

***The Holder and the Holdings:
Identity Dynamics and Tobacco Consumption in Juan Rodríguez Juárez's Dama con rebozo (ca. 1720)***

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Around 1720, Novohispanic artist, Juan Rodríguez Juárez (1675–1728) completed the painting known as, *Dama con rebozo*, a mid-sized work measuring 42.5 inches by 28.7 inches, depicting a young woman in a three-quarters view who balances a small golden vessel between her fingers (Figure 1). The woman wears a blue and red-hued *rebozo* (shawl) that covers her blouse, whose elaborate lace sleeves are visible. Her hair is hidden by an ornamented headwrap covered in floral patterns woven in white or silver thread. A singular pearl earring peeks out of the headwrap's edge and matches the pearl necklace that the woman wears. Gazing downward, she also directs the viewer to glance at her hands, between which rests a small container with an open lid. The young woman delicately holds this box open by pinching the bottom of the vessel with her left hand while her right hand reaches for its contents. She gingerly clasps the small vessel as if to pique the viewer's interest. The minute vessel is a *caja de rapé* (snuffbox) that would have held stimulating powdered tobacco usually reserved for consumption during festival rituals.



Figure 1: Juan Rodríguez Juárez, *Dama con rebozo*, ca. 1720, oil on canvas, 42.5 x 28.7 in. (108 x 73 cm). Image courtesy of Museo Nacional de Historia, Mexico City, Mexico.

Drawing on layered material histories, this essay considers Rodríguez Juárez's oil painting to interrogate the representation of its main figure and the tobacco container she holds in relation to the gendered and social object histories of colonial Mexico. At its very essence, *Dama con rebozo* reveals a complex story of globalism, commodity exchange, and invisible labor. The following analysis is organized into two sections: the first focuses on the lady, the 'holder' of the snuffbox, and the second on the suggested 'holdings' contained in the small recipient to consider the interconnections that exist between the dynamics of identity, tobacco consumption and production, and gendered labor in eighteenth-century New Spain.

By locating *Dama con rebozo* within the classification of an "ethnographic portrait"—rather than a depiction of a specific individual—the work can be situated as a portrayal of a Creole woman, which furthers discussions of geography and gender in relation to tobacco production and consumption.¹ Following this reclassification of the overall image and positioning it in relation to the genre of *Casta* paintings, the essay turns to the represented snuffbox and the (invisible)

snuff as a springboard to consider the reach of tobacco's commodity networks. By utilizing a material cultural approach to contribute to extant research on materiality, identity, and trading networks, this paper outlines how these elements shift in meaning within different temporal and geographical parameters in Viceregal Mexico.²



Figure 2: Juan Rodríguez Juárez, (Detail) *Dama con rebozo*, ca. 1720, oil on canvas, 42.5 x 28.7 in. (108 x 73 cm). Image courtesy of Museo Nacional de Historia, Mexico City, Mexico.

Most conversations about *Dama con rebozo* revolve around the identification of the source of the miniaturized matrimonial scene on the lid of the box. Art historian, Jaime Cuadriello has identified said representation to be a simplified version of Rodríguez Juárez's oil painting titled, *Indian Wedding* (ca. 1720) (Figure 2).³ When compared side by side, the similarities, although simplified in the portrait, are apparent. In *Indian Wedding*, the bride and groom, flanked by their Spanish *padrinos* (godfathers), stand on the left side of the canvas while community members engage in celebration in the background. As Cuadriello and curator Ilona Katzew have argued, Rodríguez Juárez's *Indian Wedding* depicts the social and festive nature of holy matrimony—one that presents a moment of identity negotiation and Catholic influence, and where the background of the work presents a snapshot of alleged racial and multiethnic intermingling and carnival; the image presents a fantasy of *convivencia* (peaceful coexistence).



Figure 3: Juan Rodríguez Juárez, *Indian Wedding*, ca. 1720, oil on canvas, 40 x 57 in. (100 x 145 cm). Image courtesy of a Private Collection, Yucatán, Mexico.

Rodríguez Juárez simplifies and minimizes the depiction of the *Indian Wedding* on the snuffbox's lid to only include key elements: an Indigenous couple, their *padrinos*, and two figures engaged in dance. As literary critic, Susan Stewart has argued in her discussion on miniatures, it is this intentional process of choosing—what is and what is not included—that points to a miniature's constructed nature.⁴ Just as there is an interiority shown through presence within a miniature matrimonial scene, there is also an outside, an exterior, that is reflected

through absence. Akin to the snuffbox's interior scene, the core narratives of invisible labor, commodity exchange, and globalism enveloped in *Dama con Rebozo* are easily overlooked.

The Holder and the Complexities of “Portraiture”

While the figure represented in this work has no specific name attached, her dress, accessories, and facial attributes clue us into her social and racial identity—underscoring the complexity of these categories in both legal terms and the lived realities in Viceregal Mexico. This seemingly simple rendering of a colonial Mexican woman demonstrates the intricacies, nuances, and often muddy conventions of eighteenth-century conceptions of race. The analysis that follows offers one approach to challenge and help understand such racial dynamics as conveyed in *Dama con rebozo*.

On the Iberian Peninsula and in the Spanish Americas, the recognition of hierarchical stratifications based on hereditary status formed an important part of social ideologies. The seductive idea that racial categorizations or castes could be easily and neatly organized does not acknowledge the intricacies of mixtures nor the late medieval origins of the concept, *limpieza de sangre* (purity of blood) targeting Jews and Muslims in Iberia. The deployment of this concept on the Iberian Peninsula was later attempted in the Spanish Americas, although not without its complications. Race, classification, and lineage influenced by the Iberian rhetoric of purity resulted in fluid and ambiguous legal categories in the viceregal context that shifted from one generation to another or even within a person's own lifetime. Upper-class individuals in New Spain employed such a racialized hierarchy to distinguish themselves from the rest of colonial society. These strategies are revealed primarily in the material choices made and adopted by the *criollo* (Creole) population.

While the origins of the word *criollo* are unclear, one of the first uses of the term in the Americas can be traced to Puebla de los Ángeles, where it referred to enslaved people and livestock born in the Spanish Americas.⁵ By the second half of the sixteenth century, this word held an association with Black enslaved people of the lower half of the social hierarchy; yet it had also expanded to include the descendants of Spaniards, who were born or raised in the Spanish Americas. Thus, the social and political climate was laid for the rise of a uniquely defined Creole identity attached to a sense of national consciousness that, over time, developed in Novohispanic society—what has been usually termed *criollismo*.

This distinct Creole sense of pride and identity, however, did not, as the late historian, María Elena Martínez noted, “erode their sense of being part of a broader community of Spaniards.”⁶ While concepts of race in New Spain varied and had different societal implications due to their geographical, political, and social divergences, the emphasis on entrenching or withholding a notion of purity of blood was deeply integrated within colonial society and its customs. Taking these notions into consideration, I demonstrate the complexities entailed in the process of classifying the figure in Rodríguez Juárez's *Dama con Rebozo*, based on New Spanish portraiture conventions, agriculturally based commodity systems, and social marital customs. The genealogy of the American (New Spanish) landscape exposes the entanglements surrounding *criollismo*.

In Rodríguez Juárez's *Dama con Rebozo*, the woman fills three-quarters of the space, which is shrouded by a vast and darkened emptiness on all sides. Lavishly dressed in lively red, white, and blue textiles, she only exposes her face, wrists, and hands. The juxtaposition of light and dark provided by the opaque background emphasizes her limbs. Bordering and softening the garments, a wispy red hue imbues the woman with depth and dimensionality, despite the static backdrop of the oil painting. Alternatively, the soft "warm" color might also suggest that the woman could have been a live model. The rosy hue disseminating from the body indicates the artist's desire to render the skin of the woman as fleshly and alive.

The woman's identity is not explicitly revealed to viewers through a textual inscription, sartorial choices, nor the snuffbox that enthralls her. In fact, she cannot be traced to a known or identifiable person that lived during the late seventeenth- or early eighteenth century. I classify *Dama con rebozo* as an ethnographic portrait or representation that demonstrates how a young *criolla* operated as a social body.⁷ Employed by scholars, such as Claire Fargo, Rebecca Parker-Brienen, and Stephanie Leitch, the term 'ethnographic portrait' refers to a process of creating visual representations of people that operate within an established framework of racial hierarchy seen in oral, textual, and visual sources.⁸ These scholars' work on early modern prints demonstrates how ethnographic information is filtered, characterized, and categorized in colonial discourse. In the case of Rodríguez Juárez's painting, the representation of the female body becomes one that is assessed, classified, and inscribed within colonial Mexico's hierarchy of social meanings and values. Corporeal differentiation revealed through the woman's clothing, textile accessories, and physiognomic attributes situate *Dama con rebozo* in relation to certain cultural and racial designations of the time, such as *castas*, and thus presents the question: who gets to be represented as an individual within the historical record?

Despite being commonly understood as unrelated modes of secular art, similarities between New Spanish portraiture and ethnographic works convey parallel ideas of colonial elite and non-elite statuses through their sense of order. According to art historian, Michael Brown, there existed two categories of New Spanish portraiture: corporate portraits, which captured those who held political and religious positions of hierarchical power; and civic portraits, which documented important individual elites and their families. The depiction of political leaders in conjunction with religious heads or officials remained a popular form of portraiture until the eighteenth century. The inclusion of biographical inscriptions and heraldic shields announcing the genealogy, title, and social status of the sitter were also prominent attributes in colonial and peninsular Spanish portraiture.

Women, in contrast, featured in images as holding elite status—either in secular or religious spheres—appear with less frequency compared to their male counterparts. *Dama con rebozo* does not include the characteristic features of corporate or civic portraits, making it clear that this work lies outside of this tradition of colonial portraiture. Here, the sitter neither represents a known model nor retains political or religious position of power based on visual identifiers. We must consider the visual instances where non-elite social bodies are rendered anonymously. In novohispanic portraiture, along with an effort to present the sitters' individuality alongside their personal histories, it was also common to represent members outside elite spaces—those relegated as 'Others'—in formats that classify them in collective terms.

Ethnographic works emerged in Europe during the sixteenth century, typically included in illustrated manuscripts and maps depicting different cultural types based on costume and attributes of physiognomy.⁹ As succinctly defined by Leitch, ethnography functioned as a “method of investigation characterized by comparisons, classification, and historical lineage.”¹⁰ As the genre grew, these representations also featured typical plants, animals, landscapes, and activities associated with peoples and regions around the world, and were interpreted as objective and scientific forms of research. As previously discussed by scholars such as Mary Louise Pratt and Peter Hulme, descriptions alongside representations of non-Europeans with flora and fauna promoted European imperialism and colonizing endeavors.¹¹ Functioning as a form of amusement, for scientific knowledge circulation, or to quell European audiences’ anxieties about racial mixing, these representations circulated broadly in painted and printed forms. The viewers of such images accepted them as empirical.

Rodríguez Juárez’s *Dama con Rebozo* closely corresponds to *cuadros de castas* or *casta* paintings, a mode of representation that depicts a visual catalog of different parents and their offspring, a genre that is closely tied to ethnographic representations.¹² Arranged as a series of vignettes, *casta* categories placed people into legible, equal sections that resemble an anthropological chart presenting men, women, and their children in a hierarchical order organized by their proportion of Spanish blood. The inclusion of an inscription with every group draws the viewer’s attention to the pertinent labeling information, which consists of terms like *negro*, *mulatto*, and *mestizo*.¹³ A format familiar to European and elite novohispanic viewers, the *castas*’ fixed familial triad serves to organize and schematize imagined groupings. Rodríguez Juárez was already creating *casta* paintings when he completed *Dama con rebozo*, thus this organizational format would have been familiar and could have provided a pictorial framework for completing said ethnographic portrait.¹⁴

In Rodríguez Juárez’s painting, the mode of exhibiting difference through similarities functions in the same way albeit on a larger scale. *Dama con rebozo* does not exactly follow the formula of *casta* paintings, however, precedents for crafting individual portrayals of specific *castas* have been recognized by scholar, María Concepción García Sáiz. She identified a member of the Arellano family, Manuel, who produced in 1711 two separate but complementary portrayals of a mulatto man and woman, one of the earliest known sets of *casta* paintings.¹⁵ Arellano was known to have been in contact with Rodríguez Juárez. In fact, Katzew asserts that Rodríguez Juárez modeled many of his figures after those of Arellano.¹⁶ This is particularly palpable in his figural modeling and exploration of the body as a site for specifying customs and physiognomy.

Arellano’s 1711 set consists of only four identified oil works that operate as pairs: *Design of a Mulatta*, *Design of a Mulatto* (now missing)¹⁷, *Design of a Chichimeca*, and *Design of a Chichimeco*. Focused on presenting individual racial types, these works seem to have served as the impetus for the later development of castas. Arellano’s figures in a three-quarter position are naturalistically and dynamically rendered: the woman holds a regional bird and the man a bow and arrow. The use of the word *diceño [sic]*, or Spanish for “design,” directly indicates that this is a constructed diagram or rendition of the physiognomic and sartorial (or in this work the lack of) attributes that a *Chichimeco* would don.¹⁸ While the background cannot be attributed to a specific location, it is evident that they are situated outdoors. The Indigenous man stands holding tools and is scantily clad, while the woman balances her son in one hand and holds a perched

bird on her other forearm. Again, while spread out across two canvases, when read in tandem the grouping of a nuclear family comes to the forefront with this particular case depicting Arellano's interpretation of a *Chichimeco* familial unit.

Notably, all four works contain inscriptions on the top left or right corners of the canvases, situating the figures racially and geographically for the viewer. This mode of textual identification is an important element included in many *casta* works, and significantly, an attribute that is missing from *Dama con rebozo*. Nonetheless, *Dama con rebozo* follows the visual arrangement of Arellano's works with the exception that the image lacks a legible background. Employing a blank or neutral background allows for an image to transcend shifts in time and space and provides a visual solution to one of the challenges of genre painting. Here, the woman serves as a stand-in for a fictional social type where other women can easily be substituted.

As previously mentioned, this is similar to ethnographic representations—Arellano's pendants of an Indigenous couple are read in tandem with the Mulatto couple to achieve difference through the comparison of similarities. For instance, the Indigenous woman and man in their standalone portrayals mimic each other, functioning as a pair. The two separate but complementary panels compose a familial grouping across space, completing the typical organizational structure seen in standard castas. This precedent points to the possibility that *Dama con rebozo* originally could have a matching portrait or pendant of a man; however, one is yet to be located or identified. There is a strong possibility that *Dama con rebozo*'s companion piece would also include the figure of an offspring, suggestively completing a familial union.

Analyzing *Dama con rebozo* in relation to *casta* paintings, the correlations between the two types of representations Rodríguez Juárez produced become evident. *Dama con rebozo* depicts the half-figure of a woman in a shallow space, a pictorial arrangement not only emblematic of New Spanish portraiture conventions, but also a technique repeated in the aforementioned *casta* sets. In lieu of the familial triad, Rodríguez Juárez constructed this solitary work to serve as an introductory panel or a bookend between *casta* series. In this stand-alone painting, the woman's facial features, textiles, and snuffbox are the only markers of identity, social class, and positionality available to the viewer. While today the complexities of the women's identity are difficult to parse through, it is worth noting that contemporary viewers of the time might have easily understood these visual cues.

Even if not belonging directly to the *casta* painting genre, Rodríguez Juárez's *Dama con rebozo* repeats characteristics of ethnographic representations seen in his other two *casta* sets. These are especially evident in the depiction of the model's visage—one that closely echoes that of the Virgin Mary.¹⁹ Colonial painters drew inspiration from different print sources and combined compositional elements and subject matter to create new images. The recalling of the Virgin Mary's facial features provides an example of Rodríguez Juárez's use of certain compositional models in religious and non-religious works. The lady's indirect gaze and the sartorial choices aid in identifying the portrayed figure as an *Española* (Spanish) woman. In the Spanish colonial world, the term *Española* was used to refer to women born in Spain, as well as those who were descendants of Spaniards born in the Americas. In what follows, I suggest that *Dama con rebozo*

allows us to interrogate the implications of textile and commodity attributes as contributing to the creation of identity.



Figure 4: Attributed to Rodríguez Juárez, *De Castizo y Española, produce Español (Castizo and Spaniard produce a Spaniard)*, about 1725, oil on canvas, 31 x 41 in. (80.7 x 105.4 cm), Image courtesy of the Breamore House, Hampshire, England.

In *Dama con Rebozo*, the young woman slightly tilts her head downward. The three-quarter presentation of her face highlights the beauty and technical craftsmanship of her *pañuelo de cabeza*²⁰ (headscarf) that might have been obscured if the portrait was rendered in a frontal perspective. These facial features are often repeated in Rodríguez Juárez's other *casta* works that depict women. Consider, for example, in Rodríguez Juárez's 1725 set, the work *De Castizo, y Española produce Español (Castizo and Spaniard produce a Spaniard)* (about 1725), which demonstrates a striking resemblance to *Dama con rebozo* (Figure 3). A mother, father, and child appear in an inverted triangular formation. The offspring tugs on his father's sleeve while the mother caresses the child's head and shoulder. Like the woman in *Dama con rebozo*, the mother's face is tilted in a three-quarter view. Her garments include a similarly bright red headdress with floral patterning and a *rebozo* that covers her entire blouse only revealing the white flowing sleeves underneath. Both women's facial features are posed in a downward glance, intently gazing at their hands, drawing the viewer's attention directly to them. While one woman lovingly holds her child, the other gingerly pinches the sides of a snuffbox.

Rodríguez Juárez makes sartorial choices that clue the viewer into the figures' social standing and proposed hierarchy within the colonial world. In *Dama con rebozo*, the woman's body, encased in beautifully elaborate textiles, seamlessly joins her in relation to these popular market goods. The conflation of the two is a powerful allegory that reflects associations of New Spain and of the expected performance of *criolla* racial identity. Bundled in various textiles and accessories, the garments themselves carry out the labor of situating the figure in relation to ideas of racialized and classed based categories without the need for textual description.

In *Dama con rebozo*, the woman wears a blue and red toned *rebozo* that covers the cloth of her blouse, permitting only the intricate workings of her lace sleeves to poke through. The pattern and coloring of the wrap are indicative of the *ikat* or resist method of dying, whose threads are then woven together. This *rebozo* utilizes a repetitive patterning of blue lines of varying thickness interspersed with woven red diamonds that break up the space. It is elegantly draped around the woman's shoulders so that one end dangles lazily across her right shoulder. The folded and crinkled edge of the textile lies as if the woman had just adjusted the garment on her back. Art historian, Sandoval Villegas notes that the represented *rebozo* does not follow the

common design conventions of the time; rather the typical construction of a shawl features longitudinal stripes of alternating colors culminating in a fringed end.²¹ While the directionality of the *rebozo*'s stripes does not help to fix the women's identity, it does however point to the artist's consistent manipulation of textiles in his works.

In the latter work, the *pañño* that Rodríguez Juárez's lady wears is yet another example of a highly ornamented cloth. The rhythm of the geometric lines, as they intersect with floral motifs displays a clear pattern. The headscarf seems to have another similar fabric pinned on top of the textile. Notably, the headscarf in *Dama con rebozo* and in the casta painting are most likely a representation of brocade work, not embroidery, for the designs of embroidery tend not to repeat.²² The addition of gold or silver threads to textiles or imported fabrics elevated certain garments, which was a common practice seen amongst Mexican aristocracy and the elites of New Spain. Gustavo Curiel even states that, "no woman of the Mexican aristocracy would ever be seen in public without her fine silks embroidered in gold and silver, garnished with several lengths of Flemish lace and lavishly adorned with pearls and diamonds," referring to the status associated with specific woven textiles.²³ However, the use of *rebozos* and *pañuelos de cabeza* was not relegated to a certain socioeconomic group in colonial Mexico. Rather, the practice of women covering their hair stems from the history of Catholic modesty practices to cover their heads when entering a church.²⁴ Just like the conventions of race, colonial dress alone cannot entirely outline social differences—while certain garments contained specific markers of upper-class status, namely the quality of the fabrics and finishes, they cannot be neatly organized according to specific castas.

Nevertheless, sartorial markers can aid in classifying the figure in *Dama con rebozo* as Creole. For example, the woman's *pañuelo* is repeated, with slight alterations, in other "types" of women seen in Rodríguez Juárez's casta sets. In his 1715 and 1725 casta sets, women frequently appear with differing kinds of head coverings while others were depicted with their hair exposed.²⁵ The work *De Castizo y Española, produce Español* renders the "Spanish" mother with a red decorative headpiece that most similarly mimics the one in *Dama con rebozo*.

Dress also serves as a corroboration of the cultural ideals and status embedded in the casta taxonomy. A singular pearl earring peeks out of the edges of the headwrap and complements the matching necklace that the woman dons. According to contemporary writers, pearls were so abundant in New Spain that they were no longer indicators of wealth, status, or aristocracy, but instead, served as a material indicator to a connection with the land. Agustín de Vetancurt's 1698 *Teatro Mexicano*, for instance, outlines the grandeur of Mexico where he states, "even the poorest woman wears pearls and other jewels assembled for her."²⁶ Thus, their increasing popularity in adornment also served as a rhetorical device to communicate "New World" origins. In *Dama con Rebozo*, the inclusion of a pearl earring does not aid in marking the figure's race or social standing, and in fact, most women in Rodríguez Juárez's casta wear fashionable earrings. Thus, this demonstrates an identifier of the figure's American (New Spanish) origins.

Within novohispanic society, of course, taking cues of identity through dress exclusively did not accurately aid in classifying the racial diversity or the social standing of a specific woman, such as the one depicted in *Dama con Rebozo*. The boundaries of fixed racial categories that casta and ethnographic paintings present need to be then juxtaposed against the actual happenings in New

Spain. Art historian Mia Bagneris speaks to this notion, noting that the boundaries of Spanish colonial socio-racial hierarchies were “more fluid than fixed.”²⁷ In fact, Spaniards felt that Indigenous blood was unblemished by “inferior” blood and hence was fundamentally a pure blood, following the rationale of *raza*.²⁸ Following this logic, marriages between Spanish men and Indigenous women that produced mestizo offspring resulted in blood that was diluted but not tainted. Furthermore, it was assumed that a parental combination resulting in a Castizo child would be, by the third generation and union of a Castizo and Spaniard, returned to pure Spanish blood.

In the aforementioned *casta* painting, too, the union between a Spanish woman and a Castizo man results in a Spanish child, as explicitly noted by the accompanying inscription, “*produce Español*” (produces a Spanish child) (Figure 3). Historian, Rebecca Earle speaks to this ability to shift within racial classifications in colonial Ibero-America and the Caribbean as ones tied to skin color, wealth, and often dress. Earle notes that the ability of “racial self-classification” based in part through sartorial choices was, “complemented in the Hispanic world by a complex legal system which allowed individuals to change their race through the acquisition of legal documents confirming the desired racial identity.”²⁹ Thus, we see a convoluting of identity that then becomes difficult to parse; the woman in *Dama con Rebozo* demonstrates the instability and fluidity of race and of racial representation.

Through a constellation of sartorial, corporeal, and physiognomic features the young woman depicted in *Dama con rebozo* demonstrates the intricacies of how the racial identity of a Spanish woman functioned within colonial Mexican society. Drawing from conventions in ethnographic portraits, the depiction of a young woman in this work utilizes elements from *casta* paintings authenticating colonial Spanish obsessions with social order and racial organization. Rodríguez Juárez achieves this messaging through textile choices that clue the viewer into her social standing and alleged hierarchy within the colonial world. Thus, through comparative analysis of New Spanish portraiture conventions, ethnographic types or portraits, and *casta* works, her identity most closely aligns with that of an *Española* from New Spain or a *criolla*, who are often also called *blancos criollos* (*Creole Whites*). However, *Dama con rebozo*'s associations with the production of tobacco and its commodity circulation can shift these conventions to demonstrate the nuances in classifying, assessing, and prescribing racial identity in Novohispanic society.

The Holdings: A *Cajita de Rapé* and its Implications

The woman's attention captured by the small snuffbox does not reveal her attitudes toward the container, rather she remains expressionless. Her fingers lightly hover above the container and the ghosting of previous sketches reveal the rigor with which Rodríguez Juárez wanted to capture this mid-movement gesture as a static snapshot. What is the significance of the inclusion of pulverized tobacco leaves within the *cajita de rapé*, and how does the woman's identity shift in relation to her proximity and handling of snuff?

To understand how this herb's history of commoditization is intricately enmeshed with racial conventions, it is essential to consider the inclusion of tobacco products as a focal point that are repeated in Rodríguez Juárez's 1715 and 1725 *casta* sets. Through a quick comparison, the two sets show striking resemblances strongly suggesting that Rodríguez Juárez copied the later 1725 set directly from his first one. These two series present individuals of different socio-racial

groups enjoying tobacco as both a cigarette and snuff. While only a couple of the 1715 panels survive, there are additional instances where tobacco is depicted and later repeated in the complete 1725 version: *De Español y Negra, Mulatto (From Spanish to Black Woman, Mulatto)*, *De Mulatto y Mestiza, produce mulatto torna atras (From Mulatto to Mestiza, produce Mulatto)* and notably the aforementioned work *De Castizo y Española produce Español*, which does not have a surviving 1715 version. When considering the larger panel format that can only be understood with the completed 1725 set, a moment of contrast becomes clear.

In Rodríguez Juárez's 1725 set, the work *De Castizo y Española produce Español* and the third panel within the set, repeats the emphasis of tobacco consumption (Figure 3). In this instance, we are guided to the women's child who grasps his father's cloak prompting us to complete the triangular composition. A lit cigarette dangles from the slightly ajar lips of the father figure producing a wispy puff of smoke that drifts towards the woman. Instead of displaying an active moment of a pinch, Rodríguez Juárez shows a different mode of popular tobacco consumption: cigarette smoking.



Figure 5: Attributed to Rodríguez Juárez, *De Mulatto y Mestiza, produce mulatto torna atras (From Spanish to Black Woman, Mulatto)*, about 1725, oil on canvas, 31 x 41 in. (80.7 x 105.4 cm), Breamore House, Hampshire, England.

In the seventh panel, *De Mulatto y Mestiza, produce mulatto torna atras* (about 1725), the figures are propelled outdoors, and feature the first portrayal of a snuffbox within the sets (Figure 4). The woman grasps the hand of her daughter who wears similar attire: an ornamented head covering, a flowing dress, and a necklace with matching earrings. The Mulatto father, on the other hand, stares intently out to the viewer with his left hand cradling a circular snuffbox and his right hovering right above it with his thumb and pointer finger poised in the pinching position. While we do not see the aftermath of the man placing the loose snuff to his nostrils, this snapshot encapsulates an active moment of daily life. Within the same *casta* set, Rodríguez Juárez demonstrates that the pleasures of tobacco consumption, whether that be in the mode of snuff or cigarettes, were enjoyed by varying members of New Spain; thus, they were not necessarily limited to those of Spanish origin but encapsulated a larger *criollo* identity.³⁰

Notably, despite all the examples of tobacco consumption within castas, women are never depicted as the consumers of this substance. The inclusion of a woman about to ingest snuff in *Dama con rebozo* is an odd combination that could point to the blurring and complexities of racial categories or can demonstrate an understanding of *criolla* women in the same vein as

tobacco: an inherently American product. In all, *Dama con rebozo* and the aforementioned *casta* works provide brief examples that demonstrate the consistency of portraying figures in relation to tobacco consumption, whether it be through the direct signaling of tobacco snuff or through the proximity of cigarette inhalation.

The Roots of Tobacco's Commoditization

Turning to the beginnings of the transatlantic nature and global reach of Spain's tobacco monopoly in the eighteenth century helps to contextualize the presence and significance of tobacco and thereby fully understand the implications the popularization, dispersion, and commoditization of this plant.

Although impossible to glean its exact type from the visual representation, the snuff suggested by *Dama con rebozo* could belong to one of the two known tobacco species found and cultivated in Andean South America and later spreading to the Central Mexican highlands, *nicotiana tabacum* or *nicotiana rustica*.³¹ Many Indigenous communities in Southern Mexico, such as the Tzotzil and Tzeltal Maya communities, are known for their consumption of tobacco in the form of snuff, and their use of *nicotiana* has been and continues to be an important element of individual and sacred rituals. Deriving from Mesoamerican ritual and medicinal practices, tobacco became a widely cultivated, ingested, and traded commodity in the Americas initially marked with associations to idolatry and otherness.

Tobacco's spread across the Atlantic followed an expanding variety of social customs and cultural connections. The leaf was first encountered by Europeans in the late fifteenth-century Caribbean, where Indigenous people consumed tobacco in a variety of methods: smoking, sniffing, and chewing it. As colonial Mexico grew in the sixteenth century, so did the practices of consuming tobacco both locally and across the Atlantic. The herb, however, did not claim its beginnings as a commoditized good until the seventeenth century. Historian Laura Náter dates the emergence of tobacco as a Spanish product and its export to Europe to at least 1558, noting that the commercialization of tobacco appeared around the beginning of the seventeenth century in Lisbon, Seville, and Amsterdam.³²

While periodically emerging throughout Europe, tobacco usage was generally siloed to the Spanish Americas, whose long distance and transatlantic adoption did not spur until around the 1590s. This was due to the introduction and influence of wealthy merchants and clergy members, whose routine transatlantic travel allowed for personal exposure and consumption of the plant. Oscillating between both the Iberian Peninsula and the Spanish Americas with such high frequencies, these two groups shared, as historian Marcy Norton notes that the, "common experience of the ocean—in the New World immersed in the thoroughly mestizo culture of Creoles, which they could not and did not completely leave behind when they returned to the Old World."³³ This inherently *criollo* understanding of self-identity was key to the adoption of the leaf in Europe and is further emphasized by their personal usage of tobacco rather than the exportation of the herb with an entrepreneurial agenda, as shown by Norton's analysis of import records. While this reveals only a minor step towards tobacco's adoption as a major commodity in the late sixteenth century, it does, however, undergird *nicotiana*'s role within Creole identity formation in the colonial Spanish Americas, as it was understood there and abroad.

New Spanish factories solely dedicated to the production of tobacco products did not arise until the mid-eighteenth century.³⁴ Rather, the Spanish Crown established two main centers: Seville as the distribution and export center, and Cuba as the main raw material supplier. Snuff, a popular method to consume tobacco, was produced in the Seville factory and was the only type of powder that was allowed to be sold in the Indies. Despite the different strains of tobacco available for cultivation, Cuban tobacco was harvested to produce cigarettes and snuff, quickly becoming favored for its flavor, higher price point, and prestige by European consumers, rivaled only by Virginian tobacco.³⁵ Brazilian tobacco or “Brazil leaf”, consumed primarily by chewing, was the only exception to this monopoly. However, due to the high prices established by the monopolies of both the Spanish and Portuguese Crowns, black markets became another means of purchasing the popular herb. In fact, the Portuguese Crown becoming increasingly concerned about illicit production established regional superintendents to investigate contraband that even resulted in the searching of monasteries, convents, and elite households.³⁶

This industry was co-opted as a formal imperial trade business in 1636 by the Hapsburgs and quickly grew as a state monopoly from 1717–1783 throughout colonial Latin America, although the specifics of the interworking of the organizational and administrative structure would vary on the local and state level. In Mexico, the Spanish empire gradually took over all the components of the domestic tobacco trade, including the purchasing of tobacco leaves, the production of *puros* (cigars) and *cigarros* (cigarettes) in state-managed manufactories, and the promotion of tobacco products in government-licensed stores throughout the colonies.³⁷ By the 1790s, the tobacco monopoly (along with silver mining and textile production) was one of the largest organized industries in New Spain, employing nearly 20,000 people.

Tobacco revenues, which accounted for nearly one-fifth of total state revenues at the height of cigarette and cigar production, were second only to the silver tithe as the most important source of government revenue and distributed in six-state managed factories, one of those located in Mexico City. *Dama con rebozo*, while painted in the earlier years of the eighteenth century, references this blossoming commercial enterprise and even foreshadows the future mechanization, production, and marketing of the tobacco industry in colonial Mexico. *Dama con rebozo* recasts a highly organized and lucrative state-sponsored commodity as a leisurely act of individual consumption.

Forms of Tobacco Consumption

Despite its varied forms, tobacco in its powder and cigarette forms quickly became the most popular modes of ingestion in Europe. The consumption of cigars and cigarettes was the most widespread habit enjoyed by all members of the Spanish colonial society. However, snuff was never produced as a single commodity due to its low profitability in Mexico both in local and exported consumption but was sold in tandem with cigars and cigarettes. Due to the small production, export, and high cost of both *rapé* (snuff) and *tabaco de polvo* (powdered tobacco), these kinds of tobacco were enjoyed by elite members of colonial society both locally and abroad.³⁸

In sixteenth-century Spain, powdered tobacco was moistened with orange flower water to enhance its flavor profile, but that was later abandoned in the following century as the natural

aroma of the tobacco leaf became favored.³⁹ The preparation method of incorporating additives could have been adopted from the Indigenous methods of snuff preparation as previously mentioned. Drawing influence from France, snuff, a form of powdered tobacco comprised of coarser leaves, quickly replaced powder as the more fashionable mode of tobacco ingestion in Europe by the eighteenth century.⁴⁰ However, in the Americas preference laid in smoking tobacco. The seventeenth century is marked by the growing popularity of tobacco usage, specifically through the avenue of smoking, due to expanding global networks and affordability of the herb, which allowed for members of all socioeconomic classes to enjoy this vice. Despite the differing modes of *nicotiana* ingestion, it was largely known that American leaves were preferred, even though tobacco production's worldwide spread to places such as Europe, Africa, and Asia, and specifically, most favored were those from Spanish and Portuguese colonies.

To distinguish themselves from the everyday and lowbrow convention of smoking tobacco, European aristocrats preferred inhaling snuff. While this type of tobacco consumption allowed for class distinction, it also served the practical purpose of avoiding the “egregious indecency of expelling smoke through the nose or mouth,” circumventing the scent sticking to one’s clothes.⁴¹ In fact, taking snuff formed part of the eighteenth- and early nineteenth centuries’ customs and fashions in courtly environments. A snuffbox would typically hold a day’s ration of tobacco and carrying such an object on your person was seen as a fashionable practice. Young elite women would inhale small amounts of snuff that would cause them to sneeze and then “discreetly cover their noses with ornately embroidered handkerchiefs trimmed with imported lace from Flanders or Lorraine” to further display their lavish textiles and draw attention to themselves.⁴² Other forms of tobacco consumption included smoking *cigarillos* or thin cigarettes made of rolled rice paper and stored in elegant metal cases. Women would use silver pincettes to keep their fingers clear of nicotine stains, and often essential oils would be disseminated within rooms to mask burnt tobacco odor. Thus, by opting for snuff consumption, women retained both the status marker of consuming the herb but were devoid of any foul odors. To contain the precious product, these small boxes became themselves jewels. Constructed out of gold, porcelain, or inlaid stones, most containers were embellished with fine and delicate decoration. These types of pieces, due to their high value, were often used as diplomatic gifts. In Rodríguez Juárez’ painting, the snuffbox retains its status as a luxury object holding a precious commodity. Conversely, the designation of its affluent status works to erase all notions of labor in the cultivation process of tobacco and their subsequent manufacture for the market.

Labor and Gender within the Tobacco Industry

Women and commodities—in this case, tobacco—were framed as American (New Spanish) products in early modern ethnographic images such as *Dama con Rebozo*, where the inclusion of such American products demonstrated a larger discourse of the wealth that these Spanish colonies could produce. Their incorporation within ethnographic works, thus, shifts from functioning as a representation of a specific social hierarchical status or ethnicity indicator, serving as a rhetorical tool to speak about “New World” origins. Thus, in what follows I discuss the connection between a female laboring body and the mechanics of tobacco’s production processes to demonstrate this tie between labor and commoditization.

When touching on the notion of labor, it is necessary to understand how the human body functioned within the tobacco industry in colonial Mexico—both as a working and gendered one. For women in the colonial period, there were many professions dedicated exclusively to them. Mostly working in the food or textile sectors, women could hold a bevy of job titles such as candy makers, bakers, innkeepers, cooks, chocolate vendors, threaders, weavers, and seamstresses. Especially seen in larger cities such as Mexico City, Puebla, Guadalajara, and Querétaro, three main industrial categories arose: *talleres caseros* (domestic or home workshops), private workshops, and factories.⁴³ *Talleres caseros*, one of the oldest industrial models, presented women with a space to negotiate their agency and power. By working at home, women could engage in childcare while simultaneously focusing attention on their work. Additionally, this communal environment granted their offspring the opportunity to observe their guardians, and by extension learn the trade that awaited them in years to come. In domestic workshops, the value of strong familial ties is demonstrated through their organization. Occupying only a section of the home, the chosen industry would incorporate all or the majority of the family members. The collective household was also held responsible for the investment of appropriate tools, starting capital, and output of products, thereby tying their trade's fiscal stakes with familial responsibilities.⁴⁴

In private workshops, while still primarily including family members, labor also extended to employed personnel including craftspeople, apprentices, and enslaved laborers. Both apprentices and enslaved workers were provided residence, technical training, and religious education in exchange for their labor.⁴⁵ Up until 1774, before the centralization of production factories and the ban of independent cigarette and cigar workshops, familial or agriculturally based workshop environments manufactured cigarettes. In 1774, in the neighborhood of Tepito near the chapel of Santa Catarina, Mexico City's first tobacco factory opened operations. To the city's *Criollo*, *Mestizo*, and *Indigenous* populations, the location of the *Real Fábrica de Puros y Cigarros Tabacos* resulted in a large percentage of their employment in factory work, thereby shifting from a familial and domestic model of production to a state sponsored and organized one.⁴⁶ Despite the transition of labor environments away from domestic interiors to the establishment of tobacco factories, women continued to hold vital roles in cigarette and cigar production. Susan Deans-Smith observes that the management of *cigarrerías* (private tobacco shops) and the technique of cigarette rolling continues to be considered a woman's occupation. This presents a crucial question on the implications of gendering this career. In the early eighteenth century, around the date of the completion of *Dama con Rebozo*, women most likely still labored in domestic workshop spaces rather than factory environments. However, this does foreshadow the booming business of *puros* and *cigarros* that later reached its peak in the late half of the eighteenth century. In fact, *cigarrerías* would become commonplace in Mexico City, but also regionally in Oaxaca, Guadalajara, and Valladolid, among others. Compiled from various surveys of Mexico's *cigarrerías*, Deans-Smith uncovered census data that further emphasized the relegation of the tobacco trade as a woman's profession during the height of the Bourbon tobacco monopoly. Deans-Smith notes that typically tobacco workshops largely employed women rather than men, and in one exceptional case in Mexico City all thirty-one laborers were women.⁴⁷ Many wives, widows, and/or daughters inherited the trade, confirming the industry's familial ties and generational continuity. The young woman in this portrait may allude to her participation in a family run workshop, or perhaps she serves as a stand-in for the broader representation of rolling tobacco as a woman's vocation.

In *Dama con rebozo* the positioning of her hands also recalls the gestures and tactility involved in the laborious process of rolling cigars and cigarettes. Hands poised in a pinching position around the snuffbox demonstrate a striking resemblance to the process of rolling tobacco. For, if one were to revise this portrait painting and swap out the snuffbox for loose tobacco and rolling papers, there would be very little readjustment needed on the woman's fingers. The miniature element of the snuffbox and its painted social landscape becomes even more evident as well through close consideration of the vessel paired with the woman's hand. It evokes an almost sensual feel and utilizes the hand as a measurement of the miniature.

Dama con Rebozo, therefore, collapses the process of making into one singular moment as well. For the erasure of a women's laboring body in this portrait painting to work, harmony between the body and snuff's seduction is essential. The woman, fashionably dressed, holds authority over the commodity. She, at any moment, can close the container, put it in her pocket or a handbag, and walk away. As a result, she has complete power over the vessel and portrays it as a product and emblem of imperialism. Even the woman's gaze focuses intently on the contents of the snuffbox rather than staring at the viewer, again emphasizing the intimate and personal connection between the woman and tobacco. *Dama con rebozo* recalls the visual vocabulary of a gendered and laboring body that reflects how the tobacco networks of production and consumption functioned in colonial Mexico.

The positioning of women as a form of commodity themselves through their labor closely echoes that of the treatment of tobacco. In *Dama con Rebozo* the inclusion of both a female holder of tobacco and the holdings of snuff in a singular ethnographic work demonstrates the wealth of products that the Spanish Americas could produce. Thus, while the young woman and the snuff function to illustrate to the viewer a person of a specific social hierarchical status or ethnicity, the two commodities also serve as a display of European's understanding of their origins of the "New World." Additionally, the snuffbox embellished with an illustration of an Indigenous matrimonial scene further emphasizes this connection to the Indigenous inhabitants of the Spanish Americas thereby almost authenticating the *blanca criolla's* consumption of such a commodity.

This examination of Rodríguez Juárez's eighteenth-century work *Dama con rebozo* makes visible its vital associations to the dynamics of identity construction and tobacco's modes of circulation and consumption in colonial Mexico. Tracing this analysis of the young woman to represent a "type" of person specifically that of a *criolla* brings into focus how certain physiognomic, sartorial, and material objects aid in crafting identity. *Dama con Rebozo* is interpreted in relation to the genre of *casta* paintings, and thereby the represented material elements demonstrate an association to a specific social class or ethnicity. As noted, the intricacies of race, ethnicity, or class are not necessarily revealed through elements of dress or consumption of certain substances, for actual racial categories are more fluid and flexible. The woman, however, can be situated in the proximity of the identity of a *blanca criolla*.

This essay turns to the representation of the snuffbox and the holdings of snuff within the vessel. Functioning as a springboard, the reach of tobacco's commodity networks, its forms of consumption, and associations with gendered labor were analyzed to further understand how the

herb was socially understood and how it operated. By understanding how snuff was ingested by members of different hierarchical classes, it is shown that the woman in *Dama con Rebozo* most closely aligns as belonging to that of an upper-class consumer of snuff. Shifting the analysis to interrogate the processes of tobacco production, it is revealed that lower-class women held prominent roles in the manufacture of *nicotiana* goods. These seemingly disparate sections demonstrate that the presentation of both laboring women and tobacco function as a form of American products, especially when understood within the larger discourse and history of early modern ethnographic works in the Spanish America.

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¹ Employed by scholars such as Claire Fargo, Rebecca Parkker-Brienen, and Stephanie Leitch, the term ‘ethnographic portrait’ refers to a process of creating visual representations of people that operate within an established framework of racial hierarchy seen in oral, textual, and visual sources. Claire Fargo, “The Face of the Other: The Particular versus the Individual,” *Boletim Do Museu Paraense Emilio Goeldi. Ciências Humanas* 22, no. 10 (2017): 101–26; Stephanie Leitch, *Mapping Ethnography in Early Modern Germany: New Worlds in Print Culture*, History of Text Technologies (Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); Rebecca Parker Brienen, *Visions of Savage Paradise: Albert Eckout, Court Painter in Colonial Dutch Brazil* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006).

² This is a shortened version of María Carrillo Marquina’s qualifying master’s paper. The master’s paper grew out of a seminar paper titled “The Theories and Methods of Material Culture Practices.” The original seminar paper considered a variety of material culture studies methods to approach Juan Rodríguez Juárez’s *Dama con Rebozo*, including issues of scale, tactility, and the relationship to social unions of both the tobacco substance and their containers. Due to this master’s paper’s scope, these methodologies are not included, however, they do point for additional entry ways into thinking about material culture in colonial Mexico.

³ Ilona Katzew et al., eds., *Painted in Mexico, 1700-1790: Pinxit Mexici* (Los Angeles, California: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 2017), 307-308. While this representation is not widely common, some other works that represent Indigenous matrimonial scenes include: anonymous, *Biombo con desposorio de indios y palo volador*, about 1660-1680, Los Angeles County Museum of Art; anonymous, *Biombo de Volador*, about 1660-1690, Museo de America, Madrid; Juan Rodríguez Juárez, *Desposorio de indios*, Museo de América, Madrid; anonymous, *Biombo con pasea de la Viga y el pueblo de Iztacalco*, about 1750, private collection, Mexico; Joaquín Antonio “Origen, costumbres y estado presente de mexicanos y philipinos” (1763), The Hispanic Society of New York, ms. Hc.363-950, 1-2.

⁴ Susan Stewart, “Miniature,” in *On Longing* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), 44.

⁵ María Elena Martínez, “The Language, Genealogy and Classification of ‘Race’ in Colonial Mexico,” in *Race and Classification: The Case of Mexican America* (California: Stanford University Press, 2009), 135.

⁶ Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions: Limpieza de Sangre, Religion, and Gender in Colonial Mexico* (Stanford University Press, 2008), 42–60, 135–140.

⁷ As recent as 2002, the painting *Dama con Rebozo* remained unattributed to any artist and was analyzed as a portrait of an everyday woman. Gustavo Curiel and Antonio Rubial, “Los espejos de lo propio: ritos públicos y usos privados en la pintura virreinal,” in *Pintura y vida cotidiana en México: Siglos XVII-XX* (Mexico: Fomento Cultural Banaex, Fundacio Caixa de Girona, Fundación el Monte, 2002), 73.

⁸ Ethnographic works emerged in Europe during the sixteenth century, typically included in illustrated manuscripts and maps depicting different cultural types based on costume and attributes of physiognomy. As the genre grew, these representations also featured typical plants, animals, landscapes, and activities associated with peoples and regions around the world and were interpreted as objective and scientific forms of research. As previously discussed by scholars such as Mary Louise Pratt and Peter Hulme, descriptions alongside representations of non-Europeans with flora and fauna promoted European imperialism and colonizing endeavors. Functioning as a form of amusement, for scientific knowledge circulation, or to quell European audiences’ anxieties about racial mixing, these representations circulated broadly in painted and printed forms. The viewers of such images accepted them as empirical. Claire Fargo, “The Face of the Other: The Particular versus the Individual,” *Boletim do Museu Paraense Emilio Goeldi. Ciências Humanas* 22, no. 10 (2017): 101–26; Stephanie Leitch, *Mapping Ethnography in Early Modern Germany: New Worlds in Print Culture*, History of Text Technologies (Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); Rebecca Parker Brienen, *Visions of Savage Paradise: Albert Eckout, Court Painter in Colonial Dutch Brazil* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006).

⁹ Leitch, *Mapping Ethnography in Early Modern Germany*, 65.

¹⁰ As Fargo reminds us, the term ‘ethnography’ emerged in the eighteenth century to define a “graphic or written representation of the culture of a group [and] therefore, the term itself is a product of the same history and cannot be used to underpin it.” Fargo, “The Face of the Other: The Particular versus the Individual,” 103.

¹¹ Peter Hulme, *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean, 1492-1797* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982); Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992).

¹² Extensive research of casta works has been done by many scholars including, Ilona Katzew, *Casta Painting: Images of Race in Eighteenth-Century Mexico* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004); María Concepción García Saiz, *Las castas mexicanas: un género pictórico americano*, 1989; Magali Marie Carrera, *Imagining Identity in New Spain: Race, Lineage, and the Colonial Body in Portraiture and Casta Paintings*, 1st ed,

Joe R. and Teresa Lozano Long Series in Latin American and Latino Art and Culture (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003); Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions: Limpieza de Sangre, Religion, and Gender in Colonial Mexico*; Susan Deans-Smith, "Creating the Colonial Subject: Casta Paintings, Collectors, and Critics in Eighteenth-Century Mexico and Spain," *Colonial Latin American Review* 14, no. 2 (December 2005): 169–204.

¹³ Carrera, *Imagining Identity in New Spain*, 66.

¹⁴ Rodríguez Juárez produced two sets of *casta* paintings, one completed in 1715 and the other finished in 1725. He depicts differences in habits and costumes of individuals of distinct origins and their offspring.

¹⁵ García Saiz, *Las Castas Mexicanas: Un Genero Pictorico Americano*, 51.

¹⁶ Ilona Katzew, "The Rise of Casta Paintings: Exoticism and Creole Pride, 1711-1760," in *Casta Painting: Images of Race in Eighteenth-Century Mexico* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004), 71.

¹⁷ Elena Martínez describes the male counterpart, *Design of a Mulatto*, as holding up tobacco to his nose, clearly enjoying the scent. Alongside the man is a young boy who holds a wooden horse in one hand and a streamer in the other. For reproductions of the images, see the following pages in Ilona Katzew's text. Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions: Limpieza de Sangre, Religion, and Gender in Colonial Mexico*, 231; Katzew, *Casta Painting: Images of Race in Eighteenth-Century Mexico*, 10–15.

¹⁸ Córdova and Farago, "Casta Paintings and Self-Fashioning Artists in New Spain," 135.

¹⁹ The striking similarities between the woman in *Dama con Rebozo* and those of the representations of Marian figures by Juan Rodríguez Juárez are particularly evident in two selected examples: *The Virgin of the Carmen with Saint Teresa and Saint John of the Cross*, about 1700, Museo Nacional de Arte, and *Virgin and Child*, about 1700, Philadelphia Art Museum. The modeling of *Dama con Rebozo*'s facial features such as her slender nose, delicate eyebrows, and downward glance mimic that of the aforementioned Marian examples.

²⁰ A shortened version of this word is referred to as a *pañó*. Gámez Martínez distinguishes different forms of head coverings. She notes distinct attributes that constitute an *alfarda*, *mantilla*, *toca*, and a *velo*. She identifies an *alfarda* in the broadest of terms noting that this is a decoration wore by women on their heads. A *mantilla*, on the other hand, is a fabric used to cover the hair that extends from the head down to the woman's waist. Whereas a *toca* is a decorative head covering in the form of a veil. For more details, see Ana Paulina Gámez Martínez, "El rebozo, estudio historiográfico, origen y uso" (Master's Thesis, Maestría en Historia del Arte, México, D.F., Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2009).

²¹ Martha Sandoval Villegas, "Un desposorio de indios y una prenda nacional: La dama con rebozo, española de Indias, Representación del criollismo novohispano," in *Apariencias de persuasión: construyendo significados en el arte*, ed. Concepción de la Peña Velasco and María Albaladejo Martínez (Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, Servicio de Publicaciones, 2012), 520–21.

²² James Middleton, "Reading Dress in New Spanish Portraiture," in *New England/New Spain: Portraiture in the Colonial Americas, 1492-1850* (Denver: Denver Mayer Center for Pre-Columbian and Spanish Colonial Art at the Denver Art Museum, 2014), 117.

²³ Gustavo Curiel, "Customs, Conventions, and Daily Rituals among the Elites of New Spain: The Evidence from Material Culture," in *The Grandeur of Viceregal Mexico: Treasures from the Museo Franz Mayer* (Houston: Museum of Fine Arts, 2002), 125.

²⁴ The mandate for women to cover their heads is outlined in the first letter of Paul to the Corinthians and later redacted through a papal bull by Pope Linus. Antonio de León Pinelo, "Velos antiguos y modernos en los rostros de las mujeres: sus conveniencias y daños," ed. Enrique Suárez Figaredo, *Universitat de València, Lemir* 12 (2009): 328.

²⁵ Consider, for example, Juan Rodríguez Juárez's *De español y mulata, produce morisca* from both the 1715 and 1725 set. Mulatta women, while depicted within different perspectives and garments, both cover their hair with a headscarf that remains relatively the same. Here, the headscarf is designed with a contrast of red and white elaborate and geometric threading patterns. In the 1715 panel, its design is comprised of red diamonds featuring the silhouettes of various animals bordered by zigzagging patterns. Whereas the later panel discards the inclusion of critters and focuses on the diamond patterning exclusively.

²⁶ Agustín de Vetancurt, *Tratado de la Ciudad de México en el siglo XVIII (1690-1780): tres crónicas* (Mexico: Consejo Nacional para la Cultural y las Artes, 1990), 46–47.

²⁷ Mia Bagneris, "Reimagining Race, Class, and Identity in the New World," in *Behind Closed Doors: Art in the Spanish American Home, 1492-1898* (New York: The Monacelli Press, 2013), 168.

²⁸ Carrera, *Imagining Identity in New Spain*, 12.

²⁹ Rebecca Earle, "'Two Pairs of Pink Satin Shoes!!' Race, Clothing and Identity in the Americas (17th-19th Centuries)," *History Workshop Journal* 52 (Autumn 2001): 187.

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- ³⁰ The association of tobacco consumption, specifically snuff, as a leisurely activity appears not only in Rodríguez Juárez's works but also repeats in other castas of the time such as José de Ibarra's 1725 *De castizo y española, española* panel.
- ³¹ Joel Palka, "Real Tobacco for Real People: Nicotine and Lacandon Maya Trade," in *Substance & Seduction: Ingested Commodities in Early Modern Mesoamerica* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2017), 105.
- ³² As Marcy Norton notes, tobacco made sporadic appearances in Europe around the 1570s; the herb was mentioned by Italian herbalist Pietro Mattioli under the name "Hyoscyamus," documented by Seville physician Nicolás Monardes, and notated alongside an engraving of the *Nicotiana* plant by Dutch herbalist Matthias de L'Orbel. Laura Náter, "Colonial Tobacco: Key Commodity of the Spanish Empire, 1500-1800," in *From Silver to Cocaine* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2006), 93. Marcy Norton, *Sacred Gifts, Profane, Pleasures: A History of Tobacco and Chocolate in the Atlantic World* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008), 102-5.
- ³³ Norton, *Sacred Gifts, Profane, Pleasures*, 147-148. See also, Auke Jacobs, *Los movimientos migratorios entre Castilla e Hispanoamérica durante el reinado de Felipe III, 1598-1621* (Atlanta: Rodopi, 1995), 160.
- ³⁴ Pilar Gonzalblo Aizpuru, "Espacio laboral y vida en familia: las mujeres en la Real Fábrica de Tabacos de la Ciudad de México," in *Espacios en la historia: invención y transformación de los espacios sociales* (Mexico City: El Colegio de México, 2014), 242.
- ³⁵ Náter, "The Spanish Empire and Cuban Tobacco during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," 254-59.
- ³⁶ Carl Hanson, "Monopoly and Contraband in the Portuguese Tobacco Trade, 1624-1702," *Luso-Brazilian Review* 19, no. 2 (1982): 154.
- ³⁷ Susan Deans-Smith, *Bureaucrats, Planters, and Workers: The Making of the Tobacco Monopoly in Bourbon Mexico* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992), xii-xiii, 7.
- ³⁸ Deans-Smith, 12.
- ³⁹ Laura Náter, "Colonial Tobacco: Key Commodity of the Spanish Empire, 1500-1800," in *From Silver to Cocaine* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2006), 94.
- ⁴⁰ Náter, 94.
- ⁴¹ Alexandra Ward, "Boxing Venus: Cowrie Shell Snuff Boxes in The British Empire, 1680-1800" (Thesis, Master of Arts in American Material Culture, University of Delaware Winterthur Program, 2017), 29.
- ⁴² Curiel, "Customs, Conventions, and Daily Rituals among the Elites of New Spain," 32.
- ⁴³ Aizpuru does mention that working in textile workshops was not a desired profession due to the physical labor coupled with poor pay. Gonzalblo Aizpuru, "Espacio laboral y vida en familia," 239.
- ⁴⁴ Carmen Imelda González Gómez, *El tabaco virreinal: monopolio de una costumbre* (Querétaro: Universidad Autónoma de Querétaro, 2002), 24-25.
- ⁴⁵ Gustavo Curiel et al., *Pintura y vida cotidiana en México: siglos XVII-XX* (Mexico: Fomento Cultural Banaex, Fundació Caixa de Girona, Fundación el Monte, 2002), 79.
- ⁴⁶ Gonzalblo Aizpuru, "Espacio laboral y vida en familia," 241-42.
- ⁴⁷ The women who held these positions were typically those who were the wives and children of the licensed proprietors. Due to the coding of *cigarreros* as a woman's occupation, many state tobacco shops also extended licenses to widows, single women, and the elderly. Deans-Smith, *Bureaucrats, Planters, and Workers: The Making of the Tobacco Monopoly in Bourbon Mexico*, 13, 30