

secondary sources that Claassen and Ammon rely on are themselves the subject of debate, and those debates do not always appear clearly in some of the entries. For instance, in the discussion of the precolonial Aztec concept of the soul, and specifically the term *yolia*, the authors accept that scholarship on the Aztec soul is established fact. However, recent scholarship challenges the basis of some of these long-accepted arguments. For instance, Justyna Olko and Julia Madajczak argue that *yolia* is actually a neologism created in the early colonial period and not a precolonial Indigenous belief as Claassen and Ammon present it. More clarity on some of the debates surrounding complicated and controversial ideas such as this would have been a welcome addition to this impressive work.

Ultimately, this work is an extremely useful resource for scholars and students of Mexico during the colonial period and beyond. Both scholars and students will find themselves frequently looking at this work for reference as an accessible starting point in what is the complicated and controversial topic of religion in the first century of colonization in Mexico.

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Palmares e Cuaú: O aprendizado da dominação. By SILVIA HUNOLD LARA.

São Paulo: Editora da Universidade de São Paulo, 2021. Maps. Notes.

Bibliography. 449 pp. Paper, R\$42.00.

Palmares, the largest and longest-lived maroon community in Brazil, survived for about a century, and although long mostly ignored by that nation's historians, it became in the twentieth century not only a subject of historical interest but a symbol of heroic resistance against slavery and of the importance and persistence of African culture in Brazil. Celebrated in statues, carnival floats, feature films, and novels, the death in 1695 of Zumbi, Palmares's last leader, has been commemorated in Brazil each November 20 since 1978 as the Day of Black Consciousness, an event memorialized by some states and about a thousand cities but still not a national holiday.

This book, by one of Brazil's leading historians of slavery, presents a judicious summary and penetrating critique of the history and historiography of Palmares, as well as a detailed discussion of the principal documentary sources for its history. It is also a challenging reproach to much of the simplistic memorialization of Palmares as a singular example of persistent and successful slave resistance. Although Silvia Hunold Lara describes the early history of the numerous *mocambos* (fugitive settlements) that composed Palmares, and she discusses the many Portuguese and Dutch military campaigns against the fugitive communities as well as their effective defense, this volume concentrates on the years after 1678 and the fact that for a short time Gana Zumba, the ruler of Palmares, having suffered considerable losses from colonial expeditions, concluded an agreement in that year with the governor of Pernambuco in which he recognized Portuguese royal sovereignty, agreed to resettle in a small frontier town (Cuaú),

accepted baptism, and promised to return new runaway slaves in return for recognition of his family's freedom and that of his followers and their children born outside the slave regime. Lara stresses that this was an episode that recalled other colonial fugitive hostilities and negotiated arrangements, including those made with the Jamaica and Guiana Maroons or with the *cimarrones* in Esmeraldas (Ecuador), San Lorenzo de los Negros (Veracruz), and other places in Spanish America.

Such comparisons have rarely been made about Palmares, and Lara's emphasis on the failed attempt at negotiation may make some of the advocates of the heroic image uncomfortable. Nevertheless, she has now placed Palmares firmly within the broader context of the African American experience throughout the Americas. Moreover, Lara tells this complex story in careful detail by concentrating on the end of the seventeenth century, when the documentation of the peace negotiation, its breakdown, and the final battles provides historians with a knowledge of a Central African-style royal lineage that linked the various mocambos into what appears to be a neo-African kingdom of Palmares, a polity like the kingdom of Matamba that the Portuguese in Angola in this period referred to as a *reino e kilombo* and with which they often maintained diplomatic and commercial relations. Thus, not only has Lara placed Palmares into a broader African American context and provided details about the personalities and decisions of its leaders in its last decades, but she has also questioned the supposed intractability of the Portuguese colonial regime when confronted with slave resistance, and she demonstrates its willingness to deal with the rebel leadership much as it had with contemporary African polities when doing so seemed advantageous.

The governor of Pernambuco hoped to turn the resettled maroons into compliant subjects and their community into something like the missionary-controlled Indigenous villages (*aldeias*) of colonial Brazil. This arrangement broke down quickly because of opposition from the slave-owning settler colonists and from a more radical element among the *palmaristas* led by Zumbi who refused to join the negotiation, perhaps because, as a later governor of Pernambuco suggested, many of them were former slaves who would have been forced back into servitude by the Cucaú agreement. The campaigns against them and their resistance under Zumbi continued for another 15 years, and even after that, remnant mocambos continued to form in the region.

The author's impeccable scholarship and mastery of the existing sources has produced a book that is original in its approach, meticulous in its documentary basis, and suggestive in its discussion of the numerous still-unresolved questions about the origins, size, ethnic composition, leadership, language, and cultural continuity of Palmares. Like much of the best current Brazilian scholarship about slavery, noticeable throughout the book is a familiarity with, and incorporation of, the recent historiography on West Central Africa as well as with the ongoing debates about creolization versus African cultural continuities in Atlantic slave societies. Lara is also particularly effective in pointing out that Palmares, which as a polity survived for about a century, had a history of change over time. Through an imaginative use of maps that depict the changing dimensions of Palmares, she discusses how territorial, demographic, and political changes influenced both the internal strategies of its leaders and the willingness of colonial governors to seek

political or military solutions to the challenge of slave resistance. This fundamental study will become a cornerstone for all future work on Palmares.

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Blood and Boundaries: The Limits of Religious and Racial Exclusion in Early Modern Latin America. By STUART B. SCHWARTZ. The Menahem Stern Jerusalem Lectures. Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press, 2020. Plates. Notes. Index. xvi, 184 pp. Paper, \$35.00.

The Holy Office of the Inquisition in Lima arrested Manuel Bautista Pérez in 1635 on accusations that he was the leader of Peru's secret Jews and sentenced him to death in 1639. Bautista Pérez was a Portuguese converso merchant who had become one of Lima's wealthiest residents and who exerted significant influence and power in the city. Inquisitors arrested Bautista Pérez during investigations in the 1630s into some of Lima's most commercially successful residents, most of whom were conversos. How were Manuel Bautista Pérez and others able to operate as powerful players in international mercantile networks and settle in viceregal capitals when the Spanish crown had strictly prohibited conversos and other New Christians, such as Moriscos, from crossing the Atlantic Ocean to Spanish America? This is one of the important questions that animates Stuart B. Schwartz's *Blood and Boundaries*.

Schwartz explores the limits of religious and racial exclusion in the Spanish American viceroyalties by focusing on the lived experiences of individuals and communities from three marginalized groups: Moriscos, conversos, and mestizos. Schwartz explores how marginalized groups navigated laws and discourses that sought to exclude them, showing how “the restrictions and disadvantages were repeatedly circumvented, negotiated, ignored, and ultimately failed as policies of social marginalization—even though they were relatively successful in weakening those groups as corporate actors with political interests” (p. 10). Chapter 1 explores how the fear of Islam, Islamic practices, and Christian renegades who converted to Islam in captivity penetrated colonial anxieties in Spanish America, even though the number and proportion of Moriscos and Muslims in Spanish America were very limited. Schwartz analyzes the dynamic of this fear and anxiety about Islam in Spanish America by exploring how colonial subjects defended themselves against such accusations in Inquisition trials. The chapter convincingly shows that while not many Moriscos crossed the Atlantic Ocean from Castile to Spanish America, the fear of Islamic practices and beliefs remained ingrained in the imaginary landscapes of colonial authorities and the experiences of colonial subjects.

In contrast, chapter 2 explores how conversos often crossed the ocean as merchants and entrepreneurs and settled in Spanish America in significant numbers with limited resistance from the crown, in spite of copious laws that prohibited conversos from traveling to the Indies. They often became wealthy and powerful residents in viceregal cities. Instead of focusing on the sporadic persecutions of conversos across colonial Latin America,