

gendered self-presentation, such as using masculine attire and pronouns, to evade binary categorization.

Chapter 4 reveals how visual cultures linked the image of Mami Wata, a water spirit and deified figure in most of West Africa, to immorality, seduction, temptation, sorcery, ill-gotten fame and malevolence. Popular imagination, which linked rumours about Mami Wata with the *danseuse*, complicated the life of dancers specifically and women more broadly in Kinshasa. Chapter 5 shows how other lines of work outside dancing that also require visibility for women, such as journalism, politics and business, are caught within similar webs of stereotypes, stigmatization and anxieties.

Overall, *Congo's Dancers* will be of interest to scholars from a range of fields, including cultural studies, sociology, anthropology, gender and women's studies. The weaving together of different indigenous languages makes it a rich resource for language and cultural studies. Also, the analysis of postcolonial patriarchal Kinshasa as it relates to global capitalism, which makes women susceptible to transactional sex for economic independence, makes the book a useful text for classes that transcend cultural and expressive studies to examine history, politics and development. Finally, this book extends the research on how we think of the boom and doom of visibility for those expected to live behind the veil, heard but not seen.

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Ohiniko M. Toffa, *Christliche Moral und koloniale Herrschaft in Togo: Die Missionskonzeption Franz Michael Zahns (1862–1900)*. Bielefeld: transcript (pb €50 – 978 3 8376 6537 6). 2023, 346 pp.

A lot has been written about the relation between Christian missions and colonialism in Africa. The distinctive feature of this German-language book by Ohiniko M. Toffa is that it offers a fresh perspective on this relationship from an epistemic and ethical angle. The central focus is the writings of Franz Michael Zahn, who directed the *Norddeutsche Missionsgesellschaft* (NMG) from 1862 to 1900. Active since 1847 among the Ewe in the area that is today southern Togo and south-east Ghana, the NMG had to navigate the German colonial presence after 1884. Toffa, who received a BA in German Studies from the University of Lomé and a PhD in cultural studies from Bremen University – his thesis is the basis of this book – offers a detailed linguistic analysis of Zahn's mission concept. The aim is to understand what colonialism meant not merely in a political sense, but also in a deeper, less easy-to-grasp epistemological and moral sense, one that enveloped a great deal of Ewe Christian converts and still lingers on as 'colonial traumata' in current Ewe society.

The first chapter lays out the central research questions and hypotheses, which seek to grasp Zahn's mission concept and the NMG's aim of implementing a new

normative-epistemological order that ultimately prompted Ewe converts to submit themselves to the new Christian regime. Chapter 2 introduces Toffa's theoretical framework. Tracing the emergence of a 'colonial ethic' from late antiquity to nineteenth-century European colonialism in Africa, he explains how the missionary project inherent to Christianity entailed not only an evangelical drive but, more importantly, a conception of the world that was global *avant la lettre* and which situated people in a larger Christian perspective according to which they were 'heathens' and thus also potential Christians. Missions employ a particular universalizing ethic that legitimizes the conquering – and making – of the world from a professed European centre. In the footsteps of Foucault, Toffa analyses missionization and colonization as a power-morality-knowledge configuration. How to conduct such an analysis of a concrete case is explained concisely in the third chapter, which calls attention to missionary discourse as the frame that sets the terms for transnational communication between multiple actors. Discourse analysis is the road to unravelling the epistemes and morals of colonial missionary world making.

Spanning over 150 pages, Chapter 4 forms the core of the book. Titled 'The colonial grammar' (Die Kolonialgrammatik), it presents a careful exploration of the power structures conveyed through Zahn's writings. Importantly, Toffa recognizes that Zahn, a staunch pietist, was critical of the German colonial administration. Zahn offered an alternative model – the missionary as the 'good shepherd' caring for the lost sheep who were to be reconnected with the one and only Christian God. Against this backdrop, he criticized the German colonial system as a brutal and profit-driven endeavour that denied African people their humanity. And yet, despite these criticisms, Zahn's mission concept was predicated on a soft power that aimed for a deep transformation – of the heart – of Ewe converts. Grounded in this pietist theology, Zahn targeted the Ewe as 'heathens' who were to be humanized in a highly paternalistic manner through the internalization of Christian rules and regulations. The converse of this view was the idea that non-Christians could not truly be human.

Toffa not only offers a perceptive exploration of Zahn's mode of thinking, but also problematizes the terms through which the missionary project was translated into Ewe, pointing, for instance, to the problematic use of the Ewe term *Mawu* for the Christian God. He shows the complex process of subjectivation unleashed on Ewe converts, who increasingly started to describe themselves in alien missionary terms. Becoming Christian meant becoming a (potential) part of a world community while rejecting the past as a stage of deplorable 'wild' and non-human 'heathendom'. Living as a Christian also implied living in line with missionary regulations regarding marriage, sexuality and the consumption of alcohol. In other words, they were made to subjectivize themselves in line with a pietist colonial ethic.

The final chapter summarizes the author's findings and argues that colonialism should be understood as a complex knowledge system with multiple actors. Unpacking this system is the first step towards decolonizing knowledge. The point for Toffa is to refrain from speaking back and criticizing Europe by using lingering yet unacknowledged colonial epistemes, and instead to scrutinize the colonial power-morality-knowledge complex from an inclusive, multicultural angle.

This is a well-crafted book. Due to his impressive linguistic competence in both Ewe and German, Toffa is in a unique position to analyse the project of missionary world making from its inception to its translation to the Ewe through careful

linguistic analysis. His book offers a highly successful synthesis of complex theory and the concrete study of textual materials. In so doing, he prompts his readers to question widely held, normalized ideas about humanity through which indigenous, polytheistic people such as the Ewe tend to be marginalized. This raises big questions about alternative possibilities of thinking about the world and about claims to universality from a pluriform angle. Inspired by such postcolonial theorists as Achille Mbembe, Toffa convincingly shows the importance of delving deep into the history of missionary knowledge, rather than seeing missions merely as a by-product of or an exception to colonialism.

Having conducted research on the activities of the NMG among the Ewe and their appropriation of missionary Christianity myself, I see many links between our respective work. Whereas Toffa pays prime attention to the thinking of Zahn, I was more interested in the communication between the missionaries working in Zahn's spirit and the Ewe 'on the ground'. This comes with its own ironies – the scholar from Togo mainly looking at German materials, and the scholar from Germany at Ewe materials. While I would have appreciated if Toffa had paid more attention to how Ewe Christians were placed under the regime of the mission and started to subjectivize themselves as Christians, his reading of Zahn opened my eyes to matters I would previously have taken for granted. His book spotlights how the concept of world promoted by the mission connects people under hierarchical conditions yet is, at the same time, a condition for global encounter and exchange. One can only hope that Toffa's book will soon be translated into English and French, so as to enrich current debates about the mission–colonialism nexus.

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Bronwen Manby, *Citizenship in Africa: The Law of Belonging*. Oxford: Hart Publishing (hb £110 – 978 1 509 92077 8; pb £44.99 – 978 1 509 94400 2). 2018/2021, v + 399 pp.

Far-reaching and comparative in scope, *Citizenship in Africa: the law of belonging* is an encyclopaedic culmination of Bronwen Manby's scholarship on citizenship and nationality laws in Africa, including their historical antecedents and contemporary manifestations. Accessibly written and meticulously researched – based on references to a wide range of primary and secondary sources including archival material and qualitative interviews – this book provides a nuanced analysis of the evolution of citizenship in Africa, all the while accounting for the unique backstory of every single country on the continent.

Manby instructively opens up her exploration of the shifting dynamics of citizenship and nationality in Africa with three fictitious characters (cousins Georges,