

## Women, Men, and the Legal Languages of Mining in the Colonial Andes

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**Abstract.** Histories of colonial Latin American mining have cemented the image of a scientifically backward society whose pursuit of easy wealth sacrificed the lives of indigenous and African miners in places like Potosí. By examining a mid-seventeenth-century mine dispute between an Andean woman and a Spanish man, this article suggests how legal archives can reveal indigenous women's contributions to the history of colonial silver. It also provides an appendix with one hundred cases of indigenous, creole, and Spanish women miners, refiners, and managers in Alto Perú, 1559–1801, suggesting how women of different socioeconomic and technical backgrounds participated in the silver industry.

**Keywords.** colonial science, technical literacies, law, gender, Andes

In 1641 an Andean miner named Bartola Sisa moved with her young son from Oruro to Carangas; three years later, she discovered a mine in the mountain of Espíritu Santo, nestled between the silver-rich peaks of La Asunción and Candelaria (fig. 1). She hired Andean men to help assay the metal, determine its grade (*ley*), and declare the discovery before the *corregidor* (magistrate), Don López Ruiz de Samboa, who legalized the statement on 14 March 1644. Despite this order of support (*mandamiento de amparo*), Cristóbal Cotes, a Spaniard, convinced Sisa that imperial law prohibited women from registering mines. He offered to file it under his name in exchange for a share of the profits, an agreement that she reluctantly accepted. But when Cotes violated their agreement and blocked her from mining, she sought legal action against him. Three days after hearing testimony from Andean miners, judges of the Real Audiencia de la Plata

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Figure 1. Mines in Alto Perú. Map by Lynn Carlson, GISP, Compass Cartographic

ruled in her favor, giving her the power to expel Cotes—and anyone else—from the mine. Following royal command, López Ruiz de Samboa announced the ruling in Espiritu Santo on 28 July, notifying the community of Sisa's status as discoverer.<sup>1</sup>

While the conquest of the New World has long been linked to the search for precious metals, sometimes reduced to an alliterative formula of “glory, gold, and God” (Quinn 1977), such accounts often focus on coerced labor rather than technical expertise, and they rarely mention indigenous, creole, or Spanish mining women. There is good reason to study the large-scale environmental, labor, and economic impacts of colonial mining: water, soil, and air pollution, combined with massive deforestation, degraded natural resources, public health, and ancestral bonds with animating forces (Robins 2011; Studnicki-Gizbert and Schecter 2010); exploitative colonial

systems forcibly removed indigenous, African, and mixed-race miners from their communities (Larson and Harris 1995; Bakewell 1984; Crespo Rodas 1977); and metal extracted in viceroyalties that were reorganized to promote silver production helped link America, Asia, Africa, and Europe in global trade (Brown 2012; TePaske 2010; Pérez Melero 2009; Flynn and Giráldez 1997). By focusing on such macrolevel structures, we miss the perspectives of miners for whom the silver industry was less about global economy than it was a way to provide for their families.

In this article I suggest that careful attention to the language of Sisa's story can shed light on two areas of colonial Andean history: indigenous legal strategies and gender systems in mining communities. First, new work on multiple, overlapping imperial jurisdictions (Benton 2002) and the performative rhetorics of colonial law (Quispe-Agnoli 2011; Dueñas 2010; Yannakakis 2008; Owensby 2008) has revealed how indigenous elites developed sophisticated "legal bilingualisms" (Baber 2010: 21) to position themselves within constellations of colonial, imperial, and native interests. We know far less about the strategies of nonelites. Because mining law required multiple witness testimonies, legal archives record collective voices that are often absent from the scientific historiography. We cannot overlook the networks of notaries and interpreters who shaped legal processes of meaning making (Puente Luna 2014; Burns 2010) or indigenous litigants' preferences for particular networks (Honores 2007), but by comparing similarities and differences in miners' testimonies, we can better understand their technical knowledges and material practices.

As such, Sisa's case allows insight into the history of gender and technical arts. Recent scholarship demonstrates the range of work of indigenous, African, and mixed-race women in textile plants and mining communities, revealing how native techniques converged with marketplace exigencies to embed ways of knowing in goods like silver plates and woven fabrics (Graubart 2007; Kellogg 2005; Gauderman 2003). In particular, Jane Mangan (2005) and Dana Velasco Murillo (2013) have shown how Andean market women maintained gender complementarity by controlling flows of unminted silver mined by native men and through mine ownership, property management, and food preparation for miners in Mexico. Such technical and economic overlap coheres with our current definition of colonial science: natural knowledge applied in commercialized industries with technologies that responded to and shaped religious, political, and cultural practices (Bleichmar 2009; Gordon 2009; Delbourgo and Dew 2008; Cañizares Esguerra 2006; Barrera Osorio 2006). This definition is especially helpful in studying indigenous and creole mining

communities, where the scarcity of printed evidence, long bemoaned by historians of science (Sánchez Gómez 1989: 321), has encouraged promising multidisciplinary methods like archaeometallurgy, ethnohistory, and oral history (Cruz and Vacher 2008). This article expands the study of Andean literacies—hybrid material, visual, spoken, and alphabetic writing systems (Rappaport and Cummins 2012) that native peoples synthesized into sophisticated ways of “writing without letters” (Mignolo 2003)—into mechanical and chemical arts, arguing for the importance of “technical literacies” in colonial scientific histories.

There are few studies of women miners in the colonial Andes, perhaps because the industry is now dominated by a masculine image said to explain colonial patriarchy, even though historians have revealed the “methodological and analytical inconsistencies” of such interpretations (Gauderman 2003: 6). Another possibility is more troubling; because twentieth-century Andean miners cite ancestral beliefs prohibiting women from entering mines, which are animated by feminine spirits that they seduce when requesting permission to extract metals (Absi 2005: 290–96), historians believe that contemporary explanations map neatly onto the past. Andean mining communities, like all human communities, negotiate change and continuity over time, with traditions that are deeply rooted and ever evolving; however, these dynamics are sometimes flattened into an essential Andean timelessness (see Jamieson 2005 for a discussion of this problematic historiography). A third possibility, one I explore here, is that the language of colonial mining has obscured women’s technical knowledge and labor.

Consider the Hispanized verb *pallar*, derived from the Quechua and Aymara terms *pallani* and *pallatha* (“gather-select”), often translated as *escoger* (choose) (González Holguín 1989: 274; Bertonio 1984: 246; Barba 1640: 40). Nicholas Robins (2011: 202) and Peter Bakewell (1984: 196, 138) similarly define *palliris*, people who *pallar*, as “free wage argentiferous ore sorters who usually worked near the pithead” and miners who “pick over discarded ore in search of neglected pieces of metal-bearing material,” some of whom “might be women.” But miners taxonomized the verb into four categories, each associated with different people and spaces (Llanos 1983: 97–98). The first contained four subfields, organized by proximity to the mine: (1) surface-level sorting, often on ore that Quechua speakers called *quitamama* (“thing that flees” + “vein”) and Spaniards deemed *cimarrón* (“runaway”), the same racialized term that referred to wild, runaway pigs (“puercos cimarrones y salvajes”) and enslaved Africans and Indians who fled Christian masters (Fernández de Oviedo 1959: 221–22);

(2) selling sorted ore (*pallaco*), often the work of Aymara-speaking Uruquillas; (3) sorting in slag piles (*repallar*); and (4) selling *pallaco* to native owners, merchants, and refiners (“indios que alquilan y los revenden y beneficiar” [Llanos 1983: 97–98]). In addition, there were three other groups of *palliris*: young boys and old men who cleaned metals near their homes, refiners who separated and washed partially formed amalgams (*pella*) in Potosí’s amalgamation refineries (“La Ribera”), in which “se ocupan más mujeres que indios” (there are more women than Indian men) (*ibid.*: 98), and a final group that recorded workers’ hauls.

García de Llanos (1983: 98) argued that sorting and writing were interchangeable “porque en acabando de tomarles cuenta, recoge cada uno al buhío el metal que sacó, cogiéndolo del suelo (que es pallar), aplicándolo los españoles a lo que precede, y así se dice pallar los indios al tomarles cuenta y asentarles lo que han trabajado, lo cual asimismo se dice quilcar, como se dirá en su lugar y por qué razón en la palabra quilcar” (because on taking account of them, each one brings to the hut where he lives the metal he extracted, and gathering it on the floor [which is *pallar*] assigns it to Spaniards as is precedent. And so they say that to “*pallar* the Indians” means “to take count of them” and set down before them what they have worked, which is the same as *quilcar*, as will be said in its place, and for what reason, under the word *quilcar*). *Quilcar*, derived from the Quechua term *quellccani* (González Holguín 1989: 301) and *quellcatha* in Aymara, did not just connote lettered writing but referred to all manner of writing, drawing, or etching “al modo de indios, que pintan los cātáros y otros vasos” (in the mode of the Indians, who paint pitchers and other cups) (Bertonio 1984: 286). Such terms underscore the intersections of lettered writing, visual scripts, and technical knowledges in colonial Andean mining communities.

They also suggest why the gendered register of *pallar* requires careful translation. While it was common to define women by gender and legal status (“mujer”) rather than gender and ethnicity (“india”), as in “se ocupan más mujeres que indios,” it was even more common not to mention women at all. The *mita* took many forms, but it only counted men (Solórzano Pereira 1972, vol. 2), even though women and children often worked alongside husbands and fathers (Premo 2000; Tandeter 1992). Legal texts document mining women’s work, but their subordination of indigenous identity to married status requires some unpacking.

A few examples from the mid-sixteenth to the late seventeenth century demonstrate this tendency. In 1569 Hernán García, *mulato*, and Mari Flores, “su muger,” petitioned to form a mining company to unearth

precious metals and stones from the *guaca* (sacred mountain with buried treasure) of Manducalla, located between the Sica-Sica and Churuquilla Mountains near La Plata (Langue and Salazar-Soler 1993: 251–52). Although early moderns analogized Andean ancestor worship of *guacas* to their own veneration of the saints, not many sixteenth-century Spanish women could have located one in Chuquisaca (Brosseder 2012). Flores was identified as *mujer*, but her knowledge of sacred spaces suggests deep ties to Andean communities.<sup>2</sup> Sometimes, women were identified both as *yndias* and *mujeres*, as when Father Miguel de Agia (1946: 91–92, 54) complained that pregnant Indian women (“delas indias algunas estauan preñadas”) should be prohibited from transporting metals, like all women/wives (“mugeres”), children, the sick, and the elderly. In 1643, when cacique Don Fernando García Surco learned that a resident of his town of Santiago de Yanaoca, in the province of Canas y Canches, had changed his name from Pedro Alata Arusi to Pedro Hualpa to evade *mita* service, Surco denounced Alata Arusi before colonial officials, who sent him to Potosí “semejante que con su muger” (along with his wife).<sup>3</sup> Finally, in 1699 Juan Galea de Mercado, a priest in the *asiento* (contract mine) of San Cristóbal, in the province of Los Lipés, accused fellow priest-*azogueros*, a term that signified refinery owners and refiners who amalgamated silver with mercury (Langue and Salazar-Soler 1993: 61), of condoning violence against married women (“mugeres casadas”) who traveled with *mitayos*.<sup>4</sup> Such migrations allowed for the preservation of family structures and technical traditions in which husbands and wives had mined gold and silver jointly for the Inca (Absi 2005: 294), and they represented one of indigenous peoples’ many strategies to negotiate changing mining laws and methods. But the language in which they were expressed consistently subordinated ethnic, linguistic, and cultural identity to civil status.

In the transition from the Incan to the Spanish Empire, technical, labor, and legal changes were interrelated. Andean refiners typically processed high-grade silver-lead alloys, called *suruxchi* in Aymara and *suruchiq* in Quechua, meaning “to drip,” after the metal’s low melting point (Cerrón Palomino 2008: 111–19; Langue and Salazar-Soler 1993: 557; Van Buren and Cohen 2010). Unlike traditional smelting methods, colonial amalgamation technologies worked on almost all silver mineralogies, even low-grade mixtures like the mixed metals (“castas de metales”) that Spanish speakers called *pacos* (derived from the Quechua *ppaqu*, or “reddish”), *metales mulatos*, and *negrillos* (Barba 1640: 39v). In addition to providing coherence to an emerging racialized colonial scientific discourse, amalgamation methods allowed for a wider variety of silver metals to be refined

economically on a large scale (Bargalló 1955: 127–29). While sciences like astronomy and cartography held highly literary, closely guarded secrets (Portuondo 2009), technical knowledge of mining and refining was transmitted through family and guild networks. In the Andes, workshops were organized to teach amalgamation in *rancherías*, indigenous communities surrounding Potosí, as early as March 1573, one year after the technology was transferred from Mexico (Sánchez Gómez, Dobado, and Mira Delli-Zotti 1997: 143–44).

As knowledge circulated in schools and along kinship networks, labor patterns changed, too. By 1600 some 50–70 percent of Andean miners and refiners in Potosí worked as skilled wage laborers, called *yanaconas* (Bakewell 1984: 128, 181). Kris Lane (2005: 174–75) has identified similar rates in late sixteenth-century Zacatecas, where about 70 percent of indigenous miners worked as wage earners and 18 percent were tribute miners. In both silver centers, wage labor was intimately tied to coercion and injustice (Larson and Harris 1995; Tandeter 1992). Andean *yanaconas* paid tribute even though they did not live in tribute-paying communities (Lockhart 1994: 248–49; Langue and Salazar-Soler 1993: 633–34; Cerrón Palomino 2008: 75–88), and so many Spanish property holders took advantage of their uncertain status that legal theorists bemoaned the creation of a “*nueva especie de esclavitud*” (new kind of slavery) (Escalona y Agüero 1675: 201). As male miners shifted to wage labor in mines and amalgamation refineries, women turned increasingly to wind ovens, called *guayras* in Spanish (Bakewell 1984: 140–41; Capoche 1959: 108–10) and *hyayrachina* in Quechua. The term is typically interpreted as [“wind” + “ventilate”] (Money 2004: 60) and sometimes as [“wind” + feminine marker] (Téreygeol and Castro 2008: 16), an archaeometallurgical reading that connects women’s metallurgy to fertility and change. Mary Money (2004: 62) finds stronger gendered resonances in instruments like the *nina hurccuna vyaca* (“fire” + “remove”), used to remove metals from embers, alternately called *nina hurccuna quillay* (“fire” + “remove” + “moon”), which suggests a symbolic connection with silver metallurgy and women.

The major languages of the colonial Andes, Aymara, Quechua, and Spanish, converged with multiple technical, symbolic, and legal registers in mining communities, resulting in both linguistic restriction (wherein women of different ethnicities were reduced to a single category of “woman/wife”) and polysemy (wherein the same word described women who worked in different capacities). For example, in negotiations over providers’ contracts at Huancavelica, Doña Inés de Villalobos, Inés de Robles, and Isabel Asto (“*yndia*”) were listed as “*descubridores Pobladores y Posehedores*”

(discoverers, operators, and possessors), even though they had never mined, and *minas pobladas* were, by legal definition, operational (Oñate 1625).<sup>5</sup> At other times, *dueñas* (female owners) worked hands-on in mines or refineries, but their titles privileged possession over labor. On paper, Juan de Ávila owned the Ingenio de Santa Rosa in Ocurí, in the province of Chayanta; from the testimonies of religious officials, we know that she paid her late husband's debts by working in her refinery ("trabajando en dho su yngenio," "retirada y trabajando en su yngenio Para sustentarçe y pagar algunas deudas que deixo su marido").<sup>6</sup> If titles like *dueña* obscure women's work, the problem of identification is compounded for Andean women, because honorifics like *doña* reflected social perceptions more than ethnicity (Johnson and Lipsett-Rivera 1998), and indigenous naming patterns remain a site of archival challenges; "Spanish" names do not exclude people of Andean ancestry (Pease and Robinson 1977: lxxvi–lxxviii).

While working in three archives as part of a larger study of indigenous and European mining systems, I located more than one hundred disputes involving mining women in Alto Perú—none of which I was looking for or, as a literary scholar, expected to find (app. 1). Colonists claimed indigenous peoples' goods and knowledges eagerly and with frequency,<sup>7</sup> but the only scholar to write about Sisa characterized her story as "unusual." By way of concluding her fine study of women's commercial practices in urban spaces, Ann Zulawski (1994: 163–64) noted that the court did not address the legality of women's mine ownership (except to rule for Sisa) and that the case is "unusual in two respects": we know little of indigenous mining women, especially women who petitioned for rights to mines that they discovered.<sup>8</sup> If the prevalence of "Spanish" names in the appendix makes this case seem unrepresentative, Sisa's story nevertheless represents legal strategies that many Andean people used to resist colonial appropriations of their technical knowledge and labor. It also shows how a literary approach to legal archives can help us better understand the technical expertise of indigenous miners whose voices are often absent from the historiography of colonial science.

To make her case, Sisa presented multiple evidentiary forms that proved her technical skills in mineral detection, extraction, and assay, as well as careful negotiations with Andean miners and colonial officials. Although verbal declarations were legal, her unlettered statement was vulnerable to the competing claims of Cristóbal Cotes. According to Don Diego Benítez de Maqueda y Villalón, the protector of the Indians who organized Sisa's appeal, Cotes took advantage of Sisa's vulnerable status, "por berse sola y ser miserable" (seeing her alone and wretched) and used

her knowledge to stake illegal claims in words and physical space: “hizo registro de dicha mina con titulo de descubridor de ella y a señalado estacas como que el suso dho la ubiera descubierto pero ni la uio ni tubo noticia de ella hasta que la dha yndia le dio abiso de lo que auia descubierto” (he registered the aforementioned mine with the title of mine discoverer and indicated stakes as if he, the aforesaid man, had discovered it, but he had no notice of the mine until she, the aforementioned Indian woman, gave him notice of what she had discovered).<sup>9</sup> Benítez de Maqueda y Villalón went on to cite the ninth ordinance of imperial mining law, which outlined registration protocols for mine sizes (160 yards [*varas*] long and 80 yards wide) and taxation (20 percent) (González 1996: 37–38; Molina Martínez 2000: 1020). Repeating four times the word *discovery*, he affirmed that “debe ser anparado el descubridor en sesenta baras de la beta en la parte que se descubre que llaman la mina descubridora y la dha yndia fue la que la descubrio” (the discoverer should be supported with seventy yards in the vein where he discovered it, which they call the discovered mine, and the aforementioned Indian woman was she who discovered it).<sup>10</sup> With this phrase, he translated the legal term *descubridor* (“discoverer” + masculine ending) into gendered and ethnic terms to suit Sisa’s case.

Of equal importance, Benítez de Maqueda y Villalón also documented the procedural nature of Sisa’s work, enacting through language the steps that she had taken: in “buscando minas y andando cateando descubrio una veta” (searching for mines and going prospecting, she discovered a vein).<sup>11</sup> Having noted that she spent all she had to discover the site (“para descubrirla se empeño y gasto lo que tenia”), he then explained how she had borrowed three hundred pesos from Juan Choque, “yndio,” who “ayudo a catearla y descubrirla” (helped prospect and discover the mine).<sup>12</sup> In conclusion, he asked the court to take mercy on Sisa, “persona miserable y que como a tal se le a despojado de su mina” (a wretched person who has been dispossessed of her mine as such).<sup>13</sup> It was not always clear what *miserable* meant in the colonial Andes, where the term connoted a range of socio-economic positions, ethnic identities, and legal statuses (Milton 2007: 5–11). Even Cotes learned to use the word for his own purposes after a long residence in Espíritu Santo. In 1664 he joined Doña Sebastiana de Estrada, wife of prominent mine and refinery owner Sebastián de Cabezudo de Velasco, and four other *azogueros* to argue that *corregidor* Nicolás Ávalos de Ribera had put the mining district “en miserable estado” (in a miserable state), promising that “el estado miserable en que se halla esta ribera por culpa del coregidor se bera en el enbio que hisieren en la armada por quenta de VA” (the wretched state in which this riverbank finds itself is the fault of

the magistrate, as will be seen in the dispatch that was sent with the navy at Y[our] M[ajesty's] expense).<sup>14</sup> In Sisa's case, the double invocation of *miserable* linked mine dispossession in Carangas with a four-hundred-year-old Iberian legal tradition that required the extension of summary judgments and representation to widows, orphans, and *miserables*, or the economically wretched (Benton 2002: 44).

The written statement of the fiscal administrator established the main themes of gendered, indigenist, and economic justice and procedural labor under- and aboveground, all of which male miners confirmed and expanded on. On 23 July 1644 Francisco de Corto, Francisco Quispe, and Pedro Achatta unanimously affirmed the legitimacy of Sisa's discovery, but small testimonial differences show how they conveyed their own stories despite standardizing influences of notaries, legal shorthand, and the *interrogatorio*, a list of questions submitted to witnesses. For example, nineteen-year-old Francisco de Corto of Potosí testified in Spanish that he was in Carangas with another miner, Pedro Mateos, when Cotes, whom he knew, announced that he had "una grandiosa mina" (a great mine) in Espíritu Santo.<sup>15</sup> Mateos replied flatly, "Pues la yndia llamada barbola ssia que ela descubrio" and "es suya Pues ella la descubrio" (Well, the Indian woman named Bartola Sisa discovered it; it's hers because she discovered it).<sup>16</sup> Cotes immediately backtracked, stating that she was the discoverer ("rrespondio el dho xprobal de cotes la berdad que ella la descubrio"), he could not locate the mine ("no sse donde esta si en potossi o adonde fue"), and he had approached her to ensure that she received due compensation for her work but somehow had ended up with the title ("Y a estas platicas se hallo como dho tiene el rego"). Cotes affirmed that it was "publico y notorio" (public knowledge) that Sisa discovered a mine in Espíritu Santo, where everyone "se admiraban del animo de la dha Yndia" (admired the spirit of the aforesaid Indian woman).<sup>17</sup> This reported speech suggests how miners circulated news and opinions between Potosí and surrounding provinces and how pressure from Spanish-speaking miners led Cotes to recognize Sisa's knowledge and labor.

Two other miners, Quispe, born in Potosí and residing in the parish of San Lorenzo, and Achatta, born in Carangas and residing in the parish of San Bernardo, spoke through interpreter Juan de Miranda, confirming that they worked for Sisa in Espíritu Santo and that Cotes took her mine. Like de Corto, their experiences emerged amid written genres, legal interpretation, and notarial conventions that gave form to their testimonies. Benítez de Maqueda y Villalón referenced the procedural nature of mine work in his statement, while the three main stages of discovery—prospecting,

extraction, and assay—structured the order of questions in the *interrogatorio* and thus the testimonies. (Unfortunately, the *interrogatorio* is not included in the file; I deduce the questions based on strikingly similar phrases in the testimonies.) This three-stage sequence was adapted from mining practice, but it also drew from the language of imperial law, following viceroy Don Luis de Toledo's instructions on testing (*dar catas*), searching for metals (*buscar minas y metales*), and staking a claim (*estancar las minas*) (Vergara Blanco 1989: 32). Quispe and Achatta replaced the viceroy's verbs with synonyms, prospecting (*cateando*), discovering (*descubriendo*), and working (*trabajando*), and they incorporated their own experiences. For example, Quispe contrasted Sisa's technical procedures with Cotes's abrupt entrance, mistreatment ("maltrato"), and false words, "diziendole muchas cossas conque se la quito" (saying many things with which he took the mine).<sup>18</sup> Technical knowledge of silver mining provided the organizing interrogative framework, but miners like Quispe, who knew these procedures firsthand, followed and interrupted this structure to include observations that mattered to them, including nontechnical aspects of professional practice and true speech.

These were the terms that appeared twice in the court's decision, as judges recognized Sisa's having "cateado descubierto y labradola" (prospected, discovered, and worked the mine) and "descubierto cateado y labrado" (discovered, prospected, and worked).<sup>19</sup> The tribunal replaced Quispe's spoken verb, *trabajar* (work), with a more formal register, *labrar* (labor), and inverted the verbs *prospected* and *discovered*, signaling their inexperience in mining. By describing in detail the stages of discovery that also organized the *interrogatorio*, Andean miners allowed the tribunal to evaluate the technical and legal merits of Sisa's work and to convert firsthand observations into determinative evidentiary forms.

The third witness, Achatta, an ore picker (*barretero*), used a language and spirit closer to that of the protector of the Indians rather than the technical mining vocabulary of his peers, although there are important differences between the fiscal's statement and Achatta's testimony. Benítez de Maqueda y Villalón focused on an axis of gender and poverty ("sola y ser miserable," "persona miserable"), affirming that Cotes told Sisa that she could not register the mine as a woman ("por ser muger"). Achatta was much more specific. He testified that Cotes told Sisa, "que aquel metal era bueno y q- la mina prometia que lo auia de ser Y que asi ymportancia que se huuesse Registro de ella y que este no le podia hacer ella por ser yndia . . . y que no lo consintia la ordenanza" (that the metal was good and that the mine promised the same, so it was important to register it and that she could

not do this because she is an Indian woman . . . and the law would not allow it).<sup>20</sup> Then he explained how Sisa understood the lie: “la qual engañada bino en ello entiendo que por ser yndia no podria hacer el dho reg-o como le decia el dho xpanol de cottes” (she being deceived came to understand that as an Indian woman she could not make the registration as the aforesaid Spaniard Cristóbal de Cotes told her). Finally, he argued that this case formed part of an already long history of systemic injustice: “aunque se a quexado no a alcanzado Justicia por ser yndia per<sup>a</sup> miserable pobre” (although she has complained she has not reached Justice because she is an Indian woman, a wretched, poor person).<sup>21</sup> What one official expressed as gender discrimination (“muger”) and general poverty (“miserable,” “pobre”), Achatta linked to systemic injustice that kept indigenous women cash-poor, even and especially when their technical knowledge of good ore, and their labor under- and aboveground, enriched others.

Achatta’s testimony also differed from Quispe’s, despite their shared interpreter, and de Corto’s, who spoke in Spanish on his own; while they narrated facts chronologically, Achatta interpreted Cotes’s motives based on his experiences. Because Sisa paid him and other Andean miners (“que estaua trauaxando este t<sup>o</sup> y los demas yndios por cuenta y paga de la dha barbara ssisa”), he knew what she spent to discover the mine (“y que era suya la auia descubierto cateado y gastado mucho plata en jornales de este t<sup>o</sup> y de otros yndios”).<sup>22</sup> Achatta skillfully integrated Sisa’s commercial and technical procedures to argue that she was the true discoverer, for “la dha barbola sissa yndia mingo a este t<sup>o</sup> y le pago a el y a los demas como persona que auia descubierto la dha beta y la auia cateado y estaua dando el poco de la ordenanca y aondando la para ber si tenia ley” (the aforesaid Bartola Sisa, Indian, hired [*mingó*, derived from the Aymara and Quechua *minkja*, “to rent or to hire”] this witness and paid him and the others as someone who had discovered the vein and prospected it, and was making a shaft required by law and drilling down to see if it there was metal).<sup>23</sup> According to Achatta, Cotes also knew that Sisa had worked the site (“saua la labrado”), and he claimed it “sin hauer querido dar nada de ella a la dha yndia ni tanpoco ningun dinero” (without wanting to give anything from it to her the aforesaid Indian woman and not even any money).<sup>24</sup> By enacting the stages of discovery and introducing broader questions of gender, ethnicity, economics, and mineral rights, Achatta showed not only that he knew about mining law but also that he could adapt imperial legal conventions to account for his own perspective. His forceful critique of the coloniality of power helped shape the practice of justice in his native Carangas; three days after his testimony, the Real Audiencia ruled for Sisa.

Legal archives are not the only sources that document mining women's expertise, but their generic conventions, such as polyvocal testimonies, performative structures, and evidentiary standards, make them especially helpful in recovering indigenous women's technical literacies. I conclude by comparing Sisa's case with another account of an Andean woman's mine discoveries, Luis Capoche's (1959) *Relación general de la villa imperial de Potosí*, to suggest why this is so.

Rich in technical language, Capoche's *Relación* includes elaborate descriptions of Andean refining technologies and the introduction of colonial amalgamation methods. The text is structured along those metallurgical lines, as the first half (75–111) covers the region before amalgamation, while the second half (115–89) explains the technology's scientific and social consequences. Refining materials mark the distinction; the last page of book 1 records 6,497 largely abandoned sites where Andean refiners once operated *hyayrachinas*, now in ruins (“están arruinados gran parte de ellos”), while book 2 begins by listing materials that were in use, including silk sieves that some refinery owners purchased “porque se amaían mejor las indias que con los que están armados, con que ciernen los hombres” (because the Indian women prepare it better than the men do with mounted ones) (122). The text moves freely among mining districts, jumping over and around Potosí as material was extracted from newly discovered mines, chronicling Andean mining women as part of a broader group of miners and refiners. The catalog that organized this geographic movement was a discursive form that scientific writers in the Americas used to frame their work “as if nature were organizing and describing itself,” inscribing through writing “this fragmentary, theoretically inchoate, specimen-centered quality of empiricism” (Parrish 2006: 16–18). The generic conventions and evidentiary standards of legal disputes and technical writing thus generated very different images of indigenous miners.

Capoche's lists convey the scale and speed of mine discoveries in Alto Perú, but their dizzying pace reveals little about miners or methods. For example, we learn that eighteen indigenous, Spanish, and Flemish men and one Andean woman claimed forty silver mines of different sizes, locations, and grades in late sixteenth-century Charcas (Capoche 1959: 131–32). The catalog of finds (“se halló”), discoveries (“descubrió”), and registries (“registró”) specifies who did what, where, and with high- or low-grade silver, revealing that indigenous men both collaborated with Spaniards and worked independently. Mining law required discoverers to complete a three-part process of exploration, assay, and registration before working a site, but texts like Capoche's treat finding, discovering, and registering as interchangeable acts.

The differences between legal texts and prose relations become especially clear with respect to Andean women, such as Catalina Arupo, an indigenous miner from Cuzco who discovered six silver veins in four mountains, Copacoya, Chaquil, Parani, and Patipati, a few leagues outside of Potosí (Capoche 1959: 131–32). In five of her mines Arupo extracted metal that was amalgamated with mercury, suggesting that she would have dealt with Spanish metallurgists who typically controlled access to the reagent (Bakewell 1984). Unlike the collective perspective articulated in Sisa's case, Capoche does not situate Arupo within a broader mining community, nor does he have to. For Sisa, the gap between “discovery” and “registration” forced her to publicly defend her work, but Capoche's text has no such gap. The differences between mine discovery (*halló, descubrió*) and registration (*registró*) are instead flattened into a vocabulary that intermixes the three words, never clarifying whom Arupo worked with, in what capacity, or how she came from Cuzco to Potosí in the first place.

Silver mining in colonial Latin America, marked by dehumanizing labor systems and masculinist miners prone to “raucous living, to drinking, gambling, and womanizing” (Bakewell 1988: 23), is said to carry “a metaphorical value for Iberian colonization” (Bakewell 1997: xxiii). Even the preeminent imperial archive, El Escorial, was thought to derive its name from metallurgical processing.<sup>25</sup> In its etymological early modern roots and its historiographical reception, colonial mining is bound up in questions of language, gender, and ethnicity. It is especially important, then, that we understand not just the extent to which women participated in this industry but also how they understood their experiences and convinced others to recognize the value of their work. Legal documents, such as testimonies, articles of incorporation, and inventories, represent an important avenue to access the stories of mining women who left few lettered accounts of their contributions to technical and mechanical arts. Cases from the colonial Andes reveal not only indigenous women's technical expertise, but also how they, creole, and Spanish women used technical knowledge, commercial skills, and legal savvy to make a living in one of colonial Latin America's most lucrative industries.

## Appendix 1. Mining women in Alto Perú

Year	Name	Region	Role	Kinship relationship	Archive
1559	Beatriz Rodríguez	Potosí	owner	wife: purchases <i>varas</i> from Miguel de Torralba	ANB, EP
1559	Juana de Flores	Potosí	owner	wife: evaluates <i>barras de plata</i> in Lima (marked in Potosí)	ANB, EP
1562	Doña Juana de Herrera Sotomayor	Potosí	owner	unknown: owns mining company with Juan Velázquez	ANB, EP
1568	Doña Luisa de Vívar	Potosí	owner	widow: drafts <i>poder</i> for two men to run mines and <i>socavón</i>	ANB, EP
1569	Mari Flores	Manducalla	miner	wife: owns company with husband, Hernán García ( <i>mulato</i> )	ANB, EP
1572	Doña Petronila de Castro	Potosí	owner	wife: adds her mine to company with Isabel de Quintanilla	ANB, EP
1572	Doña Isabel de Quintanilla	Potosí	owner	wife: owns company with husband, Gerónimo Osorio	ANB, EP
1572	Doña Margarita de los Ríos	Potosí	owner	wife: donates to daughter, doña Ana Montenegro	ANB, EP
1573	Beatriz Hernández (Huanca)	Cochabamba	owner	wife: inherits mine, Alonso de Valenzuela ( <i>mulato libre</i> )	ANB, EP
< 1582	Catalina Arupo (natural de Cuzco)	Potosí	miner	unknown: in Capoche (1585)	Capoche
ca. 1595	Inés de Robles	Huancavelica	owner	wife: Diego de Salazar, mine discoverer	BN Madrid, MSS 3040

## Appendix I. Continued

Year	Name	Region	Role	Kinship relationship	Archive
ca. 1595	Isabel Asto ("yndia")	Huancavelica	owner	wife: marries after the discovery of 1563	BN Madrid, MSS 3040
ca. 1595	Doña Ana de la Guerra	Huancavelica	owner	widow: Diego González de Orellana	BN Madrid, MSS 3040
ca. 1595	widow of Francisco López Crespo	Huancavelica	owner	wife: could mine, but leases <i>indios repartidos</i>	BN Madrid, MSS 3040
ca. 1595	widow of Bartolomé Diaz	Huancavelica	owner	wife: could mine, but leases <i>indios repartidos</i>	BN Madrid, MSS 3040
1600	Doña María de Aguilar	La Plata	owner	widow: shares 142 <i>varas</i> in 4 mines with brother and aunt	ANB, Minas
1603	Doña Blanca de Montoya	Potosí	owner	unknown: collects debt in <i>mitayos</i> , rent from mines/refinery	ANB, Rück
1607	Doña Isabel de Salazar	Cochabamba	owner	widow: sues for refinery built by husband, Agustín Ramírez	ANB, Minas
1609–30	Doña Petronila Machuca	Potosí	owner	wife: owned refinery with husband, Fernando de Cuellar	ANB, Minas
ca. 1610	Doña Inés de Salazar Penabera	Huancavelica	owner	daughter: inherits 10 <i>varas</i> from mother, Inés de Robles	BN Madrid, MSS 3040
1614–15	Doña Inés de Villalobos	Huancavelica	owner	widow: inherits <i>varas</i> and <i>indios repartidos</i> , Amador de Cabrera	BN Madrid, MSS 3040
1609–15	Doña Petronila de Castro	Huancavelica	owner	widow: shares <i>varas</i> and <i>indios de repartimiento</i> with son	BN Madrid, MSS 3040

## Appendix I. Continued

Year	Name	Region	Role	Kinship relationship	Archive
1609–15	Doña Ana Manrique	Huancavelica	owner	wife: “minera antigua” with <i>varas</i> and <i>indios repartidos</i>	BN Madrid, MSS 3040
1611	Doña Mariana del Río	Omasuyo	owner	unknown: Bernabé Gutiérrez Guerrero donates <i>varas</i> of <i>azogue</i>	ANB, Minas
1611	Doña Ana González	Omasuyo	owner	unknown: Bernabé Gutiérrez Guerrero donates <i>varas</i> of <i>azogue</i>	ANB, Minas
> 1616	Mençia de la Vega	Huancavelica	owner	daughter/widow: seeks <i>asiento</i> ; inherited and expanded mines	BN Madrid, MSS 3040
> 1616	Doña Estefania de Torres	Huancavelica	owner	unknown: seeks <i>indios repartidos</i> with new <i>asiento</i>	BN Madrid, MSS 3040
> 1616	Doña María Álvarez	Huancavelica	owner	unknown: seeks <i>indios repartidos</i> with new <i>asiento</i>	BN Madrid, MSS 3040
1625	María Michel	Carangas	refiner	unknown: is sued with other refiners for not paying <i>quintos</i>	ANB, EP
1625	Doña Juana de Gamboa	Potosí	owner	sister: buys mine and refinery from heir of Juan de Gamboa	ANB, EP
1625	Doña Ana Serrano de Montenegro	Potosí	owner	heiress: buys mine and refinery from heir of Juan de Gamboa	ANB, Minas
1641–44	Bartola Sisa	Carangas	miner	unknown: sues Cristóbal Cotes for occupying her mine	ANB, Minas
1643	Doña María Martínez de Henao	Los Lípez	owner	wife: shares half of refinery and mine; sells another mine	ANB, EP

## Appendix I. Continued

Year	Name	Region	Role	Kinship relationship	Archive
1650	Doña Bernabela de Salaçar	Potosí	owner	unknown: owns refinery with 70 <i>indios repartidos</i>	BL (Estevanez de Azebedo 1650)
1656–58	Beatriz de la Roca y Merlo	Porco	owner	widow: sues brother-in-law for ownership of <i>trapiche</i>	ANB, Minas
1657–61	Catalina de Sandoval	Los Lipez	owner	wife: collects on husband's loan to refiner Fernando Jiménez	ANB, Minas
1661	Doña Isabel de Rojas	Paucarcolla	owner	widow: inherits mine and sues for husband's wages	ANB, Minas
1669	Doña Lorenza de Quiroga	Potosí	owner	daughter: disputes with Blas Miguel over father's mines/refineries	ANB, LAACH
1676	Doña Leonor López Maldonado	Chayanta	refiner	widow: inherits mines/refinery from Santiago de Palacios	ANB, Minas
1676–78	Doña María Rengifo	Chayanta	owner	widow: sues to reclaim dowry from mines/refineries	ANB, Minas
1679–88	Doña Margarita Velásquez de Camargo	Paucarcolla	owner	wife/widow: <i>poder</i> for new and existing mines/refineries	ANB, Minas
1686	Doña Antonia María de Montalbán	Chayanta	refiner	wife: sues miner with spouse, Jacinto Espínola Ortiz Melgarejo	ANB, Minas
1688	Doña Juana de Ávila	Chayanta	refiner	widow: paid husband's debts by refining own silver	ANB, Minas
1692	Doña Antonia Vázquez de Ayala	Potosí	owner	wife: husband separates debts and refineries after her death	ANB, Minas

## Appendix I. Continued

Year	Name	Region	Role	Kinship relationship	Archive
1692-94	Doña Catalina de Aguirre	Asángaro	owner	aunt: bequeathed gold mine to Nicolás Lucero de Monjaras	ANB, Minas
1693	Doña Francisca de Salcedo	Paucarcolla	owner	niece: inherits property in refinery from Gaspar de Salcedo	ANB, Minas
1694-1701	Doña Francisca Antonia Sanz de Barea	Potosí	owner	widow: sues with co-owners for debts against mining company	ANB, Minas
1695	Doña Luisa Vázquez de Ayala	Potosí	owner	sister: inherited refinery with Doña Antonia Vázquez de Ayala	ANB, Minas
1703-4	Doña Josefa González de la Calleja	Berenguela	owner	daughter: administers father's refinery by request of husband	ANB, Minas
1705	Doña María López de Quiroga	Potosí	owner	daughter: petitions against Blas Miguel for inherited mines	ANB, Minas
1705-7	Doña Lorenza López de Quiroga	Potosí	owner	daughters: petitions against Blas Miguel; negotiates tallow prices	ANB, Minas
1709	Doña Juana de Segovia	La Plata	refiner	unknown: sues rival miner/refiner, Francisco de Boada	ANB, Rück
1711	Doña María de Maya	Puno	owner	daughter: father donates mines/refinery/ <i>socavón</i> to convert	ANB, Minas
1711	Doña Bernarda de Maya	Puno	owner	daughter: father donates mines/refinery/ <i>socavón</i> to convert	ANB, Minas
1720-22	Doña María del Campo	Chayanta	miner	granddaughter: sues for discovery rights of mines/ <i>socavón</i>	ANB, Minas

## Appendix I. Continued

Year	Name	Region	Role	Kinship relationship	Archive
1737-38	Doña Antonia Gutiérrez Escalante	Potosí	owner	daughter: sues about refinery that father sold to Juan Moreno	ANB, Minas
1737-38	Doña Feliciano Gutiérrez Escalante	Potosí	owner	daughter: sues about refinery that father sold to Juan Moreno	ANB, Minas
1743	Doña Ana de Urruigoitia	Potosí	owner	unknown: sued by rivals about Huayllahuasi mine (Potosí)	ANB, Minas
1745-53	Doña Rosa María de Peralta y Moscoso	Porco	owner	widow: owns mines/refineries; votes in guild; sued by <i>yatacona</i>	Minas and LAACH
1751	Doña Luisa Josefa de Prado y Riverola	Oruro	owner	widow: sues don Manuel de Herrera for not paying mine rent; in 1755, Herrera is sued for the death of an Indian miner	ANB, Minas
1753-56	Doña Gertrudis Ruiz de Santo Domingo	Potosí	owner	widow: sues miner for false bill of sale with husband's name	ANB, Minas
1755	Doña María de los Ríos	Paria	owner	widow: petitions to form mining company with son-in-law	ANB, Minas
1764-71	Doña Francisca Muñoz de Cuellar y Umoria	Porco	owner	wife: husband petitions to inherit refineries after her death	ANB, Minas
1767-71	Doña Ignacia Fernández Pacheco	Potosí	owner	daughter: inherited refinery from Feliciano Gutiérrez Escalante	ANB, Minas
1767-71	Doña Francisca Fernández Pacheco	Potosí	owner	daughter: inherited refinery from Feliciano Gutiérrez Escalante	ANB, Minas

## Appendix I. Continued

Year	Name	Region	Role	Kinship relationship	Archive
1770	Doña María Jacinta Álvarez de Quirós	Potosí	owner	wife: placed cease and desist order against another miner	ANB, Minas
1772-73	Doña María Barahona	Potosí	owner	widow: petitions against ruling on inherited refinery	ANB, Minas
1772-77	Doña Victoria de Villa Molina	Lampa	owner	<i>vecina</i> : seeks to buy old refinery to expand pottery factory	ANB, Minas
1774	Doña Mariana Narcisca Inga Puma Charaja	Chucuito	leader	widow: petitions for <i>mitayos</i> to return home after husband's death	ANB, Minas
1774-89	Doña Francisca del Risco y Agorreta	Porco	owner	wife: owns mines/refineries/ <i>socavones</i> ; sues for theft of <i>pella</i>	ANB, Minas
1775	Doña Felipa Pardo de Figueroa	Potosí	owner	widow: heirs dispute Carmelite claim to mines/refineries of husband	ANB, Minas
1777	Doña Juana Josefa de Velasco	Chucuito	owner	sister: brother challenges ownership of mines/refineries	ANB, Minas
1779-84	Doña María Josefa Sanz de Barea	Potosí	owner	sister: sues family and Don Joaquín José de Orondo	ANB, Minas
1780-86	Doña Francisca Estupiñán	Chayanta	owner	wife: petitions to nullify husband's transfer of refineries	ANB, Minas
1781-94	Doña María Mercedes de la Plaza	Oruro/Sicasica	owner	wife/widow: pays first spouse's debt; <i>azoguera</i> with second husband	ANB, Minas
1782-86	Doña Isabel de Olivera	La Plata	owner	mother/widow: forms company with son for husband's mines	ANB, Minas

## Appendix I. Continued

Year	Name	Region	Role	Kinship relationship	Archive
1782–86	Doña María Josefa Artajona	Chayanta	owner	widow: sues for control of husband's mining company	ANB, Minas
1783	Doña Francisca Lama	Potosí	owner	mother: son disputes inventory of refinery after her death	ANB, Minas
1783–87	Doña Catalina de Miranda	Porco	owner	daughter/wife: inherits refineries; sues Ricardo Reynolds over them	ANB, Minas
1783–90	Doña Isabel Olivera	Chichas	owner	mother: sues over dissolution of daughter's mining company	ANB, Minas
1783–1801	Doña María Arias Osorio	Chichas	owner	wife: bequeathed refinery to third party	ANB, Minas
1784–86	Doña Inés Echeverría Barea	Potosí	owner	wife: sued with husband for refineries by María Josefa Sanz Barea	ANB, Minas
1784–86	Doña Gertrudis Sanz Barea	Potosí	owner	wife: sued with husband for refineries by María Josefa Sanz Barea	ANB, Minas
1785–92	Doña María de Antequera	Sicasica	owner	widow: sues miner for interrupting <i>socavón</i> ; claims company	ANB, Minas
1786–1808	Doña María Josefa Artajona	Chayanta	owner	widow: sues women and men for mismanagement and possession	ANB, Minas
1786	Doña María Rodríguez	Paria	owner	widow: seeks compensation for improvements to mines/refineries	ANB, Minas

## Appendix I. Continued

Year	Name	Region	Role	Kinship relationship	Archive
1786–87	Doña María Josefa Rodríguez de Vida	Chayanta	owner	widow: sues against mine encroachment; collects debts	ANB, Minas
1787	Doña María Delgar	Cajatambo	refiner	wife: restores mines and labor relations ruined by husband	AGN, Lima
1788	Magdalena Gallegos	La Paz	owner	sister: seeks compensation for brother's gold mine	ANB, Minas
1788	Doña María Dávalos	Yamparas	miner	wife: requests permission to prospect with brother	ANB, Minas
1790	Manuela Miranda	Guarochiri	miner	unknown: discovers mines and amalgamates silver	AGN, Lima
1790	Doña Alfonsa Bohórquez	Puna	owner	unknown: seeks possession of abandoned mines in <i>hacienda</i>	ANB, Minas
1790	Doña Paula Vargas	Chichas	owner	widow: seeks help to collect on husband's loans	ANB, Minas
1793–96	Doña Petrona Benavides	Chayanta	owner	sister: sues María Josefa Artajona for entering brother's mine	ANB, Minas
1793–1808	Doña María Antonia Martirrena	Chayanta	owner	widow: sued by María Josefa Artajona over inherited mines	ANB, Minas
1793	Doña Marcelina López de Velasco	Puno	owner	wife: Limeño seeks debt forgiveness against <i>trapiche</i> owners	ANB, Minas
1795–1801	Doña Antonia Fernández Sandoval	Potosí	owner	wife: inquiry into dowry/refinerics after her death	ANB, Minas

## Appendix I. Continued

Year	Name	Region	Role	Kinship relationship	Archive
1795	Doña María de Ortega	Potosí	owner	widow: official praises treatment of <i>mitayos</i> at refinery (now priest's)	ANB, Rück
1795–97	Doña María Teresa Menéndez	Porco	owner	widow: seeks to rent mines/refineries; denounces <i>k'ajchas</i>	ANB, Minas
1796–1820	Manuela Cuyrahuana	Chayanta	miner	unknown: sued by mine owner for stealing gold	ANB, Minas
1796–1801	Doña Josefa Salado	Porco	owner	wife: husband seeks inventory of refineries after her death	ANB, Minas
1797	Doña Rosa Catalina Vázquez de Velasco	Porco	owner	unknown: sues María Teresa Menéndez for mine encroachment	ANB, Minas
1798–1803	Doña Bartolina Velasco	Porco	owner	widow: contests accounts of husband's mining company	ANB, Minas
1799–1801	María Rosa Coro (“india”)	Sicasica	owner	widow: sues Manuel Salinas for claiming husband's mine	ANB, Minas
1801	Doña María Josefa Galleguillo	Oruro	refiner	unknown: proposes mercury transport routes with <i>azogueros</i>	ANB, Minas

## Notes

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- 1 Archivos y Bibliotecas Nacionales de Bolivia, Sucre, Chuquisaca, Bolivia (ABNB), Minas 92.6, 1644: fols. 1–7. All translations from the Spanish and resulting errors are my own.
- 2 ABNB, Escribanía Pública (EP) 22: fols. 156–157v, 1569.
- 3 ABNB, Minas 125.11, 1643: fols. 11–11v.
- 4 ABNB, Minas 60.6, 1699: fols. 1–6.
- 5 See also “Relación de las minas de acogue de guancauelica,” 18 February 1616, Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, Spain (BN), Madrid 3041: fols. 119–119v.
- 6 ABNB, Minas 70.8, 1688: fols. 1–6.
- 7 I thank David Chang for suggesting this interpretation.
- 8 The book chapter was reprinted from an earlier article (Zulawski 1990).
- 9 ABNB, Minas 92.6, 1644: fol. 1.
- 10 *Ibid.*, fol. 1v.
- 11 *Ibid.*, fol. 1.
- 12 *Ibid.*, fols. 1–1v.
- 13 *Ibid.*, fol. 1v.
- 14 ABNB, Minas 96.9, 1664: fols. 1–2.
- 15 ABNB, Minas 92.6, 1644: fol. 3. Notary Don Juan Girón identifies him as “Francisco de Questo,” but he signed as “Francisco de Corto.” For her help in deciphering signatures, I thank María del Carmen Martínez of the ABNB.
- 16 *Ibid.*, fol. 3v.
- 17 *Ibid.*
- 18 *Ibid.*, fol. 4v.
- 19 *Ibid.*, fol. 7.
- 20 *Ibid.*, fols. 5v–6.
- 21 *Ibid.*, fol. 6v.
- 22 *Ibid.*, fols. 5v–6.
- 23 *Ibid.*, fol. 5.
- 24 *Ibid.*, fols. 6–6v.
- 25 So many people equated them that Covarrubias (1611: 731) cautioned, “no se si el sitio donde su Magestad Filipo II fundó el monesterio de San Lorenzo; tuvo este nombre a esta causa, porque otro pago cercano se llama la herreria, de do se sacaria el escoria” (I do not know if this is why the site on which His Majesty Philip II founded the monastery of Saint Lorenzo took such a name, because another neighboring village is called the Iron Forge, which is where they extract the dross).

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