transition toward connecting with a scholar through his writings. Many subsequent themes of Ibadi prosopographies stemmed from this early transition, especially the growing importance of manuscript book culture in the following century (45).

Historians can see how tracing the development of a genre of texts over time allows us to approach bigger questions of identity formation. In what is perhaps a final lesson for scholars of sub-Saharan African Muslim literature, Love shows that every extant work of the Ibadi prosopographcial tradition exists only in copies made more recently than the period when these works were composed. The copying of manuscripts is the key practice that reproduces a textual tradition and keeps it alive. While there were a number of hubs for the copying of Ibadi manuscripts, Love focuses on an Ibadi center in Cairo called the Wikālat al-Jāmūs, which was founded in the early seventeenth century to support Ibadi merchants, students, and scholars, and which came to house an important manuscript library. This center was important in the reproduction of the Ibadi prosopographs, and it played a key role in the development of private manuscript libraries in Northern African Ibadi communities such as the Mzab. Before the Egyptian government dissolved the endowments that supported the center and confiscated its property in the 1950s, many of the library’s manuscripts were sent to private collections in the Mzab and Jebel Nafusa, where they still reside. Our understanding of manuscript libraries across West Africa would benefit greatly from more focus on the copying and reproduction of manuscripts and the composite tradition of scholarship that constitutes the contents of most private libraries in that region. Love helpfully reminds us that when we neglect to consider reproduction and affiliated processes, we risk misunderstanding what West African Muslim textual traditions really have been.

doi:10.1017/S0021853721000347

Masculinity in the Atlantic World

Emergent Masculinities: Gendered Power and Social Change in the Biafran Atlantic Age


Judith A. Byfield

Cornell University

Keywords: West Africa; Atlantic World; Nigeria; masculinity; gender; diaspora; slavery

Ndubueze L. Mbah’s Emergent Masculinities: Gendered Power and Social Change in the Biafran Atlantic Age offers theoretical sophistication, rich textual analysis, and extensive empirical research. Focused on Ohafia, a matrilineal Igbo society where women exercised greater political power than men until the mid-nineteenth century, Emergent Masculinities sustains a comparative analysis of gender and power across Igbo communities, as well as coastal communities that directly engaged European traders. Mbah uses multiple spatial lenses to underline the heterogeneity of Igbo communities and highlight transatlantic commerce’s differential impacts at the coast and in the interior.
Considering history’s multiple spatial scales, Mbah locates this section of eastern Nigeria in a larger circum-Atlantic world, which shared a material culture expressed in housing, dress, and entertainment, among other practices.

Mbah offers several critical interventions in the historiography of slavery and gender in Africa. He successfully historicizes and grounds transformations in gender ideology and practice in Ohafia during the era of the transatlantic slave trade and through to the early decades of colonial rule. He convincingly demonstrates that, as Ohafia became more deeply engaged in the Atlantic economy, men’s predominance in the military gave them access to new avenues of wealth, which in turn provided them with the means to access different kinds of status markers. While hegemonic adult masculinity (ufiem) used to be marked by the display of the head of an enemy killed in combat, new items such as guns, kerosene lamps, and zinc roofs became symbolic stand-ins for an enemy’s head and the new currency of wealth and power. Culturally and linguistically, Ohafia recognized and sanctioned new levels of inequality when wealth associated with transatlantic commerce (ogaranya) surpassed ufiem as the highest level of masculinity. As men gained access to new avenues of wealth, they were able to translate it into increasing political power. Mbah’s analysis of these shifting patterns illustrates the dynamic nature of Igbo gender ideology and practice before the imposition of colonial rule. Colonial gender principles were not imposed on a blank slate. Rather, colonial gender ideals had to make room in a variegated gender landscape.

Mbah uses a variety of sources to substantiate his claims. He uses life histories to augment data obtained from oral testimonies, missionary records, colonial reports, and studies by an early generation of anthropologists. For example, through the life stories of Kalu Umaoma, an enslaved man who served as a warrant chief under the British, and Unyang Uka and Otuwe Agwu, two wealthy Ohafia women, he demonstrates the ways in which Igbo cultures separated biology and gender. Umaoma, Uka, and Agwu each performed ogaranya masculinity by building modern houses, acquiring enslaved people, and marrying wives, albeit to different ends. Umaoma relied on the labor of wives, concubines, and slaves as well as his positions in the colonial government and the Church of Scotland Mission to secure his freedom and status, while Uka and Agwu used their wealth to solidify their matrilineages under a colonial state that privileged male power and patrilineal ideology.

Emergent Masculinities is rich local history that is in dialogue with Atlantic history, specifically Jamaican history. Mbah combines the diaries of ship captains, slave owners, and the Slave Voyages database with the classic and recent secondary literature on Jamaica to portray a deep understanding of Jamaica’s slave society. Jamaica allows him to demonstrate how the circulation of goods, people, and ideas linked different corners of the Atlantic world and to highlight how changes in one contributed to changes in the other. Ohafia’s accumulation of Atlantic commodities inspired increasingly violent raids that produced even more captives for the Atlantic market. In the second half of the eighteenth century, significant numbers of enslaved Igbo women and children arrived in Jamaica, thus directly linking the histories of slavery, Jamaica, and the Bight of Biafra. Mbah’s analysis pushes beyond the circulation of people and commodities to show that women were at the center of both regions’ slave systems. While enslavement in the Bight of Biafra did not create a distinct, racialized social stratum, slavery in both regions relied heavily on male ownership of and control over women’s reproductive and productive labor.

Emergent Masculinities is both interdisciplinary and transnational. It illustrates the author’s facility with anthropological debates, gender theory, and literary theory, along with Atlantic and Caribbean history. Given its breath, this book should be read by scholars on both sides of the Atlantic as one model for integrating Africa into Atlantic history. Similarly, it demonstrates how we can put Africa and the diaspora in historical and theoretical conversation. At the same time, Mbah’s spotlight on the direct linkage between Jamaica and the Bight of Biafra needs a fuller discussion in the conclusion. He shows that comparative analyses of the hegemonic masculinities that emerge in Jamaica and the Bight of Biafra might be a very productive line of research. In addition,
he points to the need for more research on the resilience or traces of Igbo culture in Jamaican society. Finally, scholars of gender will find great value in this text, for Mbah demonstrates the centrality of gender to the social, economic, and political institutions that emerged in the wake of the migration of people and commodities around the Atlantic. All the qualities that recommend *Emergent Masculinities* will make it challenging for both undergraduate and graduate students who are not familiar with African history. Nonetheless, the reader’s efforts will be rewarded because Mbah has crafted a thoughtful and engrossing study.

doi:10.1017/S002185372100030X

A Biography of a South African Martyr

Chris Hani


Thula Simpson

University of Pretoria

Keywords: South Africa; biography; violence; apartheid; independence wars; protest; socialism

Martin Thembisile Hani was born on 28 June 1942, the third surviving child of a semiliterate black Transkei trader. He topped the poll in elections for the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the African National Congress (ANC) in June 1991, putting him on course to become South Africa’s head of state. Hani’s political career was cut short by his assassination on 10 April 1993, and his death cleared the way for Thabo Mbeki — who he had edged out in the NEC election — to become South African president in 1999.

Hani’s life, and the broader historical transformation that made his ascent possible, is the subject of Hugh Macmillan’s biography, which appears in the Ohio Short Histories of Africa series, having first been published by Jacana in 2014. Like so many South African political icons, Hani was a product of the country’s rural eastern Cape. He achieved a first-class pass in the senior certificate exams at Lovedale in 1958 and a pass degree in English and Latin from Fort Hare University College three years later. It was in those years that he took his first steps into political life: he was recruited into the ANC at Lovedale and joined an underground cell of the South African Communist Party (SACP) at Fort Hare. Hani was articled to a Cape Town law firm in 1962, the year that he joined the ANC’s military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), and his life path was irrevocably set in 1963 when he opted to go abroad for military training. It was then that he adopted the *nom de guerre* ‘Christopher Nkosana’ (he subsequently dropped the surname, becoming known thereafter as ‘Chris Hani’).

Chapters Two, Three, and Four discuss Hani’s activities in exile during the sixties. The chapters draw on research that Macmillan conducted for his 2013 history of the ANC in Lusaka, and they represent the strongest sections of the book.1 Having received military training in the Soviet Union, Hani was deployed to Zambia in 1965, where he began reconnoitering infiltration routes to South Africa. He also participated in the Wankie Campaign two years later, in which MK troops fought