

(p. 134). Osorio shows how important it was for Lima to present itself as a civilised, Catholic, pious city, and how by having local saints this identity was strengthened and promoted around the world.

The book establishes the centrality of ritual and its narration, calling into question the idea of the separation between the 'lettered city' and the 'physical city' proposed by a critic, Angel Rama. Osorio believes that this separation is arbitrary and argues that the city was a space for performance to be understood as 'the real embodiment of political theater' (p. 150). The book is therefore a great contribution to the discussion of political ritual and the centrality of this performance of power, which is useful to understanding the way in which political legitimacy was and is built in the seventeenth century and beyond. A second important contribution is to the understanding of Lima as the multi-ethnic hybrid city it has always been, successfully dismissing the idea that it was an elite city with its back to the rest of the country. And finally this book is an invitation to reconsider the very conception of metropolises and colonies in the context of the composite Hispanic monarchy.

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María Teresa Calderón and Clément Thibaud, *La majestad de los pueblos en la Nueva Granada y Venezuela, 1780–1832* (Bogotá: Universidad Externado de Colombia, 2010), pp. 314, pb.

This innovative and stimulating volume is amongst the most original and insightful of all the hundreds of books published to mark the bicentenary of Independence in 2010. Situated fully within the legacy of François-Xavier Guerra, and proud of the intellectual heritage drawn from him, the authors seek to illuminate the 'transition to modernity' (p. 9) in the Gran Colombia region. Discarding hypotheses that see the Independence revolutions and wars as predominantly 'liberal' or 'national', they explore the transformation and reconfiguration of political culture through analysis of the concept of 'majesty'. Building upon the authors' edited volume, *Las revoluciones en el mundo atlántico* (Taurus, 2006), on the Atlantic context of the decomposition of the Hispanic monarchy, they seek to understand the fractured and complex nature of the beginnings of republican society, emphasising the continuities that link the pre- and post-1810 periods. Key to their study is the fact, long neglected by a generation of historians, that political culture was immersed in notions of religion and the sacred (p. 73). Rather than seeing a religious society supplanted by a secular republic, the authors stress how new republican concepts were shaped and informed by religion in the post-Independence period.

The political cultures that emerged in Latin America by 1832 had not been imagined, or designed, or even dreamed of by anyone in 1810. None of the great liberators commemorated today planned Independence to turn out as it did. There was no 'brutal' rupture between royal sovereignty and republican sovereignty (p. 25), as some of the commemorations might have us think. Change took place over a 20–30 year period, charted with great passion over the course of the book, and, as the authors stress, the process was far from inevitable or natural. As monarchy crumbled, sovereignty did not evolve out of majesty; rather, the 'majesty of the king' was cajoled, honed and rethought by two generations of thinkers into the 'majesty of the peoples', in whom sovereignty would reside.

The source material for this study is a broad body of archival documents in Bogotá and Caracas, with particular insight gained from newspapers, constitutions, political pamphlets and published sermons of the era. These historians have exhumed a body of work with such success that it now seems surprising that no one had done this before them. They explain and illustrate how contemporaries understood 'the order of majesty', how they resisted it, and how they eventually reconfigured it towards a sense of popular sovereignty that might sustain the integrity of the new republics. Thibaud and Calderón present 'Independence' as a salvage effort, in which leaders and their *pueblos* tried to rescue something from the unexpected chaos and disintegration that they inherited as a legacy from the implosion of the Spanish empire.

According to the authors, what distinguishes the experience of New Granada and Venezuela from other Hispanic American processes is that the Constitution of Cádiz was never enacted there, precisely because of the successes of military leaders such as Antonio Nariño and Simón Bolívar before the *reconquista* of 1814–15. This left 'a complex co-existence between the sovereignty of the people [as established at Cádiz] and the sovereignty of the pueblos' (p. 89), building upon the corporate nature of colonial governance, and giving full rein to calls for autonomy and independence of regions and towns from Spain *and from each other* in the second wave of warfare after 1816. The book also deals with the vexed questions of federalism, regalism and citizenship, and how they developed in relation to the concept of majesty as it was shaped by warfare and Atlantic connections. The authors are particularly insightful, in chapter 5, on the gulf that separated 'immediate citizenship', as won and performed by soldiers on the battlefield, from real, civic citizenship which was understood as representative, rather than direct. They also argue persuasively (chapter 6) that a crucial moment for the success of independence occurred around 1820, when the conflict was reconceptualised as anti-colonial (against foreigners), rather than as sacrilegious (against God). Bolívar's proclamation of the War to the Death in 1813 was crucial in performing this change.

The last two chapters illustrate the playing out of these changes between 1826 and 1832, the end of the Gran Colombian moment, which historians focusing on the current bicentennial years of 1808–12 are neglecting. There is an excellent discussion of the Ocaña Convention (1828), for example, and the growing phenomenon of the *pronunciamiento* in New Granada. Thibaud and Calderón show how a nascent sense of nation emerged from a sense of the majesty of the pueblos. Unity and liberty, some came to see, might not be incompatible. This excellent book must be required reading for historians seeking to understand the processes and consequences of independence from colonial rule in Hispanic America.

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Pamela S. Murray, *For Glory and Bolívar: The Remarkable Life of Manuela Sáenz* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2008), pp. xiv + 222, £42.00, hb.

Given both the constant interest in Simón Bolívar and the enduring popularity of biography as a genre, it comes as quite a surprise to discover that there has been very little about the Liberator's great love, Manuela Sáenz, available to English-language readers. In fact, before the publication of Pamela Murray's book, there had been only one previous biography of Sáenz in English, and even that was written nearly 60 years