

JANE E. MANGAN: *Trading Roles. Gender, Ethnicity, and the Urban Economy in Colonial Potosí*. Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2005.

The mines of Potosí started attracting a very diverse population right after their discovery by the Spaniards in the early sixteenth century. Indians, Europeans, and people of African descent soon populated the area. The result was a cosmopolitan, diverse city that became one of the most important in the Western Hemisphere: Potosí. However, regardless of their social or ethnic backgrounds, all Potosinos needed to eat. Mangan centers her research in Potosí and specifically focuses on the ways in which town residents interacted through trade, positing that they collectively engaged in the construction of an urban economy deeply marked by the gendered and racial dimensions of economic practices.

This “social history of economic practices” (p. 3) compares men’s and women’s experiences in urban trade, paying attention to the distinctive roles of Spanish and native women. The meaning and values of certain goods changed over time in Potosí, and Mangan uses these changes to illustrate the negotiations that Potosinos employed to build an identity. Throughout the city’s mercantile boom and decline, the author traces the ways in which Andeans and Spaniards defined their presence in the urban space. This was usually through a contesting process that challenged the model established by the Spanish administration. The history of urban trade in Potosí, then, points to the creation of “an unwritten code, a set of behaviors and guidelines, that came to govern trade in the colonial city” (p. 13). Mangan’s ultimate assertion is that colonial identities in Andean cities emerged after a process of negotiation that took place at very the intersection of trade and urban society (p. 2).

Chapter One describes the transformation of Potosí from an unknown Andean village to one of the most important cities in the Spanish Empire. Toledan reforms and the early introduction of a cash economy worked their ways to create a dynamic urban market. Potosinos, especially Andeans, quickly became accustomed to cash transactions. Although she does not fully explore this assertion, Mangan remarks that this was a fundamental change for Indians, who were used to a barter and reciprocity-based economy. This gained ability constituted a major opportunity for Indian women, who soon became prominent agents in the urban market.

Chapter Two addresses the attempts made by the colonial administration to control the establishment and location of local *pulperías* (stores) and *chicherías* (taverns). The cases examined determine, according to Mangan, that trading locations emerged as points where social and economic power were contested and defined. Town neighbors used the ordinances (and their loops, like bribery) to protect and expand their businesses. After examining a set of cases, the author

claims that our understanding of the involvement of Andean women in petty trade ought to be expanded from selling in outdoor markets to running stores. This might be true for the colonial period as a whole, but the number of women identified as owners and renters of Potosí city stores does not seem substantial enough to make such a claim (Table 1, p. 61). Still, the chapter convincingly identifies the many urban voices that animated the struggles over the rule and practice of trade in a colonial city.

Chapter Three traces the side-by-side production and retail of two important products in Potosí's colonial diet: bread and *chicha*. Mangan explains how city officials demonized brewing in order to promote baking. This action reflected the mental representation that colonial authorities had of Potosí. According to them, the city consisted of two concentric circles—the innermost circle was the Spanish world, where bread but not *chicha* could be sold and produced, and the outermost circle, the Andean urban space, where *chicha* but not bread could be found (p. 101). Mangan advances the idea that gender and ethnicity were factors in the opportunities opened by both enterprises. For instance, while baking was controlled by a small group of Spanish men and women, indigenous women dominated the labor-intensive, poorly paid activity of brewing.

Chapter Four details the credit sources and exchanges that supported urban trade in Potosí. Mangan first asserts that the city was permanently cash-deprived, an observation that somehow contradicts the spirit of Chapter One, which states implicitly that the rapid emergence of a cash-based economy was the result of a vigorous circulation of silver in Potosí. The economic practices of the majority of Potosinos, Mangan explains, relied upon their creativity to find credit sources, which included loans and pawns. Proprietors of pulperías, chicherías, and street shops, then, doubled as moneylenders and pawnbrokers. Sixteenth and seventeenth century wills reveal that social networks became crucial for obtaining and collecting credit. Although Mangan does not detail the data of wills and codicils that support these findings (a sparse explanation is found in note 35, p. 234), she states that, as they used each other more and more for banking purposes, Andean women emerged as the most common lenders in the city.

The next chapter discusses the role of women according to their legal status (i.e., married, widowed, or single) in the urban enterprises of Potosí. The author's findings defy the commonly accepted idea that male support was crucial to trade endeavors pursued by women. She proves that, more than marriage, family of birth and inherited status and resources determined economic success for women.

Mangan's book convincingly portrays colonial Potosí (and by extension colonial cities) as a cosmopolitan, dynamic center of human activity. Urban trade reveals the interplay between colonial social hierarchies and economic

practices. In this interplay, colonial Potosinos tailored links between trade roles and ethnic and gender identities. One can argue that identity building is constructed in spheres larger than merely economic interaction. Still, Mangan's proposal effectively conveys the complexity of gender and ethnic constructions found in changing social relationships commanded by colonial market demands. In such a setting, women in general, and Indian women in particular, played a prominent role. The importance of Indian women in Potosí's urban market cannot be underestimated, the author suggests. All those familiar with present-day Andean city markets know she is right.

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FRANK SALOMON: *The Cord Keepers: Khipus and Cultural Life in a Peruvian Village*. Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2004.

El libro de Salomon presenta una descripción y análisis de los khipus conservados en Tupicocha, Huarochirí. El libro contiene 9 capítulos, de los cuales los 4 primeros actúan como una introducción a los temas que este abarca: Huarochirí – su importancia, los contextos del estudio de los khipus y métodos de investigación; teorías lingüísticas; la estructura del pueblo actual de Tupicocha, sus instituciones y el control ritual del trabajo, la necesidad de mantener registros; un ejemplo de sistema de comunicación no-alfabético utilizado por los Tupicochanos: las varas. En el capítulo 5 se llega de pleno al tema de los khipus y presenta fuentes sobre los khipus post-incas, con énfasis en la continuidad en la producción y la utilización de khipus en Huarochirí hasta principios del siglo XX. El sexto capítulo describe los khipus de Tupicocha y su relación con fechas y eventos del calendario gregoriano. También alude a semejanzas estructurales y técnicas de estos khipus con khipus prehispánicos. El séptimo capítulo describe el papel de los registros escritos en la comunidad al mismo tiempo que los khipus iban decayendo. El capítulo 8 presenta una interpretación de los khipus por ciertos habitantes de Tupicocha. El capítulo 9 muestra cómo Salomon interpreta un khipu de Tupicocha.

Es indudable que Salomon es un erudito en métodos de trabajo en antropología y etnología y demuestra su amplio dominio de los escritos sobre lingüística. En este sentido, este libro es una fuente inestimable de conocimientos sobre los khipus de Huarochirí y sobre Tupicocha, sus instituciones, sus rituales laborales y civiles, sus registros, y su actitud hacia los khipus históricos conservados por la comunidad. Se recomienda este libro con todo fervor a cualquier persona interesada en antropología andina, lingüística, sistemas de comunicación no-