

encourages the reader to listen to migrant laborers, enact solidarity with their social movements, and work toward social justice. The author refers to Paul Farmer's concept of "pragmatic solidarity," which encourages joining in practical ways the struggles of oppressed people on all levels of the micro-to-macro continuum.

"Fresh Fruit, Broken Bodies" is not only a brilliant portrayal of migrant farm labor in the United States and a convincing analysis of structural violence; it is also an excellent example of engaged anthropology that wants to change public opinion, policies, and clinical practice. This book will be of interest to scholars and students of agriculture and transnational migration, critical medical anthropology and public health, and economic anthropology. The publication is also a valuable resource to teach research methodologies and social theories.

The only shortcoming of the publication is that a few sections read like dissertation chapters with somewhat repetitive references to theorists. Nevertheless, the book is simply outstanding and it is not surprising that it won the 2013 Book Prize of the Society for the Anthropology of Work as well as the 2013 New Millennium Book Award of the Society for Medical Anthropology.

Alexander Rödlach

**Holten, Lianne:** *Mothers, Medicine, and Morality in Rural Mali. An Ethnographic Study of Therapy Management of Pregnancy and Children's Illness Episodes.* Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2013. 237 pp. ISBN 978-3-643-90301-3. (Mande Worlds, 6) Price: € 29.90

The author is a Dutch midwife who originally travels to an isolated village in the Mande Mountains of southwest Mali to both support the opening of a small maternity clinic and conduct ethnographic fieldwork on therapy management of pregnancy strategies and children's illnesses. Introducing a Dutch model of midwifery practice in the maternity clinic gave rise to instances for observation of the interaction of biomedicine and local therapeutic practices, however, this forms only one component to this rich ethnography detailing the work of the author's five trips to her field site between 2007 and 2012 (for a total of eight months). She acknowledges that formative fieldwork should have been undertaken prior to launching the clinic in order to provide health services responsive to local demands, and uses this experience to frame the trajectory of her understanding and the experiences of her informants.

The ethnography is fluidly readable even while densely detailed, and the reader gets a sense of place, travelling along to this remote area with a high child mortality rate similar to the national averages in Mali. There, through the narrative depictions, Holten goes beyond viewing poverty as a linear cause for personal therapeutic choices and poor health outcomes – but instead explores the social relations and thought processes that poverty (among other local circumstances) creates, links, necessitates, and encourages.

A central argument of Holten's work is that shame is a concept that shapes the emotional and structural ways

of being in the community she lived in. It performs as an "[i]ntersubjective logic ... that informs everyday patterns of social interaction; ... a logic of belonging and of social well-being" (198). Having shame is an act of developing the self's potential in relation to social obligations and expectations. Women's shame and how it plays out on both pregnancy management as well as childhood illness links into child-spacing practices, family obligations for the nutrition of the child, birthing traditions, and a woman's place within polygamous marriages (and, therefore, her children's as well).

Shame in turn dictates health-seeking behaviour (for herself and for her child), as exercising shame as a "good woman" reconstructs her place in the social order, keeping her husband's position in the social network safe, and securing the care for her children. Holten discusses the moral definition of shame, and throughout the ethnography weaves stories as examples of encounters where the embodied representations of these codes are enacted, seeing shame as the performance of ethics at institutional, social, and personal levels.

After discovering the discourse of "shame" and its influence in pregnancy, birthing, and childrearing practices, this becomes a central path to her research. Chapters 1 through 4 lay out the setting conceptually, geographically, and socially, transporting the reader into the space for the arguments surrounding self-actualisation and lived experience in this setting through ethnographic descriptions of relationships, location, and the circumference of health and illness seeking behaviour among her informants. The author then circles in through the next chapters, describing how the conceptual ideas pervasive throughout her observations in Farabako are played out in different contexts. Chap. 5 discusses the manifestations of shame and its many roles in daily life. In chap. 6, Holten specifically looks at the maternity clinic as a place for the imported biomedical model and local concepts of well-being to engage with each other and reveals how the lived discourses of shame guided women's use of the clinic and their subsequent encounters there. Chapters 7 and 8 focus on therapeutic pathways of children's illnesses. Here she shows how language is used to not only identify a disease but also to construct the disease and give it a social trajectory for the child, family, and larger community. Chap. 9 then deals with a woman's social power and her own placement of suffering within her life narrative, which sheds light on her role in therapy management.

In addition to her exploration of shame and how its role creates a continuous negotiation of practices and boundaries for Farabako women, other analytical threads are taken up throughout the book that are useful to think with for reproductive practices in similar contexts throughout the region. Through narratives, she demonstrates how trust is crucial in the patient-healer relationship, seemingly trumping skill, information, and technical supplies. We saw this even with her own (outsider) role within the community, during the elaboration of an illness narrative in which she discussed not being approached for a child's illness until he was irreversibly ill, even after having shown that she was able to offer effective medical

treatment previously to another child with similar symptoms. Other factors played a part in the reluctance to seek out her assistance, too, naturally – guilt, traditional lines for the pursuit of healing, family obligations, and financial limitations – which the author adeptly discusses while bringing her own case into the narrative of this illness.

A revealing passage towards the end of the book highlights an awareness of greater well-being not depending on physical (medical) health, and a shift from illness to suffering. Women selected for in-depth interviews rarely mentioned their physical health in narratives about their well-being, instead illustrating how “being taken care of” was their language for well-being, as this framed their safety, potential, and the impact of their agency within their communities.

Holten offers a discussion on moral anthropology, nicely juxtaposing the term “morals” with ethics, and the different contexts in which she employs them. Some of the thoughts in chap. 10 (Medical Ethnography as an Ethical Trajectory) could have been placed earlier in the book, in order to already situate the summaries of these explorations as a guide for what is ahead – to allow the reader to better place the researcher and author within the context of the product of her fieldwork. It also would set the scene for her self-admittedly clouded vision, especially towards the beginning of her fieldwork, about therapy management, and frame her subsequent analysis. For example, in reference to illness prevention, Holten illustrates that prevention does not take priority in this setting, but through her examples the reader is able to understand that this is in reference to prevention in the biomedical sense, as there are many examples of the fulfilment of social roles or following customs that reflect attempted prevention throughout her informants’ narratives. In all, this ethnography will be a useful contribution through its thick description and analytical depiction of the relationships, choices, and decisions surrounding pregnancy and childhood illness management in rural Mali.

Isabelle Lorraine Lange

**Jackson, Sarah E.:** Politics of the Maya Court. Hierarchy and Change in the Late Classic Period. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2013. 173 pp. ISBN 978-0-8061-4341-5. Price: \$ 29.95

Jackson’s book adds to the growing literature on the royal courts at Classic Period (ca. A.D. 300–900) Maya capitals, primarily in Guatemala and Mexico. Whereas other scholars have focused on palace architecture, images of courtly life, portable wealth, or dynastic histories, Jackson highlights the titles claimed by sub-royal nobles as preserved in hieroglyphic inscriptions. The Late Classic period (ca. A.D. 600–900) witnessed the greatest florescence of Maya divine kingship, when the size of the aristocratic class and the number of political centers reached their maximum extent. With so many kings, mostly ruling small polities, engaged in alliance and warfare with each other, the regional system ultimately “collapsed” and gave way to different political configurations in the Postclassic period. Most of the surviving inscrip-

tions date to the Late Classic, as rulers and their noble subordinates jockeyed for advantage.

Jackson examines changes in the politics of the Maya court during those later centuries, drawing primarily upon the inscriptions as well as some of the imagery of Maya court functionaries. Much of courtly life was dedicated to rituals, and those centered on the divine king or “holy lord” (*k’uhul ajaw*) were often recorded in hieroglyphic inscriptions on monumental stone architecture: stelae, lintels, or other surfaces. Taking a textual (historical) approach, the author is able to investigate the royal court through some of its individual members as well as categorizations of roles determined from titles and other data. She is interested in how political hierarchy within the court and between different regal centers was constructed and expressed. Rather than present a static picture of Maya tradition, she is concerned to demonstrate spatial and temporal variation, revealing the unfolding of intracourt dynamics in real time. There is also attention paid to ritual practices and to linguistic tropes or metaphors as the media for expressing and enacting roles and relationships within the formal courtly organization.

The author lays out her analysis in six well-illustrated chapters. The first, “Entering the Classic Maya Royal Court,” provides a brief review of prior research on Maya courts and courtly life in order to introduce the author’s approach focused on courtly titles. Although the *k’uhul ajaw* title was widely used across the Maya world to indicate the paramount ruler of a polity, Jackson observed that only five additional titles have been identified by epigraphers during the Late Classic. These indicate some shared understanding of subroyal courtly roles and functions across political boundaries, allowing scholars to expand their understanding of the king’s court. The five titles are *sajal* and *ajk’uhuun*, which make up the large majority of preserved titles, and the rarer *yajaw k’ahk’*, *ti’huun* or *ti’sakhuun*, and one that cannot be read phonetically but whose logograph is a “banded bird.” As with the *k’uhul ajaw*, these five positions were special, requiring an accession or induction ritual in order to be claimed by their holders. The assumption is that they implicated certain ranks or responsibilities and were not simply inherited. The meanings of these titles are not completely deciphered; however, Jackson’s analysis moves beyond mere decipherment to demonstrate from contextual evidence and imagery what functions these titles may have referenced. Her investigation of published and unpublished sources revealed 221 known examples of these titles claimed by approximately 160 different named individuals in various Maya centers. An appendix lists all the occurrences of the titles.

Chapter 2 is intriguing. “Profiles of Courtly Officials” reveals the individual human biographies of nine titled officials, bringing them to life and illuminating the relationships between the title and its holder. Although much of this analysis draws upon previous scholarship, Jackson shines the spotlight on the lives of courtly individuals other than the king, even as they are typically mentioned only in royal inscriptions. From these biographic reconstructions she is able to demonstrate that the titles are not