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► **To cite this version:**

Nicolás Morales. The Royal Chapel and Musical Networks: Festería, Brotherhoods and Friendly Societies for Musicians in Eighteenth-Century Madrid. Tess Knighton. The Royal Chapel in the time of the Habsburgs: music and court ceremony in Early Modern, Boydell & Brewer, pp.329-353, 2005, 1843831392. hal-04390940

HAL Id: hal-04390940

<https://amu.hal.science/hal-04390940>

Submitted on 16 Jan 2024

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Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music

ISSN 1479-9294

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THE BOYDELL PRESS

The Royal Chapel and Musical Networks:
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in Eighteenth-Century Madrid

Nicolás Morales

'Even the mechanical arts have something called a guild, to which all members are subject, so that they can loyally practise their profession and no one is cheated.'¹ These were the bitter terms used by Antonio Rodríguez de Hita, chapelmaster of the Encarnación, to deplore that the fact that there was no proper musicians' guild in Madrid in 1783. However, extremely reliable documentation does, in fact, demonstrate the existence of such organizations, which became meeting places for the musicians working in the main chapels of Madrid. This essay will reveal the existence of one such organization, founded during the mid-eighteenth century, which was known as the Hermandad de Socorro de San José. More than being a simple statutory analysis of this society, which became a charitable organization at the end of the century, the essay aims to clarify the reasons leading to its creation, in the wake of the changes made to the royal chapel during the first half of the century, and the functions it had, both at the heart of the palace itself and as regards the musical market in Madrid.

Recent studies have demonstrated how the musicians of the royal chapel attended the innumerable private feasts that took place in Madrid from the end of the seventeenth century sponsored by parishes, convents and confraternities.² While during the period of Charles II the *festería* (a term generally used to refer to the extra work musicians performed outside the chapel) represented a substantial bonus income, during the second half of Philip V's reign it was an obligatory palliative to an often difficult, and occasionally precarious, existence. It should not be forgotten that during the last thirteen years of the reign of the first Bourbon, musicians were paid their emoluments so irregularly that they had to 'take part in extraneous functions . . . just to eat'.³ The dramatic increase in this lucrative complementary activity, which would later affect the internal functioning of the

¹ Letter from Antonio Rodríguez de Hita to the public prosecutor of the Council of Castilla, Madrid, 30 March 1783, Archivo Histórico Nacional (AHN), Consejos, leg. 769.

² N. Morales, 'Real Capilla y Festería en el siglo XVIII: nuevas aportaciones para la historia de la institución musical palatina', *Revista de musicología* 22/1 (1999), pp. 175–208; and N. Morales, 'Perfil y función del Festerio en la Real Capilla a mediados del siglo XVIII', *El Conde de Aranda y su tiempo* (Zaragoza: CSIC, Institución 'Fernando el Católico', 2000), I, pp. 639–48. See also A. Gallego, *La música en tiempos de Carlos III* (Madrid: Alianza Música, 1988), pp. 157–64; and A. Gallego, 'Breve nota sobre el Festerio y la Festería', *Nassarre* 5/1 (1989), pp. 27–57.

³ 'Reglamentos y ordenanzas 1746–1759', Archivo General de Palacio (AGP), Fernando VI, caja 94/11.

palace chapel,⁴ led the musicians to establish a stable structure and a series of strict regulations affecting their day-to-day existence. These regulations were constantly controlled by a collegiate hierarchy, in imitation of the gremial associations of the *ancien régime*.⁵ On the other hand, the musicians belonging to the other music chapels of the city are also known to have attended external functions with the tacit agreement of their superiors.⁶ However, it is still not known whether their structure was analogous to that which their counterparts developed at the royal chapel in 1741.

Curiously, that same year a handful of musicians from the royal guards and the city's four existing music chapels (Encarnación, Descalzas, San Cayetano and Colegio Imperial) founded a friendly society known as the 'Glorioso Patriarcha San Joseph de Profesores de la Facultad Musica' (see Table 20.1),⁷ with its headquarters based at the Church of the Buen Suceso. The legal framework of this association of laymen was represented in a constitution, passed by the Court of Castile on 4 February 1741.⁸ As Elena Sánchez Madariaga correctly observes,⁹ friendly societies flourished in the Spanish capital from the end of the seventeenth century, reaching a period of splendour during the mid-eighteenth century. This movement to create popular associations, principally based on mutual and temporary benefit,¹⁰ coincides with the widespread closure of the traditional brotherhoods of the *ancien régime* (in which spiritual mutual benefit was generally fomented), gradually becoming less heterogeneous and taking on more of a corporate spirit.¹¹

According to the stipulations of its early ordinances, the society's forty members, whose main objective was mutually to assist each other in sickness and provide support at the time of death, had to:

offer their patron saint and advocate, the Glorious Patriarch, a feast at the royal church every year on his wedding day or whichever day would seem to be the freest during the month of November, with a sung mass, and the Blessed Sacrament laid out morning and

⁴ In 1746 the internal organization of the palace music chapel was adjusted to the bipartite model of *festería*, dividing the musicians into two orchestras so that they could simultaneously attend the religious celebrations at the palace and the external ceremonies to which they were invited.

⁵ 'Arreglamiento, y constituciones, que deben observar los Individuos de la Real Capilla de Su Magestad, para el gobierno economico, y político de las Fiestas particulares de Madrid, que no pertenecen al servicio de Su Magestad. Sacadas de la costumbre immemorial, que han practicado en el gobierno de dichas Fiestas. Y reformando algunos abusos, que se havian introducido', Madrid, 1741, AGP, Jurídica, caja 391/6.

⁶ Given the state of the palace chapel during the mid-eighteenth century, private feasts represented the main source of income for many musicians. Take the example of Juan Orri, a viol player at the chapel of the Descalzas Reales: 'At the chapel of the Descalzas Reales his endowment was 100 ducats: 100 in distributions and 200 that were regulated according to the private functions of that Chapel', AGP, Fernando VI, caja 95/1.

⁷ AGP, Patriarcado de las Indias, caja 6.856.

⁸ 'Visita de la Congregación del Glorioso Patriarcha San Joseph de Profesores de la facultad musica sita, y fundada en la Real Iglesia del Real Hospital de Corte de Nuestra Señora del Buen Suceso. Año de 1766', AGP, Patriarcado de las Indias, caja 6.861.

⁹ E. Sánchez Madariaga, 'De la 'caridad fraternal' al 'socorro mutuo': las hermandades de socorro de Madrid en el siglo XVIII', *Solidaridad desde abajo*, ed. S. Castillo (Madrid, 1994), pp. 31–50; and E. Sánchez Madariaga, 'Las cofradías en el Madrid moderno', *Madrid: Atlas histórico de la ciudad, siglos IX–XIX* (Madrid: Lunberg, 1995), pp. 350–7.

¹⁰ E. Sánchez Madariaga, *Cofradía y sociabilidad en el Madrid del Antiguo Régimen* (Ph.D. thesis, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, Departamento de Historia Contemporánea, 1996), p. 45: 'These brotherhoods, whose main objective was the mutual, spiritual and temporary help among all the members of the association, can be considered precedents to the nineteenth-century mutual benefit societies'.

¹¹ J. L. Jamard, 'Confréries religieuses et dichotomie sociale', *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 8 (1972), pp. 475–88.

Table 20.1. Composition of the Hermandad de San José in 1741 and 1761

<i>Institution of origin</i>	1741	<i>Date of entry to the royal chapel</i>	1761
[?]	Alva, Antonio		
[?]	Álvarez, Alfonso		
Descalzas (organ)	Bach, Joseph		Bach, Joseph (treasurer)
Spanish Royal Guard (oboe)		1754 (bassoon)*	Bordas, Francisco
[?]			Burgos, Pedro
[?]	Canesco, Antonio		
[?]	Cardinal, Francisco		
[?]			Canesca, Joseph
Walloon Royal Guard		(bassoon)*	Carella, Carmen
Royal Guard (oboe)		1744 (oboe)*	Cavazza, Manuel
Descalzas [?]	Espinosa, Bernardo		Espinosa, Bernardo
Encarnación (oboe)		*	Escalonet, Joseph (1st councillor in 1774)
[?]	Fernández Pajaro, Juan		
[?]	Ferreno, Jacobo		
[?]	Fernández, Francisco		Fernández, Francisco
[?]		1756 (Treble)*	Felipe, Joseph
[?]	García, Diego		
[?]	García, Francisco Xavier		
Encarnación (viol/ double bass)	Glez. [de Salcedo], Manuel	*	
Encarnación (<i>festero</i>)	Gutiérrez Castañeda, Francisco		
Walloon Royal Guard (oboe)		1754 (bassoon)	Genesta, Onofre (treasurer in 1774)
Royal Guard (oboe)	Guerra, Francisco	1754 (bassoon)*	Guerra, Francisco
Descalzas (contralto)		1758 (contralto)	Hdez., Santos Alonso
(<i>Hermano mayor</i>)			
Encarnación (violin)		1749 (violin)*	Isern, Esteban
[?]			Incota y Duran, Joseph
Real Cía. de Alabarderos (oboe)			Isnar, Juan Bautista
[?]	Leal Martínez, Joseph		
Real Colegio (1725–9)	Ledesma y Castro, Juan de	1749 (viola)*	
Encarnación (oboe)	López, Juan	1756 (oboe)	López, Juan
Descalzas (harp)	López, Manuel		
[?]		1756 (copyist)	Llombrat, Joseph (secretary)
[?]	Mercado, Sebastián		
Spanish Royal Guard (oboe)	Maestre, Francisco	1747 (oboe)*	Mestres, Francisco
[?]	Molina, Juan Antonio de		
[?]	Moneva, Sebastián		
[?]	Morrera, Pedro		
Colegio Imperial (violin)	Muñoz, Joseph Ignacio		
Real Colegio (1738–54) [?]			Manso, Vicente
Descalzas [?]			Mathias, Juan Bautista
Descalzas [?]			Mencia, Sebastián
Descalzas [?]			Mendoza y Berdigo, M.
[?]			Monreal, Pedro
Descalzas [?]	Orri, Juan	1748 (viol)*	Orri, Juan
[?]			Ortega, Mateo
[?]	Pamphilles, Pedro		
[?]	Palinch, Thomas		Palinch, Tomás
Descalzas [?]	Pérez de la Torre, Juan		Pérez de la Torre, Juan
Real Colegio (1740–56)			
Descalzas (dulcian)			Pastor, Rafael

<i>Institution of origin</i>	1741	<i>Date of entry to the royal chapel</i>	1761
Real Colegio (1738–56) [?]		1758 (double bass)*	Pastor, Joseph
[?]			Prieto, Joseph
Walloon Royal Guard (horn)		1748 (horn)*	Pirn Craut, Joseph
Descalzas (oboe)			Plá, Manuel
Descalzas [?]			Pulgar, Juan (2nd councillor in 1774)
[?]	Ramírez, Jorge		
[?]	Reynaldos, Joseph		
Real Colegio (1700–7); [?]	Rodríguez, Alejandro		Rodríguez, Alejandro
Real Colegio (1734–41); [?]	Ruiz de Gamarra, Martín		
Colegio Imperial (violin)		1768 (violin)	Rexach, Salvador
Descalzas (violin)	Sabatini, Felipe	1747 (violin)*	Sabatini, Felipe
[?]	Soldevilla, Cosme de		
Walloon Royal Guard (horn)		1758 (horn)*	Scheffler, Antonio
Descalzas (contralto)	Thorena, Juan		Thorena, Juan
[?]			Tellez de Azevedo, M.
Encarnación (dulcian)	Vázquez, Mathias	*	Vázquez, Mathias (councillor)
Encarnación (treble)	Villar, Joseph		Villar, Joseph
<i>Total</i>	37		42

* Musicians mentioned in Farinelli's manuscript.

night, which the members would have to attend, confessing and taking communion together in that church on the day.¹²

That same day they held a general meeting in the sacristy of the church to choose the Elder Brother 'the head and superior of the brotherhood', treasurer and secretary, as well as two councillors, who were in charge of the money paid to the sick, and two wardens whose job was to collect the members' monthly dues and personally attend the sick on a daily basis. This assistance had 'to begin the same day a doctor's or surgeon's certificate was presented'. They were also responsible for informing the other members to attend burials and carry the wax with the help of a young boy. To join the brotherhood, candidates had to belong to the 'Faculty of Music' and send a memorial to the Elder Brother, demonstrating that they were 'from decent backgrounds and well mannered, respected, well kept and esteemed by men of virtue and good reputation'. Following this report, written by two brothers to ensure that the candidate fulfilled all the requirements, and with the tacit and unanimous agreement of the members of the society, the new member had to agree to pay an annual contribution of 48 *reales*, after paying a membership fee set at 50 *reales*.

After meeting the first six months of contributions, musicians who became sick or were jailed could be assisted in the manner shown in table 20.2. The brotherhood did not only accompany the musician during illness, but in death, supplying the Franciscan habit in which the body was dressed, as well as 100 *reales* for burial, twelve masses at three *reales* each, twenty-four torches carried by twenty-four paupers from the hospice, and four wax candles to illuminate the body. For their part, all the brothers had to be present on the day

¹² 'obsequiar todos los años al Glorioso Patriarca su Patron, y Abogado con celebrar una fiesta en dicha Real Iglesia el día de los Desposorios ó el que pareciese mas desocupado en el mes de noviembre con Misa Cantada, y el Santísimo Sacramento expuesto por mañana y tarde, a lo que hubiesen de asistir dichos congregantes confesando y comulgando en comunidad en dicho día é iglesia.'

Table 20.2. Assistance to sick, imprisoned and sanctuary-seeking brothers (1741)

	Assistance payments (in reales/day)
Illness with fever	10 for a maximum of 40 days
Illness without fever	5 for a maximum of 40 days
Those suffering a tertian ¹ or quartan ² fever	5 for a maximum of 33 days
Fire arm, blade injury...	10 for a maximum of 40 days
Slight injuries	5 for a maximum of 10 days
Injuries inflicted by another brother	0
Prisoners or those taking sanctuary	5 for a maximum of 40 days

¹ An intermittent fever returning every three days.

² A fever almost always caused by malaria, which is repeated every four days and is preceded by shivering.

of the funeral and give the treasurer 3 *reales* in alms for the mass. This type of assistance was also extended to the wives and children of musicians if they were still dependent on him.

The brotherhood used officials and wardens to exercise a strict control over both its dues and payments. Thus, transgressions – whether a member's unjustified absence from a meeting, mass or burial, or debts owed to the treasury – were penalized with a fine of 4 *reales*. This fine could even result in a member being dismissed if the debt exceeded four months of dues, or if a member was accused of a serious offence. The mechanisms of restriction and exclusion listed here, based on limiting membership numbers, types of office, the strict and selective control of new admissions, and, above all, the financial capacity of potential members, reinforced both the emotional ties between members and the voluntarily closed nature of the brotherhood: 'Limiting the membership guarantees good relations between the members, and creates a socially homogenous microcosm in a fundamentally unequal whole.'¹³ Effectively, the group's most important principle, which will be clarified below, went well beyond temporal assistance in the strict sense. It not only implied a means of social distinction, emphasizing the dignity of the profession and respectability of the organization (a basic concept to modern Spain) but an important and new means of professional cohesion between the city's different musical entities. On the other hand, the musician's placing in these cells of sociability, where solidarity and less formal bonds were implicitly fomented, increased his potential for promotion. It is surprising to observe how in 1761, 40 per cent of the brothers had 'infiltrated' the royal chapel. This figure is even more significant considering that in the year the brotherhood was founded there were no representatives from the royal institution (see Table 20.1). The unceasing collaboration between these musicians and the rest of the royal chapel, both within and outside the palace area, which intensified during the mid-eighteenth century, was also a factor in these figures. Like the royal chapel chaplain, the *festero*¹⁴ was constantly at the mercy of the repeated absences of his subordinates, which led to him being forced to call on the services of singers and instrumentalists from other musical institutions in Madrid. On the other hand, 80 per cent of the musicians belonging to the

¹³ C. Chauchadis, 'Les modalités de fermeture dans les confréries religieuses espagnoles (XVIe–XVIIe siècles)', *Les sociétés fermées dans le monde ibérique* (Paris: CNRS, Maison des Pays Ibériques, 1986), p. 105: 'Fermer la confrérie, c'est assurer l'harmonie des rapports entre confrères, c'est créer un microcosme socialement homogène dans un ensemble fondamentalement inégalitaire.'

¹⁴ Term used to denote the musician who was entrusted with the government and management of private feasts at the chapels.

Hermanidad de San José who had entered the palace chapel usually performed with the orchestra of the Coliseo del Buen Retiro, another social entity worthy of mention (see Table 20.1).¹⁵ On the application forms for admission to the brotherhood, which were usually sent to the Patriarch of the Indies, numerous artists alleged they had participated in the lavish shows directed by the prestigious castrato Farinelli (Carlo Broschi), Philip V's 'familiar servant'. The monarch also witnessed the selection and entrance examinations to the royal chapel.¹⁶ Thus, the analysis of these kinds of 'networks', which included family networks, is crucial when it comes to analysing the process of entry to the royal institution, which was much more complex than the way in which it is usually portrayed in traditional studies. Although it is beyond the limits of the present essay, it is also worth emphasizing the presence of musicians of the royal chapel at other lay associations such as the Hermanidad de Criados de la Real Casa, where a sense of class distinction predominated.¹⁷ Table 20.3 shows how the musicians who were members of the Real Hermanidad generally held the highest-ranking positions in the musical hierarchy of the palace.

During the 1760s the brotherhood showed constant signs of economic insecurity. According to the secretary's testimony in a 1774 report to the Council of Castile, 'The brotherhood's assets had been falling considerably due to the many expenses it had offered to meet, in fulfilment of the constitutions, with no other resources than the monthly contribution of 4 *reales vellon* from each brother.'¹⁸ Given the seriousness of the situation, an extraordinary meeting was held, and a more than symbolic statutory reform took place.¹⁹ Although the documentation consulted does not provide definitive proof, everything seems to suggest that the brotherhood was dissolved years later.²⁰ It had to be converted into a friendly society, thus following the example of other liberal professions. Characteristic of the Enlightenment at the end of the eighteenth century, this process of transforming lay religious associations into friendly societies, driven by Campomanes, a public prosecutor of the Council of Castile, was intended to subject the former benefit societies to public control, 'municipal as regards the examination and inspection of its accounts, and national as regards their organization, functioning and fulfilment of objectives'.²¹ Carefully examined by the newly created Junta de Caridad, the first set of regula-

¹⁵ See N. Morales, 'Artistas a la sombra del poder: usos sociales y lucrativos de la comunidad musical palaciega en el siglo XVIII', [Actas del V Congreso de la Sociedad Española de Musicología, Barcelona, 26–9 October 2000] *Revista de musicología* (2002), I, pp. 67–85.

¹⁶ Archivo General de Simancas (AGS), Gracia y Justicia, leg. 927 (no page numbers).

¹⁷ At the general meeting held on 31 December 1736, 'There was discussion about the lack of brothers and the possible need to establish measures whereby all those who earned a salary from a Royal Household could join.' AGP, Registros, R. 5.499, fol. 20.

¹⁸ Madrid, 7 May 1774, AGP, Patriarcado de las Indias, caja 6.856.

¹⁹ AGP, Patriarcado de las Indias, caja 6.861.

²⁰ 'Noticia de las Cofradías ó congregaciones fundadas en la Real Iglesia del Buen Suceso de esta Corte, y no de obras pías porque ninguna hay en ella. Aunque, además de estas congregaciones ó cofradías, había otras tres con los títulos de Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, de San Josef y de los cinco mejores señores, yo no las he conocido, y creo que hace años que acabaron por falta de fondos, y con ellas las funciones que por su cuenta se celebraban en esta Real Iglesia... Madrid, a 3 de marzo de 1809. Andres Santos Rebuelta, Sacristan mayor', AGS, Gracia y Justicia, leg. 1.270.

²¹ J. M. Vallejo García-Hervía, *La monarquía y un ministro: Campomanes* (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Políticos y Constitucionales, 1997), pp. 485–6. As regards the plan to reduce the number of friendly societies, driven by the enlightened team during the reign of Charles III, see M. L. López Muñoz, 'Control estatal de las asociaciones laicas (1762–1814): Aspectos legales de la extinción de cofradías en España', *Iglesia, Sociedad y Estado en España, France e Italia (ss. XVIII al XX)* (Alicante: Instituto de Cultura 'Juan Gil Albert', 1991), pp.

Table 20.3. Musicians of the royal chapel who were members of His Majesty's Real Hermandad de Criados*

Musician	Instrument/Position	Year of Membership
Zayas, Francisco	Viol	1753
Fleuri, Francisco	Viol	1753
Pérez Ricarte, Joseph	Tenor [violin]	1755
Ferrer, Joaquín	Dulcian	1756
Cabazza, Manuel	Oboe	1756
Mestres, Francisco	Oboe	1756
Terri, Gabriel	Violin	1756
Courcelle, Francisco	Chapelmaster	1756
López, Juan	Oboe	1756
Manalt, Francisco	Violin	1756
Osorio y Cinfuegos, Francisco	Observer	1756
León, Francisco de	Harpist	1756
Albero, Sebastián	Organist	1756
Literes, Antonio	Organist	1756
Zloteck, Bonifacio	Violin	1778
Villarazón, Antonio	Viol	1778
Ríos, Felipe de los	Violin	1778
Ugena, Antonio	Chapelmaster	1779
Pérez, Policarpo	Treble	1779
García, Manuel	Contralto	1779
Teixidor y Barceló, Joseph	Deputy chapelmaster	1780
Masiello, Nicolás	Bass	1781
Dalp, Manuel	Viola	1781
Ongay, Vicente	Viola	1871
Espinosa, Manuel	Oboe	1781
Lidón, Joseph	Organist	1781
Sesé, Joseph	Organist	1781
García, Rafael	Viola	1781
Monreal, Rafael	Violin	1783
Pastor, Rafael	Dulcian	1783
Barly, Gaspar	Bassoon	1784
Barrios, Pedro	Viola	1787
Zayaz, Joseph	Viol	1787
Landini, Francisco	Violin	1787
Boccherini, Luigi	Viol	1787
Felipe, Joseph	Treble	1787
Oliver, Juan	Violin	1788
Crespo, Felipe	Bugle	1788
Mencía, Francisco	Copyist	1788
López, Blas	Double Bass	1788
Pérez, Ignacio	Double Bass	1788
Carril, Manuel	Viola	1789
Brunetti, Caytenano	Violin	1791
Samaranch, Joaquín	Viol	1800
Baccari, Francisco María	Violin	1804
Ronda, Cristobal	Viola	1807

* 'Libros de ingreso de Hermanos en la Real Hermandad de Criados de S. M.', AGP, Registros, R. 5.495 and R. 5.496; 'Nómina de los Señores Hermanos y Hermanas de la Real Hermandad de Criados de SS. MM. y AA. AA. que existen hasta el día de la fecha, por el orden alfabético, según consta en los libros de asientos de entrada', BRP (Biblioteca Real de Palacio), III, 6.529, fols. 22–44.

341–59; I. Arias Saavedra and M. L. López Muñoz, 'Debate político y control estatal de las cofradías españolas en el siglo XVIII', *Bulletin hispanique* 99/2 (1997), pp. 423–35; and 'Cofradías y ciudad en le España del siglo XVIII', *Historia moderna* 19 (1998), pp. 197–228.

tions of the musicians' friendly society of Madrid was printed on 10 February 1781.²² Through a membership fee of 240 *reales*, plus an annual fee of another 150 *reales*, musicians were insured against the risks of invalidity, receiving a pension of 4 *reales* per day, which was increased to 6 *reales* for their widows or orphaned children. In 1783 the friendly society, whose organization and purpose was identical to the former benefits society, was extended to the musician priests, who could leave the pension to their closest relatives, as long as they were widowers or single. Realizing it was indispensable to endow the society with sufficient funding, its founders opted to free pensions for the first two years, thus accumulating a sum reckoned at over 28,000 *reales* in 1783, of which 20,000 *reales* were invested in the brand-new Banco de San Carlos.²³

But even more fascinating was the frustrated attempt by its members to feed the coffers with the annual income from private feasts, which at the end of the eighteenth century was close to 1 million *reales*. According to the plan, the *festeros* of the six music chapels involved²⁴ would pay 'one part of each feast to the friendly society, so that if the feast was worth 10 *doblones*, and ten musicians performed, the 10 *doblones* would be shared between eleven, which is the Society's part'.²⁵ Theoretically, non-salary-earning instrumentalists had to hand over 2 per cent of their earnings to the treasury of the friendly society, as well as the 4 per cent commission they had to pay the *festero* who hired them. Also conscious that the friendly society's economy essentially depended on the percentage the *festeros* themselves collected and consequently on their total earnings, they asked the public prosecutor not to permit the formation of more chapels than the six already established at court. According to the information provided by the society's patron, three new music chapels were founded from the end of the seventeenth century onwards, with so little financial support that they were forced to meddle in the musical market, offering considerable discounts to the benefit of the hiring institutions.²⁶ By way of an example, the city of Madrid itself often turned to one of the main chapels for the most solemn feasts of the

²² 'Expediente de los Profesores del noble arte de la Musica establecidos en esta Corte. Sobre ereccion de Montepío para el socorro de sus viudas y pupilos. Año de 1779', AHN, Consejos, leg. 769, fols. 54v–67v (see Table 20.4 and Appendix 1). Reviewed in F. Aguilar Piñal, 'Los Montepíos laicos en el siglo XVIII', *Homenaje a Don Agustín Millares Carlo* (Las Palmas: Caja de Ahorros de Gran Canaria, 1975), I, pp. 381–9; and A. Rumeu De Armas, 'Historia de la previsión social en España: cofradías, gremios, hermandades, montepíos', *Revista de derecho privado* 61 (1981), pp. 480–1.

²³ AHN, Consejos, leg. 769, fol. 47r. See also T. Tortella Casares, *Índice de los primitivos accionistas del Banco Nacional de San Carlos* (Madrid: Archivo Histórico del Banco de España, 1986). Following the interruption, from 1785 onwards, to subscriptions to the Royal Life Annuity, the friendly society invested its savings in the brand-new Banco de San Carlos, thus following the example of numerous palace musicians. The Banco de San Carlos was built with a capital of 300 million *reales*, divided into 150,000 shares at 2,000 *reales* each. The musicians' friendly society purchased ten shares (nos. 52,683–52,692) for a total of 20,000 *reales*.

²⁴ According to Antonio Rodríguez de Hita, apart from the royal chapel, in the last few years of the eighteenth century the city had two main chapels (the Encarnación and Descalzas) and four minor chapels: San Cayetano (1693), Soledad (1742), San Felipe Neri (1758) and Almudena (1767), the former chapel of the Colegio Imperial. The chapel of the Espíritu Santo, situated in the convent of Clérigos Menores of the same name, was destroyed at the end of the 1770s. See AHN, Consejos, leg. 769, fol. 35v. A list of the musicians at the chapel in 1773 included: Nicolás Pastor Palafox (*festero*), Joseph Rodríguez (organist), Joseph López, Anastasio Lafón, Marcelino Bermejo, Joseph Nielfa, Francisco Antequera, Pablo Dimas and Esteban Gamón. See the Archivo Histórico de Protocolos de Madrid (AHPM), Joseph Pérez de Castro, prot. 20.266, fols. 151–2, Madrid, 14 October 1773.

²⁵ AHN, Consejos, leg. 769, fol. 23v.

²⁶ Note that the Soledad and Colegio Imperial chapels unsuccessfully sought to be incorporated into royal patronage. See AGP, Real Capilla, caja 164.

Table 20.4. Composition of the Musicians' Friendly Society, 1781-90

<i>Institution of origin</i>	<i>Friendly Society in 1781</i>	<i>Board of the Friendly Society in 1785</i>	<i>Friendly Society in 1790</i>
	Aguilera, Miguel		
	Amad, Manuel	Alonso, Antonio (1st delegate)	Alonso, Manuel
Chapel of San Felipe Neri (<i>festero</i>)	Arche, Antonio de Arche, Baltasar de		
Royal Guard (horn)	Aroca, Bernardo		Aroca, Bernardo
Chapel of la Soledad	Bocca, Gerónimo* Bovadilla, Joseph*	Bovadilla, Joseph (accountant)	Bovadilla, Joseph (chief delegate)
Chapel of la Encarnación (violin)	Burriel, Juan		
	Camoccia, Francisco Camoccia, Pavola Cartillo, Joseph del Cortés, Eugenio Cruz, Juan Joseph de la		Camoccia, Francisco
Chapel of la Encarnación (oboe)	Escalonet, Joseph†		Dalp, Manuel Escalonet, Joseph
Chapel of la Soledad	Fdez. de la Raya, Liborio Fdez., Fco J. Casimiro*		Fernández, Fco Javier Casimiro (warden)
	G. ^a de Santiago, Manuel García, Antonio García, Tiburio	G. ^a Rubio, Juan Manuel (2nd warden) Gil, Blas	G. ^a Rubio, J. Manuel (accountant) Gómez Manzanilla, J.
Chapel of la Soledad	Glez., Antonio Ventura Jiménez, Andrés Jiménez, Joaquín		
Chapel of la Soledad (<i>festero</i>)	Lazaro, Juan Capistrano	Lazaro, Juan Capistrano (treasurer)	Lazaro, Juan Capistrano (3rd delegate)
Chapel of la Soledad	León, Juan* López, Antonio Gavino		López, A. Gavino (1st delegate)
Chapel of el Espíritu Santo	López de Segovia, Joseph Lózano, Francisco		
Chapel of la Soledad (former <i>festero</i>)	Marcos y Navas, Fco.	Marcos y Navas, Fco. (secretary)	
Chapel of el Espíritu Santo	Martínez, Antonio*		Martínez, Damaso Santos (secretary)
Royal Guard (horn)	Martorell, Guillermo* Molina, Lorenzo		Molina, Lorenzo (2nd delegate)
	Molina, Manuel de Monge, Gerónimo		
Chapel of la Soledad	Ochoa Marietas, E.		Montejano, Ramón* Moral, Pablo* Nielfa, Joseph (warden)

<i>Institution of origin</i>	<i>Friendly Society in 1781</i>	<i>Board of the Friendly Society in 1785</i>	<i>Friendly Society in 1790</i>
		Parejas, Joseph (4th delegate)	Pareja, Joseph Pastor, Rafael (treasurer)† Peris, Juan Ríos, Felipe de los
Chapel of el Espíritu Santo	Rodríguez, Joseph Rodríguez, Santiago		
Encarnación (chapelmaster)		Rodríguez de Hita, Antonio (patron)	
	Roldán, Clemente Rosquillas, Pablo		
		San Pedro, Tomás (2nd delegate)	
Walloon Royal Guard	Terradellas, Pedro	Terradellas, Pedro (3rd delegate) Terradellas, Manuel (1st warden)	Sebastián, Pedro (1st secretary)
Chapel of la Encarnación (viol)	Vicente, Julián Vidal, Pablo		
<i>Total</i>	42		21

* Musicians from the two orchestras of the theatres of Madrid in 1780.

† Musicians who formed part of the Hermandad de San José before its dissolution.

liturgical year. Taking advantage of the greater variety of music available, in 1761 the city decided to terminate the agreement it had signed with the chapel of the Colegio Imperial in favour of the *festero* from the chapel of Nuestra Señora de la Soledad:

Due to the poor service the chapel of the Colegio Imperial has provided for all the musical festivities and it being notorious for not carrying out what was stipulated, we have dismissed the mentioned chapel via its *festero*, stating that it is not possible to continue under those prices. We have proceeded to negotiate with various chapels and weighing up price and the performance and splendour of the festivities, the most suitable seems to be that of Nuestra Señora de la Soledad. It is common knowledge that this chapel does what is required at all the feasts for which it is hired *and as regards price there is an obvious advantage*. Keeping to the list we have established, only allowing seven feasts with instruments and sixteen with voices and organ, and including those of San Isidro and the Octave to Corpus Christi (included in these terms), everything amounts to 8,182 *reales*. The last agreement and bond reached with don Pedro del Yermo in the year 1755 for 7,830 *reales* was only for the ordinary feasts, without counting those of San Isidro, Corpus Christi, Santa Maria de la Cabeza and Terremoto which were added later, making a difference of 350 *reales*. But this is on condition that he has to be paid in three instalments and without any delay . . . Madrid, 12 April 1761.²⁷

²⁷ Archivo de la Villa de Madrid (AVM), Secretaria, 2-274-18, Madrid, 12 April 1761. 'Igualmente mediante lo mal que han servido todas las festividades de musica la Capilla del Colegio Imperial y que es notorio no han cumplido nada de lo que se estipularon a que se añade haverse despedido la mencionada Capilla por medio de su *festero* diciendo no poder proseguir bajo de aquellos precios, pasamos a tratar de ajuste con varias capillas y tanteadas estas así en quanto a la comodidad de precio como al desempeño y lucimiento de las festividades nos parece la mas adaptable la de Nuestra Señora de la Soledad pues por el desempeño

In order to avoid establishing a free-market system in detriment to its interests, the friendly society tried to prohibit musicians from organizing private feasts outside the collective to which they belonged to, both in Madrid and its surroundings.²⁸ It must be stated that the *festería* of the royal chapel had applied the same restriction. At the request of the musicians of the royal chapel the Administrative Board in 1746 reprimanded four of its members for having tried to extricate themselves from the care of the *festero* and teaming up with other musicians of the city. In 1783 the patron of the friendly society asked the Council of Castile, to whose legal authority it was subject, to dissolve the recently created chapel of Santa Cecilia,²⁹ led by the *festero* of the former chapel of the Espíritu Santo, Nicolás Pastor Palafox:

I have been assured that the Santa Cecilia chapel has no source of income at all, no contract, no obligation with any church or community . . . It was the invention of a single musician called Nicolás Pastor, to earn his daily bread by doing less work and being more useful. He decides what to give and take from those who attend his feasts. And I do not know what is the basis for being called a chapel, and the chapel of Santa Cecilia, situated at the parish of San Luis, without a contract or agreement with the parish priest, nor the clergy of that parish. The musicians who work with Don Nicolás sometimes come from other chapels. There are other trumpeters from the regiments based there and even some from His Majesty's royal chapel as the Santa Cecilia chapel boasts no individual members. Consequently no one has a post or income; and everything clearly points to the fact that the chapel consists solely of Don Nicolás: it was his idea, it was founded for his benefit and is based on harming others.³⁰

Alleging freedom in the job market, the public prosecutor refused to intervene in favour of the friendly society so that 'the practice of this noble art would not be left to the individ-

expresado es bien notorio como cumple dicha capilla en todas las fiestas que tiene a su cargo y quanto al precio ay una conocida utilidad pues arreglado a la nomina que hemos formado en que solo dejamos las siete fiestas con instrumentos y las diez y seis con voces y horgano, y incluyendose en ellas la de San Isidro y la Octava del Corpus (con cuia calidad entra) asciende todo a 8.182 reales y siendo el ultimo arreglo y obligacion echa por el Sr. Don Pedro del Yermo en el año de 1755 de 7.830 reales por las fiestas ordinarias sin incluir las de San Isidro, Corpus, Santa Maria de la Cabeza y Terremoto que despues se ha añadido se evidencia hacer de rebaja mas de 350 reales pero con la calidad que se le ha de pagar por tercios y sin demora alguna . . . Madrid y abril 12 de 1761.'

²⁸ 'No individual from the six music chapels that celebrate feasts in Madrid . . . and much less any other musician without a post, or those who are yet to become known as musicians, can negotiate, be hired or fulfil the least important musical feast, nor intermediaries within or outside the court, with a fine of 20 ducats for the first offence, which will be applied to the friendly society's funds'. AHN, Consejos, leg. 769, fol. 23r.

²⁹ The personnel of the chapel of Santa Cecilia, located at the parish of San Luis, was as follows: Nicolás Pastor Palafox, Vicente Adam, Antonio Henriquez, Manuel Henriquez, Sebastián Dimas, Domingo Dimas, Isidro Ramón Saez, Juan Balaz, Estéban Gamón, Blas Laserna, José Encabo and Francisco Ginés de López, Luis Ladrón de Guevara, Blás López, Josef Domingo y Vidal, Roque Ibáñez, Joachin Arisain and Ramón López. See AHPM, Felix Rodríguez, prot. 20,200, fols. 7-8, Madrid, 9 January 1780.

³⁰ AHN, Consejos, leg. 769, fol. 44v: 'La capilla de Santa Cecilia no tiene pie de renta alguno, ni contrata, ni obligacion con iglesia ni comunidad, como tengo asegurado . . . Esta ha sido una invencion del particular musico llamado Nicolas Pastor, para ganar de comer con mas utilidad y menos trabajo. El es arbitrio en dar y quitar a los que concurren a sus fiestas; y no se en que se funda para titularse Capilla, y Capilla de Santa Cecilia, sita en la parroquia de San Luis, no teniendo contrata ni convenio echo con el Parroco, ni clerigos de aquella parroquia. Los musicos que asisten con dicho Don Nicolas son a veces de otras capillas, otras trompetas de los Regimientos que se hallan aquí, y aun algunos de la Real Capilla de S. M. pues individuos de tal Capilla de Santa Cecilia ninguno se puede que ay, por quanto por esta razon ninguno tiene titulo ni renta; y de todo se deduce claramente que la tal Capilla se compone solo de la persona de Don Nicolas: en su idea existe, en su provecho se funda, y en el daño de las demas se apoya.'

uals of the six established chapels, and the public would not have to deal with their *festeros* for brotherhood, stewardship and private functions'. By way of comparison, it is worth noting that a decree dated 27 April 1782 gave painters, sculptors and architects the freedom to practise their art without being members of the guilds for guilders, altarpiece painters and carpenters.³¹ To cover up for their apparent concerns with attendance, the musicians tried to convert the friendly society into an instrument to control the market, or in other words, into something resembling the traditional guild system. As we have seen, this project was abolished. Its members gradually left the friendly society and it began to fall into a period of decline, leading to its definitive extinction in 1791:

It was formed with sixty-one members, and from 2 April until 1 June of the same year nine more joined. To the present [1790] nineteen have passed away and thirty-three have been dismissed. On 11 February 1783 assistance to widows commenced with 6 *reales* per day until April 1785, and was reduced to three on 1 May that year until the end of February 1788. The pension was later reduced to one-and-a-half *reales*, which twelve widows are currently being paid.³²

Given the information presented in this essay, it can be supposed (although at present it cannot be affirmed with absolute certainty) that during the mid-eighteenth century, the Hermandad de San José played a role analogous to the friendly society with regard to music-making in Madrid. Future research is needed in order to test this hypothesis. But if it is confirmed, it will provide irrefutable proof of the presence of a guild-like structure at court, which was perhaps incipient from the end of the previous century.

In order to persuade the council to intercede on his behalf, the patron denounced fraudulent practices: 'He was contracted for the feast of N^a S^a de las Nieves at the Santa Cruz parish in August of 1781. They arrived for the Salve and the brotherhood assembled in the church to begin, when the *festero* who had hired them showed up in the choir in a waistcoat and expected to take the rôle of *maestro* and conduct. But instead of hearing the Lord's praise with the opening Kyrie from the Litany, very angry voices were heard saying: *You start. It's not my turn. I'm not entering.* [Underlined in the manuscript], etc. This turned into boys punching, quarrelling and shouting at each other, forcing the majordomos to go up to the choir and throw them out, leaving them with no music and having to find another group to sing mass the next day. Other similar examples have followed'. See AHN, Consejos, leg. 769, fol. 35r.

³¹ A. Ramos Santana, 'La desaparición del sistema gremial con el fin del Antiguo Régimen', *Gremios, hermandades y cofradías: Actas de los VII encuentros de Historia y Arqueología* (San Fernando: Ayuntamiento de San Fernando, 1992), I, pp. 67-76.

³² AHN, Consejos, leg. 769, fol. 73r: 'Se estableció con 61 individuos y desde el día 2 de abril hasta 1^o de junio del mismo entraron 9. Hasta el presente [de 1790] han fallecido 19 y se han despedido 33. En 11 de febrero de 1783 se empezó á socorrer á las viudas con 6 reales diarios y los gozaron hasta fin de abril de 1785, los que se rebajaron en 1^o de mayo del mismo á 3 hasta fin de febrero de 1788, y depues quedó reducida la pension a real y medio que en el dia gozan 12 viudas.'

Appendix 1

Constitutions of the Hermandad del Glorioso Patriarcha de San Joseph, based at the Royal Church of Nuestra Señora del Buen Suceso of this Court. In the year 1741 (AGP, Patriarchado de Indias, caja 6.856)

In the Name of the Holy Trinity, the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, three different persons, and only one true God, and of the Blessed Virgin Mary, conceived without the stain of original sin, from the first instant of her Holiest Awakening, and of the Glorious Patriarch the Lord Saint Joseph, under whose protection and favour we have written and arranged these new Ordinances, in order better to direct and ensure, in his Holy Service, our fervent devotion to his beautiful Simulacrum, situated at the royal church of Maria Santissima, Mother of God, his Wife, and our only, and sole Patron, with the Sovereign Title of the Buen Suceso: all the Brothers whose signatures appear at the end of these Ordinances bind ourselves to this new and fervent society, which to this end held a General Meeting in the Sacristy of the aforementioned royal church on 15 January 1741. We say, that considering, and taking note of the calamities of this life, and its uncertainty, as it is always threatened either by risks, or by illnesses, which disrupt it, and especially when there are no other emoluments to remedy such damages than the stipend each receives for constantly doing his duty, this decreasing every day with the hardships of the times. This is reason, then, and the fervent zeal that burns in the hearts of those in Consent, with the Glorious Patriarch the Lord Saint Joseph, Putative Father of Jesus, Most Beloved Husband of the Blessed Mary, our Mother, for choosing him as our sole Patron, Father, and Protector, under whose Patronage we resort to, for his help and assistance, employing ourselves in repeated Acts of Charity, supporting one another, whenever necessary, especially in the ailments we are exposed to in the misery of this life, extending our brotherly love towards our Brothers, towards others, sending their souls continuous suffrage, to alleviate whatever pain they are suffering, until they go on to enjoy the Blessed Trinity; and for their increased permanence, we determine this fervent society and charitable Brotherhood be made up of the number of forty Brothers and members. And in order to give it the strength and firmness required, the aforementioned Brothers agreed to the Constitutions, which will be signed below, promising, as they are naturally under the obligation to respect, observe, and abide by them, themselves, and on behalf of the rest of the Brothers, who were to form part of this society in the future, in the following manner:

I. Firstly, every year we bind ourselves to celebrate a feast in honour of our Patron Saint and Advocate, the Glorious Patriarch the Lord Saint Joseph, at the Church of Nuestra Señora del Buen Suceso, on his Wedding day or whichever day would seem to be the freest during the month of November, with a sung Mass, and the Blessed Sacrament laid out morning and night. Furthermore, we bind ourselves to celebrating twelve read Masses at this church, the alms for which being three reales de vellon each, going to the Souls of the Departed of our Brotherhood.

II. On General Communion of the Community. Item. We order that on the day the sung Mass is celebrated, all Brothers must confess and receive communion, except those the

Elder Brother has excused because of sickness, or legitimate impediment; and this Communion must be precisely at the Church of Nuestra Señora del Buen Suceso, with the community, so that it can be predetermined who says Mass, and he will be given six reales de vellon in alms.

III. On the status of the Brothers. Item. We order that all the Brothers of this Brotherhood must be Teachers of the Faculty of Music wherever possible, each of whose obligation is to attend Mass the day it is held, playing if it is instrumental; and singing if it is vocal.

IV. On the offices of the Brotherhood. Item. We order that this Brotherhood be governed by an Elder Brother, a Treasurer, Secretary, and two Councillors, whose offices have to be elected and appointed every year during the General Meeting, which has to be held the same day as the feast, and these elections have to be by majority vote; and if it should occur that the voting is tied, the Elder Brother, or whoever presides the Meeting, shall have the deciding vote, and he will cast it in favour of the party he believes more suitable; and in order for those elected to continue in office, two thirds of the votes must concur; and these elections have to be carried out by secret ballot; the General Meetings have to be held at the Real Casa de Nuestra Señora del Buen Suceso, presided by the Elder Brother. We also order that no general or private meeting may be convened by anyone other than the Elder Brother, except in the event of his death, in which case the Treasurer may convene it; noting that if all Brothers have been called to the General Meeting, and one or more are absent, as long as the officials attend, which include the Elder Brother, Treasurer, Secretary, Councillors, and three other Brothers, everything discussed and voted on will be valid.

V. On Secret Meetings. Item. In addition to the General Meeting (because something unexpected could arise and it may be difficult for all to attend) we order another private committee to be formed, consisting exclusively of the officials, who may discuss and determine whatever may occur with a view to obeying the ordinances; and likewise, if, during the year, it were necessary, they may admit one or more Brothers, to make up numbers, ensuring the circumstances expressed in Article III of the Constitution and those which will be provided for in Article XI, are maintained at all times, with membership beginning from the first day of the month of their acceptance, even though it may be the middle or end, the same applying to those who join, even though there may be a General Meeting; and the reception of Brothers by this private committee should be done with more than a month until the General Meeting of the Feast; since in the event of there being less time, one must wait until they are received in the General Meeting, this private committee should report on all its activities during the first General Meeting, so that they can be passed; and the private committee will not be permitted an amount greater than 60 reales vellon, come the end of the General Meeting.

VI. On the Elder Brother. Item. We order that the Elder Brother be the leader and superior of this Brotherhood, whom all have to respect and obey; it is his job to ensure these ordinances are carried out as perfectly as possible, to convene meetings, authorise assistance, and other payments; Brothers who cannot attend a Brotherhood activity must seek his permission, meaning that he must ensure that when a Brother is excused from attending one of the Brotherhood's activities, it is for a legitimate reason.

VII. *On the Treasurer.* Item. We order that the Treasurer be reliable, and trustworthy, because all the Brotherhood's assets, money, jewels, wax, and any other communal effects, come into his possession and go through him; in his possession he must have a chest with three keys, where the Brotherhood's assets have to be stored, and the Treasurer must keep one key, the Elder Brother another and the Secretary the other; the Treasurer has to authorise all payments for expenses relating to feasts, Masses, maintenance, restoring jewels, and sickness benefits, as explained below, which have to be signed by the Elder Brother, and authorised by the Secretary; otherwise, this expenditure will not be permitted. The Treasurer is also obliged to give reports and have the money and assets for the amount overspent, every year during the General Meeting on the day of the feast; and this not being so, justice will be taken.

VIII. *On the Secretary.* Item. The Secretary must be reliable and loyal, as the office requires, his duty being to authorise all the Brotherhood's resolutions; the Ordinances and the Brotherhood's other tools and papers must be in his possession; he must have a book, in which he has to record all the resolutions from the meetings, official appointments, the number of Brothers and their names and membership dates; he is responsible for writing out the payment authorisations, certificates and other tools necessary for the administration of the Brotherhood, and all these must be noted down in his book, for greater clarity, and to avoid potential frauds; leaving room for the Elder Brother, Treasurer and Secretary to sign the resolutions of the meetings in the same book. He will also have another entry book, in which he must record the Treasurer's accounts and the assets in his power, and each withdrawal and note must be signed by all those with keys, as well as by the Councillors, for increased security, and to facilitate the book-keeping, and he must receive all the tools and papers by inventory and hand them on to his successor, while it is also his job to notify the Poor of the Hospice of the burial of any member of our Brotherhood.

IX. *On the Councillors.* The Councillors should be persons who have held an office in the Brotherhood, and in particular one of them has to be the outgoing Elder Brother. The Councillors elected by the private committee the day of the feast will be responsible for putting together the list of music, selecting the Brothers they deem suitable, and what each has to do on the day, because there will be Brothers who play many instruments, or have a good singing voice; and in this case the Councillors will have to choose those who will add the most brilliance to the feast; and if there were not enough voices or instruments in the Brotherhood for the function, they must invite other colleagues whom they esteem could best fill these roles in their name. It will also be their duty, advised by the Wardens, if one or more Brothers are sick, and if they are assisted with the punctuality outlined in the ordinances.

X. *On the Wardens.* The Wardens must hold the necessary qualifications for this office and their duty will be to assist the Brotherhood's sick; and once the Treasurer has been given authorisation to make payment, they will be required personally to assist the sick, alternating one on one day and the other the next, with religious fervour and love, and they have to take the assistance to the sick person before ten in the morning, and this assistance has to begin the same day the doctor's or surgeon's certificate is presented. Likewise they will also be required to go to each Brother's house twice a month to collect their dues or

debts; noting that they may receive money from any Brother to deduct from a debt or monthly due, as long as it be not less than one *real de vellon*. Their duties will also include giving notice of meetings and burials, taking the wax (with a boy whom the Brotherhood will pay) from the Treasurer's home to that of the deceased man or woman, distributing it during the burial, gathering it up again and returning it to the Treasurer's home.

XI. *On the Brothers' Obligations.* Prospective members of the Brotherhood must be from decent backgrounds and well-mannered, respected, well-kept and esteemed by men of virtue, and good reputation, for which they will present a memorial, which the Elder Brother will remit to two Brothers, whom he believes most reliable, for a report, which they will complete in writing, with the utmost secrecy, and they will sign, so that if their opinion were favourable, and shown at the meeting, being received by a majority of votes by the Brothers in attendance, they will be accepted, and they will pay a joining fee of two ducats *de vellon* each time; and likewise they will pay four *reales de vellon* every month, which have to be paid regularly and promptly; it is the will of the whole Brotherhood that anyone who should reach the point of owing four months, which make 16 *reales*, will be called to account by the Secretary of the Brotherhood so that these are paid before the end of the month, once the month is over and the Treasurer has put the acquittance on the list, if it has not been paid, without the need for a private or General Meeting, he will be deleted by the Secretary himself, being dismissed from the Brotherhood; and in order to receive the aforementioned four *reales* from each Brother, the Secretary will appoint two Wardens for each month, from the Brothers themselves, in the order they appear on the list, which the Secretary will issue them with, and they will be obliged to have collected payment by the sixth day of the next month, when they will give the Treasurer what they have received as per the list, this being their receipt; they will give it to the Secretary the next day, and he will keep it until the Treasurer does the accounts.

Item, it is our will, that if any Brother were to owe two months of dues, which are eight *reales*, and should present a Certificate requesting assistance for illness or imprisonment or release, six days of assistance should be subtracted; and if he were to owe three months, which are 12 *reales*, twelve days of assistance should be subtracted; and if he were to owe four months, which are 16 *reales*, not only will he not be assisted but, after having been notified as stated above, he will be dismissed from the Brotherhood; but if the assistance were only for 10 days, which is at five *reales* per day, what was owed in monthly dues is to be taken out; noting that if 16 *reales* are owed he will be dismissed like everyone else; and although at the present we only ask two ducats *de vellon* as a membership fee for the Founding Members of this Brotherhood, we would like those who subsequently become members to pay five ducats, as a one-time membership fee, and they cannot be assisted for six months; and if they were to die during this period, we order them to be assisted with 100 *reales de vellon*, the private Masses, wax, and ceremonial robes of San Francisco for their burial, and the Brotherhood Masses; and we want the same to be done during these first six months of the foundation of this Brotherhood, in which no sick people are to be assisted; but the deceased have to be assisted in the manner stated.

XII. *On assistance to the sick.* Given that one of the main purposes of this Brotherhood is to assist sick Brothers, it is our will that anyone who should fall sick with fever, and has a doctor's or surgeon's certificate verifying the illness, should be given 10 *reales de vellon* per

day for a period of forty days, if the illness should persist so long, including six days of convalescence in these forty days; so that for every 10 days of illness there is one of convalescence; every 15, two; 20, three; 25, four; and 34, six; and the days of convalescence have to be calculated according to this proportion, for the duration of the illness, about which the Wardens will be very careful, as they will be required to advise the doctor or surgeon when the ill person is better, so the benefits are ceased; and in the event of the illness lasting forty days, it is our will that he cannot be assisted until another forty days have passed, and after this time he has to be assisted in the same way, whether for the same or a different illness; but it is anticipated that if he has not been assisted for forty days, and should suffer a relapse, or another illness should follow, he should be assisted for the number of days remaining from the forty of the previous illness without waiting forty days; and at the end of this period, he will have to wait another forty days before he can be assisted again; and if the illness were one of those that usually persists but without a fever, he will be assisted with five *reales de vellon* per day for ten days; and if the illness were to continue, the assistance will not continue without waiting another forty days; but as long as these illnesses involve fever, assistance will be provided in the same form as to the rest of the sick. If the illness were a tertian or quartan fever, he must be assisted with five *reales de vellon* for thirty-three days, if the illness were to persist this long; and to receive further assistance for these illnesses, there must be a period of sixty days in between; but if prior to this period he should catch another illness for which he is entitled to receive full assistance, if more than forty days have passed, full assistance should be provided; and if not, what he received in assistance for the tertian fever will be deducted from the full assistance.

Likewise, it is our will that assistance be provided both to the sick and their heirs, which the surgeon must certify; if the illness were to be provoked, by a steel weapon, firearm or an injury-causing blow, assistance will be provided in the same form as for those with fever; but if the wound were to be fresh, that is, in the leg or another part of the body, or a dislocation, treated by a surgeon, he will be assisted with five *reales de vellon* per day, for a period of ten days, and no further assistance will be granted, except for a different type of injury or an injury to another part of the body; and if anyone receiving assistance for any of the illnesses listed requiring surgery, leaves home, the assistance should cease; noting that if the injuries were sustained in a fight between two or more brothers from this Brotherhood, or issues concerning it, he should not receive any assistance.

Likewise, when a Brother is sick, he must send certification to the Elder Brother's home, for him to sign, and then it should be taken to the Secretary, and he will include his report of what is owed in monthly dues, and will notify the Wardens to assist the patient; in the event of the Secretary arriving first, he may sign any Certification first and put the report in the appropriate place, and later the Elder Brother, so that the assistance is not delayed.

Item, if any Brother were to die within forty days, he is entitled to the days of assistance remaining from the forty days of his illness, which have to be given to him (in addition to those received) to the sum of 400 *reales de vellon*, which include forty days of assistance at 10 *reales de vellon* per day; and besides this, what he is entitled to once deceased; and if he were to die suddenly, or without having made a will, in the same manner as above, all the assistance will be given to his wife, if he be married; or if not, to his heirs; and if he were to have no heirs, it will be spent in Masses for his soul, in the same manner as those for deceased Brothers must be said. And likewise, if a sick Brother wants to be cured in Hospital, he should be assisted with the succour he is entitled to, according to his wishes.

XIII. *On prisoners and sanctuary seekers.* It is also our will, that if anyone were to be imprisoned in a public jail, as long as it were not for a serious offence (in this case he should be dismissed from the Brotherhood) he should be assisted with five *reales* per day, for a period of forty, if the jail term should be that long; and for further assistance, he must wait another forty days; observing the same procedure as the sick.

Item, it is our wish that if any Brother being held prisoner, should fall sick during the period he is receiving assistance, being an illness of medium assistance, he should receive no further assistance, however he should still be assisted as a prisoner; but if he were to suffer a medium assistance illness during a waiting period, assistance should recommence as soon as he presents certification; note that the waiting period has to begin from the end of the assistance; as stated above, we also wish that any Brother held prisoner, suffering an illness warranting full assistance cease being assisted as a sick person from the day he presents the certification; but if the illness were to be short, and the Brother remain in prison, and there is no assistance remaining to prisoners while the sick enjoy the 200 *reales de vellon* from the term of imprisonment, it will be paid at the rate of five *reales de vellon* per day, for the necessary period up to 200 *reales de vellon*; if he were to fall sick whilst a prisoner with this illness, warranting full assistance during the waiting period for the duration of the illness, with 10 *reales de vellon* per day, for a period of up to twenty; and following this period, to be assisted as a prisoner for imprisonment or sickness, the forty-day waiting period has to be observed before he can be assisted as a prisoner; noting that if he were to die within the waiting period, he has to be assisted with everything, except the 400 *reales de vellon* of the forty days of assistance; but if this occurs after forty days, he should be given everything, as stated in the previous article; and the same must be observed with regard to any Brother, who should fall ill at the end of a waiting period.

Item, if a Brother were to take sanctuary in any asylum, fleeing from justice (as long as the offence is not serious, as stated above) he will be assisted with five *reales de vellon* for up to forty days; and if it were to continue, he cannot be assisted any further.

XIV. *On the deceased.* Item, it is our will that any of our Brothers who were to die be given the ceremonial robes of Our Father San Francisco in which to be laid out, and 100 *reales* in assistance for burial, and that twelve Masses be said for his soul, three *reales* in alms for each one: all this paid by the Brotherhood; and that each Brother be obliged to say a Mass, giving three *reales* in alms to the Wardens, so that all are said together; and so the suffrage will be more immediate, it will be taken out of the Society's funds, and each Brother will later have to return the sum to the Treasurer.

Item, any Brother who does not give the Warden the three *reales* for the Mass that month, will owe four *reales* the next month, as if it were a monthly due, for the omission, which must be paid with the same strictness as the monthly dues; and this one *real* fine for omission, will be for the benefit of the Treasurer at the end of the term; and if he were to fall sick, his benefits will be taken away; and if he were to owe four *reales* for three months in succession, as well as these four *reales*, which make sixteen, he will be dismissed; and the same should apply to personal debts.

Item, the deceased must be assisted with twenty-four torches for burial, and twenty-four paupers from the hospice, and four wax candles to illuminate the body, from death until burial; and all Brothers must attend the Burial.

Item, it is our will that if the wife or widow of any Brother should die, and he was to

remain a widower, she should be given the ceremonial robes of Our Father San Francisco, and 100 *reales*, and twelve Masses from the Brotherhood should be said, and she should be assisted with the twenty-four torches and paupers from the hospice, and the four wax candles for the corpse, and the accompaniment of the Brothers.

Likewise, if the son or daughter of any Brother were to die, whilst under his/her father's roof, he/she will be assisted with eighteen torches, and four wax candles for burial, with those carrying them having to be paid apart: there is no obligation for the Brothers to attend the burial. Also, in the case of there being an ecclesiastic Brother in our Brotherhood, single or widowed, if his wife did not die whilst he was a Brother, at the time of her death, in addition to the twelve Masses given for any Brother not in these circumstances, another twelve Masses have to be paid for by the Treasurer of the Brotherhood, although he must not receive any more assistance in these cases than any other Brother himself.

XV. On the penalties Brothers may incur. In order to ensure everything established in these Constitutions is punctually carried out, we order that any Brother who commits a fault be penalised and fined in the following manner.

The Brother who fails to attend any of the Brotherhood's Meetings, after having been notified, is to be fined four *reales*, unless he is excused by the Elder Brother, or in his absence, the Treasurer; and this excuse will also apply in the following cases.

Those who do not attend the Brotherhood's Masses shall be fined four *reales*; and it is understood that they will have to be at church prior to the first Gospel reading.

Those who do not attend a Brotherhood burial shall be fined four *reales*, and they will have to be at the burial before the body reaches the church.

Those who do not attend Communion shall be fined four *reales*; noting that those who cannot wait to receive communion at the Community Mass, taking communion at any Mass, with the permission of the President, shall not be fined; nor will those the Elder Brother justly excuses.

The Warden who does not take the assistance to the sick patient's home prior to ten in the morning will be fined four *reales*. And likewise, if he does not do his duties, as stated in Article X, he shall be fined four *reales*.

Item, the Warden who does not give the list of payments received to the Treasurer on the sixth day of the month, as stated above, shall be fined four *reales*; and if this list has not been delivered by the tenth day, he shall be fined an extra real for every day after this.

Item, anyone who does not do their duty, or who is out of order, in words or actions, in any meeting, shall be fined at the discretion of the private committee, and all penalties must be delivered or paid to the Wardens in the remaining days of the month they are incurred; and after this, these fines must be listed as outstanding monthly dues, observing the same stringency as expressed in Article 14 in relation to missed payments of alms for Mass; the penalties described in this Article shall only be distinguished from the Masses, in that no other increase will be added apart from that stipulated for the misdemeanour.

XVI. On absences. It is also our will that if any of the Brothers is away from court, and wants to remain in the Brotherhood, he must leave someone of his choice to pay his monthly dues, and the Masses of deceased Brothers; and in this way he shall be assisted anywhere he may fall ill, a doctor's or surgeon's certificate authorised by a notary, verifying the period of the illness, or death; and likewise, he shall be assisted with the suffrages of the

deceased, except wax, and the cost of the paupers from the hospice, which will only be assigned to those present; but if no one is left to carry out these duties, after four months of absence, he will be dismissed from the Brotherhood.

Item, we order that if the Elder Brother is absent due to sickness, or away, the Councillor who was previously the Elder Brother, must sign the authorisations for the payment of assistance, and if he is unable, the other Councillor should, so that assistance to the sick is not delayed.

Item, if the Treasurer should be absent, he should leave someone trustworthy and reliable in his house to pay any expenses and assistance that should arise.

Item, the Brother who ceases to be Secretary must fill in for the Secretary-elect whenever he is absent or sick. And in the above-mentioned form we formulate these ordinances; and ask and beg of the Administrator of the Royal Hospital of Nuestra Señora del Buen Suceso, as the Ordinary Judge he is, by Papal Bull, of the aforementioned Royal Hospital of the Court, Church and House of Nuestra Señora del Buen Suceso, if he would be kind enough as to approve these Ordinances, as a whole and each of the Articles they contain, for their prompt fulfilment, and observance, which in our name, and on behalf of the other Brothers of this Congregation of the Lord Saint Joseph, we require to be observed and fulfilled, under the penalties they impose and the others applicable by Law, we are all obliged to obey; and we sign in Madrid, 15 January 1741. Don Francisco Xavier García. Don Cosme de Soldevilla. Don Phelipe Sabatini. Don Joseph Leal Martinez. Don Francisco Simon Guerra. Don Joseph Bach. Don Diego Garcia. Don Juan Fernandez Pajaro. Don Jorge Ramirez. Don Juan Perez de la Torre. Don Manuel Lopez. Don Juan Thorena. Don Bernardo Espinosa. Don Martin Ruiz de Gamarra. Don Joseph Reynaldos. Don Pedro Pamphilles. Don Pedro Morrera. Don Antonio Alva. Don Francisco Cardinal. Don Mathias Vázquez. Don Thomas Palinch. Don Juan López. Don Alexandro Rodriguez. Don Francisco Maestre. Don Joseph Ignacio Muñoz. Don Juan de Ledesma y Castro. Don Francisco Fernandez. Don Alfonso Alvarez. Don Manuel Gonzalez. Don Antonio Canesco. Don Jacobo Ferreno. Don Joseph Villar. Don Sebastian Moneva. Don Juan Antonio de Molina. Don Francisco Gutierrez Castaneda. Don Juan Orri. Don Sebastian Mercado. Don Joseph Prieto.

Appendix 2

Regulations of the Friendly Society for Widows, and Pupils of Musicians Established in Madrid, Approved by the Lords of the Royal and Supreme Court of Castile, on 10 February 1781. Printed with their licence and permission. In Madrid, at the office of Josef Doblado, Calle de Barrio-Nuevo (AHN, Consejos, leg. 769)

Don Carlos, by the grace of God, King of Castile, Leon, Aragon, the two Sicilies, Jerusalem, Navarre, Granada, Toledo, Valencia, Galicia, Majorca, Seville, Sardinia, Cordoba, Corsica, Murcia, Jaen, Lord of Biscay, and Molina &c. Hence Don Antonio Martinez, Don Josef Bovadilla, and Don Francisco Marcos manifested the following to our Council. Most Powerful Sir: Sir: Don Antonio Martinez, Don Josef Bovadilla, and Don Francisco Marcos, on behalf of the those who practise the very noble Art of Music, established at this court,

the names of whom are included in the attached Constitutions; at Your Highness's service with the humblest submission, moved and put forward with the marvels that the King our Lord Don Charles the Third (may God keep him) has worked for the general protection of the poor. And of piety, that assists them, their wives and children, try to form a Friendly Society, to obviate begging after death; for which the Constitutions have been prepared and presented to Your Highness, which being to your royal approval, they implore that they are worthy of your royal seal and approval, in the name of His Majesty with all the royal prerogatives that Your Highness believes necessary. And if it were to be to Your Highness's liking that the Ecclesiastic Musicians become members of the Friendly Society, being a very large number, and they to solicit this, may this only be either to do you proud with their contributions or leaving the pensions that are indicated to the widows, only to their mother, or a sister, presently in their power, under the same conditions as the widows, without anyone else being able to benefit from these pensions than the person chosen on the day of their entry, whose name has to be written in the books. All of which awaits what Your Highness's piety decides and orders as you see fit. Madrid, 22 October 1779. At your Highness's service. Antonio Martínez, Josef Bovadilla, Francisco Marcos. And after this Manifestation was examined by our Council, and the Articles cited therein, by Decree issued on 10 December last year, they ordered both be remitted to the *Junta general de Caridad* of this Court, so that it should inform what would esteem conducive to the establishment of the Friendly Society. In whose consequence, the said Constitutions were returned to our Council by the said *Junta general de Caridad*, with various additions and modifications made to them, which Council agreed to, and its tenor is the following.

Constitutions that those who practise the very noble Art of Music have to observe, keep and comply with, for the formation and conservation of their Friendly Society, for them, their widows, and children, according to the following Articles.

I. Above all, as Catholic Christians, we believe and confess all the Mysteries of our Holy Faith, and we hope to die in them. For our patron we have chosen the Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, three different people and only one true God. Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception, so that her Divine Majesty, presided over such a glorious intercession, and that of our Advocate St Cecilia keeps us in her holy grace, and protects such a charitable society. As faithful vassals, we promise obedience to our Catholic Monarch Don Charles III, whom we commend to God, as the only refuge, father and general patron of the poor.

II. Those who practise the very noble Art of Music, following the good examples of their sovereign in obviating mendicity, doing as much as possible, so that the poor do not perish, they have come, in imitation of the lawyers, notaries and surgeons, to form a Friendly Society for themselves, their widows, and children; which should only consist of musicians based at court, both singers and instrumentalists, whether or not from the music chapel, or other formations pertaining to the chapel; always having a *Diputado Mayor* (Chief Delegate) from this faculty, who will be appointed by the committee. From the musicians themselves, four Delegates, a Secretary, an Accountant, a Treasurer and a Warden will be chosen annually; making up the committee. Their duties are as follows.

III. The responsibility of Chief Delegate will be to convoke the committee by means of the Warden, whenever necessary, and he will fill the first seat; he will be respected, and will be obeyed as a superior leader, who will become first Delegate when he relinquishes, if he is not re-elected.

IV. The responsibility of the Chief Delegate and Delegates will be to attend the committee meetings, and to divide up the offices of protection, watching over the widows with all their charity, consoling them in their afflictions, giving them sound advice, encouraging them to live well, receiving their petitions, and those of their children, and giving them to the Secretary, so that he can report on them during the committee meeting, and the committee can approve the payments to which they are entitled, and issue the payment orders, which the Treasurer will not pay until they are audited by the Book-keeper; the four Delegates filling the two places beside the Chief Delegate in the committee meetings, in the order they were elected; and in his absence, the first Delegate should fill his role.

V. It will be the Secretary's responsibility to report on the petitions delivered to the Chief Delegate, Delegates and other interested parties to the committee; to write, and sign its resolutions; formulate the notifications he will give to the Warden, to convene a committee meeting; to give the responses that occur; to have a file in his home in which to keep the papers; a book, in which to record the names and surnames of all the members, and those the committee admits in the future; to draw up and sign all the payments authorised by the committee, recording them in another book, in which the deaths of each and every member will be put down, specifying their name and surnames, and those of their widows, and children, they leave behind with the right to assistance: he will not issue any kind of certification without permission from the committee; and on the authorisations signed by him, he will indicate: *Record and pay, &c.*

VI. The Accountant will record the deposit and withdrawal of funds; he will have the same books as the Treasurer, as will be stated below; he will record and control the payment authorisations issued by the committee, and signed by the Secretary against the Treasurer; he will examine the accounts given by the Treasurer every four months; and will report to the committee in writing and will include in the payment authorisations: *I made a record of this, and his signature.*

VII. The role of the Treasurer will be to receive all the assets that the committee and members give him for the Friendly Society fund; he will write out and sign the receipts with the condition that he will take note for the Accountant, otherwise they will not have any value; he will have a debit book and record the assets being deposited or withdrawn from the fund or chest; another with the income of the pensioners and members' assistances, to record their right to the assistance; he will write out the payments being made in virtue of the authorisations he is issued by the committee, whom he will provide with the appropriate information about the state of finances every four months, the period in which each Individual has to make the payment specified below. Following his one-year term in office, he shall present paid accounts the following month, which after being examined by the former Accountant, will be examined by the committee, giving their approval or reapproval; and finally he shall pay the widows monthly, receiving the certificate of

widowhood from them every six months, as stated in Article XIV, noting the following: *Settled, and paid. Mr So-and-so, &c.*

VIII. By means of the small pension awarded to the widows, and pupils of this Friendly Society, the Chief Delegate, Delegates and Warden will ensure that those in charge apply themselves to an honest job, searching for businesses in which they might be employed, according to their ability or tasks to which they are more inclined, and which the Royal Society of this court and local deputations facilitate, which will mean widows will honestly be able to improve their situation, feed themselves, and their young sons and daughters, eradicating idleness, and consequently begging. And when the orphans reach the appropriate age, find them a job to which they can apply themselves, according to their age and sex, in industry, an art or craft, so that they are more prepared, the elementary education and instruction of the Christian Doctrine taking precedence, ensuring that they do not pick up unpleasant habits and bad manners; and if they cannot remedy this themselves, make use of the ordinary justice, so that this is achieved with help. The respective Delegate who is the protector of widow, son or daughter, together with the Warden, should go to the home to offer them their services of protection, telling them to hand in a report, asking for the pension, expressing the member's date of death, the matrimony's children left to the widow, and whether they have a trade, with the certificate of baptism; and assuring the extrajudicial Delegate, in the first committee meeting that is held, that a report is given, so that bearing in mind their admission to the Friendly Society of the deceased Father or Husband, and being up-to-date with the payment of the three instalments, the pension is recorded in the appropriate book and enjoyed from the day it is approved.

IX. The musician wanting to join the Friendly Society will pay an entrance fee of 240 *reales de vellon* in three instalments of 80 *reales* each, the first third the same day he joins, the second four months later, and the third another four months after that. And after the first year, every year thereafter he will pay the amount of 150 *reales* in three instalments of 50 *reales*, under the same conditions; and it will be his responsibility to give these instalments to the Treasurer, who will record them in the book and provide a receipt, signed by the Accountant, so that there is proof payment was made.

X. After the foundation of this Friendly Society and the announcements of its approval in public notices, prospective members have thirty days in which to enlist, otherwise they will have to present their memorial to the committee, and after being admitted, they will pay a moderate entrance fee, and in accordance with the length of the period of arrears in which the candidate had remained, taking into account that the entrance fee for the other members is no more than 240 *reales*; they will also pay the annual contribution that all other members have to pay.

XI. Prospective members of this Society who have moved to this court, will present their authorised certificate of baptism at the same time as the memorial to the committee if they are not known here.

XII. After verifying that a member has not paid his annual contribution for a whole year, which is the maximum period permitted, he will be notified of the debt with a short letter

from the Secretary of his Friendly Society as a last resort, giving him eight days to pay the debt; if he does not pay, a second letter will be sent with a reference to the previous one, endeavouring that the reply be given to the Warden; and if this is not observed, the committee will proceed to his exclusion and to eliminate his entries, explaining the benefits of the Friendly Society to him, his wife and children in private.

XIII. *Pensions for members, widows, and children.* If a member who has paid his entrance fees and the above-mentioned contributions for a period of four years, were to be unable to work due to accident, paralysis or any other illness other than venereal disease, he will be entitled to a pension of four *reales de vellon* per day.

XIV. Member's widows will receive a pension of six *reales de vellon* per day, during their widowhood; after her death or marriage, this income will be for the couple's sons and daughters; and the males will receive it until the age of sixteen, and the females until the age of twenty; and if prior to reaching these ages, they were to change their marital status, or to take religious vows, this pension will terminate.

XV. Any member who changes his civil status must communicate this to the committee, stating the name and surname of his consort, so that it is on record, and there will be no problems with his widow and children earning a pension after his death.

XVI. If a member were to die prior to paying all of his entrance fees and contributions, without having kept up with the terms, or for another reason, his widow should pay them; and to this end notification of this debt will be provided from the Secretary of the committee; and in the event she advises that she does not have the money, the Treasurer will deduct it from her monthly payments, so that in this way she is not excluded; and she will present her certificate of widowhood every six months, as well as for the children those of baptism, when they form part of the pensions.

XVII. If any member of this Society were to leave the court, following his faculty or another job, he will inform the committee whether or not he wants to continue; if he does not want to, he will naturally be crossed off, and his widow and children will be exonerated from receiving the pension; but if he would like to continue, he will inform of the town to which he is moving and his address, and is obliged to continue his monthly contribution, making sure, where necessary, that someone from this court will make his payments; and making his monthly payments on time, his widow and children will receive the allotted pension; but if he were to stop contributing for one year, he will be excluded from the Society, in accordance with the conditions expressed in Article XII of these Ordinances.

XVIII. Any member of this Society, who as a widow or single, should marry, will bring this to the attention of the Chief Delegate or Patron of the Society, so that they know; and if the matrimony is verified, his widow and children may enjoy the pension that is specified.

XIX. In order for the Society to have enough funds to pay the pensions to member's widows and children, these pensions will not be paid until two years after the foundation of this Society, beginning from the date the Council approves these ordinances; and the

widows and children of members who should die during the first two years will only have the right to receive the pension from the day after this two-year period; and in the event that after these two years there were so many widows and children of members who had died, that the Society's funds were not enough to pay the pensions; this is no reason for them not to receive them in full; as the general committee will have the means to complete the shortfall, either by dividing it between all the members, or apply the proceeds from some foundations, which would not be a burden to their existence or to the value of the work during the financial year.

XX. Description of the chest and key, which funds have to be kept there, and what they must be used for. A very safe chest will be made with three keys, one for the Patron, another for the Treasurer and another for the Accountant. They will all be different, so that one cannot open the chest without the other. All the fees paid by members must be placed in this chest; all the costs incurred will be taken out of it, and the pensions will be paid to members, their widows and children, the committee investing what is left over somewhere very safe, such as the five largest guilds, Madrid General Trust &c. And leaving what is judged necessary in the hands of the Treasurer; the funds remaining in the aforementioned chest, the Patron, Treasurer and Book-keeper will be co-responsible, possessing the three keys; and in the event of an accident, such as fire or robbery, the committee making the decisions necessary for reports will decide what is best. Inside this chest the Treasurer will have a book, in which he will record the deposits and withdrawals of funds, always signing his surname. If any of those who have the three keys should fall sick, be away or die, causing the key to be given to another member, appointed by the committee, this will be done counting the funds in the presence of he who receives it. And when he returns it, the same process will be carried out, so that he will not be responsible for the funds that he handed out. This process will be repeated each time the keys are passed from one person to another, those who take them giving their receipts, which will remain in the hands of the Secretary.

XXI. If due to the changing times the general committee thought it necessary to add, remove, or change anything deemed necessary for better government, and subsistence of the Friendly Society, and two thirds of its members agreed, they will present it to the Council for approval; and without this, these ordinances may not be altered in any form. Don Josef Bovadilla; Don Geronimo Monge; Don Francisco Marcos; Don Manuel Garcia de Santiago; Don Geronimo Boca; Don Francisco Camoccia; Don Francisco de Paula Camoccia; Don Pedro Terradellas; Don Lorenzo Molina; Don Tiburcio Garcia; Don Clemente Roldan; Don Miguel Aguilera; Don Eugenio Cortes; Don Santiago Rodriguez; Don Juan Josef de la Cruz; Don Manuel Amad; Don Antonio Martinez; Don Antonio Ventura Gonzalez; Don Blas Gil; Don Josef del Castillo; Don Andres Ximenez; Don Baltasar de Arche; Don Manuel de Molina; Don Guillermo Martorell; Don Antonio Garcia; Don Francisco Xavier Casimiro Fernandez; Don Juan Leon; Pablo Vidal; Antonio Gavino Lopez; Jose Lopez de Segovia; Josef Escalonet; Juan Burriel; Pablo Rosquillas; Don Liborio Fernandez de la Raya; Don Antonio de Arche; Don Juan Capistrano Lázaro; Don Eusebio Ochoa y Marieta; Don Joaquin Ximenez; Don Julian Vicente; Don Dámaso Santos Martinez; Don Josef Rodriguez; and Don Francisco Lazaro.

And seen by those of our Council, with that set forth by our Public Prosecutor, by

public act, decreed on 23 June last year, it was decided to issue this letter, which without detriment to our Royal Patrimony, or a third party, we approve the ordinances herein, drawn up for the rule and government of the Friendly Society of those who practise the noble Art of Music, established at this court, for the benefit of their widows, and children. And we order the Individuals of the cited Friendly Society to respect, observe, and abide by these ordinances, in accordance with each of its articles, without contravening or allowing them to be contravened in any form. This is our will, as a result of which, we order this, our letter, to be given and give it, sealed with our stamp and liberated by the members of our Council, in Madrid, 10 February 1781. Don Manuel Ventura Figueroa; Don Blas de Hinojosa; Don Luis Urries y Cruzat; Don Manuel Fernandez de Vallejo; Don Manuel de Villafañe. I, Don Pedro Escolano de Arrieta, Secretary of the King our Lord, and his Chamber Notary, wrote it on his order, with the approval of his Council. By Secretary Salazar. Examined. Don Nicolas Berdugo; Lord Vice Chancellor; Don Nicolas Berdugo; and Secretary Salazar.

Your Highness approves the ordinances herein, drawn up for the rule and government of the Friendly Society of those who practise the noble Art of Music, established at this court, for the benefit of their widows, and children. Corrected, signed. The First Government.