Intertextual Intimacy: An Investigation of the Relationship between Word and Image in Eighteenth-Century Quito

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Colonial Spanish American portraits commonly include text in the form of biographical inscriptions set within the image to complement and support the visual presentation of identity. Separating the words from the rest of the composition in a simple yet elegant frame, the anonymous artist of Portrait of the Marquise of Selva Alegre (after 1761: Figure 1) follows this artistic convention by featuring the words prominently within the scene. He offers the inscription a physical presence in the foreground of the room by leaning the frame against a chest in the bottom right corner, sharing in the imagined space of the oratory, in which the Marquise kneels alongside two of her four children before a sculpture of Our Lady of El Quinche. The text reads:

La Señora Da María/
Rosa Rafaela de Larrea/
Zurbano y Sta Coloma/
Marquesa de Selva/
alegre nacio en 22 de/
Octubre del año de 1734/
y murio el día 5 de/
Agosto de 1761

The inscription states her name, title, and birth and death dates. The way the artist presents the Marquise's textual identity through allusions to parchment paper, abbreviations, and the information conveyed through the words

Figure 1. Anonymous, Portrait of the Marquise of Selva Alegre, after 1761, Oil on canvas, 98 x 155 cm, Private collection. Image courtesy of Gloria Gangotena de Montúfar. Photograph by Judy de Bustamante.
themselves, among other formal and textual details, point to the legal, notarial document and the authority it conveyed as the most universally produced form of writing during the colonial period. Notarial documents were contracts, deeds, and other forms of legal documentation performed by a notary and officially recognized by the Spanish imperial administration. Throughout this article, "notarial" is employed broadly to refer to this type of official record drawn up by a notary. The inscription in the portrait is not a mere biographical presentation of text and identity; the artist makes use of a range of visual and textual conventions related to notarial practice to make the words appear specifically as notarial text and identity.

While the portrait exhibits the notarial word in the frame in the case of the Marquise's portrait, notarial word manifests image through ekphrasis, a verbal or written description of a work of art, in documents that tend to mention art such as inventories, dowries, sales, and testaments. Executed approximately thirty years after the death of the Marquise in the same city of San Francisco de Quito (in modern-day Ecuador), Doña Josefa Viteri y Lomas had an official last will and testament drawn up in which she includes an inventory of her art collection. Her collection was comprised of over forty-three sculptures (with an extensive nativity scene that combined religious and secular figures), thirty-five paintings on canvas (with religious images, landscapes of the four seasons, and a portrait of her husband), and twenty-eight paintings on copper plate (laminas). Not only does the testament manifest art in the written word, but it also uses art to amplify Doña Josefa's identity by alluding to her character in the notarial record. Similar to the formulaic expression of identity in the Marquise's portrait, the first clause of her testament characterizes Doña Josefa:

En el nombre de Dios Todo Poderoso. Amen.
Sepan quantios esta Memoria de Testamento, ultima, y final voluntad/
vieren, como Yo Doña Josefa Viteri y Lomas natural del Asiento de Lata-/cunga, hija legítima de Don Pedro Viteri y Lerero, y de Doña Antonia del/
Lomas, y Guerrero, esta nasida en esta ciudad, y el primero de la de Guayaquil/
estando, como estoy enferma en cama del accidente que Dios Nuestro Señor se ha/
servido darme, pero en mi entero juicio, memoria, y entendimiento natural: cre-/yendo como firme, y verdaderamente creo en el Altisimo Misterio de la Santi-/simia Trinidad Padre, Hijo, y espíritu Santo, tres personas distintas, y nomas/
de un solo Dios verdadero,... 3 (Figure 2)

Based on the quantity and type of art she owned, however, Doña Josefa was more than the sum of detached details offered in the first clause on her name, place of birth, and her parents' names and places of birth. The specifics of her estate identify her as a cultured art owner and a member of the social elite, while reinforcing the genuine nature of her status as a Catholic, which is stated automatically in the opening clause at the behest of notarial templates. Notarial templates were printed in a myriad of notarial manuals published primarily in Spain and disseminated throughout the
Americas during the entire colonial period. They served to ensure that the correct information was always included in the official records and to avoid fraud. This document, therefore, serves as a representative example of the typical way notarial documents discuss identity and art.

Repeated conventions of portraiture and the employment of the notarial template meant that artists, notaries, and their clients, recreated the relationship between notarial document and art across Latin America in the eighteenth century. Putting art into the notarial word and notarial word into art, an intertextual relationship centered on notions of identity manifests itself in colonial culture. Focusing on case studies of portraiture and the notarial document from Quito in the eighteenth century, with supporting evidence from Lima, this article examines the intertextual relationship between art and word, and later art and archive, in light of how the two are employed and relate to one another. With an emphasis on the material and visual forms themselves, I consider what happens to painting and document in the process of establishing the relationship, as well as what this means for eighteenth-century colonial culture more broadly.¹ The textual connection between testaments and portraits was not a coincidence, but rather a purposeful colonial act of intertextuality. Both notarial document and portrait maintained an individual’s identity and legacy generations and centuries after death. That relationship established and maintained both European hegemony, and the past for the present and future—be that the colonial present and future, or inadvertently and by extension that of scholars working in archives today.
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I. The Power of Visual and Alphabetic Literacies & the Colonial "Lettered City"

Words and images represent more than the direct ideas that their signs and symbols signify on the page or canvas. They communicate broader abstract notions of power, legitimacy, authority, civility, and Truth. In the Americas, they represented the power and authority of the European colonizer in his ideologies, perspectives, and institutions. The assumed power of word and image for the Spanish empire grew and accrued greater significance over the centuries, and was eventually applied in the conquest and colonization of the "New World." Ultimately, that history of power gave meaning to the referential relationship between word in art and art in word.

The origin of the superiority and importance of visual and textual forms of communication in European intellectual discourses revolved around notions of Truth, Catholicism, and empire. Word and image were concrete manifestations of language that tied into the Gospel. When the Second Council of Nicaea affirmed the use of iconographic representation in images to communicate the Catholic faith in 787 CE, it did so by drawing upon the notion of the incarnation of God the Word as Truth. The council of Christian bishops understood iconographic representation to embody the Gospel's truth just as the word was incarnated into flesh, and images were thus affirmed. The Catholic Church thereby endowed both word and image with power by their relationship to the Divine. This was an important source of approval of words and images for Spain. By the time the Spaniards arrived in Central and South America, a concern for history, especially that of Roman antiquity and Spanish Renaissance Humanism, both of which emphasized the written word, granted the power of literacy additional significance. Sabine MacCormack explains that thirteenth-century scholars under the reign of Alfonso the Wise (r. 1252-84) sought to record the history of Spain, considering writing the "crucial tool" that guaranteed the past would be "saved from oblivion," allowing origins to be transmitted to the present and future, thereby establishing an identity for the Spanish monarchy. Writers carried the life-giving quality of writing to the Americas centuries later where contemporaries, such as the soldier Pedro Cieza de León, noted the importance of writers to keep the passing ages alive in the prologue to his history of Peru by quoting Greco-Roman scholar, Diodorus Siculus. By this time, writing became not only the savior of the past, but also a measure of civility. As Margarita Zamora explains, based on the humanist perception of "language as a motivator of human choice and action," scholars emphasized the mediating power of language as an instrument of "correction, persuasion, and reform" and therefore considered it an integral component of building an empire. With the growing formality of and expanding trust in written over oral discourse from the late 1400s onward, the written word and literacy more broadly came to be strongly associated with history, identity, and power.
Both visual and alphabetic literacies took on an important role for the Spanish Crown in the colonization, conversion, and maintenance, of colonial authority in the viceroyalties. Early modern conceptions of language had a central role in the colonization and domination of the “New World,” serving as justification for conquest of indigenous populations, especially those in the northern Andes that did not practice alphabetic writing. If the written word was associated with history, identity, and civility, then Spaniards considered peoples without writing as defined by European criteria without a past, without identity, and uncivilized, justifying conquest and subjection. The European colonizers established European writing over indigenous forms of communication, as if it were the supreme way to convey Truth.

Though the early modern connections between power and literacy focus on the written word, images and their communication through iconography were also implicated. To know how to read the written word and the iconography of an image and fully understand the ideas being communicated, one needed to be fully aware of the set of practices associated with reading and informed of the writing system. Spaniards therefore relied on assumptions of the biblical, historical, and imperial power of word and image, and the ability to interpret them as forms of visual and alphabetic literacy to impose their religious and legal institutions as legitimate. This was especially the case in the Andes, where, for example, pre-Hispanic abstract imagery was gradually replaced by mimetic representation due to a complete lack of indigenous visual correspondence to European forms of representation. To be recognized in colonial society and gain an identity, one had to conform and participate in these hegemonic structures, thereby acknowledging and upholding their legitimacy. Alphabetic and visual literacies thus developed as technologies of authority in the Americas.

It is based upon these notions of the hegemonic influences of alphabetic literacy that Ángel Rama developed his seminal study, The Lettered City, in 1984. He defines the “lettered city” as an urban nexus of lettered culture and state power. He argues that carefully planned cities used the institutional and legal power of written documents to impose a system of communication and order in the Spanish Empire. The “lettered city,” in other words, was an ever-present manifestation and recreation of the European legal framework as legitimate institution of power and control in the colonial urban context. Scholars have generally accepted Rama’s characterization of the “lettered city” as organized around the imposed and assumed power of literate culture, yet they have worked to expand his vision. Scholars have amplified Rama’s “city” to comprise colonial actors beyond his “lettered elite,” including indigenous people, slaves, and non-elite notaries, and to extend literacy beyond the written word, investigating images and the ritual practices surrounding documents and images that helped to communicate their meaning to non-literate audiences. Furthermore, historian Kathryn Burns argues that the “lettered city” had an additional objective beyond establishing empire. It also existed to create an orderly Christian “imperio universal,” cultivating Christians, property, and justice in forms that Spaniards could recognize.
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The imperial value and meaning of visual and alphabetic literacies remained relevant in the eighteenth century when the Bourbon Crown enacted a series of reforms intended to centralize control in the Spanish Empire. These efforts were a reaction to losses in national and international territory after the War of Spanish Succession (1700-13) and a seventeenth-century slump in the Spanish economy. Bourbon ideals of royal absolutism and Colbertian mercantilism—based on economic policies that focused on maximizing profit and potential—targeted Spain's economically thriving colonies. The Bourbon reforms in Spanish America aimed to regulate and transform the population, as well as exploit American resources and markets in a rational manner, according to the principles of the Hispanic Enlightenment, by modernizing the empire and maximizing fiscal and governmental efficiency. In so doing, the Bourbon Crown also aimed to reassert the hierarchical relationship between Spain and its colonies.

Notarial documents and art worked within this context of order, control, Catholicism, and empire by employing certain structures within their forms to order and control the text (be it alphabetic or visual), thus ensuring that the information was framed appropriately within the wider European hegemonic perspective. In so doing, the information was accepted as Truth and the notarial document and art became sources of legitimacy and authentication for both the information conveyed and the reader/viewer within colonial society. In the case of notarial documents, that structure is the notarial template. In the case of art, it is genre.

In the notarial document, the authority of the notary and the structure of the template protected legal truth by ordering daily life and transactions in colonial society into familiar forms, thus legitimizing those transactions from the perspective of the Spanish legal system. With the power of alphabetic literacy and its graphic mark at their fingertips, notaries held great influence over the ability to shape society through its official records, as the diverse cast of men in colonial society who clients employed to record all legal matters. With such power, they were expected to uphold lealtança, defined in the Siete Partidas laws (the Castilian statutory code) as being loyal to clients and not allowing personal interests to come into play.14 Beyond his position as bureaucratic representative in service to the Crown, it was primarily the notary's intimate relationship with the notarial formula that gave him authority as an author of order. It was his responsibility to know the template, as well as the information that was allowed to be included in each type of document, to properly identify and filter what was to be detailed in the official record based on the oral testimony of his client. It was a process of distilling information into proper forms. Burns describes this as truth by template, or "la verdad hecha a molde," in which regularity rather than singularity distinguished Truth.15 In the case of Doña Josefa, while writing kept her identity alive and relevant in the official record, the notarial template kept her identity and notarial declarations legitimate. Though the notarial document relied on the general ideological power and authority of the word to construct the "lettered
city," it was specifically the presence and lealtança of the notary and the template's ability to impose order and control on information that enabled the document to legitimize its contents.

The ordering and controlling structure of genre acted within the visual arts to offer a similar disciplining role as the notarial template. Genre organized and controlled the information each type of image would convey within a vast and diverse visual world. For example, each religious pictorial sub-genre, such as devotional images or doctrinal images, came with its own distinct iconographic, symbolic, and narrative traits. Genre exercised order in the visual world by emphasizing the importance of clarity and making distinctions between types of images.16 Though not the same, this is similar to the clarity and distinction notarial templates offered different types of legal documents. Clarity defined through a distinction between types of images imposed control over the viewer, requiring knowledge of how to view, react to, and display the image. As anthropologist Joanne Rappaport and art historian Thomas Cummins explain, learning to make distinctions between images and understanding how to see and act in relation to them was an important part of evangelization and indoctrination of the natives, making genre an important tool by which images upheld Christian doctrine in the Spanish colonies.17 Europeans used genre as an ordering structure in images to organize the religious and secular ideas they conveyed into proper, distinct forms according to standards established and recognized by Catholicism, European artistic conventions, and even the Spanish legal system. Similar to the notarial document, through genre, paintings acted to legitimize and authenticate the information they conveyed as building blocks of the "lettered city," which kept the city flourishing.

II. The Intimacy between Visual and Alphabetic Literacies

Words and images were both visual expressions of something absent that affirmed, asserted, upheld, made real, and made Truth of the information they conveyed. Colonial actors understood words and images as being intimately associated and used them both in the same way for similar purposes. For example, portraits or maps were accepted alongside the recorded testimony of witnesses as equal sources of evidence in court.18 They were complementary, mutual, and equal, yet "incommensurate" forms that operated in a system of referentiality broadly to form and characterize European hegemony in the colonial context, and specifically, to affirm oral testimony.19

Self-referentiality also manifested that intertextual relationship in which images and documents directed their power to legitimize and authenticate not only toward people and oral testimony, but also toward one another. Paintings that contain text and notarial documents that describe art explicitly exhibited that inward-turning relationship between word and image. When portraits have text, whether the viewer can read and understand what it says, the portrait draws an immediate connection
between visual and alphabetic literacies in which they turn toward and refer to one another, displaying an intertextual relationship between painting and document.²⁰ It was a process of recreating and reproducing art and notarial word in two legitimate and legitimizing complementary forms. This recreation in turn strengthened the legitimacy of the forms themselves.

Written text appears in portraits in different ways. While on some occasions, it swirls across the canvas in Latin Bible verses flowing from the sitter’s mouth as a show of his/her piety, if the text is written in Spanish, it is most often employed to identify the sitter. When the text describes the sitter’s identity, the artist often presents and codes it in a way that connects specifically to the notarial document and notarial forms of identification. Portraits with written text visually and textually assert different degrees of connection to the notarial document through references to the type of paper notaries used, the type of script they mastered, and the information they conveyed.

It is uncertain whether artists painted the text or employed notaries to do so, but artists certainly made the formal decisions of how to present the text within the painting. Artists typically separate biographical text within the space of the canvas from the sitter in a cartouche or frame, often with a background that mimics the color of parchment paper. In so doing, artists seem to have intentionally mimicked the appearance of the notarial page in their painted inscriptions. The background of the framed text in the portrait of the Marquise, for example, is not a solid swath of color but rather shifts in tone from cream to gray that evokes a bubbling, rough texture. Although the frame would perhaps suggest the words are presented as painting or print, the treatment of the background more similarly mimics imperfections in parchment paper used by notaries as the ink unintentionally bled through the page and the folios became crinkled and swayed from handling and humidity. The 1785 Lima portrait of Doña Maria Rosa de Ribera illustrates that similar conventions were being employed outside of Quito during the same period (Figure 3). The text does not float in Doña Maria’s space but rather is rigidly framed at the bottom, set against a creamy taupe background. That background likewise imitates notarial paper through subtle variations shifting between tones of warm beige as it stretches across the width of the canvas in a slightly less exaggerated rendering than in the portrait of the Marquise.

Beyond the framing of the text, the appearance of the words draws tighter connections to the notarial document. The paintings exhibit specific types of abbreviations that were commonly employed by notaries in both the body of the text and the margins of their records. Notaries most commonly utilized shorthand for words they repeated often throughout the documents, such as titles of address, references to the Crown, and even names. In Doña María’s portrait, those abbreviations include, Da for Doña,
Sra for Señora, Dn for Don, and Sr for Señor, abbreviations also used in Doña Josefa’s testament. The text of her portrait reads:

La Sra Da Maria Rosa de Ribera Mendoza y Ramos Galbán, Borja Maldonado y Muñoz Ojeda y/
Caballero, Condesa de la Vega del Ren, Natural de esta Ciudad, muger legitima del Sr
Dn Matías Vaz/
quez de Acuña y Menacho, Conde de la Vega del Ren.21

The Marquise’s portrait likewise utilizes abbreviations for Doña and Santa. Furthermore, notaries tended to pack as many letters and words per line as possible, cutting words apart at random when they reached the edge of the page, as is done with the words “Latacunga” and “Santisima” in the opening clause of Doña Josefa’s testament (Figure 2). They did this to take full advantage of each folio because the cost of notarial documents was typically per sheet. Doña María’s portrait mimics this practice where the name Vázquez is cut in half.

Another rather common practice by notaries exhibited in the opening clause of Doña Josefa’s testament is the indiscriminate use of capitalized letters. While at times the vertically cramped script in each line renders it difficult to perceive capital letters, when they are discernible they seem to be employed without any guiding logic. For example, while Doña Josefa’s introductory clause capitalizes “Santisima Trinidad, Padre, Hijo...” it does not capitalize “espíritu,” which seems a logically capitalized companion to the other two components of the Holy Trinity. The text in the Marquise’s portrait exhibits similar randomness by capitalizing “Selva” but not “alegre” in the title “Selva Alegre.”

Figure 3. Pedro José Díaz, Portrait of Doña María Rosa de Rivera, Condesa de la Vega del Ren, c. 1785, Oil on canvas, 200 x 133 cm, Collection of Carl & Marilynn Thoma. Image courtesy of the Carl and Marilynn Thoma Art Foundation, image by The Conservation Center.
Finally, both portraits make visual references to the notary’s signature. The artist of the Lima portrait, Pedro José Díaz (active 1770-1810), places his signature in the bottom right corner of the canvas within the cartouche, evoking the authoritative signatures of notaries that conclude notarial documents. Though he does not offer his own signature, the anonymous artist of the Marquise’s portrait adds a swirling flourish at the bottom of the framed document. This evokes the inimitable “signo,” a complex curvilinear composition associated with notaries’ signatures (often placed near or below the signature) that exhibited a mastery with the quill, an assurance that his signature could not be copied, and thereby a reminder of the notary’s state-sanctioned, authoritative presence. The anonymous painter conjures the legitimacy of the notarial document through a reference to the notary.

Because the text in the portrait was likely executed with a paintbrush and at a slower, more careful pace than the speed in which scribes and notaries worked, the calligraphic quality of the script in portraits does not perfectly mimic the notarial document, and varies between portraits. The script in Doña Marí’s portrait is more rigid with each letter squared off in relation to one another and depicted through bold lines. The script in the Marquise portrait, however, is treated in lighter color with more rounded letters that are spaced further apart, appearing freer, and perhaps betraying an insecurity with this unique manipulation of brush on canvas. Together, these two portraits exhibit less standardization of handwriting than appears in notarial documents. Furthermore, in neither portrait is the script as fluid. Both look like time was spent executing the letters, whereas in Doña Josefina’s testament the letters race across the page sometimes connecting with one another and varying in tone as the quill drains of ink, in a show of the speed at which the scribe seems to have been working. By contrast, the paintings display the text quite clearly and legibly with each letter and word cautiously placed in each line and inhabiting its own space. It seems that these differences can be accounted for by the fact that the text was painted, not written. Despite these subtle differences, the myriad of formal attributes offer a visual immediacy to the audience, enabling the viewer to relate the portrait to a notarial document and its authority whether or not they could read what the text said.

What the words express further elaborates the notarial connection for the literate viewer. The portrait of Doña María directly engages in that relationship by following the formula employed by notaries to introduce clients in official documents. It reads very similarly to the opening clause of Doña Josefina’s testament. Typically, declarations of identity are spread throughout a testament. The first clause offers the person’s name, a title if he/she has one, his/her status as “natural” and/or “vecino/a” of a specific city, and if he/she is of legitimate birth from parents in a legitimate marriage. Later in the document, marital status and children are addressed along with a statement on their legitimacy. The document follows the formula exactly by stating Doña Josefina’s name, her place within the Audiencia of Quito as a natural civilian of the small city of Latacunga, and her familial position as a legitimate daughter. As the text continues on
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the reverse side of the folio, it also declares she is the legitimate widow of General Don Manuel de Aguilar Enze, Corregidor and Justicia Mayor (Royal Justice/Magistrate) of Ibarra and mother of two surviving legitimate sons under the age of fourteen as the product of that marriage. In all of these things she is legítima or “legitimate.” Compressing the information into three lines at the bottom of the canvas, the artist renders the text in Doña María’s portrait in a way that ties into the notarial structure by putting the same information in the same order. It states her name, title, status as civilian of Lima, and her marital status and its legitimacy. The only detail it excludes is her status as a daughter. Given the limited amount of space, perhaps stating her parents’ names and the legitimacy of their marriage was deemed of lesser importance to the other aspects of identification.

The information conveyed in the Marquise portrait differs from that of Doña María’s. Her name, title, death, and birth dates, are all that the eight curt lines state. The opening clauses of notarial documents, like testaments, do not typically include birth and death dates. Instead, this seems to draw a closer connection to colonial census records. This illustrates not only that artists could reference a range of types of notarial documents, not only extrajudicial records, but also that while portraits relied on notarial conventions, it was not necessary to employ the exact notarial template of identification for reference to the notarial document to be made. As the death date in the text indicates, the Marquise’s family commissioned the portrait posthumously to serve as proof of nobility to later obtain royal appointments and benefits. The Marquise was part of the most influential circle of society in Quito during her time, coming from a well-connected family of large landholders. The death dates ensured recognition of the fact that she had indeed died, rightfully transferring her legacy and estate to her legal inheritors and descendants.

Furthermore, although the text does not connect specifically to the testament, the presence of the figure of Our Lady of el Quinche calls forth the testament in an indirect way. The sculpture would have perhaps been mentioned in her final will just as Doña Josefa’s testament describes a figure of the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception (also known as La Purísima) in her own collection. Owning these sculptures attests to the women’s piety, something made visually explicit in the Quito portrait, as the Marquise actively engages in her personal oratory with her children. This flaunts the status of her Catholic soul in a manner similar to the opening clause of a testament. Having been executed posthumously, the portrait makes death present, calling forth the necessity of making the statements that testaments formulaically repeated. The painting and the text together ensured that her legacy remained alive, relevant, and legitimate in colonial society.

The text in both paintings, and portraits more generally, served to support the formal conventions of portraiture to record a colonial persona that emphasized public service, social standing, wealth, piety, and hereditary privileges, as they were dictated
by colonial social ideals. These qualities are portrayed in both Doña María's and the Marquise's portraits. While Doña María's portrait expresses her nobility through the heraldic escutcheon floating in the top left corner, the Marquise's portrait emphasizes her piety. The elegant dress of both women exhibits the wealth expected to accompany elite social standing. What seems to be an elaborate extension of the Marquise's sleeve are actually costly layers of gold, pearl, and blue (perhaps lapis lazuli) bracelets. The image and text together draw an explicit intertextual link between portraiture and the notarial document and office of notary. The paintings present textual description as more than mere biographical description of identity. It is specifically notarial identity. It is not only the text that makes that connection. The artist and client chose to have the painting perform the work to make that connection. The text, after all, is not written on the canvas with quill and ink. It is painted.

That intertextual link between art and notarial document in which art manifests word is echoed from the notarial record back to art, in which word manifests art. Through textual description, ekphrasis transformed images into words. In the case of the notarial document, description conjures images to record the composition of estates using the appropriate amount of detail in testaments, dowries, sales, and inventories. Doña Josefa's testament inventories her estate in great detail, which was organized into rough categories of bienes, or valuables, that included over one hundred six works of art described across one and a half folios. The template limits the descriptions to the details identified as necessary in notarial manuals. In the 1786 edition of his Librería de escribanos o instrucción juridical teórico-práctica de principiantes, José Febrero states that inventories should be divided into classes of things with individual descriptors of weight, measure, make, color, quality, sex, age, adjoining features, and any other corresponding aspects. Following these guidelines, description in Doña Josefa's testament, and all other notarial documents in which valuables are inventoried, is rather limited. An example from her testament of each type of artwork—canvas painting, copper-plate painting (lamina), and sculpture—is as follows: "Un lienzo de retrato de mi difunto marido," "Seis laminas con los marcos dorados de diferentes advocaciones de más de vara de alto," and "una Imagen de bulto de la Purísima con su vestido de ceda color rosada sobre su peña dorada." For each type of artwork, a brisk description of the type of image, subject matter, height, color, and corresponding elements of display are offered. Like the text in portraits, the textual description of art helps support Doña Josefa's identity as a devout Catholic and a person of significant wealth. It also, however, draws the image into the notarial document, duplicating the intertextual, self-referential connection made by portraiture in which notarial document is drawn into the image. Word, in fact, becomes art.

The mention of a portrait of her dead husband in Doña Josefa's art collection and the sculpture depicted in the Marquise portrait move toward solidifying the intertextual connection. Because he was the Corregidor and Justicia Mayor (Royal Justice/
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Magistrate) of Ibarra, it is likely that his portrait would have looked quite similar to the Marquise's with a comparable cartouche, given that they both held important social positions in the Audiencia in the later decades of the eighteenth century. Like all images described in documents, however, the notarial document invokes the portrait of Doña Josefina's husband in an incomplete way. The reader gets a mental picture of the work, but it is lacking in its descriptive limitations due to notarial guidelines, just as a description of the Marquise's sculpture of Our Lady of el Quinche would be lacking if it appeared in her testament. Meanwhile, the viewer reading an inscription in a painting gets an abbreviated sense of the individual's legitimacy, but the image offers more. While similar, each source offers something the other does not.

With the intertextual relationship between notarial word and image through testaments and portraits, the two forms of literacy are drawn closer together. This relationship was about more than just word appearing in image and image in word, calling forth general notions of the connection between visual and alphabetic literacies. It is the type of text and information expressed that draws specific ties between portrait and notarial document, and notarial document and portrait. Although they remain incommensurate forms, the intertextual relationship collapses the distance between the forms, establishing and reiterating a tight intimacy, as the distinctness of their separation becomes less easily defined.

III. The Role of Intertextual Intimacy for Document & Image

By establishing a firm union between the two forms, the intertextual relationship creates a mutually beneficial, symbiotic relationship. This connection relies on the power of visual and alphabetic literacies as two recognized legitimate technologies that strengthen the legitimacy of one another. Turning toward one another allows for the second iteration of notarial document and portrait, be it in word or image, to hold as much legitimacy in its recreation as the original. In portraits, while word lends strength to, and enhances, the legitimacy of the portrait in its expression of identity, the portrait itself and the strength it embodies as a form of visual literacy likewise lends legitimacy to the notarial word. In notarial documents, the same process is repeated in which art collections are remade through word and given new existence through the graphic mark. This self-referentiality that relied upon notions of power, legitimacy, and complementarity to strengthen notarial document and portrait as forms of visual and alphabetic literacy was necessitated by their individual and shared limitations.

Despite the legitimizing power the ordering structure that template and genre offered notarial documents and pictorial images, boundaries, limitations, and anxieties, about their potential "doubts to Truth" continually confronted the two forms. Both notarial documents and images faced constant colonial anxieties surrounding distrust of their veracity. Despite their presumed ability to uphold Spanish hegemony
in the “New World” and legitimize information and ideas, the practice of producing and interacting with notarial documents and images meant that template and genre were not impenetrable or perfect structures for creating imperial order. In the case of notarial documents, Tamar Herzog demonstrates that, despite vows of lealtança, notaries in Quito, as active members of the community, were not uninterested parties. Herzog identifies notaries instead as a, “bridge between the formal, public technical world, on the one hand, and on the other, the circumstances, desires, and interests of individuals.”

Burns describes a very similar situation in Cuzco in which notaries manipulated and were themselves instruments of notarial manipulation for local, personal agendas. The myriad of notarial manuals outlining ways to avoid fraud that were produced throughout the colonial period serves as evidence of an anxiety about potential abuse and corruption. There was an underlying skepticism of what the notarial document stated paradoxically due to the notary, whose signature was intended to lend the document authority and legitimacy. Doña Josefa’s testament, for example, reiterates throughout the document that in all aspects of her identity she is “legítima.” This betrays a degree of anxiety about the truth of her words, perhaps implicitly acknowledging the potential for notarial manipulation, despite the supposed legitimacy of the testament as affirmed through the written word, the template, the signature of the notary, and the signatures of several witnesses. Genre faced similar anxieties about Truth due to personal interaction. A delicate balance and tension had to be developed between deceiving the viewer through the illusion and emotion of the image to embrace Catholic doctrine, and disillusioning him or her to ensure an intellectual distance was maintained to avoid the danger of idolatry.

Within this balance, however, the image is bound up in notions of deception, thus inherently weakening its trustworthiness and the reliability of the genuineness of all images, including portraits. Given their “doubts to Truth” are based in unique and differing problems, both notarial document and portrait use their broad notions of power and specific structure of legitimacy through the template and genre to neutralize these issues by lending legitimacy to their counterparts.

The union of complementarity also allowed text and image to transcend their communicative barriers. A lack of immediacy limits text given the sequential quality of the organization of words in sentences. The information cannot be presented to the reader in an instant, but must build across the page (or canvas) as it is read. Looking at paintings, by contrast, the viewer can observe many details simultaneously or in quick succession as the eye scans the image. In addition, images bring the audience into direct and instant involvement by imitating the recognizable visual world. In the case of the relationship between notarial documents and portraits, the portrait offered an instant recognition of a person’s identity through mimetic representation and details, such as dress, that the expression of identity throughout a notarial document simply could not offer as quickly. This made the image more accessible to non-literate audiences who would have come into contact with it in homes, public
buildings, and religious and secular offices. If the painting were displayed in the home, for example, not only would the family have viewed it, but also a wide social range of guests, the family’s servants, and potentially slaves. The colonial home was an open, active social space, demanding the ability of the portrait to communicate to all types of viewers. Civic spaces entered portraits into an equally open viewing context. On the other hand, images have temporal limitations in their expression of a narrative. The absence of linear time means that portraits cannot convey the span of someone’s lifetime and their deeds. As seen in the portrait of the Marquise, text can supplement this limitation by offering specific dates.

Finally, both text and image, generally, and notarial document and portrait, specifically, faced spatial issues. Aside from images of important and noteworthy individuals, such as the Spanish royal family, which were used and moved about in official ceremonies, portraits were limited to the spaces in which they were displayed. Artists rarely made duplicates, making the portrait’s physical context its one and only unique, site-specific location. By placing works of art in the notarial record through written description, notarial documents, such as testaments, used the power of word and the legitimizing structure of the template to recreate or remake the work of art. It was a process of recreating the material through the immaterial in which an entire collection became more than an inventoried list or duplication. It became a new iteration of that collection in the notarial document. That recreation, in turn, drew the work of art outside of the home and into the official, legitimate notarial sphere of Spanish bureaucracy. The mention of the portrait of Doña Josefa’s dead husband in her testament was significant because, as a recreation of that portrait in word, it allowed the portrait to transcend the space of their shared home. This fortified the importance of art possession, as well as the significance and role of art itself and its meaning in the colonial world by duplicating it and recognizing it in the official record.

Portraits offered a similar haven and opportunity of spatial transcendence to notarial documents. The process of drawing up an extrajudicial notarial document involved creating a draft called the nota or minuta, which needed to be agreed upon by the clients after which the notary executed and delivered an exact final copy to the clients. The notarial document therefore did not face the issue of singularity the way portraits did. Nor was it confined to a single space. The spatial issue notarial document faced was that of disorder. Because the files were public and used daily, Herzog explains that maintaining the organization of the archive was impossible. It was not uncommon for a notary to establish his workshop in his home, blurring the boundaries between spaces in which official documents were sometimes stored in the notary’s private residence. One can only imagine decades’ worth of volumes filled with hundreds of documents belonging to entire neighborhoods lining the walls, and perhaps floors, of notarial workshops, creating a towering labyrinth of legal paperwork. Furthermore, the workshop/home was not an entirely reliable
storage space. Burns notes on more than one occasion that apprentices in Cuzco were accused of pilfering old documents to sell them to fireworks makers because parchment was considered an excellent and effective component in the production of pyrotechnics. Portraits offered notarial documents a single fixed, organized space in which to be manifested and displayed. By offering the notarial word a legitimate receptacle in which to be expressed outside the notarial workshop, it allowed the notarial document to transcend its space and overcome the issue of disorder and potential theft. Perhaps lost in the web of the notarial workshop, Doña Maria’s and the Marquise’s identities and references to their notarial presence were made present in the sobering control of the framed portrait that was autonomously displayed, a stark contrast to the bound volumes heavy with hundreds of folios that held a myriad of identities. The portrait brought the notarial into the social sphere. In the end, the intimate, collapsed relationship between notarial document and portraiture was a process in which the legitimacy of the complementary form strengthened the truths of both documents, and recreated and remade them anew, rather than only duplicating them, and enabled them to transcend their spatial limitations in the colonial context. Both portrait and notarial document kept the individuals’ history alive as forms of literacy that established and maintained the past for the colonial present.

IV. The Role of Intertextual Intimacy in Colonial Society

The close, reciprocal relationship between notarial document and portraiture had a role that extended beyond legitimizing one another in colonial culture. The recreation and strengthening of forms served to fortify the eighteenth-century “lettered city.” In so doing, it affirmed the colonial social structure while simultaneously acknowledging and authenticating local colonial reality, which conflicted with imperial ideals later in the century.

On the one hand, the recreation and spatial transcendence that the intimate intertextual and self-referential relationship between notarial document and portrait enacted can be understood as working within the context of a renewed emphasis on imperial control under Bourbon rule in the eighteenth century. As material and textual objects that served to uphold the legitimacy of lettered culture in the “New World,” notarial documents and images were important building blocks for the construction and maintenance of the “lettered city.” By including word in art and art in word in a way that allowed for portrait and notarial document to reinforce one another, the self-referential relationship between them recreated and duplicated each anew in its complementary form. This constructed twice as many building blocks for the “lettered city” in the Americas through two distinctive forms, offering reinforcement in the form of doubling and reiteration. Furthermore, by allowing notarial documents and art to surpass their imagined spatial limitations within the urban environment, that relationship also functioned to draw new and redraw old imagined avenues of visual and alphabetic literacy across colonial cities and territories. While they resided in
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the notarial workshop, testaments, inventories, and dowries, spoke of art, including portraits that inhabited a myriad of spaces. Portraits could be found in rural haciendas distant from city centers, in homes and rooms adjacent to notarial workshops, across the street, and down the road. The intertextuality created spatial links in the colonial imaginary that crisscrossed not only the urban context, but also the Audiencia as a whole. The power of those spatial ties can be understood to serve the “lettered city” as something that was defined not only as an important system of communication, but also a space that was experienced according to an imperial formula. Reading the history and identity of a place physically through space had a strong precedent in the viceroyalties. The grid plan organized around a central plaza could be read in association with Roman imperialism (among numerous other early modern town-planning ideals), as a mechanism of order while the lack of walls surrounding cities spoke to mendicant utopian ideals, thus appealing to both Catholic and imperial foundations of the “lettered city.”

The imagined roads connecting art and documents floated in the air through the minds of colonial actors who saw and engaged with word and art. This added a layer of power read through the space of the city, though this layer was not experienced physically through the city’s grid plan. The intertextual intimacy added a layer that was conceptual and imagined, drawing the “lettered city” from the physical space of the streets and the textual space of the document into the conceptual space and mind of the colonial actor. Intertextual intimacy became an act of constant rebuilding to fortify the “lettered city,” that involved patron, artist, and viewer, and which constructed more imperial roads across imagined space with each new document and work of art.

By contrast, despite the ideals of “enlightened despotism,” colonialism as the larger cultural system in which art functioned was an ongoing and complex process that involved negotiation, resistance, reconciliation, and manipulation of ideas, positions, and material and visual forms. The complexity of colonialism and colonial culture meant that while the Spanish Crown renewed its imperial goals, it also witnessed a rise in the Americas of a sense of local identity. As Juana Gutiérrez-Haces explains, when the Spanish dominions were initially established, they were understood as replicas of Spain, in other words, a “Spain in America and not of America.”

By the end of the seventeenth century, however, a growing sense of identification with the local began to combat this notion especially among creoles, a powerful segment of the colonial population who were direct European descendants born in the Spanish colonies. Known as criollismo, this phenomenon intensified in the eighteenth century and was about creoles making the American context their own by reversing this ideological composition of the colonies to make it a Spain of the “New World.”

Art authenticated criollismo and local identity by depicting and celebrating the wealth and abundance of the viceroyalties and its inhabitants, as can be witnessed in portraiture. The genre of portraiture rose in popularity in the eighteenth century for this reason. Meanwhile notarial documents served to officially record that
same status and identity in the Spanish bureaucratic system. Both art and notarial
document, in their own ways, were the means by which people defined themselves
and established their identities and relationships to other people in colonial culture.
They were both tools of self-fashioning that kept their identities and names alive in the
"lettered city" even after death. Although the "lettered city" regimented the Spanish
Empire and Catholicism, it was manifested in local life and culture. The same building
blocks that worked to fortify the "lettered city" therefore also worked to uphold
and affirm rising connections to the local. The recreation of forms meant that two
iterations of identity stretched across the city in two legitimate forms, reinforcing the
presence and participation of the colonial actors in their communities. The resulting
transcendence of space from the intertextual intimacy likewise drew ties of identity
across the city that authenticated and fortified the sense of the local. As the century
wore on and frustrations with the impact of the Bourbon Reforms grew across the
Americas, this growing sense of American identity contributed to aspirations for
independence from Spain.

By asserting lettered culture as a form of authority and means of keeping the past
alive, the Spaniards placed high stakes on maintaining alphabetic and visual literacy
in the viceroyalties. Given that the "lettered city" supported both imperial and local
ideals and perspectives, it was imperative that it be re-affirmed and upheld because
people engaged with it on a daily basis. While using visual and alphabetic literacies
and the systems they upheld meant consolidating and reproducing European
hegemony and establishing a past for a present identity, manipulations of and
negotiations within the system meant that personal, local agendas had the power
and potential to chip away at the ideological and administrative legitimacy of the
system as a whole. Furthermore, the ability of writing to establish identity by bridging
a connection between past, present, and future, was only made possible if the ability
to decipher that particular form of writing was maintained. Spaniards could not
risk the importance of legal writing being replaced or falling out of use the way they
fercibly supplanted indigenous forms of communication. For people to know where
their place was within the hierarchy of higher authority, the system that structured
that authority needed to be maintained. It was about identity being established and
abiding across space and time despite the many changes that space and time endure.
Colonial actors themselves were making the intertextual relationship manifest as
owners of art and commissioners of portraiture, as well as clients commissioning
notarial documents. Inserting oneself in a system of order meant knowing one's
place in the face of ambiguity. This was especially relevant in the eighteenth century
when miscegenation blurred the lines that had previously connected social class with
appearance and led to anxieties about social identification. In the end, intertextual
intimacy was made manifest because both the notarial documents and portraits, as
forms of literacy and building blocks of lettered culture, and the broad structure of
the "lettered city" itself needed to be maintained and upheld in the face of boundaries,
limitations, and daily realities.
V. Remapping the Relationship between Art and Archive

Art historians of colonial Latin America keep the past alive by turning to archives, institutions that house the dismantled building blocks of the colonial "lettered city." Following early twentieth-century precedents, the prevailing approach is to use archives as repositories of information. This method has resulted in two phenomena: the expansion of the field of colonial art history in new and different directions, and a consolidation of the perception of the relationship between art and the archive as separate and distant, despite the intimate relationship many art historians have with both. Scholars have established that distance not only as a separation of the type of information the two sources can offer on the visual culture of colonial Latin America, but also a separation of the forms themselves in which art is understood to have existed and participated in a sphere separate from that of the archive in colonial society. Despite this distance, scholars have made fruitful use of the archive. By examining documents, such as testaments, inventories, dowries, commissions and contracts, mercantile records, census records, inquisitorial records, and more, scholars have developed a nuanced understanding of diverse factors involved in the production, circulation, context, and role of art and artist in colonial culture. The intimate, reciprocal relationship between colonial art and colonial notarial document, however, also reveals an intimate relationship between art and archive. Given the intimate intertextual relationship between legal writing and art, as exemplified between testaments and portraiture, legal writing influenced the production, presence, and development of art. As scholars, we must take this into consideration to remap the boundaries we have drawn between art and archive in the field of colonial Latin American art history.

Scholars working in the field of colonial Latin American art tend to observe the distance between art and notarial document, seeing and using them primarily as mutual, complementary, equal, yet incommensurate forms. Despite the numerous contributions to the study of colonial art that the archive offers, when conceived of and used solely as a repository of information the archive becomes a limited resource. Archives do not fully reveal specific information surrounding the visual impact of art. Given the limits placed on ekphrasis by the notarial template, notarial documents rarely allude to the specific formal qualities of the art. Based on these limitations, archival documents are used as a corollary source to images. Works of art, however, are not housed in archives, only the documents that potentially describe them are. To conduct visual analysis in an effort to understand the visual qualities and significance of images, therefore, art historians must seek out entirely separate institutions: usually either the museum or a religious institution. This literally and conceptually distances the archival document and art. The spaces that house them and the types of information they offer are separate. As a result of the perceived distance between colonial art and archive, the self-referential relationship between the two has been overlooked. Yet, the fact that notarial documents offer information on art forms at all,
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blurs the distance between the two, for—by way of description through words—art is in fact housed in the archive.

In the past fifteen years, various scholars have called for a renewed approach that pushes the boundaries of our use and conception of the archive. Burns and anthropologist Ann Laura Stoler urge for a consideration of the processes and conceptions surrounding the original production of documents present in an archive as much as a consideration of the information the documents hold. Stoler argues that we should work "along the archival grain," first examining the conventions that produced notarial records to then understand how archives produced knowledge and acted as cultural agents.37 Burns urges scholars to recognize that document making did not take place in a social vacuum, describing archives as chessboards, "full of gambits, scripted moves, and countermoves."38 She states that we must understand the rules of the game to recognize agendas and get the most from our sources. Both scholars, as well as historian Randolph Starn, implore historians to recognize that colonial doubts to Truth of the notarial document carried forward into the modern archive and therefore our sources harbor a certain ambiguity of information.39

I likewise urge for recognition among art historians who use archives of yet another socially and ideologically charged process involved in the creation of the notarial documents: that of putting word into art and art into word and the collapsing of distance between them. By recognizing the intimate intertextual relationship between notarial document and art in terms of the prevailing colonial ideals and realities surrounding visual and alphabetic literacy that guided document-production in the "lettered city," the perceived distance between art and archive is narrowed. While this does not correct the ekphrastic limitations of the archive, it does offer a novel perspective on how art and archive worked together to participate and function in society together to uphold the "lettered city," create knowledge, and keep the past alive. The intertextual relationship creates an ambiguity, not necessarily of information, but rather for the two forms themselves as manifestations of visual and alphabetic literacy that were at once separate and yet also united. We must therefore move beyond using them only as mutual yet incommensurate sources to engage with the shrinking of the distance between them that intertextual intimacy enacted. It is necessary to ask what it means for knowledge production and the maintenance of a living past in colonial society for art to have existed in the archive. If what scholars do by using the archive is build narrative and apply retrospective significance, and the narrative is built around the sources that inhabit the archive, then looking at the sources and their forms in a new way should offer a new way of building narrative, applying retrospective significance, and thereby writing history.40 Art and notarial document were actively, and mutually, involved in knowledge production.

The visual and material forms of alphabetic and visual literacy within colonial culture can be reconsidered by applying the imperial, ideological mode of thinking about
visual and alphabetic literacy to portraits and the notarial document. The underlying power and legitimacy of visual and alphabetic literacies gave meaning to the presences of and relationship between word in image and image in word. It was a process of recreating and reproducing art and notarial word in two legitimate, complementary forms that transcended their boundaries and limitations. This intertextual intimacy in turn strengthened the legitimacy of the forms themselves while it also worked to strengthen the "lettered city." Both the colonial social structure and local reality were simultaneously authenticated and affirmed. In addition, this intimate, reciprocal relationship between colonial art and colonial notarial document reveals an intimate relationship between art and archive. Although the art-archive intertextual framework does not erase the distance between art and archive—for I do not believe anything could—it does offer an additional, alternative view that dramatically narrows that distance. In the end, Doña María’s and the Marquise’s portraits and Doña Josefa’s testament embodied visual and notarial connections across colonial culture that served both themselves and their society, keeping them all alive for today’s scholars to save them from historical oblivion.

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LESLEY E. TODD is a Ph. D Candidate in the Department of Art History at the University of Florida in Gainesville, Florida. This essay is part of her dissertation, which focuses on eighteenth-century sculpture in colonial Quito to question the relationship between art and society, part of which includes how that relationship manifested in the notarial sphere. She is grateful to her colleagues and her advisor, Maya Stanfield-Mazzi, whose encouragement and careful feedback helped improve this article. The research for this article, and more broadly the dissertation, was made possible by funding granted through the Center for Latin American Studies Field Research Grant from the Center of Latin American Studies at the University of Florida, the Graduate School Doctoral Research Travel Award from the University of Florida, and the Fulbright-Hays Doctoral Dissertation Research Award.

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NOTES

1 The Portrait of the Marquise of Selva Alegre is part of a companion set in which her husband, Juan Pío Montúfar y Fraso, the Marquis of Selva Alegre, kneels in his own oratory with their other two children praying to a painting of Our Lady of Mercy.

2 The lady María Rosa Rafaela de Larrea Zurbano and Santa Coloma Marquise of Selva Alegre born the 22nd of October in the year 1734 and died on the 5th of August in 1761.
Archivo Nacional de Ecuador (ANH/Q), Sección Protocolos Notariales, 1a Notaria, vol. 423, fols. 596r-601r. Translation my own: in the name of God Almighty. Amen. That those who read this last will and testament may see, that I Doña Josefa Viteri y Lomas was born in the seat of Latacunga, am the legitimate daughter of Don Pedro Viteri y Lerero and of Doña Antonia del Lomas y Guerrero, she born in this city [Quito] and he born in that of Guayaquil, being as I am sick in bed with the accident God our Father chose to serve me, am in possession of my entire sanity, memory, and natural understanding: I believe resolutely and truthfully in the Mystery of the Holy Trinity Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, three distinct people, and no more than one truthful God...

Many works by Thomas Cummins discuss the impact of European perceptions and employments of visual and alphabetic literacies in the Andes as well as the intimate relationship between the two. His work in this area has been highly influential in the scholarship and has impacted the course of this article in direct ways. In particular his articles entitled "Representation in the Sixteenth Century and the Colonial Image of the Inca," "Let Me See! Reading Is for Them: Colonial Andean Images and Objects 'como es costumbre tener los caciques Señores,'" and "From Lies to Truth: Colonial Ekphrasis and the Act of Crosscultural Translation," (all cited later in this article) and his 2012 book with Joanne Rappaport (also cited later in this article). Ray Hernández-Durán's "The Language of Line in Late Eighteenth-Century New Spain: The Calligraphic Equestrian Portrait of Bernardo de Gálvez (1796)" in Buen Gusto and Classicism in the Visual Cultures of Latin America, 1780-1910 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2013) was also influential for my work as it explores the signifying relationship between text and image in the context of the power, presence, and truth of the written word by examining the calligraphic equestrian portrait of Bernardo de Gálvez, the former viceroy of New Spain. He demonstrates that a single image can occupy the "interstitial space between two signifying polarities: writing/text and picture/image." (190).

Joanne Rappaport and Thomas Cummins, Beyond the Lettered City: Indigenous Literacies in the Andes (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012), 63-64. The same idea of the legitimacies and importance of images in the communication of the Catholic faith was reiterated by the Council of Trent in its last session on December 4, 1563. The verses are as follows: John 1:1 "In the beginning was the Word: and the Word was with God: and the Word was God." John 1:14 "And the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us (and we saw his glory, the glory as it were of the only begotten of the Father), full of grace and truth."


MacCormack illustrates the importance Spaniards placed on viewing and saving the past. The Diodorus Siculus quote reads: "Unquestionably, human beings are deeply indebted to those who write, because it is thanks to their labours that the events that mark the passing ages are alive." (Ibid., 39).


12 Kathryn Burns illustrates that the men who built the lettered city were not elites, but rather primarily men in the “middle.” Rappaport and Cummins demonstrate that the lettered city was not accessed and used solely by Spaniards, but also by indigenous peoples who accessed and exercised a certain degree of agency and power in the lettered culture. José Ramón Jouve Martín demonstrates a similar participation and self-assertion by slaves and people of African descent in Lima who were able to employ notaries in *Esclavos de la ciudad letrada: esclavitud, escritura y colonialismo en Lima* (1650-1700) (Lima: IEP, Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2005). Rappaport and Cummins also illustrate that the tools and materials that constructed the lettered city were not only forms of alphabetic literacy and documents, but also images and rituals.


14 Ibid., xi, 27.


16 Rappaport and Cummins, *Beyond the Lettered City*, 54, 66.


19 Ibid.

20 Ibid., 204-5.

21 Translation my own: Mrs. María Rosa de Ribera Mendosa y Ramos Galbán, Borja Maldonado y Muñoz Ojeda y Caballero, Countess of Vega del Ren, natural born citizen of this city [Lima], legitimate wife of Mr. Matias Vázquez de Acuña y Menacho, Count of Vega del Ren.


24 José Febrero, *Librería de escribanos o instrucción jurídico-teórico-práctica de principiantes*, vol. 1 (Madrid 1786), 22. Febrero’s guidance, as opposed to that of numerous other authors, is especially relevant in Quito testaments because this particular manual is noted in the testament of Quito notary, Don Atanacio Olea, ANH/Q, Sección Protocolos Notariales, 4a notaría, vol. 115, fols. 42r-43v.

25 ANH/Q, Sección Protocolos Notariales, 1a Notaría, vol. 423, fols. 597r-698v. Translation: A canvas with a portrait of my dead husband, six prints with gilded frames of different advocations of more than a vara in height, and a sculpted image of Our Lady of Purity with a pink silk dress set on a gilded stand. (A vara is a unit of measure about a meter in length.)

26 A closer comparison would be to a portrait of Carondelet, the president of the Audiencia of Quito from 1798 until his death in 1807, which also exhibits a cartouche that identifies his titles, positions, and illustrious works. Given that they held similar political and administrative positions in the Spanish Empire, it is likely that the portrait of Doña Josefa’s husband followed similar traditions of depicting Spanish officers in the colonies in the eighteenth century in which text was employed. That portrait can be found in *The Art of Painting in Colonial Quito* (Philadelphia: St. Joseph’s University Press, 2011).

27 In his 1995 article, Cummins explains that the objective of Martín de Murúa referencing images to the text in the *Historia del origen y genealogía real de los reyes Incas del Perú* was “to find an acceptable neutral site upon which the doubts to truth can be put to rest by means of visual confirmation.” Cummins, “From Lies to Truth,” 171.

28 Tamar Herzog, *Mediación, archivos y ejercicio: los escribanos de Quito (siglo XVII)* (Frankfurt am Main: V. Klostermann, 1996), 5.

29 Rappaport and Cummins, *Beyond the Lettered City*, 112.


31 Burns, *Into the Archive*, 37-38. The *minuta* was an authorized draft and is what populates archives today.


33 Burns, *Into the Archive*, 70-73.


One way in which scholars have made use of archive as repository of information has been to examine the lives of artists. For example, in his 1991 article “Cosme de Acuña y la influencia de la escuela madrileña de finales del S. XVIII en América,” Boletín de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, no. 73 (1991): 135-78, José Manuel Arnáiz makes use of archives to uncover information on Cosme de Acuña who, according to Arnáiz, had been lost in the historiography. Meanwhile, archival documents have also been used to garner details of artist’s careers that tie them to their communities as Luisa Elena Alcalá does with documents on Francisco Martínez in her article “La obra del pintor novohispano Francisco Martínez,” Anales del Museo de América, no. 7 (1999): 175–87. In “This Noble and Illustrious Art: Painters and the Politics of Guild Reform in Early Modern Mexico City, 1674–1768,” in Mexican Soundings: Essays in Honour of David A. Brading (London: Institute for the Study of the Americas, 2007): 67–98, Susan Deans-Smith uses the archives to understand artists’ interests and problems and how they framed them. Archives have also helped scholars understand how other colonial actors were tied to art such as patrons and owners. For example, in “The Possessor’s Agency,” Maya Stanfield-Mazzi makes use of an inventory to understand the personal means and influence of Maria Angela Cachícatari, an indigenous female owner in Puno, Peru. Archival documents have also had an important role in shaping how scholars conceive of the power and role assigned to art forms in colonial culture. Kelly Donahue-Wallace’s “Printmakers in Eighteenth Century Mexico City: Francisco Silverio, José Mariano Navarro, José Benito Ortuño and Manuel Galicia de Villavicencio,” Anales Del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, 23, no. 78 (Fall 2001): 221–34, reveals the importance of prints. Teresa Gisbert who demonstrates images of Inca kings were deemed too powerful to be allowed to be produced after the Tupac Amaru rebellion in 1780 in “Los Incas en la pintura virreinal del siglo XVIII,” América Indígena 39, no. 4 (1979): 749–72. Meanwhile, archives have also served to provide ample context on the socio-cultural politics surrounding certain art forms as exemplified by Magali Carrera’s use of notarial documents in her book Imagining Identity in New Spain Race, Lineage, and the Colonial Body in Portraiture and Casta Paintings (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003) on race and casta paintings. Furthermore, archival documents can be used to understand the global circulation of images as Alcalá demonstrates in “De compras por Europa: procuradores jesuitas y cultura material en Nueva España,” Goya: Revista de Arte, no. 318 (2007): 141–58.


Burns, Into the Archive, 124, 126.


Rappaport and Cummins, Beyond the Lettered City, 153-54. Rappaport and Cummins cite Michel-Rolph Trouillot’s ideas of how history is created in four steps: first, the creation of sources called “fact creation”; second, the creation of archives using these sources, called “fact assembly”; third, the retrieval of facts in a process called “narrative creation”; and fourth, the application of retrospective significance to the retrieved facts.