research offers insights beyond the physical portraits' stylistic traits and iconographic content, helping the reader see what cannot be seen, by examining portraiture as more than just historical artifacts. Her comprehensive analyses of the sociopolitical roots of this genre over time reveal deep material relationships that intricately intertwined portraiture with complex regional and local notions of authority. Here, then, a portrait is not an image of an individual but a window into the dynamics of three centuries of South American cultures.

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ANDREW KONOVE, ***Black Market Capital: Urban Politics and the Shadow Economy in Mexico City***. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2018.

A casual observer of today's urban markets selling second-hand and counterfeit goods might miss the intricate and integrated political and social dynamics operating alongside a seemingly straightforward informal economy. In *Black Market Capital*, an absorbing and carefully crafted work, Andrew Konove proves himself a different kind of observer: a meticulous scholar who has immersed himself in a plethora of sources to tell a nuanced, longue-durée history of commercial systems and the diverse people that enabled their enduring existence. Spanning over four hundred years of Mexican history, *Black Market Capital* examines how the notorious "thieves market," the Baratillo of Mexico City, managed to persist from the colonial period to the present. Along the way, Konove's book has much to teach us about a range of fundamental themes in Mexico's past.

Konove organizes the work's six chapters and epilogue chronologically from the early colonial period to 2017. Each chapter covers a series of overlapping themes of urban life in Mexico City: the centrality of extralegal commerce in the broader economy; the formation and non-unitary functioning of the state; the imbricated role of popular, middling, and elite classes in urban politics; and the construction of public spaces in the capital city. In addition to these primarily political and economic themes, *Black Market Capital* sheds some light on the cross-class and mixed race and gendered social arrangements involved in negotiating the existence of and running a popular city market.

Framed around the 1692 Plaza Mayor market riot, chapter 1 introduces us to the work's central argument and recurring themes. The Baratillo and its later incarnation in Mexico City's Tepito neighborhood, served not only as a source of revenue for its vendors and the rent-receiving urban elites, but also as a crucible for colonial and republican politics. In particular, as the book's title signals, local merchants used the political capital of their black market businesses to

negotiate for their rights as colonial subjects and eventually as citizens of the new republic. New Spain's last Habsburg viceroys viewed the Baratillo as the space of a "dangerous mix of people" whose congregation was anathema to their colonial designs for the city. However, the colonial elites—divided in their approach to segregating public spaces—failed in their attempts to eliminate the Baratillo. While peninsular officials attempted to sanitize market spaces, local colonial rulers benefitted from the mixed commerce and resisted reform.

Moving through the Bourbon reforms, President Santa Anna's mid-nineteenth-century rule, the Restored Republic, and the Porfiriato, Konove further develops these political economic themes in their particular periods. Rather than portraying popular classes and elites as separate factions pitted against one another, Konove explains that "the Baratillo was not simply a site of popular resistance; it was a place where elite, popular, and middling actors engaged in republican politics, testing the integrity and stability of Mexico's institutions" (119).

Throughout their history, *baratillero* vendors were aware of the inconsistent urban designs of elites and their reliance on the market's revenue generation. Furthermore, the vendors "negotiated intragovernmental rivalries and tensions" and turned to a sometimes-sympathetic press to promote their businesses and place in city space. For their part, for example, ambivalent nineteenth-century elites sought at different times to remove the market as blight and protect it in gestures of liberal paternalism.

When Porfirio Díaz centralized Mexico City's power under his rule (1876-1910), he removed the ability of elites and commoners to manipulate competing systems of government. That, combined with Porfirian modernizing schemes, relegated the Baratillo to a new, increasingly informal home in the city's northern Tepito neighborhood, where it remains today.

Although Konove points out that the sources are scarce, it would be valuable if future studies of the Baratillo further explore the social and cultural dynamics in which the various historical actors engaged while fighting to both retain and dismantle the informal economic enterprise. For example, we need to know more about how Mexico City's markets and public spaces were gendered and racialized and how those subject positions influenced larger policy decisions.

In *Black Market Capital*, Konove draws on a rich trove of primary sources including archival records, notarial and guild collections in national and regional repositories in Mexico, the United States, and Spain. *Black Market Capital* is a fine work that has broad application and relevance well beyond its Mexico City context for scholars of urban economies, space, and popular involvement in the histories of colonial- and national-era systems of power the world round.

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