



## URBAN AND LABOR IDENTITIES: MADRID'S *MENESTRALES* IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SAINETES AND PLAYS

Yvonne Fuentes  
University of West Georgia

In 1783, A Spanish Royal Edict was issued declaring that "...not only tanners, but those who practice the art and occupation of blacksmiths, tailors, cobblers, carpenters and others of similar trade are honest and honorable; that their trade does not vilify the family or the person; nor does it impede or disqualify a registered and residing artisan or *menestral* of obtaining municipal employment" (*Novísima recopilación de las leyes de España*. Tomo IV, Libro VIII, Tit. XXIII, ley VIII). It is interesting and significant that the edict seems to address a notion, that Spaniards deem labor as vile, dishonorable and even prejudicial to future generations, rather than a practice.

My aim is to examine some of the perceptions and representations regarding labor, crafts, and craftsmen in the Spanish eighteenth century with a focus on Madrid's *menestrales* (handicraftsmen and artisan) as seen primarily in a number of sainetes and plays. However, because the 1783 edict is a legal document, it is necessary to take a brief look at some of the archival documents and legal precedents that codify labor before and during the eighteenth century in order to comprehend the supposed problem, as well as the proposed solution. In addition to the legal backdrop, an examination of official and unofficial documents will help delimit the conceived space, meaning the *urbs* itself, i.e. the place(s) of reunion, and the *civitas*, in other words the local realities of human construct and specifically the associations between the characters (tanners, tailors, weavers, etc.) and their immediate localities (*barrios*). Finally, I hope to get a glimpse into the urban space and urban society which allows for the degree of integration and identification, as opposed to the unsettledness, displacement and/or marginalization attributed to many of these characters, represented in sainetes and plays.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The battle for the Spanish "space and soul" has produced numerous texts and interpretations depending on political and ideological perspectives. Similarly, the inhabitants of the *barrios* of Madrid have been viewed through polarizing lens meant to refract the image. When they epitomize the true Spanish/Castilian values they are proud, patriotic, pious, traditional, independent, loyal, and unfailing. Or, on the other hand, they are arrogant, xenophobic, superstitious, retrograde, unruly, ignorant and erratic, in other words, they exhibit and flaunt every malady which has contributed to Spain's backwardness.

### Codifying Labor

From the thirteenth century Spanish major law code known as *Las siete partidas* one discovers that the term “labor” is applied to what men do while strongly exerting them-selves, while “handicrafts” includes the occupations of men “stationed in houses, in sheltered places, as for instance, such as are employed in manufactures of gold or silver, and who coin money, and make arms and armor [...] and although they exert themselves by the use of their bodies, the weather does not have such power to injure them as it does to others who toil out of doors, for which reason the latter are called laborers and the former craftsmen” (Partida II, Tit. XX, law v).<sup>2</sup> More relevant and revealing is the clarification that in order for these tasks to be done with skill and art the craftsman must: 1) act honestly and properly by not counterfeiting or changing the articles which they use; 2) complete the article without reserving or diminishing anything; 3) be diligent in performing the tasks by being energetic and manifesting zeal.<sup>3</sup> It is the concern over the “how” rather than the “who” which prompted numerous proclamations and ordinances legislating labor and handicrafts throughout the following centuries.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>2</sup> All quotes are from the 2001 reissue of the 1931 translation commissioned by the American Bar Association of *Las Siete Partidas*.

<sup>3</sup> From the classics to the contemporary, numerous texts have tackled the division between “mechanical” and “art”. In *Politics: Treatise on Government*, book VIII, chap. II, Aristotle recommends a distinction between the employment of a freeman and a slave though some freemen engage in *mean arts and employments* which “tend to deform the body, and... which are exercised for gain; for they take off from the freedom of the mind and render it sordid”. In *Noticia general para la estimación de las artes y de la manera en que se conocen las liberales de las que son mecánicas y serviles, con una exortación a la honra de la virtud y del trabajo contra los ociosos...* Gaspar Gutiérrez de los Ríos differentiates between the mechanical, servile and liberal arts, stating that the first are called mechanical not because they are dishonorable or bad as many of the people think, but because they are done with the body. He then traces the etymology of the word to its Greek meaning of, “pertaining to the body” (45), and adds that many of the first are also known as servile because they are exercised by slaves and not free men (liberal). *Plaza universal de todas ciencias y artes...* (1615), is a curious compendium and assessment of crafts, trades and sciences, including, but not limited to, dancers, astronomers, cutlers, interpreters, topographers, silversmiths, embroiderers, and even matchmakers.

<sup>4</sup> The *OED*, the *Diccionario de Autoridades* (1734) and the *DRAE* retrace the secular definitions and uses as well as the eventual stigma, association, and status of terms such as the entries for: “minister, n.” – a servant, attendant; “ministerial, adj.”-subordinate, subsidiary; “liberal, adj.” – suitable for a free man; “menestral, s.m.” –

The search through the *Legislación Histórica de España* reveals that, for example, in 1238 legislation from the Kingdom of Valencia explicitly banned and then stipulated the punishment for those who engaged in counterfeit coins as well as for those who substituted silver for gold in painting.<sup>5</sup> In 1369 the Kingdoms of Leon and Castile were very specific regarding the prices tailors could charge for pants, hoods, coats, etc. whether lined or unlined. The Kingdom of Navarre too passed a law in 1556 forbidding carpenters, masons, painters and others from charging more than the agreed upon price even if the final product had resulted in a higher cost. In addition to these, the 1604 law from the Kingdom of Valencia stipulated that anyone who practiced the mechanical art could not be *procurador judicial* (unless they were recognized as royal notaries) for two main reasons, first, that most were not trained for the job, second and perhaps most importantly, because in order to become *procuradores judiciales* many abandoned the practice of their mechanical art thereby hurting the kingdom and the coffers.<sup>6</sup>

Regarding who could or could not practice these mechanical arts, the decree of 1682 issued by Carlos II specifically addresses the matter of whether or not nobles could engage in trade or commerce without contravening the laws concluding that nobility and commerce were not incompatible nor did the latter diminish honor and distinction as long as the noble himself did not engage in the manual work. However, it seems that the limitation stemmed from a need to comply and keep existing regulations regarding work force, craftsmen, and membership in guilds, rather than from a strict concern over honor (*Novísima...*, Tomo IV, Libro VIII, Tit. XXIV, Ley I).<sup>7</sup> As expected, this too would change when in 1772

---

el oficial mecánico que gana de comer con sus manos; *se aplica a los oficios bajos de la República*; and “mecánico, adj.”- *cosa baja, soez, indecorosa*.

<sup>5</sup> "Libro IX. Ru. III. III. Sobre los crímenes de falsificación y la moneda falsa" [Sobre los pintores que hacían falsificaciones con los colores plata y oro] Mandamiento por el que los pintores perdiesen el precio de sus colores, más una multa de sesenta sols, cuando cambiasen el plata por el oro, para así evitar las falsificaciones y venderse una cosa por otra, observándose esta ley en todos los oficios. De la cantidad de la multa vaya la mitad al rey, y la otra al estafado. Cortes de Valencia, 1238.

<sup>6</sup> "Que ninguna persona que haya tenido oficio mecánico pueda oficiar de procurador judicial bajo pena de azotes, pues tales personas para no volver a trabajar en sus oficios usaban de tales arbitrios en perjuicio del reino y los negocios por no saber desempeñar el oficio de procurador, exceptuándose los que sean reconocidos como notarios reales".

<sup>7</sup> “Y por quanto por algunas leyes de estos Reynos se prohíbe, se puedan tener fábricas de paños, sin que el dueño de ellas esté examinado de uno de los quatro

guilds were ordered to admit qualified foreigners.<sup>8</sup> Similarly, by 1779 edicts had not only eliminated the obstacles for qualified women to enter into guilds but had exhorted the guilds to accept them, and finally in 1784, the year following the edict with which this essay opens, another proclamation afforded illegitimate children the right to join guilds. The scorn, therefore, appears to be aimed not at those who work in “vile and mechanical arts” but at those who are dishonest or choose an unproductive life of leisure.<sup>9</sup> Consequently, it seems that the condemnation of voluntary idleness was clearly coupled with the government’s efforts to grow the economy by fomenting a skilled workforce and eliminating obstacles that might interfere with the implementation of these economic and social reforms. In sum, there are two recurrent concerns in official legislative texts yet neither seems particularly or exclusively “Spanish”: the preoccupation over voluntary idleness and consequential lack of productivity, and the severe warnings against fraudulent commercial practices.<sup>10</sup>

---

oficios de texedor, tundidor, cardador, ó tintorero; declaramos y mandamos, que para en adelante qualesquiera súbditos naturales de estos nuestros Reynos puedan tener fábricas de paños y otras qualesquiera, sin necesitar del exámen... [pero] hayan de tener por su cuenta y riesgo persona examinada de uno de los dichos quatro oficios, para que los géneros que fabricaren, sean con la bondad y ley que las de estos Reynos disponen: para lo qual derogamos la disposicion de la ley... y demas que contravengan á lo que en esta llevamos dispuesto”.

<sup>8</sup> “Y para que sirva de aliciente y seguridad á los artesanos diestros extrangeros, que quisiesen establecerse en Madrid u otra parte del Reyno á exercer sus oficios, de qualquiera calidad que sean; mando, que se les observen las franquicias que por leyes de estos mis Reynos les estan concedidas.” (*Novísima...*, Tomo IV, Libro VIII, Tit. XXIII, Ley VI).

<sup>9</sup> The 1783 edict regarding the restoration of dignity clearly excludes, however, “los artistas o menestrales, ó sus hijos que abandonaren su oficio ó el de sus padres, y no se dedicaren á otro, o á qualesquiera arte... con aplicacion o aprovechamiento, aunque el abandono sea por causa de riqueza y abundancia”. (*Novísima...*, Tomo IV, Libro VIII, Tit. XXIII, Ley VIII).

<sup>10</sup> See Michel Foucault’s *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (1975) for an explication of what he labels “a shift from a criminality of blood to a criminality of fraud from part of a whole complex mechanism embracing the development of production, the increase of wealth, a higher juridical and moral value placed on property relations, stricter methods of surveillance, a tighter partitioning of the population, more efficient techniques of locating and obtaining information...” from the end of the seventeenth century and throughout the eighteenth (77). This is evident in the case of Carlos III who though known as *el mayor alcalde de Madrid* for his urbanistic reforms in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, also issued the order on October 6, 1768 which divided the city and its 64 *barrios* (neighborhoods) into eight manageable *cuarteles* (quarters): the *cuartel* in the historic central Madrid

*Urbs and Civitas*

For a why, where, how and when these craftsmen settled and opened shop in Madrid Mesoneros Romanos' account *El antiguo Madrid: paseos históricos-aneecdóticos por las calles y casas de esta villa* is invaluable. Equally helpful are the local newspapers, journals, and topographical maps such as the *Plano Topográfico de Madrid* by the Portuguese cartographer, Pedro Texeira, printed in Antwerp in 1656.

A look at the physical space reveals that the original Moorish walls surrounded an area of approximately nine hectares (22.23 acres) and stood near today's Royal Palace and Parroquia de Santa María de la Almudena. While the twelfth century expansion under Alfonso VII enlarged the area northeast towards the current Plaza de Oriente, to the east bordering with Plaza Mayor, and to the southeast towards Plaza de San Andrés and back up calle de los Mancebos, it is the incorporation of the *arrabales* that more than doubled the city limits.<sup>11</sup>

The first of the five extramural *arrabales* was located on the lands owned by the Priory of San Martin after the Christian re-conquest in 1083 and was the result of a request by the Priory for a privilege to occupy the land, to issue permits and licenses to build, and to attract loyal vassals. In 1212 the convent of Santo Domingo el Real was founded and the *arrabal* grew from its environs. The remaining three *arrabales* followed a similar pattern: in 1217 the *arrabal* surrounding and stemming from the convent of San

---

named after the Plaza Mayor; four *cuarteles* in Madrid alto (high Madrid) which were predominantly residential with little commerce, and the three *cuarteles* in Madrid bajo (low Madrid). Each *cuartel* had its judicial authority in the form of the *Alcalde de Casa y Corte*. Additionally, eight *Alcaldes de Barrio* (neighborhood constables) were appointed. The order also established two *Salas Criminales* (criminal courts) with jurisdiction over criminal and law enforcement matters, and other provisions for, in my opinion, a better and more expedient local government. The cause and aim of the order was to better control the daily life of the citizens who inhabited the *barrios* thus reinstating a sense of public order that had been seriously threatened by the recent riots of 1766 known as el *Motín de Esquilache* (the Esquilache Riot). Foucault had already observed throughout this period a "considerable diminution in murders.... [and that] offenses against property seem to take over from crimes of violence" (75).

<sup>11</sup> *Arrabal*: from the Arabic *al-rabād*, the suburb, literally outside the village walls or *población*. The *arrabales* were constructed near roads and roadways and attracted the more humble workers, immigrants and less desirable trades such as tanneries, iron smiths and ovens. Eventually, the *arrabal* and its sanctuary would come to form a separate district known as *colación*. As the walls were expanded and the city limits enlarged, the *arrabales* were incorporated into the city limits though they kept their social and cultural imprint. By 1832, *arrabalero* appears as the inhabitant of an *arrabal* but more importantly denoting a vulgar, uncouth person, and more specifically used for women.

Francisco would eventually connect from the south (mediodía) and west (poniente); from the original church of Santa Cruz grew the *arrabal* of San Ginés and Santa Cruz in the thirteenth century; and finally, San Millán, the last of the *arrabales*, formed part of the city around the fifteenth century. As a result of this, by the time all these *arrabales* were incorporated, the city spanned northeast to Plaza de Santo Domingo, Callao, and Puerta del Sol, and southeast towards Tirso de Molina, Puerta de la Latina, and back to Plaza de San Andrés.<sup>12</sup>

Under the guidance of Felipe II Madrid was designated the capital of Spain in 1561. Strategically located in the center of the peninsula and with easy access to main roads,<sup>13</sup> Madrid also boasted fertile land, plenty of water, and abundant hunting grounds. Though it did not have the rich history, the political tradition, or the economic clout that Toledo had enjoyed, Madrid soon became the epicenter of an enormous empire, the seat of political, economic, and social activity. The court attracted leading nobles, hidalgos, civil servants, artisans, craftsmen, tradesmen, soldiers of fortune, speculators, wannabes and rogues, lots of rogues.<sup>14</sup> As the Court of Felipe II aimed to awe subjects and foreign rivals, so the city grew in population, in extension, and in construction thus reflecting the Spanish Habsburg's world interpretation.<sup>15</sup>

The strategic localization of Madrid was accompanied by a political centralization, and given that representation seeks to make visible the invisible attributes of the empire, the city and newly declared capital and its space exemplified that effort (Habermas 9). From an early military post and frontier land during the time of the *Re-conquista*, to serving as an occasional host for some of the Court gatherings, or as a temporary

---

<sup>12</sup>See, <http://www.unaventanadesdemadrid.com/murallas-cercas-y-puertas-demadrid.html#arrabal> and <http://elmadridmedieval.jmcastellanos.com/>

<sup>13</sup> The *puertas* or gates to the city indicated both the entry and the exit via special routes: southbound towards Toledo, Cordoba, Seville and Granada, and northeast towards Alcalá de Henares and on to Zaragoza and Barcelona.

<sup>14</sup> The picaresque novels of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries reveal this mixture of peoples and a sense of vibrancy as well as urgency to *medrar*, to improve one's state by climbing the steep social ladders. See Enrique Villalba Pérez's, *¿Pecadoras o delincuentes? Delito y género en la Corte 1580-1620*.

<sup>15</sup> Steven Gunn delves into the centuries of intricate myth-making by [Felipe's] Habsburg ancestors... [who] proclaimed to be blood relations of Priam of Troy and the emperors of Rome and Byzantium, of the Old Testament patriarchs (116). See also Fuentes (2005) for a study on certain stock figures and the correlation between the socioeconomic changes that led to an aristocratic desire to partake in commercial activities and the bourgeoisie who sought aristocratic nobility.

residence for monarchs, Madrid was transformed between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries into that public space that embodied the aura of authority, greatness, and permanence. As if originating from the imposing Plaza Mayor just yards from today's zero-mile marker a seemingly endless grid of streets, buildings, and structures extended in every direction. Less than 75 years later, another Felipe, Felipe IV, began a new expansion of the city in 1625.<sup>16</sup>

Within the one hundred years between Felipe II and Felipe IV Madrid had its first General Hospital, the Puerta de Alcalá, the Plaza Mayor, the Palacio de Santa Cruz which served as a royal prison, the casa de la Villa which had a dual function as prison and Town Hall, palaces, convents, neighborhoods, and the *corrales* where the greatest poets and playwrights entertained a mixed public with their *comedias* and *entremeses*, and a bustling population of approximately 142,000 according to the *Plano Topographico*.

By the second half of the eighteenth century and specifically between 1769 and 1799 Madrid's population had grown 56.4% due in large part to the pattern seen already in the previous 150 years of a constant migration from rural areas to the city. At the same time, the urbanistic reforms initiated under Charles III continued to transform the city's "better" part with the design and paving of new boulevards, the renovation of Paseo del Prado, the construction of the Royal Botanical Gardens, the installation of lampposts, the opening of the Parque del Buen Retiro, etc.<sup>17</sup>

As seen above, the interplay of demand and command between those who wish to benefit from the protection and advantages [...] and an ambitious authority seems to have produced a symbolic and represented urban space where not only previous space but people were changed, substituted and transferred (Lefebvre 119).<sup>18</sup> One can read Patricia Fumerton's compelling argument regarding the spatial and emotional

---

<sup>16</sup> The expansion started by Felipe IV in 1625 follows the route of Cuesta de San Vicente passing today's metro stops and landmarks starting with Plaza de España, Princesa, Plaza del Conde Duque, Bilbao, Colón, Serrano, south towards Puerta de Alcalá, on to Príncipe de Vergara, down to Menéndez Pelayo, west towards Atocha, Puerta de Toledo, Plaza Mayor and back to Santa María de la Almudena. For a holistic view and idea of the scope of the expansion and the urban transformation the reader can access an interactive site based on Texeira's map which identifies the streets, the *barrios*, the buildings, and its neighbors at different times: <http://www.arquimatica.com/MadridXVII/texeira.htm>.

<sup>17</sup> See don Pedro Stuart y Colón's interesting, though perhaps exaggerated, epistolary opinions regarding the marvels of Madrid in 1764 (Fuentes 2005, 95).

<sup>18</sup> One of many urban examples is the remains of the 10th century city walls that can be seen around the current Royal Palace built in the 18th century on the site of the Alcazar or Moorish Castle.

“unsettledness” to which mobile but gainfully employed poor (such as the itinerant peddlers, laborers, seamen as well as apprentices, servants, and women who worked in/outside their homes in domestic industries) were subject in London and other large urban centers, as a direct result of this change, transfer and substitution. I find that this assessment may very well apply to most of the picaresque characters of the sixteenth and seventeenth century and perhaps even to some of the representations of *majos* and *majas* whose means of subsistence are not always known thus referring audiences to the “struggles underlying urban cosmopolitanism, such as immigration, poverty, [and] displacement” (Rebecca Haidt 155). But, I would posit that the process does not always necessarily signify or lead to a loss of identity but instead may serve as a way to reinforce “meaningful matrices that relate to, or even constitute [...] identity” (Paludan-Müller 63).<sup>19</sup>

I would further argue that most small and/or established craftsmen portrayed in Spanish *sainetes* of the eighteenth century and specifically those in Madrid (though not necessarily from that city originally) seem far from unsettled. By the eighteenth century much of the sense of “displacement” has been [re]placed, perhaps even [re]filled and [re]stocked with an appreciation of belonging and purpose so that the craftsman / protagonist of many of the plays and sainetes does not necessarily exhibit a sense of “provisionality, multiplicity, change, and dispersal” (Fumerton 58) but of pride, self-assuredness, and even cockiness.<sup>20</sup> Similar to the dynamic interplay between the formation of landscape-identities and the formation of human-identities exhibited by native communities for whom “nativeness” stemmed from and was represented by a long, local continuity of use, interpretation and attitude (Paludan-Müller 53), these *madrileños* were

---

<sup>19</sup> Urban landscapes like the cognitive process of memorization require deleting/forgetting old structures before adding/memorizing new ones. “[M]emory is something that is formed in the interplay between remembering everything and remembering nothing [...] likewise landscapes, [which] are shaped in ongoing processes of deleting old structures and adding new ones” (63). The obvious dangers are overburdening the future or devouring the past in the process.

<sup>20</sup> The literature and research on rogues and bandits (*bandoleros*) particularly of the sixteenth and seventeenth century provide ample evidence of the constant flux towards *la patria común* as Madrid was referred to by two, among others, notorious rogues, Guzmán de Alfarache and Pablo el Buscón. However, while Madrid was in fact a magnetic force which attracted criminals, vagrants, rogues and wannabes, it also became an urban *stable* space where craftsmen and merchants worked in socio-professionally identifiable neighborhoods. Villalba Perez’s study on delinquency and particularly on female delinquents, crimes, and charges seems to debunk the notion that the majority of female delinquency stemmed from and was inexorably linked to prostitution, poverty and marginalization. Married and established women also committed fraud and crimes against people, property, and public decency.



part of the urban metabolism. Though Madrid (Lavapiés) may have been, as Mesonero Romanos put it, an aggregate of peoples from the picaresque map,<sup>21</sup> and while these people were perceived as “arrogante y leal, temerario e indolente, sarcástico y hasta agresivo contra el poder” (29) the bearers of these traits are by the eighteenth/nineteenth century in reputation if not in fact absolutely and ostentatiously local, native, and full-bred *madrileños*.<sup>22</sup>

Taking the Plaza Mayor as a case in point (and metaphor) we see that the square, its surrounding four buildings and its environs served not only a commercial purpose but a religious and cultural one as well. The north side housed the Casa de la Panadería which served a *commercial and economic* function as a *tabona* (the oven and shop where bread is made and sold), and a *symbolic one* when from its balconies the king presided over the Autos de Fe and the various celebratory events. The south part of the square housed the Casa de la Carnicería, the central meat market/deposit from which smaller local markets were serviced, while the side buildings and nearby streets were home to *pañeros*, *sederos*, *quincalleros*, *zapateros* and a host of other trades and crafts present still today, if only by name. Despite, or perhaps by virtue of, its “versatility” and “multiplicity” of space, the Plaza Mayor (once known as the Plaza del Arrabal) also embodied the aura of greatness, centrality and authority.

In 1768 the city was divided into eight manageable quarters or *cuarteles*. The four *cuarteles* in Madrid alto (high Madrid) were comprised by Palacio and its obvious symbol of the monarchy, the Royal Palace, as well as a number of religious icons and residences of members of the old nobility of Madrid and Spain. Also among these high quarters were Afligidos, Maravillas and Barquillo. The three *cuarteles* in Madrid bajo (literally south and below the central district with seemingly cramped and chaotic streets) included San Gerónimo, San Francisco and Lavapiés.<sup>23</sup> The last of the eight was the *cuartel* in the historic central Madrid named after the Plaza Mayor.

---

<sup>21</sup> “...habitadores de Triana, Macarena y el Compás, de Sevilla, los de las Huertas de Murcia y de Valencia, de la Mantería de Valladolid, de los Percheles y las islas de Riarán de Málaga, del Azoguejo de Segovia, de la Olivera de Valencia... y demás sitios célebres del mapa picaresco de España” (Mesonero Romanos, *El antiguo Madrid. Paseos histórico- anecdóticos por las calles y casas de esta villa*, Tomo II, p. 26).

<sup>22</sup> I would also stress that the types or figures of the *majos*, rogues and craftsmen have been traditionally conflated so that to speak of a rogue is to also speak of a tailor. This paper aims to make a distinction between the craftsman who is a contributor to society and the “unsettled” *majo* or rogue.

<sup>23</sup> San Francisco shared a somewhat homogenous yet transient population with the neighboring streets and area of Cava Baja and Cava Alta in that they accommodated outsiders, travelers, and tradesmen in need of temporary lodgings, inns, taverns, etc. See Eduardo Huertas Vázquez, “Los majos madrileños y sus barrios en el teatro popular (1998).

These older *barrios*, these spaces with chaotic networks of streets and alleys formed an open system with degrees of homogeneity and external connectivity (Smith 140). They were homogenous in their supposed marginalization and in their speech, their trades, their relations, and most importantly in their identification with the neighborhood, in other words in their social characteristics. But because the boundaries were porous, the connectivity with the “outside” was quite common and frequent though not always positive or uneventful. Madrid’s neighborhoods, as those of most European cities, were mixed, with different crafts and social classes “within earshot of one another” (MacKay 50).<sup>24</sup> Though indeed “polished and re-faced,” many of the low quarters continued to be a space populated by *chisperos*, *buñoleros*, *castañeras*, *vinateros*, *carniceros*<sup>25</sup> and similar “types”.<sup>26</sup> The

---

<sup>24</sup> In *Lazy, Improvident People...*, MacKay posits that “the crisscrossing communities of church, marketplace, workshop, family [...] contradict a vision of seventeenth century Castile as a society of rigid social orders in which workers were pushed aside, excluded, and scorned” (50).

<sup>25</sup> The newspaper *La Libertad* dedicated its March 15, 1923 column of “La guía de Madrid” to Lavapiés and informed the readers that *buñoleros* were already among the neighbors in 1621 as evidenced by an official request to amend the legislated price at which they could sell a pound of *buñuelos*. The same column further explains the animosity and rivalry between *buñoleros* and *chisperos* given that the former considered themselves superior to the dirty and blackened *chisperos* (p.4). Regarding tailors, MacKay informs that as subdivisions of clothing emerged throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries so did the occupations beyond those which were strictly the purview of tailors. Consequently, the separation of crafts and guilds was extraordinary and proves the level of competitiveness, specificity and desire for control over the craft, and all was clearly delineated by ordinances which embodied political, civic, economic, and discursive relationships (45). She further relates how, depending on the city and time, there could be organizations of “tailors, hosiers, second-hand clothing dealers, hatters, hat trimmers, embroiderers, stocking makers, cape makers, cap makers, hood makers, doublet makers, braid makers, ribbon makers, and jerkin makers” (126). Included is the example of hosiers in Madrid who in 1623 appealed to the courts stating that “the occupation of hosier in all ways has been and is distinct from that of tailors, the latter occupying themselves with the waist up, and the former with the waist down [therefore only hosiers should be allowed to make calzones]” (127). The problem, it seems, stemmed from when trousers (*calzas*) were divided into two parts sometime in the sixteenth century: *calzones* or *greguescos* (breaches) and *calcetas* (the lower part covering the legs). Besides, the hosiers alleged, tailors already made a long list of clothes: capes, jerkins (leather sleeveless tunic), doublets (jackets), cassocks (full length robe), mantillas, etc. (128).

<sup>26</sup> The use of the word “type” is intentional and dual: on the one hand, as class or group, that is, social type; on the other, as *tipos* or stock figures who embody certain desirable or undesirable traits.

evidence seems to attest to the neighborly (albeit not friendly) proximity of artisans and their betters (MacKay 51).

As the area south west of the Plaza Mayor demonstrates, a number of streets still bear the names of the *oficios* particular to an area. For example, the *tintoreros* or dyers who formed one of the most important industries of the time, the textile industry, and all its related activities and artisans (weavers, embroiderers, tailors, button makers, breach makers, hemp or esparto grass braiders, etc.) set up businesses that crisscrossed communities and neighborhoods.<sup>27</sup>

Similarly, those who formed part of the community of *cuchilleros* or cutlers, included all who fabricated tools, utensils and weapons made of metal (locks, grills, weathervanes, railings, scissors, hunting knives, butcher knives, hooks, etc.). Despite the fact that the smoke, fumes, dust and noise made them a hazard and a nuisance they were an essential part of the commercial activity of the city since their wares were acquired by all and particularly by the butcher shops which serviced the Plaza Mayor, the main marketplace where the *tablajeros* sold their goods (mainly meats) on *tablas* or boards in the square while the major artisans or craftsmen set up under the porticos.<sup>28</sup> The production of leather goods and the tanneries situated along calle de Tenerías, known today as Ribera de Curtidores, was another industry related to the slaughterhouses and the meat markets.<sup>29</sup> Consequently, occupational ties overlapped with neighborhood ties and contributed to the degree to which occupation or neighborhood would

<sup>27</sup> The beautiful Talavera tiles still bear witness of streets such as *Tintoreros*, *Esparteros*, *Botoneras*, *Bordadores*, or *Cuchilleros*, *Latoneros* and *Curtidores*.

<sup>28</sup> In the eighteenth century the square also housed the office of the *Peso Real* (aka *Repeso*) which controlled and oversaw weight, quality, price, and transactions.

<sup>29</sup> Regarding the “hierarchy” of guilds or occupations, MacKay affirms that although “some occupations were regarded as better than others [...] and some considered completely undesirable [...] there was no fixed hierarchy, and guilds subservient in one city might have authority in another. Hatters supervised rope makers (*cordoneros*) in Madrid, while the reverse was true in Zamora. Even inter-craft division such as those that separated shoemakers from cobblers [...] did not necessarily imply superiority and inferiority” (104). Furthermore, “algunos gremios pretendieron establecer categorías no solo internamente, sino en relación con los demás. Así, durante este siglo, los mercaderes de libros, boticarios y maestros de obras consiguieron evitar su inclusión en las leyes suntuarias que vedaban el uso de ricos trajes a los menestrales. Los arquitectos, pintores y plateros consiguieron aún más, al ser considerados artistas, no comparables con los trabajadores mecánicos” (Roncal Moreno 381).

dominate a craftsman's sense of home and loyalty (MacKay 50).<sup>30</sup> A direct result of that "loyalty" and the 1766 revolts and mobilizations was the aforementioned stricter administrative and judicial oversight of the *barrios*.

A final example of businesses that set up along the southern perimeter of the city is the *mancebías* or public houses. These *mancebías* were regulated by the municipal authorities whose ordinances required, among others, that there be a *padre* and a *madre* in each house who would ensure compliance with health codes, building codes, and most importantly, contribute their share of the tax burden. Villalba Pérez identifies three known areas: 1) slightly northeast of Plaza Mayor, near San Felipe el Real (corner of today's calle Mayor and Puerta del Sol); 2) East of Plaza Mayor, in the Barrio de las Comedias, near paseo del Prado and between the streets of Santa María, San Juan and Las Huertas were three known houses of pleasure or *mancebías* to which a number of contemporary plays refer; 3) South of Plaza Mayor around the infamous Lavapiés were the establishments that catered to the rowdier and more scandalous part of the population (254-55).<sup>31</sup> Although they were women of dubious repute, the stigma and or perception of their social value and standing depended on the social space, that is, the locality, as well as on their success and patronage. Consequently, in much the same way as a craftsman could be either vile or worthy, respectable or despicable, prominent or shameful, so too could the *manceba* be prominent, respected

---

<sup>30</sup> Partida V, Title vii, law 11 deals with the combinations, agreements and brotherhoods merchants and artisans enter into with other merchants and artisans in order to aid one another, establish prices, and agree to teach their trades to others. However, because of the many wrongs that have resulted from these brotherhoods, it decrees that, "any brotherhoods, contracts, or combinations, such as the aforesaid, or any similar to them shall be established with the knowledge and consent of the king, and that if this is done without said knowledge and consent, they shall not be valid" (1056).

<sup>31</sup> Spanish female picaresque novels are excellent guides for these neighborhoods and houses. See for example *Las harpías de Madrid y coche de las estafas* (1631) and *La niña de los embustes Teresa de Manzanares Natural de Madrid* (1632). In the former, the *harpías* settle in the city to stage their stings posing as fine ladies: "Deseaba Teodora... buscar casa en buenos barrios... por la calle de la Merced atada en la de Toledo; de allí a la Plaza Mayor, donde admiraron su grandeza... y del fin volvieron a subir a la calle Mayor, tan nombrada en todas partes... Traía aviso... que los barrios cerca de San Sebastián eran los más frecuentados de todo Madrid de la gente moza por estar cerca los dos corrales de las comedias, como por vivir en ellos muchas damas de la profesión" (53). In the latter, the protagonist, Teresa, returns to Madrid and finds a house, "en los barrios de San Sebastián, alegres por su sana vivienda como por estar cerca de los dos teatros de las comedias, y porque cerca de ellos viven los representantes y las damas de la corte se llaman comúnmente barrios del placer" (422-23). Salas García and Sánchez Rita address the social and physical spaces of interaction: the street, the brothel and the prison.

and admired. In the same manner that the red and green crosses painted on their capes made it possible to distinguish a Spanish gentleman from a shoemaker (MacKay 51), recommendations affecting dress and hair pieces in order to differentiate the working women from the ladies were issued, thus implying that all circulated in the same spaces and social circles (Salas García 85).

### **Craftsmen in Spanish plays and sainetes**

It is important to clarify that despite the assumed mistrust, we find few examples of scorn towards the lower classes, the laborer, the peasant or the disenfranchised throughout Spanish history and literature. As MacKay posits, "...suspecting craftsmen and vendors of dishonesty clearly is not the same as shunning them for who they are.... Popular sayings may have perpetuated certain occupational stereotypes, but, [...] discrimination against an entire class of people because of the job they performed did not exist" (100). Ivy McClelland makes the same assertion when she contends that contrary to France where there seemed to be an excess of over-consistent-humanitarianism, in Spain and England a humanitarian outlook "had been taken more for granted, and though political revolutions might be needed to right abuses, a revolution to assert the dignity of man as a human individual was scarcely necessary. In Spain the poor, the erring were often treated unfairly or tyrannically, but they have never, by tacit social snobbery, been despised or ignored," (411). Similarly, the editors' notes to the translation of *Las Siete Partidas* leave little doubt when they claim that "the oppressive and degrading seigniorial rights enjoyed by the lords of Germany, France and England which placed the serf on a level with beast of burden... were never imposed on the high spirited peasantry of Spain," (*Partidas*, vol. 4, 1002).

A quick look at the plays of the Spanish Golden Age reveals instance after instance in which nobles mostly but also kings were exposed to criticism of frank peasants, merchants, craftsmen or women.<sup>32</sup> Many more examples come to mind of these same peasants, merchants, craftsmen and women complaining, disputing or alleging abuse of power and/ or appearing before the king himself to present their case and to find justice.<sup>33</sup>

---

<sup>32</sup> Lope de Vega's *Fuenteovejuna*, *Peribañez y el Comendador de Ocaña*, *El mejor alcalde, el rey*, among many others, present cases of abuse of power borne out of selfishness, ignorance or vileness on behalf of those in a higher station. The only viable solution for the peasant, woman or merchant is to seek justice or mercy directly from the king.

<sup>33</sup> According to Moral Roncal, "a través de la apertura de demandas judiciales, los agremiados buscaron también el reconocimiento de la honradez de sus oficios por parte de las autoridades" (382).

One can thus surmise that the ease and frequency with which craftsmen in general moved through royal courtrooms suggests they did not worry about their station (MacKay 73).<sup>34</sup>

The sentimental plays and novels of the eighteenth century as well as the domestic tragedies which presented “tales of private woes” – George Lillo’s description of his domestic tragedy *The London Merchant* (1731) – opened the floodgates to themes of honest trade and commercial catastrophes as well as to the lives, dangers, abuses and sufferings of merchants, apprentices, tailors, shoe cobblers, seamstresses, wine merchants, merchants of coal, chestnut sellers, actors, etc. *The London Merchant* in particular spawned many adaptations and translations throughout Europe: Pierre Clement’s *Le Marchand de Londres* (1751); Mercier’s *Jenneval ou le Barnevelt Française* (1769); Falbair’s *Le Fabricant de Londres* (1771); the anonymous and undated, *El comerciante inglés*; and Antonio Valladares de Sotomayor’s *El fabricante de paños* (performed in 1784). Among the Spanish plays about trade and tradesmen are Valladares de Sotomayor’s *El carbonero de Londres* (1784), *El vinatero de Madrid* (1784) and *El trapero de Madrid* (1801) (Fuentes 1999).

Similarly, of the more than 450 short plays, introductions, *loas* and *sainetes* penned by Ramón de la Cruz we find works such as *El barbero* (1764) in which a singing and shrewd barber and 5 *galanes* manage to marry the six sisters they love despite the father’s designs for them to marry noble brutes. *El agente de sus negocios* (performed 1766) presents a dishonest agent who is approached by a *majo ocioso* who wishes to learn the trade so that he too can prosper by merely filling out forms, introducing writs before the courts, and promising the clients (a baker and a hat maker) that their case and cause shall be looked upon favorably for an additional sum of money. As expected, the law arrives and arrests the unscrupulous agent and the lazy scoundrel for tarnishing the reputation of those who live and practice their trade honestly and honorably.<sup>35</sup>

Three other *sainetes* penned by Ramón de la Cruz feature single, married and widowed *peluqueros*. *El peluquero soltero* dated 1772, presents a hairdresser whose apprentice wishes to marry before finishing his apprenticeship and demonstrating mastery of the craft. His master’s initial objection turns into approval when the apprentice informs him that the bride’s dowry is enough to cover the expenses and costs of the wedding,

---

<sup>34</sup> Regarding the “myth” of the deeply ingrained notion of the Spanish disdain for work MacKay posits that in order to advance the Enlightenment project, the eighteenth-century *ilustrados* disparaged what had gone before and reinforced the prejudice and stereotype of the indolent and backward Spaniards.

<sup>35</sup> Pues prevenid el castigo / de este picarón, que infama / con el nombre del empleo / a otras personas honradas / que le ejercen con honor.

the celebration, and his examinations. What is most interesting in this *sainete* is precisely the reference to the guild structure and relationship between master and apprentice and the subordinate position of the latter to the former until he is officially released and free to set up shop of his own.<sup>36</sup>

The second of the three-part *sainete* about *peluqueros*, *El peluquero casado* (1772), deals with the wedding plans and the costs of the preparation. In the third and last of the series dated 1773 the master who is now widowed, hence the title *El peluquero viudo*, takes in the apprentice and his wife and regrets the decision when he becomes a quasi-servant in his own house. Likewise *Las escofieteras* (1773), *Las calceteras* (1774), *La boda del cerrajero* (1770), and *El tintorero vengado* (1783) are just a few of the many other *sainetes* staging lives and adventures of all sorts of trades[wo]men, crafts[wo]men and types.<sup>37</sup>

Though Cándido María Trigueros' play of 1784 *Los menestrales* best exemplifies the current Spanish trend [propaganda?] of acknowledging and explicitly extolling the virtues of craftsmen, approximately thirty years before the royal proclamation regarding the dignity of work, a female actor not only performed but authored a *sainete* which lauds women who practice their craft and earn a living wage. *Las mujeres solas* was written by the actress Mariana Cabañas whose name appears as author of the *sainete* which accompanied the 1757 production of the play *El mas justo rey de Grecia*, published by Eugenio Gerardo Lobo in 1729. The makeup of the list of characters, Aristómenes, Lisando, Menícrates, Cleón, Thelemón and Veleta was fairly uncommon because it consisted of all male characters, and in case the reader and/or public missed it the final verses of the play reiterated the novelty of a Spanish comedy with no female roles.<sup>38</sup> *Las mujeres solas* served as an extraordinary complement to the play's 1757 production in two manners: 1) by inverting the gender of the actors performing the male roles it surpassed the novelty, and 2) by subverting the form and content of a traditional *sainete* it transcended into a social commentary on gender roles, marriage and financial independence of female actors.

---

<sup>36</sup> The *Memorias de la Real Sociedad Económica de Madrid*, Vol. 4 (1787) held a not so positive view of *peluqueros* who do not produce luxury items for export but instead foment luxury at home, and an added concern posed by the *peinadores sueltos*, freelance "combers", and especially male *peinadores* who made house calls to ladies' houses (9, 224).

<sup>37</sup> These are just a handful of *sainetes* whose titles include a trade of some sort. Numerous others have tailors, bakers, shoe cobblers, etc. among the list of characters, and/ or deal with dishonest practices that are invariably exposed at the end.

<sup>38</sup> *Tendrá aquí dichoso fin, / siguiera por caso nuevo / de aver visto ya comedia / sin mugeres, el suceso / del más justo Rey de Grecia* (28).

The *sainete* maintains no dramatic illusion and the seven female actors of the theatrical company appear as themselves: Antonia, Mariana, Juana, María Teresa, Frasquita, Mariquita and Micaela. From the onset we know Antonia has hatched a plan to break the social shackles with which men, specifically their men, oppress and or mistreat them. After seeing her come to the realization that women are as able as their male counterparts, and after listening to the women's laundry list of grievances against men, the public and/or reader discovers in a very matter of fact way that not only have these actresses just performed all the roles in the current drama, *El más justo rey de Grecia*, but that "sabemos hacer de hombre / el papel mejor que ellos." The roles that originally had been intended for and performed by male actors in previous productions are now performed by female actors.

The innovation is not in having women dress as men given that the Spanish stage of the Golden Age had plenty of these instances of women temporarily disguised as men to either defend their honor, or run away from home, but that roles intended for men are performed by women as if they were men. An added particularity of this performance is that the *sainete* that accompanied it breaks more new ground by having these female actors conscientiously assert and exert their influence over their peers and their public especially in matters of fashion and social behavior.<sup>39</sup> Knowing that the Spanish *corrales* or playhouses were great social levelers open to and frequented by all regardless of rank, the articulation of an idea in this public space was guaranteed widespread dissemination. In this case the message itself is comical (in their effort to teach men a lesson the women claim the new fad is for women to ignore men, to speak to them harshly, and to treat them with contempt) but the awareness of the power the stage and the actors themselves can have is enormous and of great relevance at a time when the understanding of public opinion and public sphere is emerging strongly. One more indication of the originality of this *sainete* is the explicit reference to a wife's earnings from her market work as opposed to the productivity from the household work. In this instance it is Mariquita who complains that her husband "una cinta no me compra / ni una pluma, ni unos vuelos, / siendo así que como él / yo también gano el dinero".

Though written and submitted to a literary contest celebrating the birth of royal twins, Cándido María Trigueros' *Los Menestras* (1784) was a direct result of the edict of the previous year regarding the dignity of craftsmen, laborers and workers. For McClelland the author's preface and play was "a shameless opportunist statement ... on the subject of royal condescension

---

<sup>39</sup> También sabéis que nosotras / (las cómicas decir quiero) / somos los originales / de aqueste nuestro embeleso / pues por nosotras se copian / todas las demás del pueblo / siendo siempre las primeras / en plantear usos nuevos / y las que damos la ley / en la Corte y todo el reino. (*Las mujeres solas* 219).



and vassal-gratitude” (475). On the other hand, Francisco Aguilar Piñal as modern editor and biographer of the play holds a different view on the merits of the play. In any case, the play does offer great insight into the concerns and rhetoric surrounding the topics of equality, workforce, value, dignity, and virtue. The main characters are: Master Tailor Cortines, who though quite successful with his trade, wishes to marry his daughter to a *señorito* and so spends his money trying to impress and attract a noble suitor for her. His wife Florentina is aware of this foolishness and sides with their daughter, Rufina in love with Justo, a sensible and virtuous tailor who apprenticed with Cortines and now serves, Don Juan, the affable, hardworking, noble, town mayor. The dramatic opposite of Justo is the Baron de la Rafa, a cobbler who courts Rufina and pretends to be of noble lineage but is exposed as a beggar, a gambler, an impostor, a counterfeiter, a scam artist, a cobbler, and married. This caricature of a noble who attempts to seem cosmopolitan and well-traveled, exhibits and reveals his extreme national self-loathing, superficiality and ignorance by uttering a host of biased, antiquated and economically impractical ideas. For example, when comparing English and Spanish roads and inns, he finds that the former are pleasant, exquisite, and clean while the Spanish ones are course, rough and poor. Similarly, he praises the skills of Italian poets who compose simple yet beautiful verses while he condemns the Spanish one’s for lacking rhythm and warmth. Shortly after the beginning of the second act, in a barely audible monologue, Rafa reveals his contempt towards labor and laborers and his hostility towards those who patiently wait to be rewarded. While they serve, sweat and suffer, he contrives, connives, and conspires. They are stupid, vile, and sweaty while he is shrewd, persistent and cautious. They lack liberty, taste and luster; he excels in artifice, audacity and fabrication. Verses 874-876 present a cold, concise and unambiguous theory of social survival, or perhaps it is best to say, survival of the slickest: El hombre es animal doble y perverso, / y aquel que en ser perverso se aventaja, / es el solo que saca su provecho.<sup>40</sup>

The constant disparagement of his surroundings is accompanied by contrasting words of admiration for his place of birth though when questioned he digresses and never reveals the name of the locality or *patria*, except that that it is “...ciudad, y muy famosa!” This calls for speculation on whether he might be “...extranjero, / y pretende ocultarlo...”, perhaps

---

<sup>40</sup> Vean los menestrales, esos necios / que en la bajeza vil de su crianza / no saben elevar los pensamientos: [...] Víctimas del sudor y del desprecio, [...] sin libertad, sin gusto, con fatiga, / lejos de lustre, de fortuna lejos, [...] sirven, se esmeran, sudan y se afanan... [...]; Ah! La maña, la industria, la cautela, / el artificio y el atrevimiento / son manantial seguro de venturas.

from London, Portugal, France, maybe he's Italian, or worse yet, vascongado, navarro, valenciano o catalán.

He is metaphorically and morally exposed in the last scenes of the third act by a masked female actor who is part of a troupe participating in the celebratory performances commemorating the birth of the royal twins. She singles him out, invites him to dance, he seems shy at first but shortly after "...se va soltando, y finalmente baila bien y muy agitanado". Master Tailor Cortines decides to announce his intention of marrying his daughter to Rafa and as he reaches out to join both hands the female masked actor appears and positions herself between the men. Cortines is shocked and angered by this insolence but before he can react Mayor Juan blows his whistle after which two men surround and manage to restrain Rafa after he takes out a pistol and tries to escape.

The farce is revealed. The masked woman is Rafa's wife and the covered actors are his brothers, there to help capture and expose him. Mayor Juan uncovers the impostor's true history and background. He was a shoemaker who was ashamed of his trade and resolved to leave and reinvent himself, "corristsis varias tierras, ya sirviendo, / ya mendigando, ya dando petardos". In the meantime, he learned to write fairly well, acquired a certain air, and learned a few foreign words and expressions. He married, returned to his homeland but unhappy with that, he again left and falsified more deeds, more privileges and more patents. Despite the overwhelming evidence, Rafa denies it all and most vehemently rejects the notion that he could have been, "... zapatero! / !Cosa tan vil y baja!", but justice is served. Rafa is taken away to prison for counterfeiting and robbing; Master Cortines acknowledges his foolishness and vanity in wanting a titled man for his daughter instead of appreciating his state, his wealth and his family; and the public is taught through Mayor Juan, that "ser noble es compatible / con trabajar [...] Todos de un solo tronco ramas somos. / No hay más noble que el que es buen ciudadano, / y el que es más útil, es el más noble. [...] mas tan bueno es el alto como el bajo. / Vivamos donde el cielo nos ha puesto / único medio de que bien vivamos."<sup>41</sup> Of all his crimes, Rafa's most insidious was to choose an unproductive life of leisure based on scams, dishonesty and uselessness. His is not the story of a poor,

---

<sup>41</sup> Despite the affirmation of honor, the final exhortation reminds us that this is not a text advising or advocating the elimination of social classes nor is it a satire against the nobility. The text is aimed at those who leave their station for an unproductive life. "...criticaban ácidamente al noble por entregarse a la «ociosidad aristocrática» para evitar el trabajo, mientras alababan el oficio mecánico, sin desplazar de su lugar al agremiado. Así, durante la acción política de los gobiernos ilustrados, se fomentó una *posible honorabilidad* del trabajador manual, eso sí, sin que esta nunca pudiera compararse con el *Honor* reservado al estamento superior" (Moral Roncal 384-5).

“unsettled” laborer, but of a willing and cunning vagrant who refuses to be productive.

The juxtaposition of outcomes parallels the degree of wrongdoing. The false Baron de la Rafa is taken away to prison after a long run of counterfeiting, scamming, posing, and leading a parasitic life, in other words, for crimes against society. The hardworking and successful Master Tailor Cortines was vain and though the errors of his way led him to lose face and money he committed no crime against person, place, or society so the law does not punish him. “Vos nada malo hicisteis / sino ser más que necio, por ser vano.” His degree of wrongdoing is minimal; he suffered a lapse of judgment but did nothing to vilify his family, person or standing.

In conclusion, I think that despite a tendency by past historians and scholars to, at times, manipulate the discourse, many of the plays and sainetes of the eighteenth century portray craftsmen, skilled workers, and artisans of and in Madrid as honest and honorable contributors to the republic and to the ongoing formation of their native community known as Madrid and its *barrios*. Surprisingly enough, a dispassionate reading of our eighteenth century plays and sainetes reveal that these *barrios* where varied people converged had an overall healthy urban metabolism where the past was seen as an asset not a hindrance for new development. It is therefore not ironic that the most seemingly *castizo* of places, Lavapiés, is today the most multicultural.

#### WORKS CITED

- Aristotle. *Politics: Treatise on Government. The Project Gutenberg EBook of Politics, by Aristotle.* 2009. <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/6762/6762-h/6762-h.htm#link2HCH0098> (last consulted January 30, 2014).
- Cabañas, Mariana. *Las mujeres solas.* (1757) In *Antología del teatro breve español del siglo XVIII.* Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, 1997.
- Castillo Solórzano, Alonso de. *Las harpías en Madrid y coche de las estafas* (1631) Modern ed. Madrid: Castalia, 1985.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *La niña de los embustes Teresa de Manzanares natural de Madrid* (1632). In *La novela picaresca española.* 2 vols. Madrid: Aguilar, 1991.
- Cruz, Ramón de la. *Sainetes de Don Ramón de la Cruz.* Edited by Emilio Cotarelo y Mori. (2 vols) Madrid: BAE 23 and 26, 1915.
- Diccionario de Autoridades* (1726-1739). “menestral.” <http://web.frl.es/DA.html> (last consulted February 10, 2014).

- Diccionario de la Real Academia Española (DRAE)*. "mecánico." *DRAE Online*. 2001. <http://lema.rae.es/drae/?val=mec%C3%A1nico> (last consulted February 10, 2014).
- Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Translated by Alan Sheridan, (1977). New York: Random House, 1995.
- Fuentes, Yvonne. "Don Ramón de la Cruz y sus sainetes: víctimas de la bipolaridad historiográfica dieciochista," *Dicenda. Cuadernos de Filología Hispánica* 23 (2005): 85-107.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *El drama sentimental en el drama del siglo dieciocho (Inglaterra, Francia, España)*. Kassel: Edition Reichenberger, 1999.
- Fumerton, Patricia. *Unsettled: The Culture of Mobility and the Working Poor in Early Modern England*. Chicago: Chicago UP, 2006.
- Gunn, Steven. "War, Religion, and the State." In *Early Modern Europe: An Oxford History*, edited by Euan Cameron. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1999.
- Gutiérrez de los Ríos, Gaspar. *Noticia general para la estimación de las artes y de la manera en que se conocen las liberales de las que son mecánicas y serviles, con una exortación a la honra de la virtud y del trabajo contra los ociosos...* Madrid: Madrigal, 1600.
- Habermass, Jürgen. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere. An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, Translated by Thomas Burger. Cambridge: MIT PP, 1991.
- Haidt, Rebecca. "Los Majos, el "españolísimo gremio" del teatro popular dieciocheco: sobre casticismo, inestabilidad y abyección." *Cuadernos de Historia Moderna*, X (2011) 155-73.
- Huertas Vázquez, Eduardo. "Los majos madrileños y sus barrios en el teatro popular." In *Al margen de la Ilustración. Cultura popular, arte y literatura en la España del siglo XVIII*. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1998.
- La Libertad*. "La guía de Madrid," n. 1025 (03/15/1923): page 4 of 8. *Hemeroteca Digital* <http://hemerotecadigital.bne.es/results.vm?a=2602191&d=creation&d=1922&d=08&d=23&d=1923&d=03&d=15&t=-creation&l=600&l=700&s=0&lang=es>.(last consulted April 1, 2014).
- Las Siete Partidas*. Translated by Samuel Parson Scott, Edited by Robert I. Burns, S.J., 5 vols. Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 2001.

Lefebvre, Henri. *The Production of Space*. Translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith. Maiden and Oxford: Blackwell, 1991.

*Legislación Histórica Española*. <http://www.mcu.es/archivos/lhe/>. (last consulted April 21, 2013).

MacKay, Ruth. *Lazy, Improvident People. Myth and Reality in the Writing of Spanish History*. New York: Cornell UP, 2006.

McClelland, Ivy L. *Spanish Drama of Pathos 1750-1808*, 2 vols. Toronto: Toronto UP, 1970.

*Memorias de la Real Sociedad Económica de Madrid*, 5 vols. Madrid: Imprenta de Sancha: 1780-1795.

Mesoneros Romanos, Ramón de. *El antiguo Madrid: paseos históricos-aneecdóticos por las calles y casas de esta villa*. Madrid: Oficinas de la Ilustración Española y Americana, 1881. (2000)  
<http://bib.cervantesvirtual.com/FichaObra.html?Ref=2653&portal=132> (last consulted July 9, 2013).

Moral Roncal, Antonio Manuel. "Honor, vileza, y honra de los oficios mecánicos en el siglo XVIII." *Baetica. Estudios de Arte, Geografía e Historia* 18 (1996) 379-85.

*Novísima recopilación de las leyes de España: Dividida en XII libros. (1805-1829)*. Biblioteca de la Universidad de Sevilla.  
[http://fama.us.es/search\\*spi/c?SEARCH=b+res.002060](http://fama.us.es/search*spi/c?SEARCH=b+res.002060). (last consulted August 7, 2013).

*Oxford English Dictionary*. "minister", "ministerial", "liberal" *OED Online*. October 2013. <http://metis.galib.uga.edu/ssp/cgi-bin/oed-idx.pl?sessionid=7889ba89-21ba801f10-4949&type=entry&byte=261975114&q1=minister&q2=&q3=> (last consulted February 10, 2014) <http://metis.galib.uga.edu/ssp/cgi-bin/oed-idx.pl?sessionid=7889ba89-21ba801f10-4949&type=entry&byte=232825033&q1=liberal&q2=&q3=> (last consulted February 10, 2014).

Paludan-Müller, Carsten. "Actors and Orders: The Shaping of Landscapes and Identities." In *The Cultural Landscape & Heritage Paradox: Protection and Development of the Dutch Archaeological-Historical Landscape and its European Dimension*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam UP, 2010.

- Salas García, Bárbara and Sánchez Rita, Beatriz. "La calle, la mancebía, la galera: una aproximación a la prostitución en la literatura dieciochesca." *Cuadernos de Ilustración y Romanticismo*, 8 (2000) 71-91.
- Smith, M.E. "The Archaeological Study of Neighborhoods and Districts in Ancient Cities." *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 29 (2010) 137-54.
- Suárez de Figueroa, Cristóbal. *Plaza universal de todas ciencias y artes*. The Works of Cervantes: Other texts  
 <<http://users.ipfw.edu/jehle/wcotexts.htm>.  
 url:[http://users.ipfw.edu/jehle/CERVANTE/othertexts/Suarez\\_Figueroa\\_PlazaUniversal.pdf](http://users.ipfw.edu/jehle/CERVANTE/othertexts/Suarez_Figueroa_PlazaUniversal.pdf) (last consulted July 23, 2013).
- Teixeira, Pedro. Plano Topographico de Madrid*. Printed in Antwerp, 1656. <http://www.arquimatica.com/MadridXVII/teixeira.htm>. (last consulted January 10, 2014).
- Trigueros, Cándido María. *Los menstrales* (1784) Modern ed. Francisco Aguilar Piñal. Sevilla: U de Sevilla, 1997.
- Vega Carpio, Lope Félix. *Fuenteovejuna*. (1619) Modern ed. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1974.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *El mejor alcalde, el rey*. (1620-1623) Modern ed. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1974.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Peribañez y el Comendador de Ocaña*. (1614) Modern ed. Madrid: Castalia, 1989.
- Villalba Pérez, Enrique. *¿Pecadoras o delincuentes? Delito y género en la Corte 1580-1620*. Madrid: Calambur, 2004.