

Sands then explores the evolution versus creationism controversy that surfaced during the Scopes Trial of 1925. She presents two major insights into this cultural squaring off that has become a staple of the culture wars for nearly a century. First, the biology textbook that Scopes taught, as well as Clarence Darrow's scientific witnesses, were deeply inflected by the pseudoscientific doctrine of eugenics. Although William Jennings Bryan shared the evolutionists' racial assumptions, the resolution of the issue lay not simply in the conflict between science and religion, but in fact was a matter of epistemology (191). For Bryan, science was confounded with a majoritarianism that posited the superior "common sense" religion of plain-folk Christians over that of cultural and intellectual elites, a still familiar phenomenon.

Sands's final substantive chapter offers an insightful analysis into ongoing controversies over sexual identity that came to a head in 2015 in *Obergefell v. Hodges*. She argues that the significance of the case, besides its obvious landmark importance in legitimizing gay marriage, which a half century ago could barely be spoken of, was in its bringing to the surface a whole set of assumptions that had previously been tacit. Justice Antonin Scalia framed the issue, in his 2003 dissent in *Lawrence v. Texas*, when he floridly lamented the incipient slippery slope in which, now that gay behavior had become legal, bestiality and other horrors would inevitably ensue. In *Obergefell v. Hodges*, Justice Anthony Kennedy shifted the argument to the notion of personal autonomy, which was infringed when the illusory idea of eternal and unchanging moral laws was imposed on the constantly shifting experience of what was essential to marriage.

Sands concludes with the observation that American jurisprudence has been, for some time, in a state of flux, as new conceptions of morality and the empirical transformations of social reality continue to call into question the plausibility of appeals to "eternal verities" as the eternity of those verities comes into ongoing question. She ends with the observation that conflicts over religion ultimately come down to the question of how we can and should live together in a "post-foundational age" (284). Amen, sister.

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***Faith in Flux: Pentecostalism and Mobility in Rural Mozambique.* By Devaka Premawardhana. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018. 221 pp. \$49.95 hardcover.**

Pentecostalism in Africa continues to attract some very important and critical studies across the humanities and social sciences. The reasons for this interest are not too hard to find. Since the middle of the twentieth century, Pentecostalism has become a major stream of world Christianity with Africa as one of its major hubs. In fact, it is impossible now to talk about the development of the non-Western worlds of Africa, Asia, and Latin America as the new heartlands of world Christianity without addressing the significance of Pentecostalism and its other variants—the types of charismatic churches, movements, and ministries.

This is a book of six chapters that is divided into three sections of two chapters each. The Pentecostal spirituality that Premawardhana discovered among the Makhuwa was not different from any found across the continent: an emphasis on the experience of the Holy Spirit, mystical causality in which evil spirits may be blamed for misfortune and calamity, and an ardent belief in such interventionist ministries as healing, exorcism, and deliverance, among others (2, 38, 40). Premawardhana takes a methodologically novel approach by focusing on the “recipients” rather than the “transmitters” of Pentecostal spirituality, with the implication that we have a study which focuses on that *from which* people convert rather than that *to which* they convert (19).

Devaka Premawardhana takes an anthropological approach to the study of Pentecostalism in Africa, using ethnographic data from the Makhuwa, an indigenous and historically mobile community in northern Mozambique. The study represents a negative instance of the general assertion that Pentecostalism, as a new religious movement within Christianity, is growing phenomenally across Africa. Among the Makhuwa, Premawardhana found that this was not the case—which then makes the broad title of the book, *Faith in Flux*, a very apt one indeed. The author notes: “I . . . critique the narrative of Pentecostal explosion not because I find the statistics behind them to be wrong, but because there is more to the story than statistics can convey” (10). Here among the Makhuwa, Premawardhana looks at Pentecostalism not from the perspective of its dominant urban cultures and centers but from the fringes of rural Mozambique where, as the book states, “Pentecostals are present but not prominent” (10). It is my judgement that Devaka Premawardhana’s study must awaken us to the fact that Pentecostalism has been studied mostly as an urban phenomenon. At least, that is the case in studies that focus on Africa. When looked at from the viewpoint of the contemporary Pentecostal movement, the reasons why the movement has not done well in rural Africa are not hard to find. The rural economy cannot sustain the sort of materialistic gospel and extravagant lifestyles in which the so-called prosperity gospel is clothed.

Mobility and conversion are the hermeneutical keys with which Premawardhana interprets the anthropological role of Pentecostalism in rural Mozambique. There was the geographic nomadism associated with peasant communities such as the Makhuwa of northern Mozambique, but there was also religious nomadism. Rooted in traditional religious beliefs and practices, the Makhuwa Christians hold on to these indigenous ways of being religious and, at the same time, move in and out of the churches according to their existential needs (67). Thus, Premawardhana describes religious conversion among the Makhuwa as “a spatial phenomenon” that is “a matter less of the heart’s transformation than of the body’s transportation” (73). Premawardhana explains that the mobility that defines the religious itinerary of the Makhuwa is not so much about movement but, rather, “the oscillations one makes between periods of movement and periods of stasis, between motion and rest, between crossing and dwelling” (76). This mobility is, for example, illustrated with the performance of rites of passage in which men and women move into the bush and back (79–92).

The Makhuwa disposition toward mobility is questioned by Pentecostal leaders who detest what may be loosely described as a syncretic attitude toward faith, bringing to the fore the age-old tensions that exist between primal religions and Christianity in Africa. In spite of this radical opposition, Premawardhana concludes that Pentecostalism, as has been discovered in other African contexts, shares many continuities with traditional religions in that they both see religion as something that is integral to life.

Pentecostalism, on account of its emphasis on the experience of the Holy Spirit, which is not gender sensitive, also shares with indigenous traditions their affirmation of women (127). In the words of the author: “The Pentecostal stress on equal access to authority and, indeed, to salvation has opened for women a space to negotiate and reinterpret gender values,” and by that, it has opened up an empowering alternative to non-Pentecostal religions and cultures that are patriarchal in nature (127, 128).

We have in this volume a very useful study that teaches us something about Pentecostalism to which we may have been blinded as a result of generalizations based on the scholarly obsession with urban Pentecostalism. In spite of the insistence that converts break with the traditional past, we are told that the Makhuwa oscillate between Pentecostal churches and ancestral traditions by converting, reverting, and converting again (167). This is a book that would greatly assist those interested in the anthropology of new religious movements in Africa to appreciate the fact that we cannot take a monolithic approach to the study of such movements, including Pentecostalism, which for all intents and purposes, have transformed the religious landscape on a continent that has been described as incurably religious!

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