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries with the title *Gremios y cofradías de la antigua Corona de Aragon*.

<sup>2</sup> Such documentation as survives is fragmentary, and information is scattered across different archives, requiring painstaking—but rewarding—research.

<sup>3</sup> Glixon, *Honoring God and the City*, 6–9.

the confraternity itself. Sound signalled status, especially when the sounds and musics involved echoed those of the ceremonial generated by the highest echelons of society: princely, noble, ecclesiastical, and civic. The typology of sounds heard as part of urban ceremonial varied little between festive events, from the Corpus Christi procession to the celebration of patronal feast days of individual confraternities: it was essentially a matter of scale and of specific performative spaces. For patronal feast days, the processional route was shorter and focused on the vicinity of a particular church, with fewer participants and public in attendance, and musical resources limited by financial considerations.

Even smaller confraternities valued the ways in which music enhanced their presence in the urban complex. A good example is presented by the deliberations at the council meetings of the Confraternity of the Holy Spirit of the blind and disabled in the late fifteenth century. Many of the members of this confraternity were blind musicians who played string instruments—usually plucked and bowed *vihuelas*—and participated in the procession and added to their identity in sound,<sup>4</sup> yet they also hired minstrels (*juglars*). On 29 April 1487 the council took the decision to pay for two wind-bands (*cobles*) of four minstrels, instead of the usual one, “so that all the men and women of the confraternity might be happy” (“se haien dos cobles de jutglars per que tots los confreres e confrasses sien contents”).<sup>5</sup> Members—or a majority of them—wished to have their feast day of Pentecost, held annually in the parish church of Santa Maria del Mar, celebrated in a more festive manner. The cost may not have been a major issue for the confraternity, since the hiring of two *cobles* became an established part of their celebrations. Discussion at a meeting on 3 May 1495 assumed that it had become a permanent fixture; it was noted that the confraternity had only one set of four scarlet tabards for the minstrels and that since they now regularly employed two *cobles* another set was required:

The third and last point to be discussed is whether there should be two *cobles* of minstrels for the upcoming feast of the present confraternity because of the many men and women who are members of it, and the said confraternity has tabards for only one *cobla* of minstrels, so they [the heads or *promens*] in its name should debate whether tabards for another *cobla* should be made.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Knighton, “Urban Soundscapes”.

<sup>5</sup> AHCB, Gremis especials, Confraria del Sant Espiritu, 5D126–2B.53/74.2, *Llibre de concells e inventaris, 1485–1496*, 29 April 1487.

<sup>6</sup> AHCB, Gremis especials, Confraria del Sant Espiritu, 5D126–2B.53/74.2, 3 May 1495: “Lo terc e darer cap es que per quant es deslliberat per dos cobles de jutglars a obs de la festa

The annual inventory for that year duly records eight tabards for *juglars*, as well as four banners for trumpeters, another new item in that year's list indicating that trumpets had also become a regular sound signal for the patronal feast day.<sup>7</sup> The minstrels' scarlet tabards, painted with figures of the blind and disabled poor, would have caught the attention of spectators and passers-by and reinforced the confraternity's identity visually as they processed from their headquarters in the Carrer Vilanova to the nearby church of Santa Maria del Mar, as did the ear-catching sound of two *cobles*. The justification given in the meeting for the need for two *cobles* was the large number of members, men and women, who would have participated in the procession and in the liturgical celebration in the church. The trumpeters probably headed the procession, while the *cobles* were interpolated at different points, thus extending the aural impact to all members. The hiring of eight instrumentalists, kitted out in striking uniforms, undoubtedly made their patronal feast day more festive. Larger ensembles, or the hiring of more than one *cobla*, meant more expense, but also more sound, more presence in the urban soundscape, and so more prestige. The balance between expense and the creation of festive sound in both street and church as an aural emblem that enhanced the visual identity conveyed by the confraternity's standard was variable: musicians were highly valued as an aural emblem; their absence reflected the precarious financial situation of individual confraternities.

### Hiring of Musicians for Patronal Feast Days

As in the case of the confraternity of the blind, each year the hiring of minstrels and other musicians was debated a few weeks before the patronal feast day. When financial constraints had to be taken into consideration, minstrels and the dances (*ballades*), together with the flowers (*remallets*) given to members as they arrived for Vespers the evening before the feast day, and the scented rose water (*aiguaros*) sprinkled on them, were seen as optional "extras." The expense of minstrels, flowers and dancing was customarily covered by the confraternities' annual income, where this was sufficient, and/or by voluntary contributions from confraternity members. It was not a foregone conclusion that this expense would be met each year: for example, in 1477, the guild confraternity of hosiery makers (*calseters*)

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sdevenidora de la dit e present confraria per causa dels molts confreres e confrasses de aquella e la dit confraria no tinguan sobreuestes sino per hun cobble de jutglars que ells desllibaren si la dit confraria e ells en nom de aquella faran sobreuestes per altre cobble de jutglars."

<sup>7</sup> AHCB, Gremis especials, Confraria del Sant Espiritu, 5D126-2B.53/74.2, 3 May 1495: "Item vuyt sobreuestes de tela vermella pintades de pobres segos e contrets qui serueixen per los jutglars lo dia de la festa de la confraria e quatre banderes per les trompetes."

voted not to have trumpets and minstrels (*trompes e juglas*) for the feast day of their patron saint, St Sebastian (20 January) that year, because of a period of “great poverty and need” (“*attesa la temporada de molta pobresa e necessitat que no sien hagudes trompes*”); this would seem to have been occasioned by the expense of a lawsuit with the tailors’ confraternity (*sastres*).<sup>8</sup> Usually the proposal was met with agreement to follow the practice of previous years (“*com es acostumat*”). The custom was widespread among confraternities: even where accounts or council minutes do not survive, inventories confirm it. The 1495 inventory of the Confraternity of St Miquel of the butchers (*carnissers*), taken in the Carmelite church where it was based, lists “five tabards for the minstrels of green cloth with the guild emblem” (“*sinch sobrevestes dels dits jutglars fetes de tela verda ab lo senyal del ofici*”), as well as “three banners for the minstrels, that is two for the trumpets, and another for the cornamuse-player, with the guild emblem” (“*tres paños per los jutglars, los dos per los trompetes e laltro per la cornamusa ab senyal del ofici*”).<sup>9</sup>

Inventories offer but a snapshot, while council minutes provide a more detailed survey over time, as in the case of the guild confraternity of coopers (*boters*), based in the church of the Mercedarian monastery, for which more or less continuous records survive from 1594 to 1622.<sup>10</sup> From the sixteenth century, this confraternity had more than one patronal feast day as a result of the merging of the brotherhoods of the coopers of light-weight barrels (*boters de fusta prima*), whose patron saint was St George (23 April), and the coopers of more solid wood barrels (*boters de fusta grossa*), under the advocacy of the Beheaded St John the Baptist (29 August).<sup>11</sup> By the late sixteenth century, a further patron saint had been added: St Lawrence (10 August). Council minutes demonstrate that although the annual discussions as to whether or not to pay for musicians for each of the patronal feast days were noted in a formulaic manner, small details about funding and function emerge to give a clearer picture of the participation

<sup>8</sup> The meeting was held on 9 January 1477 in the chapel of St Sebastià in the church of St Joan; AHCB, Gremis especials, Confraria del Sant Espiritu, 5D126–2B.49/1. Calseters: *Libre antich de Priuilegis y ordinacions*, 1455–1458, fol. 31<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> AHPB, Pere Font (1483–1510), 250/4, *Memorial de les coses e bens de la dita confraria dels carnissers de Barcelona* (unfoliated).

<sup>10</sup> AHPB, Maties Castello (1563–1575), 414/3, *Liber confrarie boteriorum*, 1563–[1622], (unfoliated).

<sup>11</sup> The sixteenth-century statutes of the guild confraternity of coopers (AHPB, Maties Castello (1563–1575), 414/3, *Liber confrarie boteriorum*, 1563–[1622]) note that the continued celebration of both feast days was intended to demonstrate the union, harmony and confraternal bond between the two branches (“*per mostrar entre ells la dita vnio concordia e confraternitat*”).

of musicians and the desired effect of their presence. At the meeting of 9 August 1595, “it was raised by the officials [*promens*] whether, for the feast day of the Beheaded St John the Baptist on the 29th of the present month of August, they should hire minstrels and have flowers”, with an affirmative decision being reached: “And the present council decided and concluded that minstrels should be hired so that they play [sound] for first Vespers and Office of St John”.<sup>12</sup> This brief entry confirms the standard practice of hiring a wind-band on the eve of the feast to accompany the confraternity’s officials to Vespers, and, on the day itself, to Mass. The previous year, 1594, the debate had included the question of whether there should be dancing (“y si ballaren”), but the decision had been taken against the inclusion of dances, and this was also the case in 1597 (“sens ballades”), and in subsequent years, either through lack of funds or because post-Tridentine strictures increasingly held sway.

Cost was certainly an issue for the coopers. At a meeting on 13 April 1599, the decision was taken to suspend the hiring of minstrels and distribution of flowers for a period of five years “que cessassen per temps de sinch anys les despeses que cascun any se solian fer de juglars y ramallets en les festes de St Jordi, St Joan, y St Lorens”), because of the substantial expense incurred by making a new standard for the royal entry of Philip III.<sup>13</sup> The absence of minstrels over such a long period, and for all three feasts, would have signalled quite clearly to members, and to the inhabitants accustomed to seeing and hearing their patronal feast day festivities in the vicinity of the Mercedarian church, that the confraternity was suffering financial hardship. It also changed the protocol of how those feasts were celebrated: without sonic representation of confraternity officials as they processed with their standard from the house of the head *promen* to the church, the customary procession was inconceivable; instead, officials and members were to make their separate ways, soundlessly, to the church:

the said *promens* had thought that as they would have no minstrels to lead the way, contrary to well established custom, as a sign and in honour of the saint, on the forthcoming day of St George, it would thus be inappropriate, on the said day, for the members to gather at the head official’s house to accompany the *promens* to [the church]

<sup>12</sup> AHPB, Maties Castello (1563–1575), 414/3, *Liber confrarie boteriorum*, 1563–[1622], 9 August 1595: “Per los dits promens fonch proposat si lo dia de la festa de la degollatio de St Joan que es a 29 del current mes de Agost logaran juglas y si s faran ramallets. E lo present consell feu delliberatio y conclusio que s logasen Jugllas pera que sonassen dit dia de St Joan a les primers vespres y al offici”.

<sup>13</sup> Philip III entered into the city on 18 May 1599; see Chamorro Esteban, *Barcelona y el rey*, 77–84.

for the celebration of the divine offices, and for this reason it would also not be seemly to take the standard to the leading official's house, as for a long time has been the custom, but it would be better that members, each one separately, make their own way to the [church] to honour and celebrate the said feast day, as is becoming for good and devout brothers.<sup>14</sup>

This proposal was accepted and it was suggested that, although the standard was not to be taken in procession, it should nevertheless be displayed, according to custom, over the three days of the festivities, in the window of the head official's house to commemorate the feast day ("no res menys lo dit prom y los altres qui seran, tragan en dits jornadas a la finestra de sa casa la bandera en memoria de la festa com es de costum"). Sound, parade, and carrying the standard in procession to and from the church, were thus viewed as an integrated part of the ceremonial of the patronal feast celebration: without the sound of instrumentalists, the rest could not take place and the confraternity's presence in the urban soundscape would have been diminished.

This was probably the reason why in April 1604, as soon as the five years were up, the coopers' confraternity resumed hiring *juglars* for their patronal feast days, yet the situation remained unstable. In April and July 1605, it was agreed that there should be "minstrel music at the offices [Vespers and Mass]" ("musica de menestrils als officis"), for the feast of St George and St Lawrence respectively, and that this, as had customarily been the case, should be paid out of the confraternity's funds ("lo gasto sie pagat dels diners de la confraria"). Despite this decision, the minstrel music for Mass and Vespers for St Lawrence's day was debated again at a meeting held on 7 August, just a few days before the celebrations. The third *promen*, responsible for the organization of the musicians and flowers, refused to cooperate, insisting that the confraternity was poor, and could not afford the expense. Further debate resulted in a compromise: there would be no flowers, but there would be music, which would be paid through a combination of individual donations and available funds (*bossa*). Donations were made by eleven of the thirty-one members present

<sup>14</sup> AHPB, Maties Castello (1563–1575), 414/3, *Liber confrarie boteriorum*, 13 April 1599: "per ço ells dits promens hauian pensat que pus per la jornada de st Jordi proxima ells per anar a la dita festa no tindran juglars que bagen deuant com era la loable costum en senyal y honra de la festa del Sant, per ço no aparereria be que per la dita jornada los dits confreres se juntassen en casa del dit prom per acompanyar los dits promens al present loch per la celebratio dels officis diuinals, y per la dita raho apar que tambe no conuendre s se trague la bandera en casa del prom com de molt temps atras es acostumat, sino que ans seria millor que tots los confreres separadament y cadahu per si sen vinguessen al present loch per honrar y festiuar la dita festa com de vns bons y deuots confreres se pertany."



at the meeting on 7 August 1605, resulting in a total of 33 sous.<sup>15</sup> This amount seems not to have covered the officials' procession, since members were to go straight to their chapel ("y que los confreres se juntan a la capella, y no a casa del prom"). At the same meeting, the purchase of new dalmatics raised twenty donations from those present and greater financial support, perhaps signalling a more enduring need than ephemeral sounds that had been foregone in recent years. Only a month later, at a meeting on 4 September 1605, it was reported that the confraternity was too poor even to buy the iron bands (*cercols*) needed for making barrels, and, perhaps unsurprisingly, it was again decided to do without music and flowers, this time for a period of three years.<sup>16</sup>

Even though payment for minstrels was resumed by the coopers in April 1609, the second decade of the seventeenth century was marked by a lack of consistency and continuity. In 1609, all three feasts included instrumentalists and flowers, but from about 1611, the feast for St Lawrence seems to have been celebrated "without music when hearing divine office" ("sens musica pera oir los officis diuinals"), which would have resulted in a considerable annual saving. The feasts of St George and John the Baptist generally continued to be sounded by minstrels, although not necessarily every year, until the records run out in 1622. On one occasion, it seems to have been impossible for the coopers' confraternity to hire musicians, even though they wished to do so, because demand for minstrels for the feast of St George, patron saint of Catalonia, was so high: at the meeting of 8 April 1613, the *promens* proposed the hiring of minstrels as usual, but during the discussion it transpired that "the music will be very expensive because the Diputació has booked all the musicians, and it would in any case be difficult to find any, and so there will be no music or flowers" ("aqueix dia costara molt per causa de tenir la deputation llogats tots los

<sup>15</sup> AHPB, Maties Castello (1563–1575), 414/3. *Liber confrarie boteriorum*, 7 August 1605: "per lo consell fos estat determinat que la festa de sanct lorens proxima se honras y festiuas ab musica de menestrils als officis de la missa y vespres, empero que ara miquel Pomada, prom ters a qui toca lo carrech de dita festa, recusa fer la de musica ni ramallets, donant per raho de que la confraria estaua pobre, y que axi conuenia escusar aqueix gasto; y que per ço ho tornauen a proposar al consell per s deliberas, y lo consell resolgue y delibere que no s donen ramallets, empero que y hage musica, y que s pac de ma y de bossa, y que los confreres se junten a la capella y no a casa del prom. Los que offiren donar per pagar dita musica foren ço es: Miquel Pomade prom 12s; Pere Reus 4s; Pere Batista 8s; Francesch Matas 2s; Bernat Codina 2s; Miquel Simo 1s; Joachim Mazalz 2s; Sebastia March 2s; Jaume Leopart 2s; Berthomeu Serra 2s; Phelip Costeny 2s."

<sup>16</sup> AHPB, Maties Castello (1563–1575), 414/3, *Liber confrarie boteriorum*, 4 September 1605: "Mes auant fou proposat si per la metexa raho de star la confraria pobre aparereria leuar la musica y ramallets de las fiestas de la confraria per temps de tres anys per staluiar aquestos gastos e lo consell delibera que sien leuades les ballades y ramallets."

Musichs, y tambe serie dificultos trobarne que per so no y haja musica ni ramellets”). The Diputació, or regional council, did indeed hire minstrels for St George’s Day in 1613, as each year: on the eve of the feast (22 April 1613), “first Vespers of the feast of glorious St George was celebrated, with much music [minstrels] and a polyphonic choir (*cantoria*)”, an event, announced by town crier, and held in their own chapel in the presence of the city councillors.<sup>17</sup>

As one of the most important non-ecclesiastical institutions in Barcelona, the Diputació had considerable clout in hiring wind-bands for the celebrations for St George’s Day, which they were able to do through their own musical agents;<sup>18</sup> not only would they have ensured that their needs took precedence over those of a relatively minor confraternity, they would also have closed the deal by being able to offer the musicians more money. The system of hiring freelance instrumentalists in Barcelona was highly developed and seemingly efficient, but in comparison to major urban festivities,<sup>19</sup> those promulgated by guild confraternities for their patron saints’ days employed relatively few *juglars*, and would have been unable to compete. The patronal feast day of the guild confraternity of box-makers and turners (*capsers i torners*), which usually hired minstrels for the annual feast-day celebrations held for their patron saint—St Onuphrius (320–400; 12 June), often fell within the Octave of Corpus Christi, when there was high demand for *cobles*. On 4 June 1627, the council meeting heard that instrumentalists had been sought and none found for the eve, so those present were asked whether they wanted musicians or not, especially in light of the parlous state of their financial affairs. It was decided that, given the situation, the feast day be marked with as little expense as possible.<sup>20</sup> The music was restored in succeeding years, and in 1632, when the feast

<sup>17</sup> Cases i Loscos et al, eds. *Dietaris de la Generalitat de Catalunya*, 4: 22 April 1613: “Vigilia del gloriós sant Jordi. En aquest die se feren les primeres vespres de la festa del gloriós sant Jordi, ab molta música y cantoria, y féu-se la crida del jubilee; vingueren-hy los senyors con-sellers; isqué.ls a rèbrer tot lo consistory al cap de la scalla, en lo forma costumada.”

<sup>18</sup> In 1613, the person responsible for hiring minstrels on behalf of the Generalitat was Antoni Ramon; see Chamorro Esteban, *Barcelona y el Rey*, 302–305.

<sup>19</sup> For example, sixteen places in the city were designated for wind-bands to play in the festivities held for the canonization of St Raymond de Penyafort; see Garcia Espuche, “Una Ciutat de danses”, 26–27, while twenty-two *cobles* (at a cost of over 1000 lliures) were employed by Ramon on behalf of the Diputació for the royal entry of 1599; see Chamorro Esteban, *Barcelona y el Rey*, 304.

<sup>20</sup> “attes estos dies passats se tingue vn consell acerca de la festa y com se haia cercat musica y non trobren per la vigilia y en la confraria no y ha diners y se deu alguna quantita per so se determinaren [...] que dita festa se fassa ab lo menor gasto se puda fer”; AHCB, Gremis especials, Capsers i torners, 5D126–2B.145/2 (*olim* 19/2), *Llibre de consells i altres coses*, 1621–1637 (unfoliated), 4 June 1632.

day again fell within the Octave, the confraternity decided to move their festivities to the following Monday, thus avoiding the clash and being able to contract minstrels.

### Overall Expenditure on Music for Patronal Feast Days

As is clear from the preceding discussion, the expenditure on sonic elements included in the celebration of patronal feast days was considerable, even for the hiring of minstrels alone. Many guild and devotional confraternities in Barcelona, as elsewhere, also paid considerable sums to secure the services of priests, deacons, and subdeacons for the singing of Mass, preachers, organists, and singers, as well as bell-ringers and criers to announce the festive event. The high number of patronal feast-day celebrations during the year meant that expenditure on organized sounds was considerable. My research to date has focused on the limited number of account books (referred to as the “Llibre de la confraria” or the “Llibre de Promenia”) that have survived from the sixteenth and early seventeenth century in city archives. Extensive records, such as those for the shoemakers’ confraternity, which are preserved continuously from the early seventeenth century to the beginning of the eighteenth, are rare and make this brotherhood particularly worthy of study. However, even fragmentary records—such as those of the porters or dockworkers (*bastaixos*, also known as the *macips de Ribera*) that cover only a few years—can be illuminating and give some insight into the range of resources at the disposal of confraternities, from the smaller communities to those with hundreds of members. In Table 1, the expenditure of four confraternities (three guild-based and one devotional) on sonic elements over a specific period of time is summarized. Each case will be discussed briefly for its particular practices, and in comparison with the others.

Table 1. Expenditure Made by Confraternities on Musicians and Other Sound Sources, 1550–1640  
(Amounts vary slightly in some years; those given in Table 1 represent the range.)

Confraternity	Cries	Liturgy	Bells	Sermons	Singers	Organ	Juglars	Decades
<i>Bastaixos</i> / Sta Maria del Mar St Thecla 23 Sept.	-	8s	-	6s	8s	2s	4s	1570s
<i>Inmaculada Concepció</i> / cathedral 8 Dec.	<i>trompetes</i> 5ll 10s; <i>atambors</i> 1ll 10s	34s	-	-	4ll 4s <i>mestre</i> 2ll 4s	-	<i>violales</i> 4ll 7s; <i>juglars</i> : 6ll 12s	1610s
<i>Matalassers i Vanoves</i> / San Miquel								
St Lucy 14 Dec	2s (bell)	18s 10d	2s	8s	4s-8s	1s 6d	4ll 1563	1550s-
St Sebastian 20 Jan.	2s	18s 6d+	2s	8s	4s-8s	1s 6d+	-	1570s
St Lucy 14 Dec.	2s	18s 10d	2s	8s	11s-16s	2s	1ll 10s	1580s-
St Sebastian 20 Jan.	2s	18s 10d	2s	8s	11s-16s	2s-3s	1ll 10s	1590s
St Lucy 14 Dec.	2s	-	2s	8s	16s	2s+8d	1ll 12s	1600-
St Sebastian 20 Jan.	2s	-	2s	8s	16s	2s+8d	1ll 12s	1634
<i>Sabaters</i> / cathedral								
St Mark 25 Apr.	2s jubilee	14s*	2-3s	1ll 4s	2ll 12s	16s+4s	3-4ll	1610s-
St Anianus 12 Oct.		8s-14s		1ll	8s	8s+2s	2ll	1620
St Crispin 25 Oct.		14s	3s	1ll	16s+	8s+2s	3ll	
St Mark 25 Apr.		14s		1ll	2ll 12s	16s+4s	4ll	1620s-
St Anianus 12 Oct.		1ll 8s\$		1ll	) 5ll 4s	1ll	2ll-3ll	1639
St Crispin 25 Oct.		1ll		1ll	)	1ll	2ll-3ll	

*The Guild Confraternity of Dockworkers*

The *bastaixos* were dockworkers, paid for carrying heavy objects around the port and city of Barcelona.<sup>21</sup> They were key to the building of the parish church of Santa Maria del Mar during the fourteenth century: construction began in 1329 and was completed in 1383. The stone from which it was built was carried by the *bastaixos*, on their shoulders, from Montjuich to the building-site in the Born, a distance of about six kilometres.<sup>22</sup> In recognition of their feat, the sign of their guild confraternity was mounted on the main doors of the church (fig. 5.1), and they were granted a number of special privileges: the *promens* of the confraternity held the keys to the tabernacle,<sup>23</sup> and when a member took communion, the tabernacle was opened wide (a privilege otherwise granted only to dignitaries), and—in a good example of an urban sound signal communicating identity—the bells were rung, even when the viaticum was administered at night. The confraternity, whose chapel was based in the church, had two patron saints: the apostle St Matthias (feast day 14 May), and St Thecla (23 September).

Little documentation has been preserved as regards the devotional activities of the confraternity, but a book of council meeting minutes and the accounts for the cost of the feast of St Thecla for two years in the early 1570s afford a glimmer of insight.<sup>24</sup> Minutes of council meetings from the second half of the sixteenth century reveal aspects of the agreement between the confraternity and the church: a Mass was held for them in their chapel every Sunday, as well as on their patronal feast days, for which they paid about 10 lliures each year, with the cost of bread and wine amounting to 1ll 12s.<sup>25</sup> General anniversaries for deceased members were held—in accordance with common practice among guild confraternities—on the days after their two patronal feast days; in 1554, the council, noting that the anniversary after the feast of St Thecla had not been celebrated for some

<sup>21</sup> *Historial del gremi de bastaixos*. The *bastaixos*' story has been told in the bestselling novel by Ildefonso Falcones, *La catedral del Mar* (2009).

<sup>22</sup> Based on a document dating from 1483, cited by Pierre Bonnassie, the *bastaixos* were paid 30 lliures per annum (50 sous a month), an amount above that, for example, of the *portalers* or city gatekeepers (45 sous a month, 27 lliures per annum); Bonnassie, *La organización del trabajo*, 115–116.

<sup>23</sup> *Historial del gremi de bastaixos*, 20–23; Bonnassie, *La organización del trabajo*, 123.

<sup>24</sup> AHCB, Gremis especials, Bastaixos, 5D126–2B.17/1, *Llibre de concells*, 1550–1571; and AHCB, Gremis especials, Bastaixos, 5D126–2B.17/2, *Pliego con varios documentos, inventarios, ordenanzas*, 1550–1826 (unfoliated).

<sup>25</sup> AHCB, Gremis especials, Bastaixos, 5D126–2B.17/1, *Llibre de concells*, 1550–1571, fols. 9v, 47<sup>r</sup> and 54<sup>r</sup>.

time, agreed to re-establish it.<sup>26</sup> It is not clear if, in fact, this occurred, since two years later the guild confraternity of Barcelona dockworkers claimed that they were too poor to respond to the request from the Queen of Portugal, Catherine of Austria (d. 1578), to contribute to financing the conquest of Algeria; indeed, they claimed they were too poor to pay for maintaining candles to light their altar.<sup>27</sup>

These details provide a context for the confraternity's expenditure on the ceremonial for their patronal feast days. The accounts for the feast of St Thecla in 1572 and 1573 show that, in accordance with other brotherhoods, the dockworkers were paying for the usual items: the sonic accompaniment of their officials to church, the priest, deacon, and sub-deacon needed for a sung Mass, the "chaplains who sang in the choir", an organist, a preacher, and, probably, minstrels, as suggested by the payment of four sous to "Garriga for expenses for undertaking to play for Mass".<sup>28</sup> This amount would have been too high for a bell-ringer, and clearly does not relate to the organist, who was paid two sous separately, and it represents a small amount in terms of what was customarily offered to a *cobla* of minstrels; however, the payment appears to relate only to Mass, and this would have reduced the cost. Perhaps Garriga's intervention was as a solo trumpeter or shawm-player to sound the Elevation. The itemized payment of eight sous to singers was in line with other confraternities and probably indicates that the polyphony that was heard during the liturgy for the feast of St Thecla was sung by "capellans qui cantaren al cor", which must often have been the case in parish churches where chaplains doubled as singers so that it was not necessary to recruit them from the cathedral.<sup>29</sup>

It is not always clear how interested the confraternity members were in paying for the festive sounds that characterized urban festivities. At a council meeting in 1553, the *bastaixos* decided that, although the 20 sous

<sup>26</sup> AHCB, Gremis especials, Bastaixos, 5D126-2B.17/1, *Llibre de concells*, 1550-1571, fol. 27<sup>v</sup> (29 September 1554): "E tambe que antigament se acostumaua celebrar vn aniuersari per les animes de los confreres defuncts lo sendema de la festa de la gloriosa santa Tecla lo qual fa molt temps que se s dexat de celebrar, que ves y determinas lo dit consell que lo dit aniuersari fos tornat axi com antigament se acostumaua celebrar [...] que lo dit aniuersari sia tornat i s celebre cascun any lo dit die del sendema de sta Tecla com antigament se feya y celebraua."

<sup>27</sup> AHCB, Gremis especials, Bastaixos, 5D126-2B.17/1, *Llibre de concells*, 1550-1571, fol. 10<sup>r</sup> (2 March 1556): "la dita confraria era tan pobre que no bastaua a pagar la luminaria."

<sup>28</sup> *Pliego con varios documentos, inventarios, ordenanzas*, [1573]: "mes per la caritat del offici sermoneador de dita festa 6s"; "mes per los qui digueren lo offici ço es la missa cantant y diaca y sotsdiaca 8s; mes per lo organista 2s"; "mes per los capellans qui cantaren al cor 8s; mes doni a nen Garriga qui se empres de fer sonar al offici per ajuda de costa."

<sup>29</sup> Records concerning music at Santa Maria del Mar were largely destroyed in the Civil War, but some information is included in Baldelló, "La música en la basilica parroquial de Santa Maria del Mar".

usually spent on “sons” (minstrels) that accompanied their standard in the Corpus Christi procession should be withdrawn, 10 sous should still be spent on refreshments (*collacio*) for those who paraded with the standard, a decision warmly welcomed by the meeting:<sup>30</sup> the need for refreshment no doubt outweighed that for sonic representation when funds were tight.<sup>31</sup> The overall costs to the confraternity for the feast of St Thecla in the early 1570s included about 30 sous for the sounds of divine worship and about 28 sous for the chapel and its decoration, a total of 2ll 18s: equal emphasis on the visual and olfactory (the scent of hyssop and flowers would have pervaded the chapel) points to the intersensoriality of these events. These expenses do not include the amounts paid for candles and other regular costs—the anniversary celebrated the following day cost well over two lliures—meaning that the outlay on this one patronal feast was substantial within the economic situation of the confraternity.

### *The Devotional Confraternity of the Most Pure Conception*

The dockworkers’ situation would have been common to many of the guild confraternities of sixteenth-century Barcelona: lack of economic resources limited spending on festivities but did not usually curtail them altogether. At the other end of the scale was the devotional confraternity of the Most Pure Conception of the Virgin Mary, based in the cathedral cloisters, that, by the beginning of the seventeenth century, had hundreds of members, male and female.<sup>32</sup> The confraternity was established in the royal palace in the early fourteenth century, and its membership originally comprised exclusively those who moved in royal circles. In 1389, on the orders of King Joan I (r. 1387–1396), it moved to the cathedral cloister and broadened its membership, and in 1566 it transferred to a larger chapel in the corner of the cloisters, its current location. Its feast day was marked by a procession, organized by the confraternity, that became increasingly elaborate: already by the mid-fifteenth century the city councillors were hiring seven uniformed trumpets and one drummer to accompany them in the parade;<sup>33</sup>

<sup>30</sup> AHCB, Gremis especials, Bastaixos, 5D126–2B.17/1, *Llibre de concells*, 1550–1571, fol. 24<sup>v</sup> (29 September 1553): “que deci deuant [...] que los vint sous que la confraria acostumaua de dar per sons sien leuats y que dels vint sous se despenguessen solament deu sous per collacio entre los confreres que ab la dita bandera sort s acompanyada la professo y apres hauran acompanyada la dita bandera a casa del prom en cap. E lo dit consell entesa dita propositio per dits promens feta lo parer y comendaren molt la dita propositio.”

<sup>31</sup> Comes and Puiggari, *Libre de algvnes coses asanyalades*, 635.

<sup>32</sup> The bibliography related to this confraternity is quite extensive; it is usefully summarized in Puentes Blanco, “*Música y devoción*”, 1: 472–473.

<sup>33</sup> Kreitner, “Music and Civic in Late Fifteenth-Century Barcelona”, 74; document dated 5 December 1460.

and by the early seventeenth century, the sounds of trumpets and drums, wind-bands, stringed instruments and singers filled the area around the cathedral on 8 December each year.<sup>34</sup>

Statutes dating from the early sixteenth century outline the structure of the confraternity and its Marian devotions.<sup>35</sup> All five Marian feasts were celebrated during the year with “solemn offices [Vespers and Mass] and sermon” (“con oficios solemnes y sermon”), and the celebration of Vespers was announced by bell-ringing. The nobility, honoured citizens,<sup>36</sup> city councillors, and high-ranking clergy were invited to the feast of the Most Pure Conception (8 December), which was marked by a solemn procession.<sup>37</sup> Having processed to the royal palace, the *Salve regina* was sung, and, on return to the cathedral, “what the bishop and cathedral chapter ordain is sung” (“se canta lo que el obispo y el capítulo ordenaran”). Such a high profile social gathering, together with the religious significance of the feast—celebrated with due pomp from 1390—meant that it became one of the most important in the city.<sup>38</sup> The sounds that heralded and accompanied the divine offices and procession were organized to create a memorable impression, reminiscent in scale of royal entries, and making reference to the brotherhood’s palace origins.

The importance of the procession on the feast of the Most Pure Conception in the civic context is clear from events in 1598 following the death of King Philip II on 13 September. The city councillors went into prolonged mourning. For the customary announcement for the procession the trumpets and drums did not wear their red silk tabards (“sens aportar les vestes de domas axi los tabalers com los trompetes, per causa del dol”) and the councillors went separately, and in silence, to the cathedral to attend Vespers.<sup>39</sup> The procession itself, however, took place as normal: “and in the procession came the city drums and trumpets with their silk tabards,

<sup>34</sup> AHPB, Salvador Coll, leg. 34, *Pliego de escrituras sueltas, años 1604–1605*: “Libro de los pagos de la cofradía en la Concepción de la Virgen María, dated 9 December 1604; cited in Baldelló, “La música en la basilica parroquial”, 231–232.

<sup>35</sup> The main source is ACB, Cofradía de la Purísima Concepción. Govern. Lligall 7, plec I (1465–1513). See Puentes Blanco, “*Música y devoción*”, 1: 475–477.

<sup>36</sup> Amelang, *Honoured Citizens of Barcelona*. On the increase in Marian devotions in Counter-Reformation Catalonia, see Kamen, *Cambio cultural*, 137–140

<sup>37</sup> The route followed by the procession went directly from the cathedral to the royal palace, and returned via the church of San Jaume and the episcopal palace. The trajectory was short, but, given the number of participants, must have lasted a considerable time, providing an excellent showcase for the higher echelons of society.

<sup>38</sup> Soria Sánchez, “Historia de las fiestas de la Inmaculada Concepción”, 590. The Immaculate Conception was recognized as doctrine by the university in 1618, the declaration resulting in another lavish ceremony; see Puentes-Blanco, “*Música y devoción*”, 1: 493–494.

<sup>39</sup> *Manual dels Novells ardots*, 7:165–166.



and the twenty-four kings, the angels and the eagle, as if there were no mourning, in honour of the said feast day” (“y a la professo anaren los tabals y trompetes de la ciutat, ab les vestes de domas, y los XXIII reys, los angels y la aliga, com si no y hagues dol, en honra de la dita festivitiat”). This succinct description highlights the importance of the feast and identifies several of the soundmarks of the procession: the trumpets and drums, the string-players dressed as angel musicians, and the dance of the Eagle accompanied by minstrels.

By the early seventeenth century, the number of musicians hired for the procession was higher than for any other confraternal patronal feast day in the city and the financial outlay beyond that of even the wealthiest guild confraternities. Accounts for the years 1613 through 1621 are unusually specific in their detailing not only of how many musicians were paid, but also in providing their names and functions: several of them were well known figures in the musical life of the city.<sup>40</sup> To begin with the *crida*: the city trumpeter—Bartholomeu Melons—was paid 5ll 10s for the corps of trumpeters made up of himself and his companions (“aliorum socio-rum suorum”) for accompanying the cry and participating in the procession (“pro preconio fieri solito ratione festiuitatis dicite Inmaculationae Conceptionis Sacratissimae Virginis mariae, et pro sonandis tubis siue trompetes In processione In dicta die”). The drummers, led by the black drummer Antoni Portugues, were paid 1ll 10s, also for participating in both *crida* and procession.<sup>41</sup>

As already mentioned, the sound of viols was closely associated with the blind *oracioners* of the city, members of the Confraternity of the Holy Spirit. Dressed as angel musicians—with white robes, haloes, and wings—, these instrumentalists regularly formed part of the Corpus Christi procession,<sup>42</sup> playing before the monstrance to represent celestial music, but otherwise, they performed only on special occasions, such as royal entries or beatifications and canonizations. In 1613, Miquel Andreu,

<sup>40</sup> ACB, Cofradia de la Purisima Concepcio, Lligall 7, Plech 2, *Deliberacions i ordinacions de la Confraria*. I consulted this document in November 2014; a summary of the information is given in Puentes-Blanco, “*Música y devoción*”, 1: 479–483. The payments for 1613 are found at fols. 3<sup>r</sup>–8<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>41</sup> These amounts remained the same as in 1604: 5ll 10s for the trumpets, and 30s for the drummers, here led by Pere Joan Negre, *tabaler*. The tradition of employing black drummers was well established in Barcelona, as elsewhere in the Iberian Peninsula, by at least the second half of the fifteenth century; see Knighton, “Black African Musicians”.

<sup>42</sup> In the fifteenth century, these musicians were often drawn from the artisanal sector, with swordmakers (*espasers*), sheathmakers (*bayners*), and esparto grass workers (*esparters*) all being involved: see Kreitner, “Music and Civic Ceremony”, 182–185. During the sixteenth century, as the Confraternity of the Holy Spirit gained standing in the city, blind musicians were often hired to fulfil this role. See Knighton, “Urban Soundscapes”.

“musicus violarius”, and his unnamed colleagues, were paid 4ll 7s to play during the procession and in the confraternity’s chapel on the eve and day of the feast.<sup>43</sup> Another blind musician, Pere Joan Steve (“musich de corda”), was hired by the Confraternity of the Most Pure Conception for the same amount in 1604 and was similarly active in the musical life of the city.<sup>44</sup> In 1613, wind players participated in the procession and also played in the chapel on the eve and day of the feast (“pro salari sonandi In vigilia et in die conceptionis In hori vespertinis et tam in processione quam Inter Capellam”). Joan Rovira was paid 6ll 12s for himself and his colleagues, while in 1604, Antich Vergers, “musich de manestrils” received the same amount “per sonar la vigilia y en la festa y la professó”; he was also paid 6ll for another *cobla*, although its function is not described.<sup>45</sup> According to custom, wind players were hired as freelance musicians; the cathedral did not establish a salaried *cobla* until August 1648, when they decided to buy the instruments necessary to put together a *cobla* of minstrels “formar una cobla de ministrils”.<sup>46</sup>

The Confraternity of the Most Pure Conception was able to hire the cathedral chapel master, who in 1604 was Jaume Angel Tàpies (?1599–1612), and in 1613 Joan Pujol (1612–1626). Tàpies was paid 24s “to sing in the Office and the procession” (“per cantar en lo offici y a la professó”) with his companions, and Pujol the same (“sibi et sociis suis debitis ex eo quia cantavit In Officio & processione dictae sacratissimae virginis mariae in die siue festiuitatis”), although this amount was raised to 2ll 4s from 1616. A few years later Pujol was paid a further 20s “for extraordinary works” (“pro laboribus extra ordinariis”), which may, as Andrea Puentes-Blanco has suggested, have referred to the composition of new works for the feast of the Immaculate Conception, since a volume entitled “In festo Concepcionis beatae Mariae ad vespervas” (now lost) was listed among the polyphonic music books he left at the time of his death in 1626.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>43</sup> This ensemble comprised between eight and ten players (see Anglès, *Johannis Pujol. Opera omnia*, 1: x–xii); several of these instrumentalists can be securely identified as blind *oracioners*; see Knighton, *Daily Musical life*.

<sup>44</sup> Baldelló, “La música en la basilica parroquial”, 231.

<sup>45</sup> Baldelló, “La música en la basilica parroquial”, 232.

<sup>46</sup> Pavia i Simó, *La música en la cathedral de Barcelona*, 297. The date of 1648 is very late in comparison with Castilian cathedrals, where minstrels were salaried from the first half of the sixteenth century, the earliest known example being Seville in 1526; see Ruiz Jiménez, “Ministriles y extravagantes”, 201.

<sup>47</sup> Puentes-Blanco, “*Música y devoción*”, 1: 484. Two manuscript partbooks of a later collection put together by Pujol’s successor as chapel master, Marcia Albareda (1626–1673), survive incomplete in the Biblioteca de Catalunya (M 1619/28); dating from 1662, they contain settings of music for Vespers, including responsories, psalms, Magnificat and *Te Deum laudamus*. Since there were originally eight partbooks, this was clearly music for double choir.

The known existence of polyphonic collections confirms the importance of music to enhance the ceremonial of the feast: the sound of trumpets and drums, shawms and sackbuts, viols and singers filled the confraternity's chapel in the cathedral cloister and in the surrounding streets and squares. These festive sounds were further enhanced by decoration of the chapel and altar with reeds, oranges and sweet-smelling herbs, and the streets with garlands of orange-blossom for the procession. The festivities were crowned by the symbolic appearance of the Eagle who danced in the procession from at least the 1590s: in 1613, Gabriel Serra was paid 2ll for "dancing the eagle" ("saltandi aquilam"), and a further 8s for a garland for it and a dove that came out of its beak ("pro quodam columba et vna guinalda eruptis pro ornamento dicte aquila"). On this extraordinary occasion—rivalled only in the liturgical calendar by the feasts of Corpus Christi and the city's patronal feast day of St Eulalia (12 February)—the confraternity paid between about 22ll and 25ll each year on sound alone. The confraternity's royal foundation, together with the importance of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception in Barcelona, added depth to the significance of the urban ceremonial to which it contributed so handsomely.

#### *The Guild Confraternity of Mattress- and Quilt-Makers*

The guild confraternity of mattress- and quilt-makers was based in the parish church of San Miquel, and from at least the mid-sixteenth century celebrated two patronal feast days: St Lucy (14 December, and its original advocate from the fifteenth century), and St Sebastian (20 January).<sup>48</sup> The 1542 statutes mention both feast days, and ordain obligatory attendance and the cessation of work in order to be able to attend.<sup>49</sup> Entry fees to the confraternity in this period offer a useful comparison with the cost of festive celebrations for these two days: the "confreres forsats" (who had to be members in order to practise their trade) had to pay 6s 6d; the "confreres de devocio" (who joined because of devotion to one or other of their patron saints), 1s or 2s; and apprentices or "jouens" between 3s and 5s. In 1569, there were thirty trade members, thirteen devotional members, and about fifteen younger members, so the overall number was not large: fewer than sixty in that year. Payments for the organist (and bellows-blower) and the ringing of bells are mentioned in documents from the early 1550s, as well as the amount of 18s 10d that had to be paid to the chaplains of the parish church for the celebration of Vespers and Mass: this would have

<sup>48</sup> Bonnassie, *La organización del trabajo*, 122–123: the confraternity's 1480 statutes invoke St Lucy's power to enlighten; their devotion to her stemmed from their belief in her high status in paradise.

<sup>49</sup> AHCB, Gremis especiales, Matalassers. 5D126–2B.46/1, fol. 3<sup>r</sup>; *Ordinacions*, 1 October 1542.

included the priest who sang Mass, the deacon and subdeacon, the bell-ringer (who was one of the acolytes (*escolans*)), and any rights (*drets*) for using the sacristy, pulpit, etc.<sup>50</sup> From 1562 onwards, the payment to the organist became a separate (and so additional) cost.<sup>51</sup> More detailed accounts are found from 1556: these specify that 2s was paid for the *crida* for the feast of St Lucy, 8s for the preacher, and a further 6s for the decoration of the chapel.<sup>52</sup> Oranges, orange-blossom and myrtle were the scents that identified these winter feasts. From 1560, compline was included in the liturgical celebrations, for which the confraternity had to pay an additional 8s,<sup>53</sup> and from the following year, singers were added: they received 4s in 1561, but the amount increased almost immediately to 8s, and to 16s from the late sixteenth century onwards.<sup>54</sup> This may reflect an element of inflation, and/or an increased number of singers, and thus the potential for the singing of polyphony. The size of choir and musical repertory would have depended on the musical resources of the church at any given time, since it is clear that the singers were based there and were not hired from outside.<sup>55</sup> This was certainly the case in 1567, when the *mestre de cant* Francesc Rabassa was paid 5s for the Office sung in polyphony on the feast of St Lucy of that year (“per rao de loffici ferent a cant dorgue lo dia de Sta Lucia en St Miquel”).<sup>56</sup>

<sup>50</sup> For example, on 28 September 1552, Francesch Sebria, beneficed priest of San Miquel, signed a receipt for 18ll 10s which included: the Office of St Lucy, the rights for the *escolan* to ring the bells, the organ, and all ceremonial elements (“lo ofici de sancta lucia tant per fer loffici com enquera per lo dret de la scola de tocar les campanes y orga y tota solemnitat”; AHCB, Gremis especials, Matalassers, 5D126–2B.46/11, *Libre de la confraria de la gloriosa S<sup>va</sup> Lucia*, fol. 4<sup>r</sup>).

<sup>51</sup> AHCB, Gremis especials, Matalassers, 5D126–2B.46/11, *Libre de la confraria de la gloriosa S<sup>va</sup> Lucia*, fol. 47<sup>r</sup>. Between the 1550s and first half of the sixteenth century, the amount paid to the organist rose from 1s 6d to 2s, plus a small amount (8d) for the bellows blower.

<sup>52</sup> AHCB, Gremis especials, Matalassers, 5D126–2B.46/11, *Libre de la confraria de la gloriosa S<sup>va</sup> Lucia*, fol. 26<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>53</sup> AHCB, Gremis especials, Matalassers, 5D126–2B.46/11, *Libre de la confraria de la gloriosa S<sup>va</sup> Lucia*, fols. 41<sup>r</sup>–42<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>54</sup> AHCB, Gremis especials, Matalassers, 5D126–2B.46/11, *Libre de la confraria de la gloriosa S<sup>va</sup> Lucia*, fol. 45<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>55</sup> Little is known about the music at San Miquel from this period; on the link between a surviving book of polyphony from around 1579–1580 and the church, see Puentes-Blanco, *Música y devoción*, 1: 99–100.

<sup>56</sup> AHCB, Gremis especials, Matalassers, 5D126–2B.46/11, *Libre de la confraria de la gloriosa S<sup>va</sup> Lucia*, fol. 14<sup>r</sup>. Rabassa was almost certainly a (previously unknown) member of the Rabassa dynasty of Catalan musicians that flourished in Barcelona and elsewhere in the sixteenth until the nineteenth centuries; see Isusi Fagaoga, “Los Rabassa”.

Sonically, the patronal feast days of the confraternity of mattress- and quilt-makers involved the customary cry with handbell,<sup>57</sup> and Vespers and Mass with the ringing of bells, singers and organist, as well as the customary preacher. This situation remained stable for decades into the seventeenth century, although there appear to have been no payments for singers between 1569 and 1578; this probably reflects the lack of a chapel master and polyphonic choir in San Miquel in those years. Minstrels were not paid on a regular basis until the 1590s: they appear consistently from 1594 for the feast of St Lucy, and from 1596 for St Sebastian. The *cobla* was paid 11l 10s for each feast, an amount that rose slightly in the early 1600s to 11l 12s.<sup>58</sup> Taking an average payment, from around 1600, the confraternity paid in the region of 3ll for the soundscape that marked each of their patronal feasts, that is, about 6ll per annum, considerably less than the Confraternity of the Most Pure Conception, but nevertheless a tidy sum.

### *The Guild Confraternity of Shoemakers*

The guild confraternity of shoemakers (*sabaters*) was one of the oldest and most prestigious in the city of Barcelona, dating from the beginning of the twelfth century.<sup>59</sup> Its patronage of art works has received some attention,<sup>60</sup> but its contribution to the urban soundscape has not previously been studied. Its investment in sound followed the established pattern: around 1600 the amount for each of its three annual feasts was slightly higher on average than that paid by the *matalassers*, at about 4ll each, with a total of about 12ll per annum. The confraternity was based in the cathedral in a chapel in the gospel-side nave, marked by its emblem of a shoe, and in 1346 it commissioned a retable from Arnau Bassa (d. 1348), dedicated to St Mark and St Anianus, his shoe-maker disciple (fig. 2), and again in the 1430s, from Bernat Martorell, for an enlarged chapel.<sup>61</sup> The confraternity had ready access to cathedral musicians, such as Joan Pujol (named in the 1619

<sup>57</sup> The 1594 accounts clarify this point: “al de la campaneta per cridar la festa de Santa Lluçia 2s”; AHCB, Gremis especials, Matalassers, 5D126–2B.46/11, *Libre de la confraria de la gloriosa S<sup>ta</sup> Lluçia*, fol. 161<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>58</sup> AHCB, Gremis especials, Matalassers, 5D126–2B.46/11, *Libre de la confraria de la gloriosa S<sup>ta</sup> Lluçia*, fols. 160<sup>v</sup>–161<sup>v</sup>, and 167<sup>r</sup>–168<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>59</sup> Bonnassie, *La organización del trabajo*, 16.

<sup>60</sup> Duran i Sanpere, *Barcelona i la seva història*, 2:362–379; Fonoyot Catot, “La confraria de Sant Marc.”

<sup>61</sup> Duran i Sanpere, *Barcelona i la seva història*, 2:367–369; Fonoyot Catot, “La confraria de Sant Marc”, 37–40: the 1437 contract for the new chapel stipulated that the confraternity’s coat of arms with the emblematic shoe should be displayed (“hi havien d’apareixer els escuts de la confraria, que devein exposar les sabates habituals”).

accounts), and those associated with the feast of the Most Pure Conception, such as Antoni Ramon for the hiring of minstrels (1612).<sup>62</sup>

In addition to the main patronal feast of St Mark (25 April), those of St Anianus of Alexandria (d. 82 CE; 12 October), and the martyrs Sts Crispin and Crispinian (d. 286; 25 October)—both of whom were shoemakers—were celebrated in similar fashion.<sup>63</sup> These advocations were associated with the guild of young shoemakers (*joues sabaters* or *fadrins*) which had joined the confraternity of shoemakers in 1394; they separated for some years after 1547 to form a separate confraternity in the Augustinian church,<sup>64</sup> but it would seem that at that time the celebration of the feast day of St Crispin was integrated into the master shoemakers' festive timetable. In the autumn of 1578, there was discussion as to which group should hire and pay for musicians and dancing; the master shoemakers (*mestres*) agreed to bear the cost of *juglars* at Vespers and Mass, but there was to be no dancing (*ballades*).<sup>65</sup> Indeed, it is useful to chart the confraternity's attitude towards this festive element over the decades around 1600. Table 2 shows the years in which dancing was included for the feasts of St Mark, St Anianus, and Sts Crispin and Crispianus.

Table 2. The Performance of *ballades* on the Patronal Feast Days of the Confraternity of St Mark of the Shoemakers, 1615–1630

Feast days / 1600s	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
St Mark 25 April	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	n	y	n	y	n	n	n	[n]
St Anianus 12 Oct.	-	-	-	y	y	y	y	?	n	[n]	n	n	n	n	[n]	n
St Crispin 25 Oct.	-	-	-	y	y	y	y	?	n	[n]	n	n	n	n	[n]	n

Post-tridentine thinking appears to infiltrate a council meeting of October 1618, when a need to focus on liturgical activities and to dispense with dancing was suggested:

<sup>62</sup> AHCB, Gremis especials, Sabaters, 5D126–2B.1/4, *Dates de la festa de Corpus y St March 1619*, fol. 32: “per m<sup>o</sup> Joan Pujol mestre de cant de la seu per los cantors de la vigilia y del dia de la festa 16s”; AHCB, Gremis especials, Sabaters, 5D126–2B.1/2, *Dates fetes per rao de la festa de St March y octaua del Corpus del any mdcxii*, fol. 30: “mes an donat a mestre Ramon music y sos companys per sonar a las completes y offic y ballades del dia de St March 2ll 12s”.

<sup>63</sup> Duran i Sanpere, *Barcelona i la seva història*, 2:374 and 377.

<sup>64</sup> Duran i Sanpere, *Barcelona i la seva història*, 2:375.

<sup>65</sup> AHCB, Gremis especials, Sabaters, 5D126–2B.1/91, *Llibre de concells*, 1578–1582, fol. 4<sup>r</sup> (30 September 1578), and fol. 5<sup>r</sup> (30 October 1578).

it was proposed by the head *promen* that, since from ancient times they have St Anianus as an advocate as well as St Mark, and that some *mestres* say that the feast day should be celebrated, given the research carried out by Dr Parareda [*sic*] into the said saint's life, for that reason, they propose that it should be seen whether it is considered a good thing to celebrate richly Vespers and Mass the following day, without dances and other temporal things, but [only] that pertaining to divine worship with the highest sumptuousness possible, bearing in mind that the feast is coming up on 12 October, and so they should decide what is to be done.

And the said honourable council, having heard the proposal by the head *promen*, debated and reached the following conclusion: that the services should be celebrated with great solemnity, and that on the second day there should be a parade, and on the third dances, and that the confraternity's house—as well as the members' houses, as far as possible—should be illuminated; and on each day there should be floral decorations, and on the day of the parade, a leather jerkin [*cota*] should be made for *mestre* Spolet, who leads the procession with a rod, and that there should be bangers [*mascles*].<sup>66</sup>

Around 1618, then, the confraternity was looking into St Anianus's life, and reconsidering how best to celebrate his feast day. However, contrary to the proposal to emphasize the religious aspect, it was decided that the festivities should proceed in the customary way, as is confirmed by a council meeting two days before the event.<sup>67</sup> The liturgy would thus have been celebrated with priest, deacon and subdeacon, polyphonic singers, organ, minstrels, sermon, and bells, as well as censings and flowers. On all three days, torches and candles lit up the headquarters and homes of confraternity members, with, on the second day, a parade of the militia,

<sup>66</sup> AHCB, Gremis especials, Sabaters, 5D126–2B.1/92. *Llibre de consells*, 1613–1624, fol. 94<sup>v</sup>: “E mes se proposa el prom en cap que com de temps Antich tenen St Ania per aduocat com St March y aja hagut alguns mestres que deian sen deuia fer festa attes que per las diligencias se son fetes lo Doctor Parareda a tret la vida de dit Sant per ço s diu miren s ils estara be se fassen vespres y offici lo sendema molt sumptuos sens hauerhi Balls y altres coses temporals sino lo del culto diuino ab tota la sumptuositat que s puga, attes la festa es a dotze de octubre propuinent, y axi deliberen lo fahedor.

E lo dit honorable consel hoida dita propositio feta per lo prom en cap feu la deliberatio y conclusio seguent: que los officis se fassen ab molta solempnitat, y que lo segon dia que y haje mostra, y lo tercer Ballades, y que les Cases de la Confraria fassen alimaries, y los mestres de la manera que poren en ses cases, y que y haje enramadas cada dia, y que lo dia de la mostra se fassa vna cota a mestre spolet que vaja dauant ab vna verga, y tenen mascles.”

<sup>67</sup> Gremis especials, Sabaters, 5D126–2B.1/92, *Llibre de consells*, 1613–1624, fol. 96<sup>v</sup> (dated 10 October 1618): “que hage musica sermo en les vespres y ramallets y ballades conforme se usa.”

almost certainly with fifes and drums, which would have added another sound signal to the event,<sup>68</sup> and on the third, dances. The word “*mascles*” is ambiguous: while it could refer either to muskets or to fireworks, in each case the sound would have corresponded to a bang.

Although *ballades* continued to be a feature of the shoemakers’ patronal feast days for a few more years,<sup>69</sup> it appears that in 1623, the decision not to have dancing at the feasts of St Anianus, St Crispin and St Crispinian was to apply from that year on, even though St Mark’s feast day continued with the tradition until 1626.<sup>70</sup> In September of that year, the council decided to ban any further proposal by the *promens* from being brought to the meeting to have dances at any of the three feasts, since if they were proposed there were always some willing to make a contribution towards, but not necessarily meeting, the cost.<sup>71</sup> This decree, quite often referred to in succeeding years, did not necessarily stop proposals altogether, but they were not generally successful, and the sound of dance music, once so important to the confraternity’s identity, seems to have faded into memory.

### Preliminary Conclusions

Research in records of Barcelona guild and devotional confraternities to date has revealed that acoustic communication was an important aspect of establishing their presence in the urban complex in the early modern period, a way in which to enhance and draw attention to their devotional *raison d’être*. A shared sonic typology meant that festive occasions were marked aurally by the sounds of trumpeters and drummers, church bells and handbells, singers of plainchant and polyphony (including polychoral works), wind-bands, ensembles of stringed instruments, and dance music. The celebration of patronal feast days, common to all confraternities, large and small, wealthy and modest, brought these sounds to streets and squares all over the city outside the major feasts of the liturgical year, while other daily

<sup>68</sup> Payments for fifes and drums (*pifanos* and *atambors*) are found in the miscellaneous accounts of this period to accompany the armed guards mounted by confraternities.

<sup>69</sup> Payment for dances continued to be debated during these years. In 1619, the discussion regarding the feast day of St Mark was categorical that funds should not be taken from confraternity’s monies: “y que la Confraria en ninguna manera pague lo gasto de las ballades”; AHCB, Gremis especiales, Sabaters, 5D126–2B.1/4. *Dates de la festa de Corpus y St March 1619*, fol. 111<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>70</sup> Gremis especiales, Sabaters, 5D126–2B.1/92, *Llibre de consells, 1613–1624*, fol. 184<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>71</sup> Gremis especiales, Sabaters, 5D126–2B.1/93, *Llibre de consells de la Confraria de Sabaters, 1625–1636*, fol. 46<sup>r</sup>: “Que desta hora en auant los Promens no pугuen proponer per les festes de Sanct Ania, St Crespi y sanct March ballades [y] remallats, obseruant sempre la ordinatio antiga, sino que pague de ma y de bossa si tal cosa cosa se proposa, y en pena que hagen de perder son salari si tal cosa fan”.



sounds of the guild confraternity's artisanal activities ceased. Each of the three days of ceremonial involved music of some kind, and sounds signaling their identity occupied the spaces associated most closely with them. Their patronage of music created alternative and supplementary patterns and rhythms within the urban soundscape. Further research will continue to map confraternities' patronal feast-day activities, and develop in more detail the relationship between sound and the other senses in the urban context, so that the overall experience of confraternal processions, devotional practice and dancing on the lives of inhabitants can be understood in more nuanced ways. It will also shed more light on the musical networks of the city, and the involvement of musicians employed in both civic and ecclesiastical institutions, as well as working freelance. The confraternities' need to signal their presence and status in sound created a demand, and an infrastructure, for music-related trade in the making of musical instruments and strings, and the copying of music and acquisition of printed music books that fed into the wider musical experience of the city.

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##### *Abbreviations*

- ACB     Barcelona. Arxiu de la Catedral de Barcelona  
 AHCB   Barcelona. Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat  
 AHPB   Barcelona. Arxiu Històric de Protocols

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- Barcelona. Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat (AHCB)  
     Gremis especials, Bastaixos, 5D126–2B.17/1, *Llibre de concells*, 1550–1571  
     Gremis especials, Bastaixos, 5D126–2B.17/2, *Pliego con varios documentos, inventarios, ordenanzas*, 1550–1826 (unfoliated)  
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 Gremis especials, Matalassers, 5D126–2B.46/11, *Libre de la confraria de la gloriosa S<sup>a</sup> Lluçia*  
 Gremis especials, Sabaters, 5D126–2B.1/4, *Dates de la festa de Corpus y St March 1619*  
 Gremis especials, Sabaters, 5D126–2B.1/91, *Llibre de concells*, 1578–1582  
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Fig. 5.1. Figure of a dockworker on the main door of the parish church of Santa Maria del Mar. Photo: Xavier Caballé (2006).



Fig. 5.2. Arnau Bassa. Retable of St Mark and St Anianus (1346), commissioned by the Confraternity of Shoemakers: detail showing the imagined meeting between the two saints, and a medieval shoemakers' stall. Barcelona. Seu de Manresa. © MNAC.