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Promenades in Enlightenment Madrid - The Tapestry Cartoons and new social spaces

Under the reign of Charles III (1759-1788), Madrid underwent an ambitious re-building programme designed to beautify and embellish the city and to turn it into a modern European capital. Since its creation as capital by Philip II in 1561, the city had not been treated as an autonomous municipality, but as an inadvertent extension of the court.¹

While Hapsburg Madrid was a canvas for displaying royal authority in processions and temporary ceremonial architecture enacted before a passive populace, Borbón Madrid was fashioned into a permanent reminder of a modern and enlightened monarchy that invited open air public participation and interaction. Thomas Reese has suggested that Charles III was stimulated to modernize Madrid after experiencing the antique-inspired temporary ceremonial architecture erected to celebrate his arrival in the capital on 13th July 1760, which consisted of thirteen locations adorned with arches, colonnades, statues and bas-reliefs dedicated to the new monarch. (Fig. 1).²

Central to the project to modernize Madrid was the provision of new, well-ordered social spaces that were at once a relief from the cramped baroque city centre, a setting for new institutional buildings and an expression of Enlightenment civility and civic pride.³ The culmination of Charles III's reforming urban projects was the construction of a sequence of avenues along the eastern side of the city, the Paseo de Recoletos, the Paseo del Prado (sometimes known by its previous name of the Paseo de San Gerónimo) and the Paseo de Atocha.

These Paseos were built over roads that had been laid out and partially developed from the late sixteenth century, particularly during the reign of Philip IV and were adjacent to the city wall and gateways. But by the middle of the eighteenth century they had fallen into a state of disrepair and some had lost their recreational and ambulatory functions. Indeed the Paseo del Prado had acquired a somewhat sordid and sinister reputation as a location for illicit nocturnal liaisons and criminality.⁴ The new Paseos thus improved the existing road system and urban landscape and were also expressions of the Rousseauian ideal of linking the city with nature.⁵

The Paseos also formed impressive approaches to numerous newly-erected monumental city gates that had replaced their modest predecessors.⁶ The building and re-modelling of the periphery of Madrid was not an isolated project, but

1. David Ringrose, "A Setting for Royal Authority: The Reshaping of Madrid, Sixteenth-Eighteenth Centuries" in Gary B. Cohen and Franz A. J. Szabo *Embodiments of Power. Building Baroque Cities in Europe*, (New York, Berghahn Books, 2008), 230-248.

2. Thomas F. Reese, "Hipódromos, Carros, Fuentes, Paseantes, y la diversión pública en la España del siglo XVIII: un programa agrario y de la antigüedad clásica para el Salón del Prado" in *IV Jornadas de arte: El arte en tiempo de Carlos III*, (Madrid, Editorial Alpuerto, 1989), 1-47. These decorations were the work of the architect Ventura Rodríguez, the sculptor Felipe de Castro and the academicians Pedro Rodríguez de Campomanes and Vicente Gracia de la Huerta and consisted of triumphal arches and arcades embellished with statues of virtues and allegorical personifications, narrative reliefs, military trophies, garlands, and swags. Laudatory inscriptions to the new monarch and his wife were contained within cartouches and overall effect was calculated to evoke the splendour and authority of antiquity. The temporary architecture was described in *Relación de los arcos, inscripciones y ornatos de la carrera por donde ha de pasar el Rey Nuestro Señor D. Carlos Tercero en su entrada pública. Escrita de orden del Corregidor y Ayuntamiento de Madrid*, (Madrid, Joachin Ibarra), 1760. As Duke of Parma, Charles had previously experienced temporary classical architecture on a more modest scale in Livorno on 28 December 1731 when the British community paid for the erection of a triumphal arch, designed by Ferdinando Ruggieri. Jesús Urrea, *Itinerario Italiano de un Monarca Español. Carlos III en Italia, 1731-1759*, Exhib. Cat., (Madrid, Museo del Prado, 1989), 39-41.

3. The most immediate and urgent measures required at Charles' accession were for the improvement of the city's sanitation and hygiene arrangements through new water and sewerage works, rubbish collection and dispersal, and street paving. For an overview of the re-building of Madrid under Charles III, see Santos Juliá, David Ringrose, and Cristina Seguna, *Madrid: Historia de una capital*, (Madrid, Alianza Editorial, 2007), especially Chapter 4 "La Ciudad como Corte: planificación absolutista y crecimiento espontáneo" and Chapter 5 "Dos Madrid: la ciudad física y la ciudad mágica", both by David Ringrose. See also Charles C. Noel, "Madrid: City of The Enlightenment" in *History Today* Vol. 45, Issue 10, October 1995, 26-32.

4. For a comprehensive architectural and sociological history of the Paseo del Prado see Concepción Lopezosa Aparicio, *El Paseo del Prado de Madrid: arquitectura y desarrollo urbano en los siglos XVII y XVIII*, (Madrid, Fundación de Apoyo a la Historia del Arte Hispánico, 2006). The developments under Charles III are covered in Chapter VIII "La gran transformación del Prado a partir de 1767" and the Paseo del Prado as a locus for social interaction is discussed in Chapter XIII "Aspectos sociológicos del Prado." See also Reese, "Hipódromos" and Charles Kany, *Life and Manners in Madrid 1750-1800*, (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1932), 17-24.

5. Lopezosa Aparicio, *El Paseo del Prado*, 208.

6. Lopezosa Aparicio, *El Paseo del Prado*, 208. See also José Antonio Álvarez y Baena, *Compendio histórico, de las grandezas de la coronada villa de Madrid, corte de la monarquía de España* (Madrid, Antonio de Sancha, 1786), 33-44.

part of a far-reaching plan to renovate all of the kingdom's highways, particularly those that led to and from royal palaces and residences.⁷

Purchasing of land began in the Summer of 1767 and these ambitious urban improvements were promoted in Espinosa de los Monteros' 1769 map of the city, *Plano topographico de la Villa y Corte de Madrid*, (Fig. 2). which provided two views of the city's eastern Paseos. (Fig. 3).⁸ An insert at the lower right showed the Paseos from Puerta de Recoletos to the Puerta de Atocha before building work had started and was captioned-

“Plan of the old Paseo of San Jeronimo as it was in the year 1768 when its demolition was begun on the orders of His Excellency the Count of Aranda, Captain-General of the Army and President of the Council and put into the form shown in the large map”⁹ (Fig. 4).

The map proper was an aspirational document and included the Paseos as projected with broad avenues that were to be planted with hardwood species of black poplars and acacias. In preparing the map, Monteros evidently had access to the definitive plan prepared by José de Hersomilla in 1767, the military architect who had been charged with the task by Aranda.¹⁰

The ensemble of these new avenues was mapped for the first time in Tomás López's *Plano Geométrico de Madrid* of 1785, dedicated to the king and, as the caption reveals, presented to the monarch by his Prime Minister, the Count of Floridablanca.¹¹ (Fig. 5). One notable addition from the 1769 map is the Botanic Garden, opened in 1781 with a distinguished Doric portal on the Paseo de Atocha, designed by Francesco Sabatini and a further example of King Charles' desire to provide improving and scientific amenities for the city situated on the new Paseos. (Figs. 6 and 7). The inscription on the frieze leaves the viewer in no doubt concerning the royal bounty and Charles is identified as the father of the nation and restorer of botany for the health and recreation of his subjects.¹²

As redeveloped and reconstructed, these wide and well-paved avenues had double, treble or quadruple rows of trees and were embellished with fountains, statues and stone and iron seats. The stream that ran along the Paseo del Prado, that was variously a dry ditch, an open sewer and a fast-flowing brook, was enclosed in culverts with metal grilles.¹³ Three impressive fountains were also planned, each designed by Ventura Rodríguez and dedicated to a classical deity- *Cybele*, *Neptune*, and *Apollo* -which also incorporated the *Four Seasons*. *Neptune* and *Cybele*, which each formed the centrepiece of a square at a crossroads, were completed in 1782, while the *Apollo*, located along the avenue between the two, was only finished in 1802.¹⁴

The stretch of the Paseo between *Cybele* and *Neptune* was called the Salón del Prado and was intended to evoke a Roman hippodrome with two longitudinal arms closed by exedrae. The axis of symmetry was the *Apollo* fountain and in front of this a two storey columned portico, also in the form of an exedra, and also designed by Ventura Rodríguez, was planned with a central pavilion serving coffee and chocolate. This had the dual function of providing strollers with shade and shelter from the elements and spanning the change in level between the Paseo del Prado and the grounds of the Buen Retiro palace.¹⁵ Unfortunately this was never built- although the idea of a grand columned

7. Lopezosa Aparicio, *El Paseo del Prado*, 208.

8. Antonio Espinosa de los Monteros, *Plano topographico de la Villa y Corte de Madrid*, (Madrid, Antonio Espinosa de los Monteros, 1769). The dedicatory cartouche reads “Al Excmo. Señor Conde de Aranda Capitán General de los Exercitos y Presidente del Consejo. Antº Espinosa de los Monteros Académico de la Real de las Nobles Artes.” On Espinosa's map, see Miguel Molina Campuzano, *Planos de Madrid de los siglos XVII y XVIII*, (Madrid, Instituto de Estudios de Administración Local, 1960), 425-454.

9. “Plano del Paseo antiguo de San Gerónimo segun se hallaba el año 1768 en el que se empezó á demoler de orden del Excmo. Sr. Conde de Aranda Capitan General de los Ejertos y Presidente del Consejo, y poner en la forma que demuestra el Plano grande”.

10. Hersomilla's drawing is in the Bibliotheca Nacional, Madrid, Call Number Dib/15/86/51. See also Lopezosa Aparicio, *El Paseo del Prado*, 209-214.

11. Tomás López, *Plano Geométrico de Madrid*, (Madrid, Tomás López, 1785). On López's map, see Molina Campuzano, *Planos de Madrid*, 455-490 and Antonio López Gómez and Carmen Manso Porto, *Cartografía del Siglo XVIII. Tomás López en al Real Academia de la Historia*, (Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, 2006), 288-289.

12. The inscription reads “Carolus III P.P. Botanices Instaurator Civium Saluti et Oblectamento Anno MDCCCLXXI” (Charles III, father of the nation, restorer of botany for the health and diversion of his subjects).

13. Kany, *Life and Manners in Madrid*, 17 and Lopezosa Aparicio, *El Paseo del Prado*, 212-213.

14. Lopezosa Aparicio, *El Paseo del Prado*, 235-247, Reese, “Hipódromos”, 9-36 and Ramón Guerra de la Vega, *El Madrid de Carlos III, Guía de Arte y Arquitectura, Siglo XVIII*, Vol II, (Madrid, Ramón Guerra de la Vega, 2002), 108-122.

15. Lopezosa Aparicio, *El Paseo del Prado*, 251-252 and Reese, “Hipódromos”, 33.

portico was to inspire Juan de Villanueva in his designs for the new Museum of Natural History situated on the Paseo del Prado- which later became the Prado Museum.¹⁶ In the second edition of his *Viage de España*, published in 1782, Antonio Ponz wrote that with their accommodating width, stone benches and avenues of trees, the Prado and Atocha Paseos were the major adornment of the capital and, once finished with statues and fountains, it would be difficult to imagine any other city having such a magnificent and agreeable amenity within its precincts.¹⁷

Of course the paseo was at once an urban thoroughfare and an activity- the leisurely late afternoon or evening stroll or promenade, and the new avenues became the focus for native pedestrians and for the wheeled perambulations of the aristocracy. They also provided an opportunity for the observation of these phenomena, often by visiting foreigners. Jean-François Bourgoing, the Secretary to the French Ambassador noted the great activity on the Paseo del Prado and observed that ‘I have sometimes seen four or five hundred carriages filing off in the greatest order, amid an innumerable crowd of spectators, a spectacle which at once is a proof of great opulence and population’.¹⁸ The combination of traffic jams and the custom of bowing the head in acknowledgement of the occupants of carriages coming in the opposite direction meant that that it took more than two hours to proceed one mile. The German-Danish visitor Daniel Gotthilf Moldenhawer observed that the spectacle on the Prado every night was comparable to what could only be seen in other European cities on Sundays and holidays.¹⁹ Bourgoing added that most people were very soberly dressed- with the women always in black, and observed ‘the Prado, with all its beauty seems to be the theatre of Castilian gravity’.²⁰ This sense of spectacle only increased in later years and an 1815 *Paseo por Madrid ó Guía del forastero en la corte* commented

“The most frequented part is that called the Salon, where a prodigious concourse of people gather from all parts, on foot and in coaches, to enjoy the agreeable prospect offered by the many and various objects that present themselves. Here is where the opulent rich come to flaunt their shiny carriages, the young men on horseback to show off their gallantry and skill, the women to display their jewellery and graces, and where the public flock to contemplate these spectacles. During summer afternoons and evenings people of all classes and both sexes come to this spacious Salon...”²¹

The new social spaces and the social spectacles and rituals they engendered and hosted provided the subject matter for numerous designs for tapestry cartoons commissioned by the Royal Tapestry Factory of Santa Barbara for the interiors of the royal palaces of El Escorial and El Pardo. The Tapestry Cartoons were paintings produced by crown-employed artists to act as full-size models for the factory’s weavers to follow. In the 1770s and 1780s apartments occupied by the Royal Princesses and by the heir to the throne, the Prince of Asturias, the future Charles IV, and his wife Maria Luisa were the main recipients of tapestries and the subject matter frequently focused on the popular amusements and pastimes of the lower classes against the backdrop of urban Madrid.²² Francisco Goya is the artist most usually associated with the production of Tapestry Cartoons and he produced 63 cartoons between 1775 and 1792. These works distinguished him as the most acute and critical observer of the street life, social interactions and

16. The building was designed in 1785 and after many delays in construction was eventually opened to the public as the Real Museo del Prado in 1819. Lopezosa Aparicio, *El Paseo del Prado*, 268-274 and Guerra de la Vega, *Madrid*, 150-165.

17. Antonio Ponz, *Viage de España, en que se da noticia de las cosas mas apreciables, y dignas de saberse, que hay en ella* Vol. V, 2nd ed., (Madrid, Joachin Ibarra, 1782), 27.

18. Jean-François Bourgoing, *Modern State of Spain: Exhibiting a complete view of its topography, government, laws, religion, finances, naval and military establishments: and of society, manners, arts, sciences, agriculture and commerce in that country*, Vol. I, (London, John Stockdale, 1807), 247-248.

19. Kany, *Life and Manners in Madrid*, 18.

20. “Bourgoing’s Travels in Spain” in William Fordyce Mavor, *A General Collection of Voyages and Travels, including the most interesting records of navigators and travellers from the discovery of America, by Columbus, in 1492, to the Travels of Lord Valentia*, Vol XXXIII, (London, Sherwood, Neely and Jones, 1813), 124.

21. “La parte mas freqüentada es la que se llama el Salon, donde se reune un concurso prodigioso de gentes que vienen de todas partes, á pie y en coche, á disfrutar de la agradable prespectiva que ofrece la notable diversidad de tantos y tan variados objetos como allí se presentan. Aquí es donde la opulenta riqueza viene á ostentar sus brillantes carrozas, los jóvenes a caballo á mostrar su gallardia y destreza, las mugeres á lucir sus joyas y gracias, y a donde el pueblo va llegando en tropel á contemplar, este espectáculo. Durante las tardes y noches de verano se ven en este espacioso salon personas de todas clases y de ámbos sexos...” Anon, *Paseo por Madrid ó Guía del forastero en la corte*, (Madrid, Repullés 1815), 98.

22. Tapestries were only woven for the Autumn and Winter palaces of El Escorial and El Pardo. The Spring palace of Aranjuez and the Summer palace of La Granja contained no tapestries or upholstery and instead featured lavish collections of paintings and exquisite gardens. On the Tapestry Cartoons and their subject matter see Jutta Held, *Die Genrebilder der Madrider Teppichmanufaktur und die Anfänge Goyas*, Berlin, Mann Verlag, 1971. See also Janis Tomlinson, *Francisco Goya. The Tapestry Cartoons and Early Career at the Court of Madrid*, Cambridge, New York and Melbourne, Cambridge University Press, 1989, 8-25. Tomlinson, 178-179, adduces some didactic purpose to the selection of certain tapestry subjects for the apartments of the future monarchs.

urban navigation of Madrid, prompting Bourgoing, to comment on 'Don Francisco Goya, who possesses a peculiar talent for giving an accurate representation of the manners, the diversions, and costume of his native country.'²³ However, none of Goya's Madrileñan subjects featured the new paseos on the Eastern side of the city and this aspect of social observation was left to his less well-known contemporaries who were also employed by the Tapestry Factory.

For tapestries to embellish the dining room of the Royal Princesses in the palace of El Pardo, in 1785 Ginés Andrés de Aguirre produced *The Alcalá Gate and the Cybele Fountain* (Fig. 8). The 1786 inventory of the Tapestry Factory provided a full description of the scene-

"The Alcalá Gate seen from the corner of the Calle Alcalá close to the Cybele [Fountain]. In the foreground, a gentleman and lady with a girl by her side and at the gentleman's side a boy playing with a dog. Behind them the Cybele Fountain with a line of trees and some people all around. From these, the trees can be seen in perspective up to the aforementioned gate. Close to the fountain a man leads a horse by the bridle, and behind another horseman with his mount who is drinking... On the other side, four soldiers in conversation and behind them, a line of trees."²⁴

Such long descriptions were typical of Tapestry Cartoons. As the painters were paid per piece, and remuneration was subject to its valuation by an official of the Tapestry Factory, upon submission artists usually gave long and detailed descriptions of their handiwork that enumerated the figures and boasted of their skill in composition and perspective. These accounts were often copied verbatim for the Factory's records.

Within the same frame are located not only the recently completed fountain, but also what was considered to be one of the finest and most elegant pieces of modern architecture, the Alcalá Gate. Designed by Francesco Sabatini and completed in 1778, the monumental gate provided the approach to the city from Catalonia and Aragon with a dominant triple-arched landmark that was adorned with a dedicatory inscription to Charles and was in many ways a permanent and more impressive version of the temporary architecture that had greeted the new monarch in 1760.²⁵ All visitors seem to have been impressed by the spaciousness of the Calle Alcalá, broad enough, it was said, for twenty coaches abreast and the often described as the widest street in Europe.²⁶ The exterior of the city's recently renovated bull ring can also be glimpsed through the trees at the right.²⁷ Bourgoing noted of the setting "The inhabitants from all quarters resort hither on foot, or in carriages to meet and breathe beneath the shade of the long alleys, an air freshened by waters spouted from the fountains, and embalmed by exhalations from the fragrant flowers."²⁸

Aguirre's painting mainly depicts fashionable and leisured middle class strollers as well as a fine coach with a lackey on the rear. Traditional Spanish and more modern French-inspired fashions are worn by both men and women. The utilitarian rather than decorative function of the *Cybele* fountain is indicated by the horses, one drinking and the other being led away by a groom after being watered. The rider appears to be a hunter, perhaps furnishing fresh game

23. Bourgoing, *Modern State of Spain*, Vol I, 273.

24. "La Puerta de Alcalá mirado desde la esquina de la Calle de Alcalá inmediata a la Cibeles: En el primer término un caballero y una Señora con una niña al lado, y a el lado del caballero un niño entretenido con un perro, y detrás de estos la fuente de la Cibeles con la línea de árboles y algunas gentes alrededor y de ella siguen salir de los árboles en perspectiva hasta la citada Puerta, y cerca de la fuente un hombre que lleva un caballo del diestro, y detrás otro caballero con su jinete y caballo que está bebiendo... Al otro costado cuatro militares en conversación y detrás de estos la línea de árboles." The painting, 442 x 345 cm., is in the Museo de Historia, Madrid. Alfonso Pérez Sanchez and José Diez García, *Museo Municipal* [Madrid], *Catálogo de Pinturas*, (Madrid, Ayuntamiento de Madrid, 1990), 109, *Madrid Pintado. La imagen de Madrid a través de la pintura*, Exhib. Cat., (Madrid, Museo Municipal, 1992) and Held, *Madrider Teppichmanufaktur*, 86.

25. On the Alcalá gate see Guerra de la Vega, *Madrid*, 90-101. The inscriptions on both the city and country sides of the gate read "Rege Carlo III Anno MDCCLXXVIII" (King Charles III reigns Year 1778).

26. Richard Twiss, *Travels through Portugal and Spain in 1772 and 1773*, (London, Robinson, Becket and Robson, 1775), 140 and Bourgoing, *Modern State of Spain* Vol I, 247.

27. The Bull-Ring at the Puerta de Alcalá, Madrid's first permanent taurine arena, was financed by Ferdinand VI to help fund the General Hospitals of Madrid. Constructed from 1749, it occupied a site once used for the burning of victims of the Inquisition and was designed by the chief architect to the city, Juan Bautista Sachetti with contributions from Ventura Rodríguez and Fernando Moradillo. An unadorned circular functional building consisting of a three storey enclosing wall, covered galleries, raked seating and an arena, it was renovated in 1772 under the supervision of Antonio Plo and was in use until 1870. The present calles Claudio Coello and Conde de Aranda occupy its former site and it is also commemorated by a plaque on a building next to the Buen Retiro metro station. Urban and sanitary improvements meant that the Puerta de Alcalá Bull-Ring was replaced by the Plaza de Toros de Goya, inaugurated in 1874. This in turn was replaced by the Las Ventas Bull-Ring, opened in 1931 and which is still in operation.

28. "Bourgoing's Travels in Spain", 123.

for the city. The right hand side of the painting is entirely occupied by men, from the two groups of figures in animated conversation in the background to the quartet of soldiers in the foreground. Although the soldiers might have provided a comforting and protective presence to Royal viewers, to Madrileños they would have been a potentially disquieting and threatening inclusion. In eighteenth century Spain the military formed an estate in themselves and were notorious for their arrogance, bullying and drunken and boorish behaviour and were thus detested by large sections of the populace.²⁹ In 1788 Madrid had a garrison of 8-10,000 in 32 barracks and so soldiers were a frequent sight on the streets.³⁰ With Spain at peace, officers had become bored and their minds had been diverted to what Bourgoing called ‘unworthy objects’.³¹

A number of simplifications were made when the cartoon was turned into a tapestry and figure groups at both left and right were removed- presumably to make the weaver’s task easier as the overlapping of figures was very difficult to achieve in coloured thread. (Fig. 9).³²

Aguirre’s image, and indeed all of the tapestry cartoons that have a specific setting in the new Madrid, focuses on the social interaction and display of the figures and on the variety of classes and street types. There was no panoramic optic as was frequently the case in topographic painting and print-making. (Fig. 10).

While the paseos were the domain of the populace, the aristocratic pedestrian gravitated to the more genteel and well-policed gardens of the Royal Park of the Buen Retiro, situated adjacent to the new Paseo del Prado and the Calle de Alcalá. From 1767, shortly after Charles III quit the Buen Retiro to take up residence in the new Royal Palace, the gardens were opened to the public in the summer and autumn from the mid-afternoon until 9pm. Codes of dress and behaviour had to be observed and were enforced by guards. Men could not enter wearing caps or hairnets and capes and overcoats were also prohibited. Women were not supposed to wear a mantilla, although some did so and risked having them removed by the park guards. These provisions effectively excluded the majority of the lower classes.³³

In 1779 José del Castillo produced *The Gardens of the Buen Retiro towards the wall of the bronze horse* as a cartoon for a tapestry destined for the Dressing Room of the Princess of Asturias in the El Pardo palace. (Fig. 11). It was described as

“...a view of the Royal Site of the Retiro seen towards the garden of the horse, where, besides the wall a man and a woman on a parapet can be seen looking at it, with a boy trying to climb up. Two women seated in conversation are on the same parapet. A wet nurse in the shade of a tree, breastfeeding a baby, at her side a standing woman, her mantilla on her shoulders, having some sort of get together. Not far away is a gardener with a basket of fruit on his head and in the foreground, another gardener, dressed as a majo, presents various flowers to a woman, whose maid receives them in a white cloth. Behind the gardener is the lady’s escort, short-sighted and searching for change to pay the requested sum. Climbing the steps which lead to the parterre is a petimetre arm-in-arm with a gowned lady. On the right of the picture, a soldier, dressed in blue and leaning on a walking stick, looks at a statue of Isis on a pedestal. Seated on the ground next to him is a lady wearing a pink gown and beside her, and seen from behind, a soldier dressed in red wearing a hat, sitting on a step. There is also a variety of trees in the foreground and middleground.”³⁴

29. Charles Esdaile *The Peninsular War. A New History*, (London, Penguin, 2003), 20 and 42 and Kany, *Life and Manners in Madrid*, 232-237.

30. *Guía del forastero*, XXII and *Plano Geométrico de Madrid*, index.

31. Bourgoing, *Modern State of Spain*, II, 75.

32. The tapestry of Aguirre’s *The Alcalá Gate and the Cybele Fountain* is located in the Borbón apartments of the Escorial Palace. Held, *Madrid Teppichmanufaktur*, 86.

33. Kany, *Life and Manners in Madrid*, 24-25.

34. “...que representa una vista del Real Sitio del Retiro mirando azia el Jardin del cavallo, el qual se ve par encima de la tapia; un hombre y una mujer subidos sobre un pretil que allí ay para poder verle con un muchacho que intenta subirse: Dos señoras sentadas en conversación sobre el mismo pretil; una pasiega sentada a el pie y sombra de unos árboles dando de mamar un niño, yo su lado una mujer en pie, con la mantilla sobre los hombros haciéndole alguna fiesta. No lejos se ve un iardinero con un cesto de fruta sobre la cabeza; y en primer término otro iardinero vestido de majo presentando a una señora varias flores, que recibe su criado en un panuelo blanco; detras del iardinero se ve un acompañante de la señora, corto de vista que busca alguna moneda para gratificar a el dicho; subiendo los escalones par dond se baxa a el parterre va un petimetre con una señora de bata asidos del brazo. A la izquierda del quadro se ve sobre un pedestal la estatua de Isis, a lo que está mirando un militar vestido de azul apoyado sobre un bastón y junto a este sentada en tierra, está una señora con bata de color rosa y a su lado y vuelta de espaldas, un militar vestido de encarnado con el sombrero puesto sentado en un escalón: Ay asimismo variedad de árboles en primero y segundo termino.” Pérez Sanchez and Díez García, *Museo Municipal Catálogo*, 116, *Madrid Pintado*, 118 and Held, *Madrid Teppichmanufaktur*, 139. The painting, oil on canvas, 260 x 363 cm., is in the Museo de Historia, Madrid and the tapestry, which reverses the design of the cartoon, is in the Borbón apartments of the Escorial Palace.

Castillo elucidated the clear class distinctions between the two common male urban types, the *majo* and the *petimetre*. Bourgoing observed “The Majos are beaux of the lower class, or rather bullies whose grave and frigid pomposity is announced by their whole exterior. They have an accent, habit and gesture peculiar to themselves.”³⁵ Mostly drawn from the ranks of artisans and tradesmen, *majos* were fiercely proud and considered themselves of pure Castilian blood, untainted by foreign intermarriage. They frequently wore the long cape and the broad brimmed hat (*chambergo*), that together were thought to facilitate the concealment of weapons and provide anonymity for criminals.³⁶ An attempt to ban this costume in March 1766 by one of Charles III’s favoured Neapolitan ministers, the Marquis of Esquilache led to the so-called Esquilache Riots where the Madrileños rose up in protest at such ‘foreign’ intervention in Spanish customs. The king soon capitulated and withdrew the regulation and Esquilache and his wife were forced to leave Madrid.³⁷

Petimetres, from the French *petits maîtres*, were the late eighteenth-century equivalent of fashion victims, continually ridiculed in literature and in the theatre for their obsession with the latest, and often comically outlandish dress. By taking their sartorial inspiration from France, they were sometimes considered effete and lacking in manliness, and were thus the antithesis of the *majo*.³⁸

Castillo makes reference to the masculine allure of the *majo* compared to the bewigged *petimetre* and the lady appears to be more interested in the gardener than in the blooms he offers. (Fig. 12). While failings or weaknesses of the senses were often equated with moral corruption,³⁹ here the *petimetre*’s short-sighted search for coins alludes to his ignorance of the threat posed by the *majo*.

During daylight hours the Paseo del Prado and the Buen Retiro Gardens were the sites of fashionable flirtation and pastries, fresh fruit and flowers were favourite gifts from gallants to their ladies, all supplied by a small army of street vendors plying their illegal trade.⁴⁰ The setting of amorous couples in a parkland adorned with statues ultimately derived from Watteau’s *Fêtes Galantes* via later French prints of the later eighteenth century, such as Jean-Michel Moreau the Younger’s *Park at Marly*.⁴¹

The royal imprint of both the Borbón and Hapsburg dynasties pervades the cartoon through the sculptural presences. Under Charles III, the kingdom of Naples became renowned for its archaeological riches and the first royal publication of ancient art from Herculaneum had a frontispiece of the monarch posing as the noble sponsor of intellectual and cultural enlightenment.⁴² Thus, the inclusion of antique sculptures ensured associations with the Borbón dynasty- even though none were on display in the Buen Retiro Gardens at the time.

At the right is a Hadrianic statue of *Isis*, bought by Pope Clement XII from Cardinal Alessandro Albani in 1733 and shortly after presented to the Capitoline Museum. (Fig. 13).⁴³ While the two gentlemen are absorbed in contemplating the statue, the lady gazes at her red-coated companion. Castillo also sets up a visual correspondence between the statue of *Isis* and the seated lady. Her headwear mimics the statue’s solar disc, lotus flower and lotus bud head-dress and her fichu, finished with a large bow, appears like the knot between *Isis*’s breasts. *Isis*’s *sistrum* is also replaced with a fan. Castillo perhaps comments both on the contrast between living, fashionable femininity and distant, sculptural antiquity and on masculine intellectual seriousness that ignores the blandishments of feminine charms.

35. “Bourgoing’s Travels in Spain”, 306.

36. “Bourgoing’s Travels in Spain”, 306-307. See also Kany, *Life and manners in Madrid*, 220-223 and Tomlinson, *Goya Tapestry Cartoons*, 31-35.

37. John Lynch *Bourbon Spain 1700-1808*, (Oxford, Blackwell, 1989), 261-268.

38. Kany, *Life and Manners in Madrid*, 174-188.

39. On the links between vision, moral corruption and satire in Enlightenment Spain, see Andrew Schulz, *Goya’s Caprichos. Aesthetics, Perception and the Body*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2005), 120-139.

40. Lopezosa Aparicio, *El Paseo del Prado*, 467-469 and Kany, *Life and Manners in Madrid*, 21-22.

41. Held, *Madrid’s Teppichmanufaktur*, 53, illustration 53.

42. *Le antichità di Ercolano esposte*, Vol. 1, (Naples, Accademia Ercolanese di Archeologia, 1757). The frontispiece engraving of Charles III was engraved by Filippo Morghen after Camillo Paderni. See *Royal Splendor in the Enlightenment. Charles IV of Spain as Patron and Collector*, Exhib. Cat., (Dallas, Meadows Museum / Patrimonio Nacional, 2010), 133-134, no.5.

43. Henry Stuart Jones (ed.) *A Catalogue of the Ancient Sculptures Preserved in the Municipal Collections of Rome. The Sculptures of the Museo Capitolino*, (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1912), 6, 354, no.15 and 394, no. 25.

The statue’s head decoration appears to be a solar disc and lotus flower rather than the globe, snakes and palmette as suggested in the Jones catalogue. My thanks are due to Dr Vanessa Mackenzie of the University of Warwick for her iconographic suggestions.

The statue at the left is the large version of the *Woman of Herculaneum*, a vestal dug up by workmen in 1711 at Resina and which heralded the discovery of the ancient city of Herculaneum. This sculpture never actually formed part of the Spanish Royal Collections and was acquired by Prince Eugene of Savoy in Vienna and is now in the Albertinum in Dresden.⁴⁴ Although a fictive arrangement of ancient statuary doubtless derived from widely-available contemporary prints, the painting gives a clear idea of how an understanding of the sculptures of antiquity had permeated Spanish society.⁴⁵ By contrast, the bronze horse glimpsed from behind on the parterre was located in the Gardens. This was the equestrian statue of Philip IV by Pietro Tacca, completed in 1640 and which since 1844 has dominated the Plaza de Oriente outside the Royal Palace in Madrid.⁴⁶

Not all tapestry cartoons concerned with Madrid urban life contained markers of royal authority, benevolence or surveillance. In 1784 Ramón Bayeu painted the cartoon for the *Paseo de las Delicias* destined to become a tapestry for the room of the Prince of Asturias in the Pardo Palace. (Fig. 14). Ramón's painting was a full-size version of a sketch provided by his elder brother Francisco, then considered the most important painter in the kingdom.⁴⁷ The painting was inventoried as

“A view of the Paseo de Delicias, with its plantations, and the countryside and farmhouses, that can be glimpsed, populated by various people who have come to promenade, like ladies and gentlemen, some wearing military fashion, others capes. All figures recede according to the perspective of the said plantation.”⁴⁸

The Paseo de las Delicias (Promenade of the Delights) had been constructed under Charles III's elder brother, Ferdinand VI and was considered an extension of the Paseo del Prado. (Fig. 15). The Delicias consisted of two long sections of promenade flanked by double rows of elm trees from Atocha to the Manzanares river. The walks were built on earthen embankments higher than the surrounding terrain and according to Ponz, one section was for pedestrians, the other for coaches and carriages.⁴⁹ Further away from the city there were circular features and fountains. At its end the *Paseo* approached the Manzanares canal, although Bourgoing, noted that here the promenade little deserved its name of 'Delights' because of the stench from the stagnant water of the uncompleted Manzanares canal.⁵⁰

This Paseo was not a city thoroughfare but given over entirely to leisure and display and was evidently not quite so crowded as the Paseo del Prado.⁵¹ The cartoon depicted the pedestrian section of the Paseo and focused on the gallantry and civility of the men dressed in military or French fashion. Francisco Bayeu evidently consulted a French source- the print by Pierre-François Courtois after Augustin de Saint Aubin's *Promenade on the Ramparts of Paris* of c.1760.⁵² Two majos are also seen as marginal figures at the right and excluded from polite interaction. (Fig. 16). They are also smoking the characteristic small cigars associated with the majos and this act in itself might indicate criminality. Tobacco was a Royal monopoly in Spain and although stiff and even capital penalties existed to prevent smuggling, much contraband tobacco was in circulation.⁵³ This pair might then not only be refusing to adopt

44. Jens Daehner, *The Herculaneum women: history, context, identities*, (Los Angeles, Getty Publications, 2007), 4-10 and 20-36.

45. Jorge Maier Allende, “Las Antigüedades en palacio: Ideología y función de las colecciones reales de arte antiguo en el siglo XVIII”, *Reales Sitios*, Año XLVII, No. 183, Primer Trimestre 2010, 17.

46. The demolitions to form the Plaza de Oriente began under the brief reign of Joseph I. Under Isabel II of Borbón, Tacca's statue of Philip IV was placed on a newly designed pedestal with bas-reliefs by Francisco Elías Vallejo and José Tomás. Elías was also responsible for the bronze lions at the foot of the pedestal and the marble figures of the rivers Jarama and Manzanares. The ensemble was inaugurated on 10 October 1844. Eulalia Palomeque, *Ordenación y transformaciones urbanas del casco antiguo madrileño durante los siglos XIX y XX*, (Madrid, Instituto de Estudios Madrilenos, 1976), 197-199.

47. *Madrid Pintado*, 130-133 and *Francisco Bayeu 1734-1795*, Exhib. Cat., (Zaragoza, Ibercaja, 1996), 204-205. Francisco's sketch, oil on canvas 0.37 x 0.56 m., is in the Museo del Prado and Ramón's cartoon, also oil on canvas, 255 x 385 cm., is on deposit in the Museo de Historia, Madrid, from the Prado. The Tapestry hangs in the Antesala de Embajadores in the Escorial Palace.

48. “Una vista del Paseo de Delicias con sus arboledas, y el campo que se alcanza a ver, y caserías, está poblado de varias gentes que han salido a paseo como señoras y señores, unos a lo military y otros con capa, todas las figures en su degradación según pide la perspectiva de dichas arboledas.” Alfonso Pérez Sanchez and José Diez García, *Museo Municipal Catálogo*, 112.

49. Ponz, *Viage de España*, Vol. V, 28-29, *Madrid Pintado*, 130 and *Francisco Bayeu*, 204.

50. Bourgoing, *Modern Spain*, Vol IV, p.241.

51. *Paseo de Madrid...* 99 and Frederick Augustus Fischer, *Travels in Spain in 1797 and 1798*, (London, Longman and Rees, 1802), 150-151.

52. Held, *Madrid der Teppichmanufaktur*, 54, illustration 55.

53. Kany, *Life and Manners in Madrid*, 224-227 and Bourgoing, *Modern State of Spain*, Vol II, 7-11.

fashionable foreign dress but further demonstrate their independence from the apparatus of state. Another, albeit minor, act of civil insubordination is indicated by one of the trees in the central plantation which appears to have been pillaged for fire-wood- an act of ignorant vandalism much deplored by Ponz.⁵⁴

Of course the cartoons in no sense depicted a snapshot of street life and the social exchanges and salient details were synthesized to create an entertaining composite for the royal audience. There were also practical considerations. As the cartoon was a full-size template for weavers to follow, an uncluttered design with clear outlines was called for. Sometimes cartoons were rejected because they were considered too complicated to replicate in thread and an official report of 1786 noted the difficulty of making tapestries from ‘the pictures they paint these days of majos and majas, with so many ornaments of hairnets, ribbons, frog fastenings, chiffons, and other trivialities, that one wastes great quantities of time in fussy detailing.’⁵⁵

But despite the wide and convivial expanses of the new avenues of Caroline Madrid, the natural gregariousness of the Spanish temperament discouraged solitary and detached observation and so the artist himself became a type of flâneur in the Tapestry Cartoons. Indeed the visions of the new spaces of Enlightenment Madrid and of the different social and provincial types that appear in the paintings locate the artist as both a proto-flâneur and a surrogate for members of the Royal Family who were unable to witness the spectacle of the city and had to be content with a vicarious experience within the courtly surrounding of palace apartments.⁵⁶

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54. Ponz, *Viage de España*, Vol. V, 30

55. Concha Herrero Carretero, “An Introduction to Goya’s Cartoons and Tapestries” in *Goya: Images of Women*, Exhib. Cat., ed. Janis Tomlinson, (Washington, New Haven and London, National Gallery of Art and Yale University Press, 2002), 96-97. See also Tomlinson, *Goya Tapestry Cartoons*, 146.

56. That the monarchy took paseos as part of court life, within the precincts of royal palaces, is testified by Joseph Townsend. At the Palace of Aranjuez he observed “In the evening, after the siesta, the princesses, attended by their guards, the grandees, and some of the foreign ministers, enter their coaches, and move slowly on, saluting each other as often as they pass. By the side of this long extended mall, is a pleasant walk, well filled with company. and in which the princesses occasionally walk.” Joseph Townsend *A Journey through Spain in the years 1786 and 1787*, Vol. I, (London, C.Dilly, 1791), 334.