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RETRATOS DE LAS CRIOLLAS: FASHIONING AN IDENTITY IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY BOURBON NEW SPAIN AND PERU

A Thesis
by
DANIEL F. YMBONG

Submitted to the Graduate College of
The University of Texas Rio Grande Valley
In Partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS INTERDISCIPLINARY STUDIES

May 2019

Major Subject: Art History

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DANIEL F.YMBONG

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May 2019

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ABSTRACT

Ymbong, Daniel F., Los Retratos de las Criollas: Fashioning an Identity in Eighteenth-Century Bourbon New Spain and Peru. Master of Arts Interdisciplinary Studies (MAIS), May 2019, 58 pp., 22 figures, references, 38 titles.

This master's thesis will examine the iconographies of elite Creole women in Bourbon eighteenth-century New Spain and Peru. This paper is a comparative study of the colonial regal portraits of elite Creole women with emphasis on preferences in: dress, hair, and accessories.

Much of the pictorial format is informed by European styles and decorum, that is the Spanish and Italian Renaissance in materiality. The prevailing silhouettes dictated by the French Bourbons are adapted, but strategically morphed an identity for the colonial elites, as there were different preferences for colors, accessories, and hair.

DEDICATION

The completion of master's studies would not be possible without the unconditional love and financial support off my family. Many thanks to my mother, Lanita Ymbong, my father, Nilo Ymbong, and siblings Angeli and Paolo for understanding and encouraging me to accomplish this degree. Thank you for your undying love and patience.

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I am deeply thankful to Dr. Katherine McAllen, chair of my master's committee, for all her mentoring, advice, and willingness to provide opportunities. Thank you for introducing me to all the great scholars and curators of the field, attending symposia, writing recommendation letters, the internship at the San Antonio Museum of Art, and the continuous support in editing this paper and fulfilling this degree plan with utter positivity.

I would also like to thank my co-advisor Dr. Robert Bradley for encouraging Dr. Katherine McAllen in nominating me for the prestigious Archer Fellowship. Thank you for giving me the opportunity of a lifetime to study in D.C. and intern at the National Gallery of Art.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Under the rule of the French Bourbons, eighteenth-century New Spain ushered a resurgence of newfound wealth, reforms, and innovations, in the visual arts. New Spain's existing riches in mining gold, silver, and exotic species of flora and fauna, contributed to greater affluence and involvement in the international luxury trades between the Trans-Atlantic and Trans-Pacific routes via the Manila Galleon. Cargos sailed from the ports of Manila to Acapulco, overflowing with the finest of raw materials and products: porcelain, lacquer furnishings, and ivory from China, textiles such as gauzes, velvets, Cantonese crepes, brocades, printed silks, taffetas, damasks, silk stockings, silk shawls, silk bedcoverings, Japanese kimonos, tapestries, handkerchiefs, napkins, and rugs. The Spanish also acquired pearls and assorted semi-precious stones such as emeralds and cotton from trade on the Malabar and Coromandel Coasts of India, also buying diamonds from Ceylon, wool carpets from Persia, and gold from the Philippines.[1]

The Creoles held premiere access to such luxury goods, handpicking and distributing portions first in Acapulco, then Mexico City, and Veracruz. From Veracruz, the remainder of the luxury goods made way to Cadiz, Spain.[2]

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[1] Abby Sue Fisher, "Manila Galleon Trade Textiles: Cross-Cultural Influences on New World Dress" (1988). Textile Society of America Symposium Proceedings. 636. http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/tsaconf/636

[2] 1 William L. Schurtz, Manila Galleon. (New York: E.P. Dutton and Co., lnc.,1939).

All such newfound wealth and firsthand access to the luxury goods of Asia along with Bourbon reform ushered in great demands and diversity for the visual arts in the eighteenth century, as portraiture and dress developed unique localized traits in each viceroyalty. At this time, elite Creole women, both secular and religious, displayed their power in both public and private venues, as they commissioned portraits that presented themselves as noble, cultured individuals. High-status *Criollas* thus fashioned new genres in painting and costume to emphasize the materiality of newfound wealth and the virtues expected of their social positions. This paper will examine the overt and nuanced iconographies captured in portraiture, depicting the pictorial style and dress exhibited in the official state portraits of elite Creole women, which were localized and unique eighteenth-century Bourbon Mexico with comparisons between South America.

The path towards a revisionist rediscovery of New Spanish art to appreciate its global connections begins with the study of the Manila Galleon. William L. Schurtz studied the luxury commodities of the Manila Galleon in 1939.[3] In 1960, Pablo Guzmán examined the reciprocal geographical influences of the Trans-Pacific Galleon Trade in the seventeenth century in his dissertation[4]. Mary Ellen Roach and Joanne Bubolz Eicher

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[3] William L. Schurtz, Manila Galleon. (New York: E.P. Dutton and Co., lnc.,1939).

[4] Guzman-Rivas, "Reciprocal Geographical Influences of the Trans-Pacific Galleon Trade." (PhD diss., University of Texas, 1960).

took note of the multicultural hybridity of dress and adornment from an anthropological lens in 1964.[5]

Abby Sue Fisher, in a paper given at a symposium for the Textile Society of America, combined the research focuses of Schurtz, Guzmán, Roach and Eicher, to study the cross influences of new world dress in Mexico and highland Guatemala utilizing trade as a barometer for diffusion.[6] In regards to the study of daily life in New Spain, is inclusive of curator Donna Pierce, who studied the illustrious imperial splendor of colonial daily life covering a time span between 1521-1821 in her 2004 essay for *Painting a New World*. Pierce uncovered dairies of vendors adorned in pearls, a cocoa addictions of noble ladies in *San Cristóbal de las Casas* (Chiapas), the rituals of the elite dressed in their finest of garments to *paso* in the afternoons for social hour and *merienda*, or the literary feminist icon *Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz* who amassed a collection of 4,000 books and adorned her fingers with jewels.[7] John Smith and Susan Dean-Smith analyzed the Humanist qualities of Miguel Cabrera's portrait of *Sor Juana de la Cruz*, hidden

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[5] Mary Ellen Roach and Joanne Bubolz Eicher, eds. Dress Adornment and the Social Order. (New York: John Wiley & Sons, lnc.)1965, and Abby Sue Fisher, "European Influences on Clothing Traditions in Highland Guatemala" (MA Thesis, California State University, 1983).

[6] Abby Sue Fisher, "Manila Galleon Trade Textiles: Cross-Cultural Influences on New World Dress" (1988). Textile Society of America Symposium Proceedings. 636. http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/tsaconf/636

[7] Donna Pierce, "At the Crossroads: Cultural Confluence and Daily Life in Mexico, 1521-1821." In Painting a New World Mexican Art and Life 1521-1821, 25-46. (Denver, Colorado: Frederick and Jan Mayer Center for Pre-Columbian and Spanish Colonial Art at the Denver Art Museum, 2004).

codes or puzzles in the presentation of book titles and numbers at the backdrop of the painting. This paper will also analyze the presentation of specific objects, decorum of dress, and other insignias that appear in elite Creole women's portraits, as visual projectiles of identity, power, good taste, learned attributes, and commemoration.

James Córdova's book monumentally researched the iconographies and provenance of crowned nun portraits in Bourbon Mexico, its imperial decadence observed by specific orders: Conceptionists, Dominicans, Urbanist Franciscans, and Jeronymites.[8] As Cristina Cruz Gonzáles in 2017 for the Art Bulletin proposed questions of gender to reveal that nuns carried the weight of both the Virgin Mary and Christ thru the austere portraits of the Carmelites and Capuchins, as brides of Christ crucified.

Furthermore pertinent to Bourbon Mexico and the history of colonial Mexico as whole, are the prose examinations of race, *limpieza de sangre*, and the seeds of Creole pride. María Elena Martínez in 2011 wrote about the genealogical fictions on *limpieza de sangre* in regards to religion and gender, in terms of purchasing titles and power via the court and clergy. Mark Burkholder's book in 2013, highlights the privileges and conflicts between the Creoles and Peninsulars, treatises and paintings revealed. As Illona Katsew focused on race in her great compendium on *casta painting* in Bourbon eighteenth-century Mexico in 2004. Katsew focused on the presentation of costumes, the complex taxonomy of racial names, and iconographies understandable for a

[8] James M. Córdova, *The Art of Professing in Bourbon Mexico: Crowned-nun Portraits and Reform in the Convent*. (Austin (Tex.): University of Texas Press, 2014).

contemporary audience. Anne Twinam's book in 2007 uncovered the complex legalities of purchasing, changing, and inheriting titles in race, birth origins, hierarchy in legitimacy, and *limpieza de sangre*. Luisa Elena Alcalá's dissertation focused the formation of Creole identity, as Magali Carrera researched the imagined identities of race and lineage in both portraits and *casta* paintings in *Imagining Identity in New Spain: Race, Lineage, and the Colonial Body in Portraiture and Casta Paintings*.

The most significant and recent scholarship in regards to New Spanish portraiture and dress are attributed to the scholarship of James Middleton's symposium essay.[9] Middleton observes the localized silhouettes of elite Creole women, the favored open-robe allotted for state portraits and refers to the phenomena as "sartorial independence" or fashion uniquely different from Europe. His contributions cement further examinations on New Spanish dress inclusive of menswear on the folding screen attributed Miguel Cabrera's *Folding Screen with Fête Galante and Musicians* in conversation with Illona Katsew. The conversation is inclusive of works in the "Painted in Mexico, 1700-1790: Pinxit Mexici" Exhibition. Furthermore, co-curator Rachel Kaplan builds upon Middleton's expertise in her 2018 essay on the elite female and male Creole portraits for "Painted in Mexico". Kaplan emphasizes the diffusion of Japanese floral motifs and mismatched combinations in Portrait of a Man with Clocks, or the crescent shaped beauty marks of the exhibits poster girl *Doña Maria Tomasa Durán*

[9]James Middleton, "Reading Dress in New Spanish Portraiture Clothing the Mexican Elite, circa 1695-1805," ed. Donna Pierce. In *New England/New Spain Portraiture in the Colonial Americas, 1492-1850*, 101-46. (Denver Art Museum, 2016).

López de Cárdenas. Kaplan remarkably emphasizes the material presentation of endless loose pearls in Ignacio María Barreda's *Portrait of Doña Juana María Romero.* Paula Mues in her 2018 symposium paper investigates the portrait's backstory of the fashioned fake coat of arms, pedigree newly inherited and purchased. Added to the recent and celebratory research and exhibitions in Bourbon Mexico appears *San Antonio 1718*. Ray Hernàndez-Durán's contributing essay to the exhibition, analyzes the politics and presentation of portraits in Bourbon Mexico, the portraits as literal fashioned avatars to exude order, virtue, and power.

This paper will build upon the existing research of these scholars, closely analyzing the nuanced localized iconographies of dress in the portraiture of elite Creole women. The uniqueness of these nuanced iconographies appear in the choice of: favored color pallet of bright primary colors in dress, printed silks with Asian motifs, jewelry combinations, hair accessories and ornamentation, and a preference for indoor settings. Chapter 1: The European Influence, will focus on the European origins in portraiture and dress, based on Spanish (Goya), French (Marie Antoinette and Madame de Pompadour), and Italian models. Chapter 2: A Painted Identity in New Spain will discuss the decorum and Asian influence of portraiture and dress specific to elite Creole women in New Spain. The last chapter: Portraits of Viceregal Peru will examine the iconographies of Peruvian dress, hair, and accessories in the following case studies: of *Doña Rosa de Salazar y Gabiño* and *Doña María de Rivera*.

In this paper, I will attempt to build upon the existing works of art historians in the field, interlinking fashion history and traditional painting in analyzing elite Creole women's portraits. New Spanish women fashioned new styles different from the dominant French fashions, whilst still promoting their European lineage. These new styles were frowned upon by their European counterparts, but indeed revolutionary and innovative at large. This paper aspires to give agency to elite Creole women, as arbiters of fashion, setting the trends on a global scale given the Asian influence and premiere access to fine silks.

Proudly European

By the 18th century, the viceroyalty of New Spain saw a resurgence of newfound wealth, reforms, innovations, and exceptions through Bourbon rule. New Spain's wealth in gold, silver, and exotic species of flora and fauna contributed to greater wealth and involvement in international luxury trades between the Trans-Atlantic and Trans-Pacific routes via the Manila Galleon. The Manila Galleon allotted specific privileges to Creoles, premiere access to fine silks from Japan, lacquer furnishings from China, and ivories from India and North Africa[10]. All such existing riches and contributing newfound wealth along with Bourbon reform ushered in great demands in the visual arts such as painting. Because of Mexico's newfound affluence and access to fine materials via the Manila Galleon, Creole women, both secular and religious, enjoyed privileges in power and materiality, thus formulated an identity through the display of costume creating new styles depicted in painting.

[10] Dennis Carr, Gauvin A. Bailey, Timothy Brook, Mitchell Codding, Karina Corrigan, and Donna Pierce. *Made in the Americas: The New World Discovers Asia*. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 2015.

Because of Mexico's newfound affluence and access to fine materials via the Manila Galle on, Creole women, both secular and religious, enjoyed privileges in power and materiality, thus formulated an identity through the display of costume creating new styles depicted in painting. This chapter will outline the European influences and origins in costume and formalized portraiture, which set the foundation for New Spanish dress and painting. Though the Creoles of New Spain strategically presented their dress and jewels to indicate their allegiance to the new world, the Creoles desired to portray themselves as European in terms of dress and portraiture.

The Power of Portraiture and Dress

The very definition of Creole in the Spanish colonial empire declares that person is of European lineage but born in the Americas. To belong to the Creole class, recalls a tie to European blood and decorum. Creole women of the upper echelon followed the decorum of elite ruling European classes in terms of patronage in portraiture painting. In doing so, the sitter's depiction stresses the importance of dress and the presentation and representation of material objects that exude virtue, taste, and wealth.

The emphasis of the sitter's costume and material possessions holds historical precedence informed by the Spanish and Italian Renaissance. Painters like Bronzino, during the Mannerist period, defined the pictorial style in portrait painting, depicting subjects from elite families, monarchs or aristocrats/merchants of such as the Medici in the sixteenth century. Bronzino's depiction of Eleonra of Toledo with her son Giovanni de' Medici ca. 1545

(Fig. 1) places emphasis on the Eleonra and her son.

Fig 1: Portrait of Eleonra of Toledo with her son
Giovanni de' Medici 1545, oil on canvas, Uffizi Gallery

Remarkably the sitter and her son occupy the pictorial space, seated on fine furniture against the indigo blue illuminated backdrop. Eleonara rests her hand on her lap, the other on the shoulder of her son. Her pose is quintessentially the European aristocrat, a ¾ torso turn. Neither the faces of Eleonara or her son showcase emotion, but rather detachment, restraint, and poise, a perpetual state of grace. The true star of emphasis is

the materiality of Eleonora's dress and jewels, luscious damask brocade and assorted pearl necklaces, pendants, earrings, and hair ornaments[11]. All such precious and costly materials are indicative of the Medici's affluence and power, their premiere access to the finest materials as the leading banking and political dynasty in fifteenth century Florence.

A similar point of emphasis on materiality and royal depiction can be found in Alonso Sánchez Coello's, who held title of court painter for over thirty years, portrait of the Infanta Isabel Clara Eugenia ca. 1579 (Fig. 2) in Spain[12].

Fig 2: Portrait of Infanta Isabel Clara Eugenia by Alonso Sanchez Coello 1579, oil on canvas, Museo del Prado

[11] Vernon Hyde Minor, *Art History's History*, (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2009), 120.

[12] Katherine Crawford Luber, and William Keyse Rudolph. *Spain 500 Years of Spanish Painting from the Museums of Madrid*. Edited by Erin K. Murphy. (San Antonio Museum of Art, 2018), 24-25.

The thirteen-year-old Isabel Clara Eugenia, daughter of King Philip II, appears to showcase a lack of emotion. Instead the portrait stresses the Infanta's power, monarchal socio-economic status and public responsibilities. Instantly, the viewer is drawn the Infanta's dress, a long sleeved corseted ball gown, embellished with pearls and assorted jewels, coiled lace cuffs, a high neck collar of multiple layered lace coils, decorative puffs at the shoulder, and a cascading cape. The adornment of pearls, gold, and other semiprecious jewels continue as decorative broach motifs on the Infanta's dress, along with multiple necklaces to decorate the neck and a heavy drop waist belt. The Infanta's headdress bares pearls, gold, and ostrich feathers, as both of her hands are adorned with rings. Her right hand perches on an aged chair, to indicate monarchal pedigree or lineage, as her left hand carries a handkerchief trimmed with lace. Again the use of satin, pearls, and lace are obvious indicators of high socio-economic class and good taste.

The stylized type of state portraiture as discussed in Brozino's Portrait of Eleonra of Toledo with her son Giovanni de' Medici 1545 and Coello, Portrait of Infanta Isabel Clara Eugenia 1579, both stress the importance of the sitter's vestment and vested socio-economic and political power. Ceollo along with Mor and the Italian Sophonisba Aguissola, a female artist who trained under Michelangelo, all contributed to the iconography of this pictorial genre in state portraiture[13]. The remarkable emphasis of the

[13] Katherine Crawford Luber, and William Keyse Rudolph. *Spain 500 Years of Spanish Painting from the Museums of Madrid*. Edited by Erin K. Murphy. (San Antonio Museum of Art, 2018), 24-25.

sitter's material possessions, power and privileges consume the majority of the pictorial space, as subjects usually appear at a ¾ torso turn sitting or standing, sometimes at full body lengths to showcase the look. Ray Hernández-Durán refers to this emphasis of material dress, possessions and positions in New Spanish portraiture as an "avatar" or doppelganger of the sitter[14].

A la Mod, Robe à la Française

As the previous section discussed the decorum and iconography of European portraiture, this section will further explore the traditions and iconography in 18th century French and Spanish portraiture and dress. Historically, it was the French that recognized the importance of costume, to consider fashion beyond an applied art of trade but a fine art within itself. King Louis XIV or otherwise known as "The Sun King" acknowledged the power of costume in propaganda and commerce, which fortified superiority in technical skills and aesthetics, cementing France as the leading nation in haute couture

[14] Ray Hernández-Durán. "Politics, Society, and Art in the Age of Bourbon Reform Placing the Portrait in Eighteenth-Century New Spain." In *San Antonio 1718 Art From Mexcio*, edited by Marion Oettiner, Jr. (San Antonio Museum of Art, Texas: Trinity University Press, 2018).

from then till now[15]. Print journals such as the Mercure Galant circulated the French court biannually, announcing the latest trends in fashion.[16]

The French Court inspires the Spanish

Under the court of King Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette, by the late eighteenth century, fashion was officially considered an art declared by the Mercier, as the artist behind the garments achieve the title *marchande de modes.*[17] The dress of the French court would define the fashions of the elite in Europe, to influence the Spanish court, which in turned influenced New Spain under Bourbon French rule. Dresses worn by elite French women called for ball gown vestments of satin and cotton with hooped skirts, ¾ sleeves cut at the elbow trimmed with cascading flared laced sleeves either cut in the pagoda or sabot, square cut necklines, corsets trimmed with ribbons and lace made with bones of whales for structure. In the later eighteenth-century, such ball gowns would

[15]Peter Fuhring, *A Kingdom of Images: French Prints in the Age of Louis XIV, 1660-1715*. (Los Angeles, CA: Getty Publications, 2015).

[16] Joan DeJean, The Essence of Style. How the French Invented Fashion, Fine Food, Chic Cafés, Style, Sophistication, and Glamour, (New York 2005; Veronika Hyden-Hansho, Reisende, Migranten, Kulturmanager. Mittlerpersönlichkeiten zwischen Frankreich und dem Wiener Hof 1630-1730, Stuttgart 2013).

[17] Chrisman-Campbell, Kimberly. *Fashion Victims: Dress at the Court of Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 50.

exhibit floor-length cascading back capes that would be known as the *robe à la Française*.[18]

Leading arbiters of style in the French court, Madame de Pompadour and Marie Antoinette defined and influenced high fashion in Europe and the New World. The portraits of Madame de Pompadour by François Boucher in 1756 (Fig.3) and Marie Antoinette by Louise Élisabeth Vigée Le Brun in 1783 (Fig. 4), set the standard for depictions of elite women, their material possessions, costume, and socio-economic and political power.

Figure 3: Portrait of Madame de Pompadour by François Boucher, 1756, oil on canvas Alte Pinakothek, Munich,Germany

[18] The Met's Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History. Accessed November 27, 2018. https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/159485.

Figure 4: Marie-Antoinette with the Rose, Louise Élisabeth Vigée Le Brun 1783, oil on canvas, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Madame de Pompadour is depicted reclining against a backdrop of gold tasseled curtains and lavish furnishings, her finger holding a book to indicate literacy, but the true point of emphasis a cascading ball gown of teal satin decorated with pink ribbons and lace and her favorite accessory, the lace choker of pearls and satin. As for Marie Antoinette's official court portrait, follows the traditional ¾ torso turn against a backdrop of shaded trees and roses, her dress of satin and lace along with a plumed headdress and assorted pearl jewelry are the point of emphasis. The decorum and depiction of Marie Antoinette's portrait carries significant weight as the portrait functioned as material surrogate to iterate the queen's presence for the public to view at the Salon.

In turn, the portraits and fashions of the French influenced the Spanish court and aristocracy. This evident in the portraits of artists Francisco de Goya y Lucientes, in the

following models: Countess-Duchess of Benavente 1785 (Fig. 5) , The Marquesa de Pontejos 1786 (Fig. 7) , and the Portrait of Senora Cean Bermudez 1795 (Fig. 6) .[19]

Figure 5: Countess-Duchess of Benaventem Goya (1785), oil on canvas, National Gallery London

[19]Francisco Calvo Serraller, Janis A. Tomlinson, and Francisco Goya. *Goya: Images of Women*. (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 2002).

Figure 7: The Marquesa de Pontejos, Goya (1786), oil on canvas, National Gallery of Art Washington D.C.

Figure 6: Portrait of Senora Cean Bermudez, Goya (1795), oil on canvas, Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, Hungary

All three models exhibit French styles in terms of materials such satin and lace, with decorative elements of ribbons and plumes, and the Rocco's favored color pallet of muted pastels, sea-greens, laics, and plush pink.[20] The portrait of the Duchess of Benavante 1785 (Fig. 5) appears a remarkable example of the French influence in dress, as the duchess dismissed the *majismo* style of dress, popular in Madrid inspired by the lower classes.[21]

Figure 5: Countess-Duchess of Benaventem Goya (1785), oil on canvas, National Gallery London

[20]Adrien Goetz. *Marie-Antoinette*. (Paris: Assouline, 2005), 14.

[21] Francisco Goya, Xavier Bray, Juliet Wilson Bareau, Manuela Mena, Thomas Gayford, and Allison Goudie. *Goya: The Portraits*. (London: National Gallery Company, 2015), 67.

Made evident by the previous paragraphs, the decorum of elite European women follows the French style of dress, color, and material. European portraits exhibit a perpetual state of grace, as the emphasis is the sitter's dress, affluence, and power either depicted in blank spaces or outdoor settings, cut at the torso with a ¾ turn or a full body image. Though the portraits and costumes of New Spanish portrait exhibit obvious European preferences and styles, the usage of specific textiles heavily patterned fashioned a new fashion known as the open robe that is New Spanish. The nuanced iconographies and meanings behind the New Spanish portraits of the Creole elite will be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER II

FASHION STARS OF THE NEW WORLD

The Decorum of the Creole Elite

Following in the tradition of the European monarchal/ruling elite, the Creole women in Spanish America commissioned portraits: to celebrate their new world identity, solidify power, invent new fashions, and show the fluidity of transformed social status and race. To iterate the newfound wealth of New Spain called for material manifestations in power, as to be painted and named is a privilege and honor allotted for persons of high socioeconomic class, divided between those of the court and clergy, for both the public and the private, secular and religious. Such portraits were commissioned as markers of memory: of marriage, coming of age, familial piety, or the leaving of the outside world to enter the convent. Though the portraits of men outnumber the women, the surviving portraits of Creole elite women iterate feminine privilege and autonomy, their fashions painted a surviving evidence to the affluent cosmopolitan state of New Spain[22].

Uniquely Nuevo Hispano

[22] Luisa Elena Alcalá, Jaime Cuadriello, Paula Mues Orts, Ronda Kasl, and Ilona Katzew. *Painted in Mexico, 1700-1790 Pinxit Mexici*. (München: Prestel, 2017), 317.

As New Spain entered Bourbon rule, so did the fashions. The favored lace pearl chokers of Madame de Pompadour, the hooped corseted ball gowns of Marie Antoinette, powdered wigs, handkerchiefs, velvet beauty marks, folding fans adapted from China, and lace sleeves either the double flounced pagoda and the sabot cut were embraced by the colonists[23]. But what is remarkably New Spanish to this particular pictorial genre in state portraiture is the material usage of Asian silks in dress brought from the Manila Galleon. These imported silks appeared in bright color combinations with Japanese motifs inspired by flora and fauna and Chinese motifs inspired from the lacquer furniture. To European tastes, the usage of such vibrant decorated silks was seen as vulgar and conspicuous[24]. On the contrary, the true fashion innovators are the Creole New Spanish elite, who had premiere access to such silks creating new styles of dress that defined Creole New Spanish identity and tastes. The port of Veracruz was created solely for the purpose of trade, as the Creoles handpicked the best of the best and most illustrious of

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[23] *Fashion: A History from the 18th to the 20th Century: The Collection of the Kyoto Costume Institute*. (Koln: TASCHEN, 2014), 50-51.

[24] Donna Pierce, "At the Crossroads: Cultural Confluence and Daily Life in Mexico, 1521-1821." In *Painting a New World Mexican Art and Life 1521-1821*, (Denver, Colorado: Frederick and Jan Mayer Center for Pre-Columbian and Spanish Colonial Art at the Denver Art Museum, 2004), 39.

silks, brocades, Flemish linen, lacquer furniture, pearls, mother of pearl, and ivory for themselves, before the ships sailed with second leftovers back to Cadiz, Spain.[25]

The scholarship of James Middleton exclusively studied the metropolitan creolized European dress of New Spanish elite.[26] As Middleton stated the *robe à la française* (called a loose back with cape), the *robe* à *l'anglaise* (fitted back), and the *robe* à *la polonaise* with looped-skirts adapted from the French outlined New Spanish dress, but the European penchant for muted monochromatic pastel colors for women's attire did not. Instead, the regal state portraits of elite Creole New Spanish women showcased a new style of dress fashioned from brightly patterned Japanese silks known as the open-robe. This is the case for the portraits of *María Ignacia de Azlor y Echeverz* (Fig. 8) and *Doña María de los Dolores Juliana Rita Núñez de Villavicencio y Peredo de Ovando* circa 1735 (Fig. 9) .

[25]Abby Sue Fisher, "Manila Galleon Trade Textiles: Cross-Cultural Influences on New World Dress" (1988). Textile Society of America Symposium Proceedings. 636. http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/tsaconf/636, 113.

[26]James Middleton, "Reading Dress in New Spanish Portraiture Clothing the Mexican Elite, circa 1695-1805." Edited by Donna Pierce. In *New England/New Spain Portraiture in the Colonial Americas, 1492-1850*, (Denver Art Museum, 2014), 101-146.

Figure 8: Retrato de doña María Ignacia de Azlor y Echeverz, anónimo novohispano, óleo sobre tela, ca. 1730-1737, Colección del Museo Soumaya, Ciudad de México

Figure 9: Retrato de doña María de los Dolores Juliana Rita Núñez de Villavicencio Peredo de Ovando, óleo sobre tela, sin medidas, ca. 1735, Anónimo, colección particular (Carlos de Ovando, Ciudad de México), catalogación: Juan Carlos Cancino

Both portraits exhibit floor length depictions of white silk dresses heavily decorated with floral motifs, splashes of reds and blues, metropolitan taste marked by pedigree as shown with a floating coat of arms to the right against a backdrop of curtains and fine furnishings. *María Ignacia de Azlor y Echeverz* (Fig. 8) carries a closed folding fan, her right hand pointing to the grand clock, an indicator of coming of age as she is ready to leave the outside world to enter the cloistered world of the convent. *María Ignacia de Azlor y Echeverz's* (Fig. 8) New Spanish wealth and metropolitan tastes are indicated by the appearance of a large bejeweled brooch decorated at the chests, added to the formal presence of pearl jewelry in bracelets, earrings, a necklace, hair ornaments, and multiple rings.

Figure 8: Retrato de doña María Ignacia de Azlor y Echeverz, anónimo novohispano, óleo sobre tela, ca. 1730-1737, Colección del Museo Soumaya, Ciudad de México

As for *Doña María de los Dolores Juliana Rita Núñez de Villavicencio y Peredo de Ovando*, (Fig. 9) the true fashion innovations are marked by unique additions to the popular formal construction of *a la Española* and the *Casaquín* bodice and combination of pearl and gold jewelry.[27]

[27]Dennis Carr, Gauvin A. Bailey, Timothy Brook, Mitchell Codding, Karina Corrigan, and Donna Pierce. *Made in the Americas: The New World Discovers Asia*, (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 2015), back-cover on jacket.

Figure 9: Retrato de doña María de los Dolores Juliana Rita Núñez de Villavicencio Peredo de Ovando, óleo sobre tela, sin medidas, ca. 1735, Anónimo, colección particular (Carlos de Ovando, Ciudad de México), catalogación: Juan Carlos Cancino

The patterns of the dress appear decadent and clearly Asian, marked by the appearance of rice farmers in conical hats with buildings that bare triangular pointed roofs, as the grounds surrounded by assorted flowers primarily in hues of red and touches of blue, peaches, horned buffalo, and a galloping horse. She wears a dress of multiple layers, her sabot sleeves cuffed with ruffled lace as the outer layer cut at a ¾ length, lavishly decorated by red Asian floral motifs, which configure the construction of the bodice. The uniqueness and richness of her vestment is amplified by the appearance of decorative apron like panel at the center trimmed with scalloped lace, of which the same scalloped lace adorn the hem of the skirt. She wears the obligatory pearl chocker and multiple strand bracelets that adorn each arm, but the incredible wealth in gold of New Spain makes presence in her dangling earrings, velvet choker with dangling cross pendant, rings, and added bracelet with semiprecious stones on her left arm. She adorns her hair with red satin.

The use of Asian motifs and silks in bright colors continue in the following models: *Young Woman with a Harpsichord* 1735-1750 (Fig. 10), *Portrait of Doña Micaela Esquibel* circa 1750 (Fig. 11), and *Siblings María Josepha Bernarda and Josepo Gabriel Franco* (Fig. 12).

Figure 10: Portrait of a Young Woman with a Harpsichord, Mexico, early 18th century, oil on canvas; Denver Art Museum, gift of Frederick and Jan Mayer, 3. 2007

Figure 11: *Portrait of Doña Micaela Esquibel* (circa 1750), oil on canvas, Denver Art Museum

Figure 12: *Siblings María Josepha Bernarda and Josepo Gabriel Franco 18th century*, oil on canvas, *Fundación Cultural Daniel Liesohn, A. C. Mexico City*

But other unique New Spanish iconographies are present through the use of added jewelries, mixing the formal requisite of pearls and diamonds with gold, dangling pendants (*Young Woman with a Harpsichord* 1735-1750 (Fig. 10) and *Doña María de la Luz Padilla y Gómez de Cervantes*, ca. 1760 (Fig. 13), miniature tiaras of artificial flowers indicative of indigenous inspiration (*Lady of the Sánchez Navarro Family* 1750 (Fig. 14) and *Retrato de Doña María Moreno y Buenaventuraca. 1760-70* (Fig. 15)) multiple colored plumes (*Portrait of a Lady*, Miguel de Herrera, 1782 (Fig. 16)), bi-color combinations in vestments (*Portrait of Doña Maria Tomasa Durán López de Cárdenas* by Juan Patricio Morlete Ruiz ca. 1762 (Fig. 17), *Siblings María Josepha Bernarda and Josepo Gabriel Franco* (Fig. 12), and *Portrait of María Ana Gertrudis Cabrera y Solano* ca.1770 (Fig.18)), scalped peplums (*Siblings María Josepha Bernarda and Josepo*

Gabriel Franco (Fig. 12) and Ignacio María Barreda's Portrait of Doña Juana María Romero (Fig. 22), and multiple beauty marks in the shape of crescent moons and stars worn for refinement and a cure for headaches (*Doña María de la Luz Padilla y Gómez de Cervantes*, ca. 1760 (Fig. 13)) and *Portrait of Doña Maria Tomasa Durán López de Cárdenas* (Fig. 17)), two watches to indicate allegiance to Spain and New Spain Ignacio María Barreda, Portrait of Doña Juana María Romero (Fig. 22), 1794 seen in later 18th century) and the presence of the sitter indoors.

Figure 10: Portrait of a Young Woman with a Harpsichord, Mexico, early 18th century, oil on canvas; Denver Art Museum, gift of Frederick and Jan Mayer, 3. 2007

Figure 13: *Doña María de la Luz Padilla y Gómez de Cervantes*, ca. 1760. Oil on canvas, 43 x 33 in. (109.2 x 83.8 cm). Miguel Cabrera (Mexican, 1695-1768). Brooklyn Museum, Museum Collection Fund and Dick S. Ramsay Fund, 52.166.

Figure 14: *Lady of the Sánchez Navarro Family* 1750, oil on canvas

Figure 15: *Retrato de Doña María Moreno y Buenaventuraca,1760-70*, oil on canvas

Figure 16: Portrait of a Lady, Miguel de Herrera, 1782 oil on canvas, 125 x 101 cm
Mexico, Franz Mayer Museum Collection

Figure 17: *Portrait of Doña Maria Tomasa Durán López de Cárdenas* by Juan Patricio Morlete Ruiz ca. 1762, oil on canvas

Figure 12: *Siblings María Josepha Bernarda and Josepo Gabriel Franco 18th century*, oil on canvas, *Fundación Cultural Daniel Liesohn, A. C. Mexico City*

Figure 18: *Portrait of María Ana Gertrudis Cabrera y Solano* ca.1770, oil on canvas

Figure 12: *Siblings María Josepha Bernarda and Josepo Gabriel Franco 18th century*, oil on canvas, *Fundación Cultural Daniel Liesohn, A. C. Mexico City*

Figure 22: Retrato de Doña Juana María Romero, Ignacio María Barreda, 1794, Museo Nacional de Historia Castillo de Chapultepec, INAH, Secretaría de Cultura, Mexico City, photo © Museo Nacional de Historia Castillo de Chapultepec, INAH, Secretaría de Cultura, Mexico City

Figure 13: *Doña María de la Luz Padilla y Gómez de Cervantes*, ca. 1760. Oil on canvas, 43 x 33 in. (109.2 x 83.8 cm). Miguel Cabrera (Mexican, 1695-1768). Brooklyn Museum, Museum Collection Fund and Dick S. Ramsay Fund, 52.166.

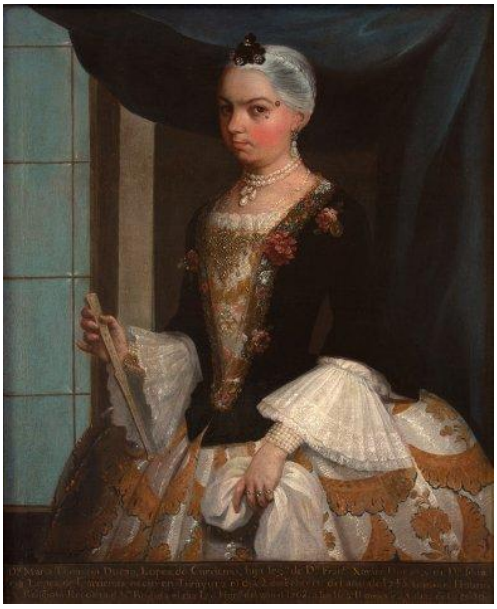

Figure 17: *Portrait of Doña Maria Tomasa Durán López de Cárdenas* by Juan Patricio Morlete Ruiz ca. 1762, oil on canvas

Figure 22: Retrato de Doña Juana María Romero, Ignacio María Barreda, 1794, Museo Nacional de Historia Castillo de Chapultepec, INAH, Secretaría de Cultura, Mexico City, photo © Museo Nacional de Historia Castillo de Chapultepec, INAH, Secretaría de Cultura, Mexico City

Exclusively New Spanish portraits showcase the sitters indoors either a midst blank spaces or domestic settings surrounded by fine furnishings or feminine furnishings such as vanity desks complete with mirrors and jewelry boxes. The portrait of *Doña Ramona Mustù e Icazvalceta and Her Two Daughters* by Juan de Sáenz 1793 (Fig. 19) appears to depict the women stepping outdoors, but evidently the metropolitan scenery is New Spain, indicative of Creole patriotism.

Figure 19: *Doña Ramona Mustù e Icazvalceta and Her Two Daughters* by Juan de Sáenz 1793, oil on canvas

South American portraits such as the *Portrait of María de Rivera* ca. 1735 (Fig. 20) and *Rosa de Salazar y Gabiño, Countess of Monteblanco and Montemar* (Fig. 21) showcase the sitters with unidentified European flora and fauna as the backdrop.

Figure 20: *Portrait of María de Rivera* ca. 1735 Pedro José Diaz, oil on canvas
Collection of Carl and Marilyn Thoma, Blanton Museum of Art

Figure 21: Rosa de Salazar y Gabiño, Countess of Monteblanco and Montemar, 1764-1771, attributed to Cristóbal Lozano, oil on canvas, Blanton Museum of Art

New Spanish Privilege

In addition to New Spain's exceptions in sartorial innovations, are the allotted privileges enjoyed by Creole women. New Spanish women like the men were allotted privileges in moving up the socio-economic ladder through the purchase of changed titles in racial and geographical (birthplace) pedigree.[28] This is the case for the *Portrait of Doña Juana María Romerov* (Fig. 22) , who inherited a vast fortune from her priest uncle in which she willingly purchased a title, made evident by the added coat of arms floating against the side drapery.[29] This portrait commemorates the bearing of 13 children, but

[28]Ann Twinam, *Public Lives, Private Secrets: Gender, Honor, Sexuality, and Illegitimacy in Colonial Spanish America*, (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2007).

[29] Rachel Kaplan, "Beauty in the Eye of the Beholder: Fashion in 18th-Century Mexico." UNFRAMED. February 1, 2018. https://unframed.lacma.org/2018/02/01/beauty-eye-beholder-fashion-18th-century-mexico.

saliently newfound wealth, and Creole identity given the presence of two watches (to indicate allegiance to Spain and New Spain). *Doña Juana María Romero's* wealth and good taste become visually apparent by the wearing of the *robe* à *l'anglaise*, of which are decorated with sheer pleated lace mantle and cuffs. The uniqueness of the dress appears evident in the scalloped peplum which the hem decorated by blue and black satin, adorned with coordinating blue and white satin belt, as the hem of the dress decorated with flowers, pine trees, and leaves in the same hue of blue. Added to the formal iconographies of a *chiqueador*, a powdered coiffure with satin ribbons, and pearl jewelry are the presence of two roses that adorn the chest but most significantly the pearl necklace of which droops its strands of loose pearls falling to the ground. This minute detail of a broken pearl necklace indicates that a couple lost pearls are specs of dust, as the acquired wealth and newly purchased status of María Romero is and appears profoundly vast, brimming in opulence.[30]

[30] Rachel Kaplan, "Beauty in the Eye of the Beholder: Fashion in 18th-Century Mexico." UNFRAMED. February 1, 2018. https://unframed.lacma.org/2018/02/01/beauty-eye-beholder-fashion-18th-century-mexico.

Figure 22: Retrato de Doña Juana María Romero, Ignacio María Barreda, 1794, Museo Nacional de Historia Castillo de Chapultepec, INAH, Secretaría de Cultura, Mexico City, photo © Museo Nacional de Historia Castillo de Chapultepec, INAH, Secretaría de Cultura, Mexico City

In conclusion, it should come to no surprise that the portraits and fashions of elite Creole New Spanish women carry one of a kind sartorial innovations. The newfound wealth of New Spain ushered a series of contradictions and exceptions, as Creole women of the secular world basked in privileges of money, power, and glory. This newfound wealth served as the catalyst for innovations in costume depictions in formal portraits. These elite Creole women fashioned an identity through clothing to overtly indicate European lineage, but fostered Creole pride subliminally through the use of unusual accessories and color preferences. The presentation of hair and choice of jewelry are two culminating factors that would distinguish New Spanish Creole versus Peruvian Creole

women. Chapter 3 will conduct a comparative study between New Spanish and Peruvian portraits.

CHAPTER III

PORTRAITS OF VICREGAL PERU

It is known that Spanish dominance in the new world, spread from the Caribbean Indies, Central America, the Philippines, and the South American continent. Though the conquest of South America differed from the open welcoming of Montezuma, met by the aggressive disapproval of Athualpa and the book, the riches of the Inca in South America equally contributed to a localized Creole iconography.[31] The vast riches of South American mines and mountains overflowed with silver and emeralds.[32] So much so, the staggering quantity of silver ushered great demands in art production as South American silver overwhelmingly sparked worldwide inflation.[33] As silver carried both material and spiritual significance in South America, the presence of silver jewelry along with the presentation of hair became signifiers to localized South American Creole identity in portraiture. This chapter will conduct a comparative study of South American and New

[31]Patricia Seed, "Failing to Marvel": Atahualpa's Encounter with the Word." *Latin American Research Review* 26, no. 1 (1991): 7-32. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2503763.

[32]Donna Pierce, and Julie Wilson Frick. *Companion to Glitterati: Portraits & Jewelry from Colonial Latin America at the Denver Art Museum*, (Denver: Published by the Mayer Center for Pre-Columbian and Spanish Colonial Art at the Denver Art Museum, 2015), 22.

[33]Thomas B. F. Cummins Ph. D, and Katherine McAllen, Ph. D. "New Cities of God Art and Devotion in Colonial Peru and Bolivia." In *HIghest Heaven Spanish and Portuguese Colonial Art From the Collection of Roberta and Richard Huber San Antonio Museum of Art*, (San Antonio, TX: San Antonio Museum of Art, 2016), 16.

Spanish portraits, the specific cases studies of *Doña Rosa de Salazar y Gabiño* and *Doña María de Rivera*.

Overtly European

As discussed in the previous chapters, the Creoles of South America desired to promote their European lineage via the commissioning of portraits and the observation of Bourbon fashion trends set by the French court followed by Madrid. South American Creole portraits observed overt European iconographies in their state portraits, the sitter depicted at ¾ torso turn or at full body stance. The sitter appears in a domestic setting with fine furnishings, often vanity dressers accompanied by a mirror and jewelry box laden with pearls and other precious stones. To further indicate European lineage and Creole pedigree, emerges a floating coat of arms. For added emphasis on the identity of the sitter, the portrait includes a written scroll inscription located at the foreground or a tilted *escudio* as decorative accent to the side. At the backdrop of the space, the corner of the painting showcases a side curtain canopy. The most salient aspect that appears overtly European in Creole South American portraits, not showcased in New Spanish portraits, is the inclusion of landscape scenery. Peninsular portraits exhibit the sitters with landscape sceneries at the backdrop and at certain instances a full outdoor setting such as Goya's The Marquesa de Pontejos (Fig. 7).

Figure 7: The Marquesa de Pontejos, Goya (1786), oil on canvas, National Gallery of Art Washington D.C.

In terms of the decorum of dress, South American Creoles as did their New Spanish counterparts opted for current trends in French fashion. *La robe à la française* was the preferred silhouette for such formal portraits. The cut of the dress features a square neckline, a back panel of several pleats, a fitted corset, and an A-like skirt often hooped at the waist as the hemline to the ground or cut at the ankle.[34] As for sleeves, which appear to be cut a ¾ length, exists in two styles: the flounced pagoda (exaggerated and flared) or the sabot (gathered and pin-tucked in multiple layers). Both of the styles were fashioned from meticulously embroidered laces. *Doña Rosa de Salazar y Gabiño* wears a dress patterned with the double flounced pagoda sleeve as *Doña María de Rivera* wears a dress patterned with the single flounced pagoda.

[34] Susan North. *18th-century Fashion in Detail*, (London: Thames and Hudson, 2018), 222.

In addition to donning *la robe à la française*, South American Creoles also observed overt European iconographies in accessories. Universal adornments such as: the folding fan, flowers such as roses, handkerchief, chandelier earrings, and pearl jewelry appear in their portraits. However, the minute subtle choice of hair accessories such silver tiaras and hairstyles worn with multiple braids outline and differentiate South American Creole identity. The upcoming sections will exclusively analyze the formalist qualities in pictorial format, dress and ornamentation for the portraits of *Doña Rosa de Salazar y Gabiño* and *Doña María de Rivera*.

The Lady in Pink

The provenance of *Doña Rosa de Salazar y Gabiño*, Countess of Monteblanco and Montemar traces back to the sale purchase by collectors Roberta and Richard Huber in Madrid 2001.[35] Born into Lima's ruling aristocracy, *Rosa de Salazar y Gabiño* (Fig. 21) portrait follows the pictorial decorum of blue blood Creoles, made obvious by the floating coat of arms on upper right corner.

[35]Byron Hamann, "Journeys to New Worlds: Spanish and Portuguese Colonial Art in the Roberta and Richard Huber Collection," (CAA.Reviews A Publication of the College Art Association. February 13, 2014. Accessed March 20, 2019), http://www.caareviews.org/reviews/2016#.XJLu5yMrKt8.

Figure 21: Rosa de Salazar y Gabiño, Countess of Monteblanco and Montemar, 1764-1771, attributed to Cristóbal Lozano, oil on canvas, Blanton Museum of Art

Pictorially, Rosa faces the viewer at a ¾ torso turn against backdrop of unnamed trees and clouds. This inclusion of outdoor scenery is remarkably European and South American Creole.

Rosa wears a sumptuous *robe à la française* of pink satin embroidered with flowers, a square neckline adorned with gathered white satin, her ¾ sleeves are the double-tiered flounced pagoda of intricate laces. This to say that despite the geographical distance, Rosa remains in vogue just as the Peninsulars in the court of Madrid and Versailles. Rosa's right arm rests on a velvet pillow of bright red, trimmed with gold and a tassel. Her right hand positions itself to a large gold bough fastened by several strands of multi-sized pearls that carries a watch. Each of Rosa's wrists are decorated with silver bracelets as each pinky finger wears a matching circular ring. Rosa's neck is adorned

with silver necklace encrusted with diamonds and yellow-colored stones. For earrings, Rosa opts for silver chandelier pearl drops symbolic to her engagement to Fernando Carrillo de Albornoz y Bravo de Lagunas.[36] Rosa holds carnations positioned at her breast, another signifier of marriage.

The obvious preference for silver jewelry is South American Creole and indicative of Rosa's blue blood background, as her father held silver mining interests. As Rosa follows the powdered up-dos of the French, Rosa's choice of a silver tiara encrusted diamonds and three yellow blossoms is representative of the Inca's sacred flower, the *ccantu*.[37] Unlike New Spanish Creoles, who adorned their heads with multi-colored plums and minuscule tiaras as well combining yellow gold jewelry with silver, South American Creoles strategically opted for silver jewelry and full-scale tiaras with indigenous flowers. Rosa's portrait provides a substantial example of South American

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[36] Hamann, Byron. "Journeys to New Worlds: Spanish and Portuguese Colonial Art in the Roberta and Richard Huber Collection." CAA.Reviews A Publication of the College Art Association. February 13, 2014. Accessed March 20, 2019. http://www.caareviews.org/reviews/2016#.XJLu5yMrKt8. Rosa's chandelier earrings are said to be heirloom jewelry, which appear in two other portraits, an older Rosa in black and Rosa's daughter. Rosa's portrait was loaned to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, as living family members contacted museum officials in San Antonio for the Highest Heaven exhibition to inform them on the role of such earrings.

[37] Deni Seibert, "Gardens," (The New York Times. May 02, 1971. Accessed March 21, 2019. https://www.nytimes.com/1971/05/02/archives/sacred-flowers-of-the-incas.html).

Creole identity, saliently European yet distinctly South American evident by preferences in silver jewelry and a full-scale tiara decorated with *ccantu*.

The Woman with the Braids

As *Doña Rosa de Salazar y Gabiño* fashioned her South American Creole identity strategically with a silver tiara inclusive of Peruvian blossoms, *Doña María de Rivera* (Fig. 20) differentiated herself through the presentation of braided hair.

Figure 20: *Portrait of María de Rivera* ca. 1735 Pedro José Diaz, oil on canvas
Collection of Carl and Marilyn Thoma, Blanton Museum of Art

Pedro José Diaz's portrait of *Doña María de Rivera* abides by the typical conventions of South American Creole elite. The pictorial layout features the countess at ¾ turn, a full figure depiction dressed in the French style sack back gown, a hooped skirt and bi-color combination of red and gold with elaborate floral embroidery and single flounced pagoda sleeves of lace. The countess appears to hold closed folding fan and a rose to signify feminine refinement and poise. Fine furnishings such as a vanity dresser accompanied with a mirror and jewelry box appear. Two stacks of paper allude to the virtue of literacy, as a pair of 2 rings and a strand of pearls assert material wealth.

The assertion of wealth and good taste continues with the countess's choice of jewelry, silver circular rings on each pink finger with matching pearl and silver bracelets each with 4 strands. The countess's neck is adorned with a matching pearl choker of 4 strands, layered with a filigree silver cross pendant. Her silver chandelier earrings consist of circular and pear-shaped pearls, as a tiara of pearl and diamond constellations rests on top of her head. This preference of silver jewelry and full-scale tiaras appears clearly South American Creole as seen in Rosa's portrait. *María de Rivera* dons a velvet *chiquedor* at the corner temple for both beauty and believed folk customs in curing headaches and other alignments.[38]

María de Rivera assertion for aristocratic lineage continues by the appearance of a side curtain canopy draped on column with a Doric base, exclusively reserved for sacred

[38]Marion Oettinger, *San Antonio 1718 Art from Mexico*, (San Antonio, TX: San Antonio Museum of Art, 2018), 103.

and ruling aristocratic figures. To the upper right side of the red canopy, a red tassels dangles to backdrop of an outdoor scenery, cool blue grey clouds and greeneries. A floating coat of arms emerges, as a written inscription on the upper left corner, as a written inscription located at the foreground states,

"Mrs. María Rosa de Rivera Mendosa y Ramos Galbán, Birja Maldonado y Mun […] Ojeda y Caballero, Countess de la Vega de Ren, born in this city [of Lima], legitimate wife of Mr. Matías Vázquez de Acuña y Meracho, Count de la Vega del Ren."

Rosa de Rivera's portrait exhibits the decorum of an upper class Creole woman. Clearly, the emphasis of her dress, jewels, fine furnishings, Renaissance architectural details (column with Doric base and floor with grid stones), floating coat of arms, and bottom inscription are all overt indicators of power. The floating coat of arms and written bottom inscription cement Rosa de Rivera's position as an elite Creole woman of Lima. The added inclusion of outdoor scenery and preference for full-scale tiaras, differentiates this portrait as Creole South American, but the salient key element appears to Rosa de Rivera's choice of hairstyle. Rosa de Rivera's choice of hairstyle, which consists of several braids let down does not conform the powdered up-dos and hairnets favored in New Spain. The choice of braids is clearly a South American phenomena, unusual and endearing aesthetic wise.

Both the portraits of *Doña Rosa de Salazar y Gabiño* and *Doña María de Rivera* clearly embody European ideals in portraiture and costume, the point of emphasis on the sitter's European lineage/societal position and material objects. As the elite Creoles of

New Spain fashioned an identity through localized preferences: multi-colored plumes, multiple beauty marks in the shape of stars and crescent moons, miniature crowns, two watches, scalloped peplums, yellow gold jewelry, and indoor settings, the elite Creoles of South America fashioned identity with their own preferences. South American portraits of elite Creole women exhibit a preference for silver jewelry, full-scale tiaras, and the inclusion of outdoor scenery. *Doña Rosa de Salazar y Gabiño* includes the sacred flower of the Inca, as *Doña María de Rivera* wears her hair down with braids.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

As the rule of the French Bourbons in eighteenth-century New Spain welcomed globalized luxury trades and demands in art production, stricter edicts involving racial mixing, dress codes, religious vocations, and even the decoration of carriages were equally enforced[39]. The French Bourbons and the Spanish Crown reaped the astonishing affluence of New Spain's gold, silver, and Asian trade to finance their own interests in wars and other projects. In doing so, the Peninsulars excluded Creoles from high-leveled positions in government and the clergy fostering resentment.

To further extol control, the prevailing silhouettes of fashion such as the *robe à la française* and *robe à l'anglaise* and powdered wigs of the French Bourbons dominated both the old and new worlds strictly reserved for those of European lineage. As the seeds of *Criollismo* could be traced by the literature of Bernardo de Balbuena's *La Grandeza de Mexico*, Fernando de Alva Ixtilxochitl, and Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, a Creole identity was strategically fashioned through preferred bright colors, Asian prints, yellow gold and silver jewelry combinations, and scalloped decorative details. In this paper, I attempt to outline the iconographies in costume, accessories, and hair presented in the regal portraits

[39] Donna Pierce, "At the Crossroads: Cultural Confluence and Daily Life in Mexico, 1521-1821." In *Painting a New World Mexican Art and Life 1521-1821*, 25-46. (Denver, Colorado: Frederick and Jan Mayer Center for Pre-Columbian and Spanish Colonial Art at the Denver Art Museum, 2004), 38-39.

of elite Creole women as a comparative study between the New Spanish and Peruvian viceroyalties in the eighteenth-century.

The Creoles, of the Spanish viceroyalties of Mexico and Peru, walked on the precipice of both the old and new worlds, to celebrate their clear European descendance but birthplace of the Americas. As their peninsular counterparts excluded the Creoles from high-power positions in both the secular and religious arenas, so did their tastes in dress as the peninsulars assumed superiority to the localized Creole fashion. The elite Creole women of New Spain and South America successfully fashioned an identity in dress, accessories, hair, and painting in their portraits. New Spanish elite Creole women opted for: Asian prints such as farmers with canonical hats, yellow gold and silver jewelry combinations, multi-colored plumes, multiple velvet beauty marks in the shapes of stars and crescent moons, two watches, miniature diadems, and scalloped peplums. Peruvian elite Creole women preferred: silver accessories, braided hair, full-scale tiaras (Inca flower elements as seen in Rosa de Salazar y Gabiño, Countess of Monteblanco and Montemar), and the inclusion of outdoor settings.

Colonial elite women of the Spanish Americas strategically and pridefully displayed their fashions, jewels, and hair-styles in painting. Whilst the old world considered Creole tastes in dress conspicuous and vulgar, Creole tastes in fashion were as cutting-edge, illustrious, cosmopolitan, and uniquely New World.

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Daniel Francis Ymbong completed his Master of Art Interdisciplinary Studies concentration in Colonial Latin American Art History with minors in history and anthropology in May 2019 at the University of Texas Rio Grande Valley. He graduated magna cum laude in his Bachelor of Arts in Art with a minor in English also at the University of Texas Rio Grande Valley. Prior to his enrollment at UTRGV, Daniel took college courses on fashion design and marketing at the School of Fashion and the Arts Design Institute, sister affiliate of *Istituto Marangoni*, in Manila, Philippines.

He has interned for College Fashionista International, writing articles and taking fashion photographs on street style. In his undergrad years, Daniel has contributed to Panorama/Pulse Magazine as a fashion writer and stylist earning national awards. He also interned at the International Museum of Arts and Sciences in collections management.

Daniel enrolled in Dr. Katherine McAllen's master's seminar in Spanish Colonial Art as a senior undergrad. He then published an article on the Virgin of Guadalupe on NETSOL in his first graduate semester. He then interned at the San Antonio Museum of Art and worked as the graduate assistant for Dr. Robert Bradley Dean of Honors College. Daniel was the first art history graduate student at UTRGV to earn the prestigious Archer Fellowship and internship at the National Gallery of Art under curatorial records and files. He then was hired as graduate assistant to Dr. Constance Cortez Chair of the School of Art. Daniel can be contacted via email: danielymbong@gmail.com.