shows, the desirable social status of "having" is only attained when individuals and families perform appropriate displays of "giving," whether that is materially or socially. For the case of Macedonia, Miladina Monova considers how ideologies and practices of self-sufficiency are activated in the relationships that exist between households, state, and market. Through a case study of a traditional red pepper dish called *ajvar*, Monova examines the ways in which local residents must balance their cultural beliefs about the need to keep this dish within family and friend networks of self-provisioning and sharing against the realities of a changing consumer market. Moving outside the explicitly European context, Nathan Light explores how Kyrgyz villagers convert their sharing activities into cultural capital. Ritual events bring together villagers in ways that subsume economic responsibilities beneath moral principles of being a good person and good member of the community. In this context, self-sufficiency and subsistence are privileged as moral qualities. This focus on moral performances of community subsistence appears in Detelina Tocheva's chapter on rural tourism in Bulgaria. Through a discussion of the local concept of "working in a closed circle," Tocheva examines how local residents who subscribe to an ethos of limited reliance on external actors creatively engage food tourism as an opportunity to generate revenue through promotion of explicitly local food production. Much like heritage farmers and food producers elsewhere in the world, Tocheva's informants strategically exploit the values of quality and purity attached to their "local" products for a global tourist audience. Lastly, Monica Vasile turns her attention to ethics of autonomy and independence among a community of Transylvanian foresters. Vasile explores what happens when local residents who privilege "being one's own master" reconcile the realities of dependency that exist within labor transactions. As Vasile points out, claiming self-mastery and self-autonomy is in direct conflict with other cultural values of mutual dependency and sociability.

Collectively, these chapters invite intriguing and important questions: How do people balance need with desire? How are claims of heritage, tradition, and authenticity complicated by global circulations of goods, consumers, and laborers? How do ethics of modesty, complacence, self-satisfaction, and even aspiration fit into or disrupt idealized practices of self-sufficiency? How might self-sufficiency's presumed focus on "enough" be complicated by surplus? What kinds of ethical citizens emerge when an inward-focused sufficiency depends on consumerist production for others? How might the discomfort of being indebted to work for others be matched by the discomfort of being indebted to the labor of others? As such, the volume offers possibilities for fruitfully reconsidering enduring topics and issues in economic theory that are of great interest not just to anthropologists but to other social scientists and economic philosophers.

Melissa L. Caldwell

Hajovsky, Patrick Thomas: On the Lips of Others. Moteuczoma's Fame in Aztec Monuments and Rituals. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2015. 194 pp. ISBN 978-1-4773-0724-3. Price: $ 45.00

Lasting fame is of universal interest to humans, who display, cross-culturally, a concern with high status and its wide recognition. Some crave celebrity, others abjure it, but everyone's attention is drawn to the idea of a positive renown that will ballast the living self and then cheat death. Monuments and texts from ancient cultures affirm a preoccupation with fame on the part of rulers, and we look to art history, linguistics, ethnohistory, and archaeology for examples of how each culture expressed this, how rulers tried to insure that their names would forever be, as Hajovsky notes for the Aztecs, "on the lips of others."

A standard approach to this problem would first review what Aztec scholars call "the sources," a set of accounts written in the 16th-century contact period, by natives and Spaniards. These documents are crucial to our understanding of Aztec culture and history, but their perspective, as Hajovsky points out, is warped, shaping known events and customs into established European behavioral molds.

How, then can we develop a more emic view, an Aztec perspective on that culture's expression of fame? Hajovsky posits that the emperor's celebrity was generated by his living presence in rituals and by his representations, including that of his name glyph, in graphic and plastic art. He analyzes sculpted monuments, particularly those displaying the mature unified style of the Late Imperial Period, ca. 1486 to 1520, covering the reigns of the last two emperors, Ahuítzotl and Moteuczoma (the younger, r. 1502–1520). The iconography of these sculptures and the attendant concepts as they were expressed in the Nahuatl language comprise a new line of evidence that illuminates Aztec kingship.

To properly interpret Moteuczoma's fame, Hajovsky looks to family history, in particular the last emperor's relationship to his great-grandfather, the elder Moteuczoma (r. 1440–1469) who together with his great-uncle Itzcóatl (r. 1428–1440) established the Aztec empire and set it on a path of expansion. The reuse of this name deliberately connected the baby born in 1467 with the *tonalli*, the warmth of the soul, of his great-grandfather, then near the end of his rule but still the most powerful man on the continent.

Tonalli is a Nahuatl (Aztecan) word referring to the force of heat and light and time conferred by the sun, often simply translated as "soul." It shaped each of the 260 days in the divinatory sequence, the *tonalpohualli* (roughly, "soul count"). Each of the uniquely named and numbered days specified a fate and set of character traits. The fated behavioral path could be emended, but a person's day-name informed conceptions of self throughout life and throughout Aztec society. Many people used their day-names as personal names, thus publicizing their propensity toward certain personality traits, because, while only diviners could prognosticate, everyone was more or less familiar with the modes of the day signs.

Another aspect of soul, *ihiyotl*, pertained to breath,

and to speech, and thus was crucial to anyone aspiring to be chosen – and to remain – the Aztec ruler, whose title, *huei tlahtoani*, meant "Great Speaker." Hajovsky's discussion of speech scrolls, also known as speech glyphs, reviews their long and widespread occurrence in Mesoamerica. The volute emerging from a figure's mouth has commonly been interpreted as speech, but it may also mean poetry and song, and more generally, breath, the creative wind associated with the Feathered Serpent god, Quetzalcoatl. Hajovsky follows Alfredo López Austin's view that breath is an aspect of and synonym for "face" and its attendant meanings of fame.

Aztec fame has several facets, and Hajovsky makes clear the distinction between *tenyotl* (lipness), which is fame as reputation, conveyed through audible messages (speech, song, poem), and *mahuizotl* (fear, esteem), which is fame as presence, conveyed through visible messages. These include public appearances by the ruler, and sculpted monuments depicting or referring to him.

The material record under close inspection consists of eight bas-relief portrayals of Moteuczoma's name glyph, consisting of a diadem and nose ornament, and (usually) an ear ornament. When the speech glyph is found in conjunction with a depiction of Moteuczoma or his name, it reinforces his role as Great Speaker, extending his fame.

Of the eight name glyph portrayals, three are on boxes: the Hackmack Box (ca. 1507) and the 6 Reed Box (ca. 1511) show the insignia on lower exterior sides, while the 11 Flint Box (ca. 1516) features it inside the box lid. The other five are on monumental pieces. Two of these glyphs would be hidden from general view: those on the underside of the Dumbarton Oaks Xiuhcoatl (ca. 1507) and on the back of the Tlaloc Stela (ca. 1511). The other three are fully visible on their monuments, the Teocalli (temple) of Sacred Warfare (ca. 1507), the Calendar Stone (ca. 1512), and the Chapultepec Portrait (ca. 1519).

This final example presents Hajovsky with a great challenge, because it is almost completely destroyed. It was sculpted into a rock face at the imperial retreat at Chapultepec, and its very accessible location made it an easy target for vandalism after the defeat of the Mexica Aztecs. Nonetheless, the author has been able to interpret the name glyph's relationship to the date glyphs that surround it – and to the lost "portrait" that Hajovsky reconstructs from pertinent elements in other sources.

Hajovsky's study was inspired by studying Nahuatl with the informed eye of an art historian conversant with Aztec sculptural conventions and iconographic renderings. "Lipness" as the commonest Nahuatl term for fame inspired his quest for how this concept was expressed in graphic and plastic art, and at the most exalted level – in reference to Moteuczoma himself. Toward the end of his reign, the great emperor read impending disaster in omens and then in the hard evidence of Spanish intentions, and sadly ordered the Chapultepec Portrait as his official memorial. Though badly damaged, it still announces Moteuczoma's fame, and Hajovsky has provided insightful interpretations of this and other monuments, that the emperor's name remains on the lips of others.

Susan Toby Evans

Hallam, Elizabeth, and **Tim Ingold** (eds.): Making and Growing. Anthropological Studies of Organisms and Artefacts. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2014. 244 pp. ISBN 978-1-4094-3642-3. Price: £ 52.00

Este libro es, entre otras cosas, parte de la crítica, desarrollada sobre todo por Tim Ingold, en torno a aquellos estudios de cultura material que, al mismo tiempo que se limitan a los avatares de la circulación de unos objetos ya terminados, ignoran los procesos de formación y disolución de estos objetos (xiii), el carácter siempre cambiante, proteico de estos. Así, esta compilación intenta, por un lado, enfocarse no en las relaciones entre personas y cosas, sino más bien en su mutuo devenir en unos procesos entrelazados de desarrollo (*grow*) y fabricación (*make*). Por otro lado, los editores intentan compensar la actual inclinación por el estudio de artefactos (aquello que se fabrica) en desmedro del de los organismos (aquello que crece o se desarrolla): "Once more, the rendering of living things as artefacts, and the consequent appeal to agency, puts growth in the shade" (18).

Retomando los planteamientos previos de Ingold, los editores dejan claro que la relación entre fabricación y desarrollo es una variante de aquella entre el ser y el devenir; y que no aceptan la utilidad de un concepto como el de "agencia": "What if we were to reverse our priorities, and subsume making under growth? Would not the concept of agency then take second place to that of animacy, as embodiment would take second place to ontogenesis, and being to becoming?" (17).

Desde esta perspectiva, el desarrollo o la concrescencia constituye, pues, un proceso de autofabricación o autopoiesis, es una condición fundamental de los seres y las cosas, e implica la disolución de las fronteras entre lo inorgánico, lo orgánico y lo superorgánico (presentes en espacios tan variados como los museos o los discursos genéticos). Los autores compilados – que incluyen tanto "scholars" como "practitioners" – exploran varios aspectos de la misma en una amplia variedad de casos. Así, por ejemplo, J. Field analiza cómo la seda implica unas relaciones entre plantas, humanos e insectos que se establecen en unos procesos de cultivo y fabricación, de modo tal que la tecnología y el diseño están integrados en los filamentos mismos del hilo. En segundo lugar, por medio de las fronteras entre el cultivo de plantas y la fabricación de canastas (un tema abordado antes por el mismo Ingold), S. Bunn explora aquellas interacciones entre fabricantes y materiales que enriquecen la textura de las relaciones de la gente con las plantas. En tercer lugar, T. H. J. Marchand retrata tres generaciones de carpinteros, cuyos testimonios glosa describiendo cómo el desarrollo y el deterioro de habilidades no son procesos mutuamente excluyentes, sino que uno bien puede provocar el otro.

Otros autores nos acercan a hechos en los que ellos mismos han participado. Así, por su parte, A. Jepson nos introduce en el mundo de una horticultura terapéutica, que intenta promover el bienestar y brindar un escape a una experiencia o vida difíciles. Considerando esta jardinería inspirada en un ethos de libertad, la autora describe las actividades que forjan nuevas relaciones entre los participantes y entre estos y la comida; y las conexiones