

heterogeneidad y la reinención en la configuración de distintos órdenes normativos en contextos de dominación.

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Pueblos, Plains, and Province: New Mexico in the Seventeenth Century.

By JOSEPH P. SÁNCHEZ. Louisville: University Press of Colorado, 2021. Maps.

Table. Appendixes. Notes. Bibliography. Index. viii, 325 pp. Cloth, \$48.00.

Pueblos, Plains, and Province explores the complexity of the concept of homeland as experienced by the societies that collided and coexisted in colonial New Mexico: Native American sedentary farmers and mobile hunter-gatherers, on the one hand, and Spanish settlers, on the other. Using a wide variety of published primary sources and unpublished documents from principal archives in Mexico, the United States, and Spain, Joseph P. Sánchez offers a chronologically organized overview of the Spanish exploration, settlement, and administration of New Mexico from 1540 to the Pueblo Revolt of 1680.

Its 15 chapters trace synthetically the best-known passages of that history—such as the adventures of Álgar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, Marcos de Niza, or Francisco Vázquez de Coronado—but they recount in detail other episodes barely outlined in most general histories of the region. For example, based on Hernán Gallegos's *relación* published by George Hammond and Agapito Rey in 1966, Sánchez describes the 1581 *entrada* of Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado and friar Agustín Rodríguez. For the unauthorized settlement of New Mexico by Gaspar Castaño de Sosa in 1590–92, Sánchez follows a soldier's memoir kept at Madrid's Real Academia de la Historia and official reports by Castaño's pursuer preserved in the Archivo General de Indias.

Like France V. Scholes, Sánchez centers his seventeenth-century overview of the province on church-state conflict. Unlike Scholes, however, Sánchez does not portray civil government officers as corrupt, greedy rascals opposed to merciful friars fighting to protect exploited, helpless Indians; neither does he draw a picture of homogeneous, ever-opposed Indigenous and Spanish worlds. Instead, he shows that competition between the civil and ecclesiastical orders over control of Indigenous labor and ritual practice molded relations between Spanish settlers, Plains tribes, and Pueblos, and that “although colonial native relationships were often adversarial, they were not exclusively antagonistic” (p. 239). Cross-ethnic intermarriage and *compadrazgo* were not uncommon, and attitudes of individual Spaniards toward Native peoples often depended on specific economic and political interests. Two appendixes offer, respectively, a descriptive history of the Salinas Pueblo Missions National Monument and a discussion of various Indigenous revolts—primarily in northern New Spain—meant to demonstrate that the Acoma, Pueblo, and Jumano rebellions were not isolated phenomena. Interesting as they are, these essays do not make for good appendixes—they seem to be included in this capacity, and not as chapters, only because they do not fit into the volume's narrative structure.

Sánchez's book is apparently designed on the premise that in historical writing, as John L. Kessell prefers, analysis and interpretation should be woven into the narrative

flow of events. However, anecdotal details in Sánchez's narration—information about the families of secondary characters, the precise itineraries of friars and officials—often carry more weight than analysis, which makes the reader wonder at times about the relevance of these details. Much of them could have been summarized or, sometimes, even omitted to make the reading more fluid and highlight Sánchez's relevant criticisms of the historiography.

Two of these criticisms are worthy of comment. First, Sánchez questions the widespread use of Spanish cruelty and ambition to explain all aspects of New Mexico's colonial past. To achieve a more accurate understanding of that history, he argues, one must compare the Spanish conquest with similar episodes during other European incursions elsewhere in the Americas, like the "starvation period" in Virginia after Jamestown's founding in 1607 and the United States Army massacre of the Lakota Sioux at Wounded Knee in 1890. In Sánchez's opinion, historians should explain attitudes and events according to the values and circumstances of the times when they occurred. Thus the 1599 battle at Acoma and Juan de Oñate's subsequent punishment of the defeated Indians or the Jumano War of 1601–3 cannot only be explained by Spanish brutality; the adverse effects that resource scarcity and cultural differences had on Spanish-Native interaction during "New Mexico's starvation period" (1598–1609) must also be considered.

The other important criticism is that what historiography has construed as isolated Indigenous rebellions were, from the Indigenous perspective, continued wars for the defense of territory and the Indigenous way of life, threatened by the European intruders. An associated argument that should have been addressed in more depth is that Indigenous tribes in the Americas, "for thousands of years, prior to European contact," had carved out boundaries to mark "their separate and distinct homelands" (p. 4). While I agree that "Indigenous territoriality clashed with European notions of sovereignty" (p. 3), it has also been argued that in precolonial times tribal territories did not exist as differentiated areas with defined limits of exclusive property of a certain human group, despite the evidence of intertribal conflicts over land occupation and the appropriation of natural resources. Precisely defined, fixed Pueblo territories emerged through a long process of territorialization linked to the imposition of state domination and the Native peoples' gradual mastering of its legal instruments and procedures.

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The Stations of the Cross in Colonial Mexico: The "Via crucis en mexicano" by Fray Agustín de Vetancurt, and the Spread of a Devotion. By JOHN F. SCHWALLER. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press; San Diego: Academy of American Franciscan History, 2022. Photographs. Figures. Appendixes. Notes. Bibliography. Index. x, 241 pp. Cloth, \$45.00.

As Catholicism expanded into a truly global religion during the early modern era, shared devotions and pious practices became important elements that knitted together the great

diversity of the Catholic world. One such devotion was the stations of the cross or *via crucis*, in which the faithful followed the path of Jesus from condemnation to crucifixion and entombment, using key events in the story of the passion as inspiration for contemplation and prayer. The origins of this practice, which combined prayers and meditations with images and performative movements of walking and kneeling, are murky, but it seems to have first developed in medieval Europe as a means for pious Christians unable to travel to Jerusalem to make instead a spiritual pilgrimage. By the sixteenth century, the stations of the cross traveled with European merchants and missionaries, conquistadores, and colonists to the Americas and beyond. John F. Schwaller's examination of a late seventeenth-century *via crucis* manual in Nahuatl captures a moment in the spread of the pious practice as it became localized in the flourishing devotional culture of New Spain.

Schwaller's focus is the *Via crucis en mexicano* (1680), a handbook for performing the stations of the cross translated from Spanish into Nahuatl by the Franciscan historian Agustín de Vetancurt (d. 1700). Though no printed editions of this popular book exist today, a handwritten copy created in 1738 by an Indigenous scribe survives in the holdings of the Academy of American Franciscan History. Over the course of six careful, detailed chapters, Schwaller examines this source and its context. After an introductory first chapter, he explores the history of the stations of the cross and the processional culture of Mexica society and of early and midcolonial Mexico. The devotion (and other processional religious rituals) played an important role in the early missionary efforts of the Franciscans; by the end of the sixteenth century it had come to be a key element of religious life throughout the colony. Chapter 3 examines Vetancurt and his milieu, situating the devotion and Vetancurt's text within colonial New Spain's print culture, within baroque aesthetics, architecture, and religiosity, and within a larger body of devotional texts either composed in or translated into Nahuatl.

In the fourth chapter, the book's strongest, Schwaller examines Vetancurt's translation. He analyzes it against its probable source, a late seventeenth-century devotional text from Spain. Schwaller unpacks Vetancurt's strategies as a translator/adaptor: the circumlocutions, neologisms, and rhetorical devices that allowed the Franciscan to transform the original text into words and actions that would have resonated with a Nahuatl-speaking audience. Particularly valuable here is Schwaller's attention to the many associations that crowded around Vetancurt's linguistic choices. It is clear that Vetancurt's version did not slavishly follow the Spanish original; rather, his translation enriched it with additional, culturally specific meanings. Some of these linked the text to pre-Hispanic traditions, as did the selection of the Nahuatl root *xipe*, which relates to flaying, to render Spanish words for "wounds" or "to hurt"; others were words that had extra significance in the context of late seventeenth-century Mexico, like the choice of *tilma* for the cloth with which Veronica wiped the face of Jesus.

Chapter 5 considers the drawings that accompanied the 1738 transcription of Vetancurt's printed text. Schwaller situates the illustrations within the traditions of depicting the passion and the stations of the cross that were present in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century New Spain and concludes that the copyist, Matheo de San Juan

Chichahuastla, probably drew his inspiration from the floats, or *pasos*, that were commonly carried by confraternities during Holy Week. A short conclusion and two useful appendixes—the first an English translation of the Nahuatl text, the second a transcription of the 1738 Nahuatl manuscript—round out the book.

Schwaller's close analysis and deep contextualization are a master class in the ways in which a single text can shed light on a broad array of issues—as he says, “from such a small work, a whole world can be glimpsed” (p. 198). I found particularly compelling how Schwaller highlights the devotion's multimedia aspects and the host of meanings embedded in Vetancurt's linguistic selections. There are some missed opportunities, however, in theorizing the devotion and its place in the religious landscape of New Spain. For example, I wonder how our understanding might change if, following the interpretive model suggested by Karin Vélez's work on the Holy House of Loreto, we shifted our view from the translation or adaptation of European originals to the local creation of an increasingly global Catholicism.

The Stations of the Cross in Colonial Mexico will find a ready readership among scholars and students interested in colonial Nahuatl texts, early modern devotional culture, and global Catholicism more generally.

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Eighteenth–Nineteenth Centuries

From Sea-Bathing to Beach-Going: A Social History of the Beach in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. By B. J. BARICKMAN. Edited by HENDRIK KRAAY and BRYAN MCCANN. Diálogos Series. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2022. Photographs. Maps. Figures. Tables. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xxviii, 287 pp. Paper, \$29.95.

Bert J. Barickman dedicou anos a pesquisar o que definiu como a história social da praia no Rio de Janeiro. Para isso, empenhou-se em compreender como, no decorrer dos séculos XIX e XX, a praia passou de um local usado exclusivamente para banhos de mar para se transformar num lugar privilegiado de sociabilidade, transformando-se no símbolo da mais conhecida cidade brasileira e, em muitos sentidos, do próprio Brasil. O projeto era ambicioso e, infelizmente, Barickman faleceu antes de terminá-lo. *From Sea-Bathing to Beach-Going: A Social History of the Beach in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil* é, portanto, um livro póstumo, fruto da organização e edição cuidadosa de Hendrik Kraay e Bryan McCann a partir do material deixado pelo autor. Dos oito capítulos que Barickman havia planejado, apenas quatro foram escritos. Eles compõem a maior parte do livro, que vem acrescido de dois outros textos: o quinto capítulo, que consiste na adaptação de um artigo publicado pelo autor, e um epílogo escrito por McCann a partir de notas de Barickman.

É importante dizer que, ainda que essa não seja a obra planejada pelo autor, o livro não é, sob nenhum aspecto, incompleto. A qualidade do texto e o trabalho dos editores