de la nación, especie de grotesco social que termina devorándose a sí mismo. En el caso de Tamayo, último ejemplo representativo de la esfera pública culta que Pareja estudia, el análisis observa detalladamente las obras poéticas, los ensayos y artículos de Tamayo que, a pesar de pertenecer a géneros y temas diferentes, tienen en común los modos de constitución subjetiva que, como vimos, distinguen a los sujetos ideales de la doctrina liberal.

Finalmente, y debido al énfasis dado a la construcción de la racionalidad liberal, el libro de Pareja deja insuficientemente explorado el tema de la multitud. Y ello se debe a que las "tecnologías del yo" son poco idóneas para tal efecto porque aíslan a los ilustres liberales del flujo social en el que se vieron envueltos durante los dos siglos de vida republicana. Poco dice Pareja a propósito del terco proceso de cholificación que se dio modos para vencer esos procesos de subjetivación liberal ¿Acaso los indios-mestizos no resistieron ser absorbidos por el racionalizador mundo criollo y no intentaron nuevas vías de incorporación del cholaje al proceso de la cultura nacional? Tan cierto es ello que incluso Carlos Medinaceli, a quien Pareja presenta como el más importante cultor de la biografía liberal, fue también un agudo observador del "encholamiento" de los sectores criollos. Así como ambigua y conflictiva es la situación de Medinaceli, tengo la impresión de que Pareja debió haber puesto mayor atención en el "ethos barroco" de lo cholo. En efecto, cuando aborda la construcción de la racionalidad liberal en medio del caudillismo revoltoso, este libro explora insuficientemente la otra posibilidad, más real y duradera, de construir la cultura nacional desde la perspectiva de la multitud chola.

Javier Sanjinés University of Michigan

Pastor Bodmer, Beatriz. *Cartografías utópicas de la emancipación*. Madrid/ Frankfurt am Main: Iberoamericana/Vervuert, 2015. 247 pp.

Pastor Bodmer's book-length essay proposes utopianism as the ordering principle for a new look at the sprawling but interlocking bibliography of the Spanish American independence movement. Focusing on a canon in which utopian novels in the tradition of Thomas More are notably lacking, Pastor Bodmer argues that an absence of narratives set on imaginary islands does not necessarily equate to an absence of utopian thought.

Ernst Bloch's distinction between "amber" and "electricity" serves as the touchstone for Pastor Bodmer's expansive definition of utopianism. In his introduction to *The Principle of Hope*, Bloch had argued that "all freedom movements are guided by utopian aspirations" and that utopianism connoted "thinking directed towards changing the world" rather than the creation of isolated, ideal societies safely beyond the reach of the rest of human civilization. Tracing the etymology of "electricity" to the Greek word for "amber," Bloch suggests that defining all utopianism by the single novel that gave the concept its name would be as wrongheaded as refusing to consider electricity outside the parameters of its original meaning.

This formulation is crucial for Pastor Bodmer's approach, and in the book's introduction and first chapter, she takes pains to demonstrate how an expanded definition of utopianism can be specific enough to serve as the central axis of a new critical approach. Defining her project against what she calls "arqueología de la utopía," Pastor Bodmer seeks to analyze a line of thought that saw history as "movimiento, transformación, y cambio incesante," attributes she associates with electricity rather than amber (17).

The resulting utopian canon combines some of the usual suspects—Simón Bolívar, Francisco de Miranda, precursors such as Condorcet and Turgot—while also paying extra attention to more marginal figures like Juan Bautista Mariano Picornell, Fray Servando Teresa de Mier, Juan Germán Roscio, and Juan Pablo Vizcardo y Guzmán. Pastor Bodmer also provides fresh readings of Andrés Bello's poetry and Henri de Cristophe's architectural projects. What unites this diverse group of creators and creations is a commitment to "movimiento, transformación, y cambio incesante" as something more than agitation for more rapid historical progress. In Pastor Bodmer's vision, the utopian consciousness seeks moral and political redemption and thus transcends any linear historical narrative.

Pastor Bodmer's utopian cartography defies national and linguistic borders too. The public and personal lives of Picornell, Mier, Miranda, and Vizcardo, born respectively in Spain, Mexico, Venezuela, and Peru, converge in the publishing centers of London and Philadelphia, where a burgeoning Spanish language press is shaping a pan-Hispanic readership. In historical terms, Pastor Bodmer's study is not breaking new ground, as recent works by Rodrigo Lazo and Eugenia Roldán Vera have convincingly demonstrated the influence of Philadelphia and London-based publications in the Spanish-speaking world. What *Cartografías utópicas de la emancipación* adds to the discussion are fresh readings of this eclectic canon of thinkers in the historical context of this "gran espacio de las ideas" created in transnational print by the tireless networking of exiled intellectuals (111).

The recovery of Picornell, who led revolutionary conspiracies in Spain and throughout the Americas before becoming a Spanish agent and disappearing into still-loyal Cuba, is especially valuable. Following in the footsteps of the Venezuelan critic and intellectual historian Pedro Grases, Pastor Bodmer provides close and perceptive readings of the web of proposals, manifestoes, and popular songs attributed to Picornell or his supporters. What makes Picornell utopian rather than merely progressive, she argues, is his insistence that the republic to come should harmonize history rather than simply further it. Picornell's revolutionary vision would provide, as she puts it, "resolución simbólica a todos los conflictos y contradicciones que han hecho necesario la revolución" (82).

This essentially aesthetic evaluation of Picornell's revolutionary project—it will resolve chaos into harmony—circles back elegantly to Bloch, who refers to "polished utopian consciousness" as "the most powerful telescope" for reexamining quotidian reality. For Pastor Bodmer, the aesthetic nature of utopian thinking transcends divisions of discourse and literary genre. So the oft-cited heterogeneity of the independence bibliography in Spanish America (and indeed throughout the Americas) coalesces around a desire not only to "change the world" but also to reshape the historical narratives that produced it.

Bolívar looms large in Pastor Bodmer's study, and her key insight is the synchronic nature of the contradictory qualities frequently attributed to him—idealism and political pragmatism. While popular conceptions of Bolívar trace the deterioration of an idealist into a Machiavellian realist or worse, Pastor Bodmer makes the case for a stable Bolívar always characterized by "una pugna permanente entre imaginación utópica y realismo político" (229). By this reckoning, his final comprehensive political project—the Constitución Boliviana de 1826—reads less like a descent into authoritarianism than an attempt at governmental harmony through the creation of powers modeled on an existing government (Great Britain's parliamentary monarchy) and calculated to address evident fissures in the early life of the independent republics. This Bolívar acts to save rather than sacrifice a utopian ideal of self-government.

One of the strengths of Pastor Bodmer's study is the fresh look it gives to the old question of American originality versus European influence. She traces the independence movement's consistent appeals to "el discurso de la infancia del pueblo" to a Kantian view of enlightenment as escape from tutelage rather than a belief in any need for the American republics to "catch up" with Western Europe (219). To this end, *Cartografías utópicas de la emancipación* offers a rich and complex intellectual genealogy. Its utopian axis opens up the discussion of independence-era influence to figures and events often left out of the standard narrative. If the roles of African slaves and the indigenous populations in independence thought remained, as she puts it, "un punto ciego en la mirada utópica republicana," Pastor Bodmer's study at least lays the foundations for a new approach by exploring the deeply utopian currents in Quechua and Yoruba tradition (172). It also notes the redemptive role played by architecture in the project of Haitian independence, singling out Henri de Christophe's Citadelle Laferrière as an example of the utopian synthesis of linear progress and transcendent redemption, likening the structure to a work of naval architecture: "nueva nave de una nueva travesía que promete neutralizar, de una vez por todas, la maldición de la esclavitud sufrida" (192).

Early on, Pastor Bodmer classifies her study has an essay rather than a comprehensive intellectual history of utopia, and it covers a lot of conceptual and geographical ground very quickly. Some readers might wish for a more comprehensive and symmetrical treatment of the independence period. On the editorial side, a series of erroneous dates on pages 99–100 puts Miranda's trip to the US in the wrong decade and, in one case, the wrong century.

Pastor Bodmer's book overcomes these quibbles and succeeds because it manages to accomplish two difficult tasks at once: it redefines utopianism in the context of Latin American independence and demonstrates how this new definition recovers neglected webs of intellectual influence important enough to reshape our vision of the independence movement. The result is a rediscovered history behind the history we thought we knew and a novel approach to synthesizing the apparent heterogeneity of independence-era prose.

Ronald Briggs Barnard College