

condemn one another's tolerance of violence at home. She concludes that while women's grassroots organizing may, in such examples, lead to limited changes in gender ideologies (primarily, presumably, for participants), such organizations have also been forced to promote pacification and collaboration in mediating between women and the state. In a final chapter, Boesten goes back to visit women she worked with years earlier, finding that many are now involved in partisan politics. While they have become ambitious leaders, their political work is divorced from the women's movement and divides them. Despite very hopeful moments, then, *Inequalities'* lingering impressions are somewhat negative for the impacts and longevity of women's organizing.

This is an excellent and timely study. My only criticism is that I would have liked to see more about women's re-possession of the maternalistic discourses used against them, and possibly further discussion of the differences among poor women that the lens of intersectionality allows us to recognize. While we can glean different aspects of women's experiences in Lima and the highlands, we do not get Boesten's take on the different ways that urban or rural communities welcome women's organizing or much on the inequality within and among women's groups. Nevertheless, Boesten masterfully demonstrates here the many ways in which state institutions have reflected the intersecting effects of racism and sexism in Peru and illustrates the difficulties generated by the NGOization of state services, positioning women's organizations at the challenging junction of clientelism, service provision and a continued desire for gender equality at an ideological level. This book will be of great interest to Andeanists as well as to scholars investigating women's citizenship and the mechanisms of intersectionality in perpetuating gendered inequality.

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MERCEDES NINO-MURCIA, FRANK SALOMON: *The Lettered Mountain: A Peruvian Village's Way with Writing*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2011.

A tiny town in the Peruvian highlands of Hurochiri, a day's drive from Lima, Tupicocha, is on its way to becoming famous. Tupicochanos display a collection of patrimonial *kipus* once a year that seem to hold the key to understanding "Inca writing." In *The Cord Keepers* (2006), Frank Salomon offered a dazzling, original interpretation of Tupicocha's *kipus* as records of labor and reciprocity deployed by Andean agro-pastoral communities to adapt to their local rugged

landscapes. In this new book, Frank Salomon and the socio-linguist Mercedes Niño-Murcia analyze another striking collection Tupicochanos possess: an archive of some 134 manuscript volumes in the Roman alphabet that, like the *khippus*, also keep a painstaking record of individual contributions to labor and communal reciprocity dating back to 1870. Both *The Lettered Mountain* and *The Cord Keepers* single-handedly do away with the stereotype of the “Indian” as “illiterate.” *The Lettered Mountain* also offers a profound challenge to the paradigm first introduced in 1984 by Angel Rama in a seminal posthumous book *La ciudad letrada*, namely, of colonial rule exercised by vast networks of urban scribes and writing bureaucracies through the monopoly of alphabetical writing. It turns out that in the Andes, subalterns not only can speak, they also can write, and do so frantically, relentlessly, obsessively, keeping vast paper archives. Tupicocha is a community of fully literate peasants, record keepers, archivists, paleographers, and historians. And they have been so for centuries. That this fact has remained largely hidden speaks volumes to the epistemological power of the label of “the Indian” that has rendered the obvious invisible.

We have been told that the Peruvian “Indian” had a system of writing, the *quipu*, which was obliterated by conquest and colonialism. The colonial Indian became illiterate. Since the Enlightenment, the state sought to rescue the Indian through endlessly recurring alphabetization campaigns. The invisibility of the richly dense scribal public sphere of Tupicocha is all the more ironic if one considers that Tupicochanos think of themselves as the antithesis of the “Indian.” They assume Indians disappeared from the land after the latter committed collective suicide to escape the oppression of serfdom under past Inca-Spanish rule (the epochal distinction between Inca and colonial periods is meaningless to them). Tupicochanos are no serfs; they consider themselves to be free, proud citizens whose collective communal rights to the land and access to Andean glaciers to build irrigation canals has long been recognized by the state. Moreover, they speak no Quechua; they are monolingual Spanish speakers dating back at least to the nineteenth century. Salomon and Niño-Murcia demonstrate that to be an “Indian” in Peru is not just a matter of self-definition or linguistic affiliation (although both matter of course). It is ultimately a matter of how local rural communities relate to the viceregal/national state.

Communities of Andean agro-pastoralists have for centuries, if not millennia, accessed Andean glaciers to build canals and irrigate the land. Collective labor to maintain this hydraulic infrastructure is the key to survival and it is organized around the mobilization of patrilineal corporate groups, the *ayllu*. There are ten of them in Tupicocha. Each *ayllu* keeps painstaking records of who, when, and where showed up for service. To count as evidence individual acts need to be recorded and inscribed. Communal balance is too precious to be left to the

vagaries of gossip or oral recollection. Patrimonial *kipus* and dozens of musty volumes in alphabetical scripts are this public record. Yet the record matters only to each ayllu, and has for centuries remained invisible to the state.

Salomon and Niño-Murcia explore in excruciating detail the peculiar dynamic of this intra communal public sphere. It is intimate as it seeks to reproduce the no “Indian” values of the state within. It documents the long constitutional history of communities that aspire to be republics, not ayllus. And yet this public sphere is an anachronism. It daily transacts in the language of the colonial lettered city: scribal, formulaic, and dense in legalese. Even the communication with the deities is carried out in writing. This parallel public sphere seems ill equipped to deal with the public sphere introduced by the state in Peru since the Enlightenment.

And yet it changes and adapts relentlessly. As an ever greater number of Tupicochanos leave for Lima, Houston, and Madrid, those left behind no longer depend solely on the collective tending of canals for survival. Remittances are the new coin of reciprocity. In the age of global migrations, members do come back in annual pilgrimages to perform rituals and liturgies of dance, romance, and libation. And the intimate public sphere of Tupicocha sprouts new tendrils through memoirs, ephemera, menus, posters and websites. The printed and virtual products of this new public sphere remain intimate. No public library and archive anywhere in the world, including Peru, tracks, collects, and archives any of these materials. They are today’s *kipus*: inscrutable, unintelligible, invisible. *The Lettered Mountain* and *The Cord Keepers* are packed with decades of human learning, relentless curiosity, and generous, loving ethnographic empathy. They are two masterpieces.

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JULIO FRYDENBERG: *Historia social del fútbol. Del amateurismo a la profesionalización*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Siglo XXI, 2011.

La propuesta del autor es indagar el mundo que circunda al fútbol y de esa manera iluminar las manifestaciones de la cultura popular. Durante mucho tiempo el ámbito académico consideró que el deporte no ameritaba una reflexión metódica rigurosa, y fueron básicamente los periodistas deportivos o los aficionados a la historia quienes rescataron del olvido relatos, anécdotas y la historia institucional vinculada al mismo. Afortunadamente esta situación comenzó a cambiar y, en el caso particular de Argentina, a los trabajos pioneros de Eduardo Archetti se sumaron, en la década del ’90, los de Pablo Alabarces. Además, surgieron