cal studies in China but also provoke a question to think about: Why do few Chinese anthropologists do fieldwork in Japan and study Japanese problems, while Japanese anthropology has taken China as one of its main fields for a long time being? This unbalance of research may become a topic in itself and deserves intensive studies.

Xiaobing Wang

Han, Sallie, Tracy K. Betsinger, and **Amy B. Scott** (eds.): The Anthropology of the Fetus. Biology, Culture, and Society. New York: Berghahn Books, 2018. 298 pp. ISBN 978-1-78533-691-1. (Fertility, Reproduction, and Sexuality, 37). Price: $ 120.00

With their opening assertion that the fetus is "both materially and metaphorically a product of the past, a marker of the present, and an embodiment of the future" (1), the editors of "The Anthropology of the Fetus" have put together a thought-provoking, engaging, and persuasive collection of chapters. The volume is organised into three sections – "The Fetus in Biosocial Perspective," "Finding Fetuses in the Past: Archaeology and Bioarcheology," and "The Once and Future Fetus: Sociocultural Anthropology." Authors were asked to respond to these questions: 1) What is a fetus? How is it defined and conceptualized in a particular field of study? 2) What methodological approaches are used – and challenged – in studying fetuses? 3) What does a study of fetuses in a given field contribute not only to scholarship in other fields but also to public concerns such as reproductive policies and practices? The responses, read across the introduction, eleven chapters, and conclusion, "present a perspective on the human fetus that is biosocial/biocultural, historical, and cross-cultural – in a word, holistic" (3).

Chapters in the first section (The Fetus in Biosocial Perspective) outline key elements of that holistic perspective. Rutherford, a biological anthropologist, sets the tone by disrupting conventional thinking about the fetus as a discrete biological individual. Drawing on research on epigenetics, the developmental origins of health and disease (DOHaD), and the placenta, Rutherford describes a "borderless fetus" (15) existing in a "complex gestational ecology" extending beyond its own gestation and life span, into the life and health of its mother, grandmother, and its own offspring. Arguing that bioarchaeology has tended to overlook fetal skeletal material, Blake reviews how perinatal remains can provide valuable and distinctive evidence about maternal and population well being and disease. From a sociocultural perspective, Han's chapter highlights why we should attend to fetuses as simultaneously "a concept of social relations" (75), "matter, material, and bodies" (74) at the same time recognizing that what a fetus "is" "is an effect of particular historical and social processes" (5).

Archaeological and bioarchaeological approaches are expanded and illustrated in the volume's second section (Finding Fetuses in the Past.) As "the first review of fetuses within bioarchaeology [literature]" (100), Halcrow, Tayles, and Elliott discuss issues of terminology, burial type, and age estimation, what perinatal skeletal remains can reveal about health and disease, and how mortuary practices may indicate cultural ideas about personhood and infant loss. Lewis extrapolates from clinical literature to identify a variety of pathologies (infections, congenital disorders, trauma) which may be observable in perinatal skeletal remains. Chapters on fetal and perinatal burial location and grave goods in cemeteries – one from Neolithic Egypt (Kabaciński, Czekaj-Zastawny, and Irish), the other from 17th to 18th century Poland (Scott and Betsinger) – indicate the social value of the very young in these societies.

The third section (The Once and Future Fetus), contains four chapters by sociocultural anthropologists. Cromer untangles legal, economic, and moral aspects of frozen embryos "waiting" for adoption at a Christian adoption agency and at a stem cell research lab in California. Exploring how various actors in Moroccan national discourses on sexuality and abortion deploy the fetus, Newman demonstrates the erosion of women's abilities to make authoritative claims about the fetus. Luehrmann's analysis of anti-abortion activism in post-soviet Russia points to "dilemmas caused by the unstable status of the fetus as a being whose biological, social, and theological meanings do not always add up to one coherent whole" (228). Unpacking how the fetus is materialised through the sound of amplified heartbeats in US anti-abortion efforts and in biomedical maternity care in Oaxaca Mexico, Howes-Mischel theorises the nexus of diagnostic technology, emergent propositions, and fetal social presence.

The volume does an excellent job of confirming that there is no simple or universal answer, even within anthropology, to the question, What is a fetus? There is a wonderful breadth of examples in these chapters demonstrating the historical and cultural diversity of ideas about fetus, embryo, infant. However, I would argue the real strength of the collection is in pushing the reader to rethink the ontology of fetuses in order to see them as temporally diffuse, extending across multiple bodies, and simultaneously biological and social. Bringing the temporal and spatial dimensions of fetal ontology into visibility means attending to fetuses as distributed beings, as part of assemblages and ecologies, rather than as distinct individuals or even as maternal-fetal dyads. Such an approach links epigenetics, patterns of growth, development and disease, knowledge systems, social identities and relationships, cultural priorities, and political agendas. Significantly, understanding that the fetus develops across a multigenerational biosocial gestational ecology and NOT just in an individual woman's uterus, yields a robust "foundation for interrogating the supposed primacy of the ʿpersonal responsibility'" (27).

As noted by the editors, the individual chapters in this volume are insightful and specialized readings from par-

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ticular subfields of anthropology that "taken as a whole" can provide an holistic perspective on the fetus. The work which the editors encourage readers to do, "to step out of their comfort zones and read 'across' the discipline" (3), is productive but challenging nonetheless. If I have any quibbles about this excellent volume, it is that the editors could have gone further to show how this "reading across" can be done. The editors' brief conclusion does some of this work but it is principally a summary. Selecting two or three of the themes appearing in both biological/archaeological and social cultural chapters (place and social value, fetal ecologies, and the intersection of fetal identity, time, and relationality, for instance) for more detailed discussion in the conclusion would further elucidate the value of an integrative perspective.

The volume's contribution to scholarship and methods about fetuses and reproduction is first-rate. The archaeology and bioarchaeology chapters, in particular, are exemplary in challenging assumptions about data quality, problematising longstanding conceptualizations, and setting out directions for continuing work. The sociocultural chapters are similarly finely wrought examples of recent theorizing that deftly incorporate contested, experienced, and material aspects of reproduction and fetuses. While not all of the chapters address in equal measure the relevance of their work to contemporary issues of reproductive politics, there is lots here for engaging with reproductive care and justice. For instance, several chapters address anti-abortion perspectives, the shifting and complex intersection of ideology and women's embodied knowledge, religious thinking that troubles familiar binaries of pro/anti-choice or maternal/fetal rights, and the collusion of state and biomedicine in restricting reproductive lives. Significantly, as noted above, conceptualizing the fetus as a distributed entity extending beyond itself and its mother holds enormous potential for rethinking policies and practices that view individual women responsible for birth outcomes.

All of the chapters are clearly written and well resourced with footnotes and references for follow up reading. I found the glossary very helpful, particularly for some of the terminology of genetics, skeletal anatomy, and fetal development. Overall, I can see "The Anthropology of the Fetus" becoming an invaluable source for scholars in anthropology and other disciplines who are working on topics about reproduction, fetuses, bodies, infancy, and health. I also believe the volume will be very useful at the graduate and undergraduate level for modelling a compelling biosocial/biocultural approach.

Lisa M. Mitchell

Handman, Courtney: Critical Christianity. Translation and Denominational Conflict in Papua New Guinea. Oakland: University of California Press, 2015. 307 pp. ISBN 978-0-520-28376-3. (The Anthropology of Christianity, 16). Price: $ 29.95

The genius of this book is the way the author weaves anthropological theory, ethnographic description, mission history, and theological awareness to help readers understand the sociolinguistic complexities that contribute to the development of a contemporary church in Papua New Guinea (PNG). The book depicts the impact of Ernie Richert's arrival in the Waria Valley as a Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) translator in the late 1950 s. Upon his arrival, there was a well established Lutheran church that dealt with the linguistic complexities of the region by using their late 19th-century contact with the Kâte language as a Church-wide *lingua franca.* Richert's focus on blending the local dialects and using cultural expressions to make the translation clear, precipitated a revival movement in 1977 and impacted how the Guhu-Samane related to each other as well as outsiders. This complexity of history, sociolinguistic entanglement, and theological development provides the basis for Handman's presentation of what she calls "critical Christianity."

The book is in three parts, divided into eight chapters. In Part 1 she demonstrates how Richert's translation shifted the Guhu-Samane from the strangeness forced upon them by the Lutheran use of Kâte, to God's revelation in their own sociolinguistic particularity. In Part 2, Handman lays out the value of people expressing their Christianity in terms of culturally loaded expressions. The conceptual tension between deep matrilineal genealogies and short-term partilocality provided the grid through which people read the translation and applied it to "walking like Christians" (C. Handman, Walking Like a Christian. Roads, Translation, and Gendered Bodies as Religious Infrastructure in Papua New Guinea. *American Ethnologist* 44.2017.2: 315–327). Finally, in Part 3, Handman shapes the resultant denominationalism in terms of how people handle their socioreligious differences using contrastive modes of worship. The New Life Church used culturally loaded expressions of Christianity through the use of drums, traditional music, sermons only in the language using only the Guhu-Samane translation, and loud corporate prayer. In contrast, the Reformed Gospel Church used guitars, a mix of local and Western melodies, sermons that freely switched between "*Tok Pisin"* and Guhu-Samane, used multiple translations, and more individual prayers. And all this with a stalwart group of Lutheran hold outs in the mix. "Each denomination sees itself as having critiqued and expunged the bad aspects of culture and kept the good, and each denomination sees the others as having done just the opposite" (246). Ultimately, this denominational critique enabled them to combine biblical genealogies with their already deep matrilineal genealogies to help them trace their identity back to the lost tribes of Israel: "being lost is a way to be found" (273).

There are two distinct take-aways from this cogent, well written, and argued ethnography: one for Christian mission and one for anthropologists. First a message for

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