



# QUEERING BLACK ATLANTIC RELIGIONS

Transcorporeality in Candomblé,  
Santería, and Vodou

ROBERTO STRONGMAN

**QUEERING  
BLACK  
ATLANTIC  
RELIGIONS**

**DUKE**

**UNIVERSITY  
PRESS**

RELIGIOUS CULTURES OF AFRICAN  
AND AFRICAN DIASPORA PEOPLE

*Series editors:*

Jacob K. Olupona,  
Harvard University

Dianne M. Stewart,  
Emory University

& Terrence L. Johnson,  
Georgetown University

The book series examines the religious, cultural, and political expressions of African, African American, and African Caribbean traditions. Through transnational, cross-cultural, and multidisciplinary approaches to the study of religion, the series investigates the epistemic boundaries of continental and diasporic religious practices and thought and explores the diverse and distinct ways African-derived religions inform culture and politics. The series aims to establish a forum for imagining the centrality of Black religions in the formation of the “New World.”

DUKE

UNIVERSITY  
PRESS

**QUEERING  
BLACK  
ATLANTIC  
RELIGIONS**

ROBERTO STRONGMAN

Transcorporeality in  
Candomblé, Santería,  
and Vodou

**DUKE**

Duke University Press Durham and London 2019

**UNIVERSITY  
PRESS**

© 2019 Duke University Press

All rights reserved

Printed in the United States of America on acid-free paper ∞

Designed by Courtney Leigh Baker

Typeset in Minion Pro and Knockout by Westchester Publishing Services

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Strongman, Roberto, [date] author.

Title: Queering Black Atlantic religions : transcorporeality  
in Candomblé, Santería, and Vodou / Roberto Strongman.

Description: Durham : Duke University Press, 2019.

| Series: The religious cultures of African and African diaspora people |

Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2018035547 (print)

LCCN 2018042517 (ebook)

ISBN 9781478003458 (ebook)

ISBN 9781478001973 (hardcover : alk. paper)

ISBN 9781478003106 (pbk. : alk. paper)

Subjects: LCSH: African diaspora. | Christianity—African influences.

| Religions—African influences. | Sex—Religious aspects.

| Homosexuality—Religious aspects. | Vodou—Haiti. |

Santería—Cuba. | Candomblé (Religion)—Brazil.

Classification: LCC BL625.25 (ebook) | LCC BL625.25 .s77 2019 (print)

| DDC 299.6/7—dc23

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2018035547>

Cover art: Entranced male initiate dressed in female garb, sacramentally performing as an *iyáwó*, or bride of the Spirit. Changó soundidé ceremony, Ouidah, Dahomey (Benin), circa 1948. Courtesy of Fundação Pierre Verger, Salvador da Bahia, Brazil.

DUKE  
UNIVERSITY  
PRESS

To my great-grandmothers,

ANITA MATHÉLLY ROSEMOND

*Je t'écoute . . . Mwen tandé'w*

LAURA GRABILL STRONGMAN

*I hear you . . .*

JOSEFINA MONTOYA SALDAÑA

VIRGINIA JIMÉNEZ GUEVARA

*Las escucho . . .*

DUKE

UNIVERSITY  
PRESS

Ma-Liz, DeLois, Louise Briscoe, Aunt Anni, Linda, and Genevieve; Mawu-Lisa, thunder, sky, sun, the great mother of us all; and Afrekete, her youngest daughter, the mischievous linguist, trickster, best-beloved, whom we must all become. —AUDRE LORDE, *Zami: A New Spelling of My Name*

DUKE

UNIVERSITY  
PRESS

## CONTENTS

Acknowledgments ix Introduction: Enter the *Igbodu* 1

### PART I. VODOU

1. Of Dreams and Night Mares: Vodou Women Queering the Body 27
2. Hector Hyppolite èl Mème: Between Queer Fetishization and Vodou Self-Portraiture 49

### PART II. LUCUMÍ/SANTERÍA

3. A Chronology of Queer Lucumí Scholarship: Degeneracy, Ambivalence, Transcorporeality 103
4. Lucumí Diasporic Ethnography: Fran, Cabrera, Lam 133

### PART III. CANDOMBLÉ

5. Queer Candomblé Scholarship and Dona Flor's S/Exua/lity 181
6. Transatlantic Waters of Oxalá: Pierre Verger, Mário de Andrade, and Candomblé in Europe 212

Conclusion: Transcripturality 251

Notes 255 References 261 Index 273

DUKE

UNIVERSITY  
PRESS



## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

One of the most important lessons I have learned from working with the *orishas* and *lwas* is that the greatest form of reverence and the most pleasing offering of all is gratitude.

Any research is always the result of collective undertaking, and I would like to thank those colleagues and mentors who have contributed to making this project a reality. My deepest respect to all my informants for having shared their time, knowledge, and devotional practice with me all the while knowing that most ethical research practices dictate that they remain anonymous. Their selflessness encapsulates the sublime moment of egoic-transcendence that this book is about. To all of you, named and unnamed: *Ashé!*

A LIBATION TO THE ANCESTORS: Horacio Roque-Ramírez, José Muñoz, O. R. Dathorne, Karen McCarthy Brown, Cedric Robinson, Clyde Woods, and Otis Madison. Your light illuminates our path.

MÈSI! I WOULD LIKE to thank the dean of social sciences, Charles Hale, and all the very supportive colleagues at my home institution, the University of California, Santa Barbara (UCSB). My deepest appreciation to my dear friends at the Department of Black Studies: Jeffrey Stewart, Ingrid Banks, Jude Akudinobi, Stephanie Batiste, Jane Duran, Terrance Wooten, Jaime Alves, and Christopher McAuley.

Thanks also to all of my partners in matters sacred and profane at Religious Studies: Rudy Busto, José Cabezón, William Ellison, Barbara Holdrege,

Kathleen Moore, Elizabeth Pérez, Dwight Reynolds, Inés Talamántez, Vesna Wallace, and David White.

To my Comparative Literature family, my gratefulness, especially to Catherine Nesci, Elisabeth Weber, Dominique Julien, Bishnupriya Ghosh, Dorota Dutsch, Claudio Fogu, Eric Prieto, Chela Sandoval, and Paul Amar.

And where would I be if not for my *camaradas* from Spanish? Thanks to Silvia Bermúdez, Leo Cabranes-Grant, Jorge Luis Castillo, Juan Pablo Lupi, Francisco Lomelí, Sara Poot-Herrera, Viola Miglio, Micaela J. Díaz-Sánchez, and María Herrera-Sobek.

And of course, my thankfulness to my colleagues from Feminist Studies: Mireille Miller-Young, Edwina Barvosa, Eileen Boris, Grace Chang, Laury Oaks, Leila Rupp, and Jennifer Tyburczy.

A big applause to my colleagues in Theater and Dance for bringing the orishas alive to the UCSB community through conferences and plays: Ninotchka Bennauhum, Risa Brainin, Christina McMahon, Carlos Morton, Christopher Pilafian, and Brandon Whited.

*MERCI!* I WOULD ALSO like to acknowledge the organizers and representatives of several learned societies who gave me the opportunity to present my work at their meetings and provided useful feedback as I completed the manuscript.

From the Australian Association of Caribbean Studies, my deepest appreciation to Anne Hickling-Hudson, Sue Thomas, Anne Collett, and Barry Higman. From the Caribbean Studies Association, thanks to Carole Boyce-Davies, Holger Henke, Percy Hintzen, Elisabeth Paravisini-Gebert and Aisha Khan. Many thanks to Anja Bandau from the Society for Caribbean Research, to Karina Smith from the Society for Caribbean Studies, and to Lucy Wilson from the Modern Language Association.

I would also like to acknowledge the outstanding cooperation of all the members of the UC Black Atlantic Religions Faculty Working Group: Patrick Polk (UCLA), Andrew Apter (UCLA), Jeroen de Wulf (UC Berkeley), Jeffrey S. Khan (UC Davis), Elisabeth Pérez (UCSB), Rachel Sarah O'Toole (UCI), Robin Derby (UCLA), and Katherine Smith (UCLA).

*¡GRACIAS!* I WOULD ALSO like to recognize the sources of funding for the fieldwork carried out in association with this book. Thanks to the following organizations for their generous financial contributions: Hellman Founda-

tion, UCSB Academic Senate, the Institute for Social, Behavioral and Economic Research, the Center for Black Studies Research, and the Center for Chicano Studies.

*OBRIGADO!* AN APPLAUSE TO all my dedicated mentors over the years: Sylvia Wynter, Fredric Jameson, Diane Middlebrook, Marc Prou, Raphaël Confiant, Randy Matory, Rosaura Sánchez, Jaime Concha, Louis Montrose, Ann Pellegrini, Anna Wexler, Carlos Decena, Tom Schmid, Bob Esch, Mimi Gladstein, Marianne Phinney, Feroza Jussawalla, Grant Goodall, Scott Michaelsen, Jon Amastae, Teresa Meléndez Hayes, and Page Dubois.

Thanks to all those counselors who helped me to keep the book and an academic career in a proper perspective within the larger context of life: Michael Riley, Vinnie Carafano, Scott Claassen, Tymi Howard, Terra Gold, and Kathleen Baggarley.

A heartfelt tribute also to the editors of this book series for their faith, dedication, and endurance: Jacob K. Olupona, Dianne M. Stewart, and Terrence L. Johnson.

And, I could not finish these brief acknowledgments without thanking my dear friend Geoffrey Gartner and, of course, Jacky, both of whom are learning that love is eternal.

DUKE

UNIVERSITY  
PRESS

## INTRODUCTION

Enter the *Igbodu*

The entrance of inductees into the initiation chamber of an Afro-Atlantic spiritual community uncannily resembles the practice of reading you are currently performing. Your opening of this book mirrors the neophytes' unlocking of the doors to the space in which their new consciousness will gestate. Whether within the *djevo* of Haitian Vodou, the *camarinha* of Brazilian Candomblé, or the *igbodú* of Cuban Lucumí/Santería, this sacred place is a space of intellectual, physical, and spiritual nourishment, the first step in a rite of passage that will mark the death of the old, illusory self and foster the rebirth of the new, spiritually aware subject.

Much like one's indecision before a shelfful of clamoring books at a bookstore or library, the process of committing to the temporal and monetary rigors of the *igbodú* is often marked by much vacillation and postponement. But eventually the seekers succumb to the mysteries within, pledging themselves to whatever temporary privations might be required for the sake of spiritual transformation. The initial disorientation and pervasive loneliness

are compensated with the wholesome enrichment of learning the secrets of each lesson, ceremony, or chapter.

The igbodu is the place where the community's secrets are kept.<sup>1</sup> They are shared only with the select few who make their abode within for a predetermined period—a year historically, but increasingly, due to the demands of urban and industrialized societies, as little as a month or a few days. This is the paradigmatic space of cultural regeneration and demographic propagation in these religious societies in which orality has superseded textuality as the main conduit of information and ritual transmission.

As in the acts of reading and writing, the novices in the igbodu spend most of their time in seclusion. This is a space of meditation where, through the cultivation of silence, one may hear the West African divinities called *orishas* speak.<sup>2</sup> But the isolation is punctuated by the periodic incursions of priests and elders who tend to the initiates' physical needs. As infants in the practice, the initiates are fed, bathed, and dressed by the community of saints. Even their bodily excretions are removed from the space by their new brothers and sisters. The igbodu is a place of humility, where one learns to trust others through the sacred simulacrum of renascence.

Welcome to the scholarly igbodu that this book represents. In it, you will learn about *transcorporeality*, the distinctly Afro-diasporic cultural representation of the human psyche as multiple, removable, and external to the body that functions as its receptacle. This transcorporeal view of the self obtains clear visual representation in a tropical fruit that is largely unknown in Europe and North America because the fragility of its skin impedes exportation. Nevertheless, this emblematic and queer fruit, emerging from the flora of the geographical and climatic region covered in this book, is widely cultivated and consumed on both sides of the black Atlantic by humans and gods, as it is one of the favorite offerings of the orishas Changó and Oshún. The cashew pear (Fr. *pomme de cajou*, Sp. *marañón*, Pg. *caju*, Kreyòl *pom kajou*, also known by the taxonomical name *Anacardium occidentale*) allows us to readily see how the transcorporeal conceptualization of the body holds the kernel of the self, not within the meat of the fruit, but on the outside. Unlike the lesser-known fruit, the seed is a prized and popular nut worldwide. The easy removability of this seed and its wide commercial dissemination as an export crop to distant, often high-latitude and temperate lands where it releases the photosynthesized power of the tropical sun speaks to the externality, flight, and Ashé-power of the transcorporeal Spirit. This unique view of the body in which the ego, soul, or anima exists in an outward orientation vis-à-vis the physical body—preserved in its most evident form in African-



FIG. 1.1. Cashew pear, displaying external seed. Photograph by Jacob Abhishek.

diasporic religious traditions—allows the regendering of the bodies of initiates, who are mounted and ridden by deities of a gender different from their own during the ritual ecstasy of trance possession. By discussing novels, paintings, films, interviews, and ethnographies, my book assembles and interprets a representative collection of such transcendental moments in which the commingling of the human and the divine produces subjectivities whose gender is not dictated by biological sex. In so doing, it demonstrates that, while transcorporeality is rooted in the religious practice of trance possession, its effects spill over into the everyday life of participants and observers of these religions and it becomes a leading feature of nearly every aspect of Afro-diasporic cultural production.

The purpose of this book-cum-igbodu is to impart knowledge of this black transatlantic conceptualization of corporeality among a readership inside and outside the academy ready for such new information. It means to achieve this goal by utilizing cultural studies' critical methodologies to expose and explain the occurrence of transcorporeality in literary, aesthetic, and performative contexts. It also employs ethnographic interviews to produce self-reflective personal narratives that give voice to queer priests and

practitioners of the Afro-diasporic religions that have preserved and transformed transcorporeality, adapting it to the exigencies of various historical and geographical contexts across the Atlantic world. The counterpoint between theoretical discourse and interpretive first-person accounts offers multiple points of entry to readers at various stages of familiarity with academic discourse.

The term “transcorporeality” was introduced by Graham Ward in his seminal book *Cities of God*. My use represents neither a derivation nor an adaptation but a fuller elucidation of the term. Using the Christian imagery of the broken body of Christ, the sacrament of the Eucharist, and incarnation theology, Ward employs “transcorporeality” to illustrate the proliferation of Christianity: “Continually called to move beyond itself, the transcorporeal body itself becomes Eucharistic, because endlessly fractured and fed to others. It becomes the body of Christ, broken, given, resurrected and ascended. . . . The transcorporeal body expands in its fracturing, it pluralises as it opens itself towards external growth” (2000, 95). Because he focuses exclusively on Christianity, the full potential of transcorporeality is beyond the bounds of Ward’s important contribution. Where is the “trance” of “transcorporeality”? More than fanciful word play, this question forces us to look beyond a view of the incarnation as a singular historical event or as the logical domain of Christianity. My work furthers Ward’s exploration of the transcorporeal by studying how incarnation theologies are universalized through the phenomenon of trance possession, the quotidian rite through which humans understand themselves as embodiments of the divine in Afro-diasporic religions.

This reworking of the idea of transcorporeality through Afro-Atlantic religion has profound philosophical implications for the understanding of the black body. The imposition of a European discourse of identitarian interiority onto colonized and enslaved populations renders the black body’s representation an empty shell. While many theorists have endeavored to fill this personal vacuum with a unitarian form of consciousness, I fear this produces neither an epistemologically accurate account of Afro-Atlantic consciousness nor a politics of enablement. The philosophies of African peoples conceive of the body as an open vessel that can be occupied temporarily by a variety of hosts. During the height of the slave trade, the real act of imperialism was not so much to label Africans soulless as to close off their philosophical corporeal openness while at the same time legislatively prohibiting precisely those religious rituals of trance possession that render black bodies inhabited or soulful. While endowing Europeans with individuality, the

discourse of interiority trapped the black body into a physical image projection that obstructed the full, plural communion with the spiritual hosts that had animated it prior to its capture by the West and its philosophy. It is the capture of the black body, not its evolution, that rendered it empty. The African bodily house received many visitors until the guests were rudely expelled and the door shut and sealed by monopolizing newcomers. However, the multiple forms of consciousness knocking at the door are loosening the bolts of this subversive manipulation of the corporeal construction and restructuring their ancient abode according to familiar forms, as a physical craft, opening it to welcome them once again.<sup>3</sup>

Chapter 1, “Of Dreams and Night Mares: Vodou Women Queering the Body,” examines the initiatory-critical works of five female anthropologists to study how women’s perspectives on Haitian Vodou corporeality problematize the Cartesian mind/body problem. Deploying the theory of transcorporeality, I argue that Zora Neale Hurston’s *Tell My Horse* (1938), Maya Deren’s *Divine Horsemen* (1953), Katherine Dunham’s *Island Possessed* (1969), Karen McCarthy Brown’s *Mama Lola* (1991), and Mimerose Beaubrun’s *Nan Dòm* (2010) document the development of a feminist and queer canon that is concerned with the potential of Vodou to develop more enabling models of embodiment.

Chapter 2, “Hector Hyppolite èl Mème: Between Queer Fetishization and Vodou Self-Portraiture,” utilizes the concept of twinning prevalent in Afro-diasporic religions, and Vodou in particular, to frame a queer counterpoint between the works of Haitian painter Hector Hyppolite and those of white ethnographers such as Hubert Fichte and Pierre Verger. I suggest that Hyppolite’s paintings avail themselves fully of the cross-gender identificatory possibilities of Vodou in order to respond to the fetishistic queer gaze of these ethnographers.

In chapter 3, “A Chronology of Queer Lucumí Scholarship: Degeneracy, Ambivalence, Transcorporeality,” my objective is to elucidate the existence of a queer Lucumí tradition of scholarship by anthropologists from Cuba, the United States, and France and to trace the evolution of this research through the release of the movie *Fresa y Chocolate*, which I see as representing a pivotal moment in the chronology and lineage of this scholarship. The chapter proposes that *Fresa y Chocolate* is as much about Lucumí as it is about queerness.

Chapter 4, “Lucumí Diasporic Ethnography: Fran, Cabrera, Lam,” continues the exploration of Lucumí as a cultural arsenal of non-heteronormative identifications and representations through a reading of Lydia Cabrera’s



lifework and Wifredo Lam's tableaux. This exposé is framed around a conversation with an initiate and informant, Fran, in order to foreground the dialogic quality of field research, the need to give voice to the practitioners of Afro-diasporic religions, and to afford the ethnographer a moment of public self-reflection.

Chapter 5, "Queer Candomblé Scholarship and Dona Flor's S/Exua/lity," provides a historization of queer Candomblé scholarship as the contextual framework of a discussion of Jorge Amado's novel *Dona Flor e seus deus maridos* and the Bruno Barreto film adaption bearing the same title. Here I argue that the trickster quality in Brazilian Candomblé's orisha Exu makes possible a prominent non-heteronormative thematic element in Amado's novel, whose main protagonist, Dona Flor, allegorizes the orisha Exu in its feminine version: Exua. Further, I propose that Dona Flor is the fulcrum of a homoerotic triangle, as her two husbands allegorize orishas with plural gender identifications. The novel is therefore a prime example of the rich queer cultural potential of Candomblé and Afro-diasporic religions in general.

Chapter 6, "Transatlantic Waters of Oxalá: Pierre Verger, Mário de Andrade, and Candomblé in Europe," utilizes ethnographic interviews and literary analysis to investigate the role of Europe as the next frontier for Candomblé. The chapter examines visits to Candomblé communities in Brazil and Portugal and provides a reading of Mário de Andrade's novel *Macunaíma* to ascertain how a religion with African origins and substantial creolizations in the New World is now adapting in its third passage to the former European colonial center.

*Queering Black Atlantic Religions* seeks to make significant interventions and contributions to a wide range of academic fields by fomenting hemispheric understanding of black cultures while moving beyond US and Latin American models of analysis. In so doing, it attempts to intervene in current discussions regarding the scope of the ethnic studies disciplines within black studies and Latino studies. In a related sense, this work contributes to Latin American and Caribbean studies as it foregrounds the black experience as an important component of the ethnic makeup of Latin America and makes visible important linkages between the Hispanophone, Lusophone, and Francophone Caribbean that are often overlooked in the language-specific disciplines prevalent in the academy. Furthermore, the field of diaspora studies has been dominated by works attempting to understand South Asian migration to England and the United States. This study seeks to add to a growing body of work that expands on the understanding of diaspora from the perspective of other migrant trajectories. This project makes

an important contribution to the field of gender and sexuality studies as it contributes to an understanding of how First World categories of sexual difference often fail to correspond to non-heterosexual categories elsewhere. This observation builds on queer ethnic works such as *Global Divas* (2003) by Martin F. Manalansan and *Aberrations in Black* (2003) by Roderick Ferguson. Certainly there is a need for a greater understanding of Lucumí, Candomblé, and Vodou within religious studies.<sup>4</sup> When the topic of syncretism emerges within religious studies, it is not viewed as a multilayered formation that can acquire new strata through current migrations. Similarly, it addresses gaps in other fields such as the discussions of migrancy in American studies that are almost entirely devoid of the topic of religion. The confluence of theoretical and ethnographical writing on religious ritual ensures that this book should be of interest to scholars and students of anthropology, cultural studies, and performance studies.

#### Toward an Afro-diasporic Philosophy of Corporeal Receptacularity

The Western philosophical tradition presents the concept of a unitary soul within the hermetic enclosure of a body. In *Sources of the Self*, historian of philosophy Charles Taylor presents a genealogy of the Western self in which Descartes marks the most important milestone:

The internalization wrought by the modern age, of which Descartes's formulation was one of the most important and influential, is very different from Augustine's. It does, in a very real sense, place the moral sources within us. Relative to Plato, and relative to Augustine, it brings about in each case a transposition by which we no longer see ourselves as related to moral sources outside us, or at least not at all in the same way. An important power has been internalized. (1989, 143)

It becomes important for us to place Taylor's claims concerning Descartes in the historical context of the Enlightenment. The theocentric philosophical tradition delineated by Plato and Augustine is characterized by the human search for an identity beyond the individual, in the divine without. The intense secularization of the Enlightenment disrupts this theocentrism by foregrounding the individual, a move that brings about the internalization of identity. This sense of inwardness, however, is dependent upon a clear demarcation between the new boundaries of the self and the body. In the

following passage, Descartes reasons how even if the mind or soul might be within the body, the two remain distinct parts of the individual:

Pour commencer donc cet examen, je remarque ici premièrement qu'il y a une grande différence entre l'esprit et le corps, en ce que le corps de sa nature est toujours divisible, et que l'esprit est entièrement indivisible; car en effet, quand je le considère, c'est-à-dire quand je me considère moi-même en tant que je suis seulement une chose qui pense, je ne puis distinguer en moi aucunes parties, mais je connais et conçois fort clairement que je suis une chose absolument une et entière; et quoique tout esprit semble être uni à tout le corps, toutefois lorsqu'un pied ou un bras ou quelque autre partie vient à en être séparée, je connais fort bien que rien pour cela n'a été retranché de mon esprit; et les facultés de vouloir, de sentir, de concevoir, etc., ne peuvent pas non plus être dites proprement ses parties, car c'est le même esprit qui s'emploie tout entier à vouloir, et tout entier à sentir et à concevoir, etc.; mais c'est tout le contraire dans les choses corporelles ou étendues, car je n'en puis imaginer aucune, pour petite qu'elle soit, que je ne mette aisément en pièces par ma pensées, ou que mon esprit ne divise fort facilement en plusieurs parties, et par conséquent que je ne connaisse être divisible: ce qui suffrait pour m'enseigner que l'esprit ou l'âme de l'homme est entièrement différente du corps, si je ne l'avais déjà d'ailleurs assez appris. (1948, 130–31)

In order to begin this examination, then, I here say, in the first place, that there is a great difference between mind and body, inasmuch as the body is by nature always divisible, and the mind is entirely indivisible. For, as a matter of fact, when I consider the mind, that is to say, myself inasmuch as I am only a thinking thing, I cannot distinguish in myself any parts, but apprehend myself to be clearly one and entire; and although the whole mind seems to be united to the whole body, yet if a foot, or an arm, or some other part, is separated from my body, I am aware that nothing has been taken away from my mind. And the faculties of willing, feeling, conceiving, etc. cannot be properly speaking said to be its parts, for it is one and the same mind which employs itself in willing and in feeling and understanding. But it is quite otherwise with corporeal or extended objects, for there is not one of these imaginable by me which my mind cannot easily divide into parts and which consequently I do not recognize as being divisible; this would be sufficient to teach me that the mind or soul of man is entirely different from the body, if I had not already learned it from other sources. (1996, 105–6)

Clearly, Descartes's concern here is to negate the full absorption of the soul by the body through the process of subjective internalization. The two remain distinct entities, even if one resides within the other. Apart from remarking on Descartes's famous *cogito* in his description of the "I" as the "thinking thing," we should note his concern for divisibility and indivisibility as tests for integrity. For Descartes, the possibility that the body can be separated into parts implies that it is of a different nature than the indivisible mind/soul. In fact, Western philosophy does not prove capable of developing a discourse for the parts of the mind until the twentieth century, with Freud's 1923 *Das Ich und das Es* (*The Ego and the Id*) and with Sartre, who in his 1943 *L'être et le néant* (*Being and Nothingness*) claims that "l'altérité est, en effet, une négation interne et seule une conscience peut se constituer comme négation interne" (1943, 666; Alterity is, really, an internal negation and only a conscience can constitute itself as an internal negation).<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless, through his reasoning, Descartes crystallizes the notion of a self within a body, establishing this self as internal, unitary, and inseparable from the body.

In the twentieth century, a strong Western philosophical current attempts to amend Descartes's internal subject. Bataille, for example, posits the divine as a self inside the body: "J'entends par *expérience intérieure* ce que d'habitude on nomme *expérience mystique*: les états d'extase, de ravissement, au moins d'émotion méditée" (1943, 15; By *internal experience* I mean that which is normally called *mystical experience*: ecstasies, rapture, as a form of meditative emotion). Bataille suggests here that even though inwardness initially requires secularization, once established, it can become sacramental again without forcing the self to exit the body. Similarly, Michel Serres in *Variations sur le corps* uses an aesthetic discourse to claim that the body's internalization of the self does not imply a rejection of the profound and transcendental mystery of artistic appreciation:

Voilà les cycles admirables de support réciproque entre le labyrinthe de l'oreille interne, chargé du port, et les volutes spiralées de l'externe, qui entend et produit la musique, convergeant dans un centre noir et secret, commun à ses deux réseaux, où je découvre soudain la solution aux mystères sombres de l'union de l'âme qui ouït la langue et du corps porteur. (1999, 23)

Let us consider the admirable cycles of reciprocal support between the labyrinth of the internal ear and the spiraling corrugations of the external ear, which hears and produces music, converging into one dark and secret center, common to both networks, where I suddenly

discover the solution to the shadowy mysteries of the union between the soul that hears language and the body that carries it.

While Bataille and Serres are interested in recuperating the divine for the internal self, for Sartre, “tout autre conception de l’altérité reviendrait à la poser comme en-soi, c’est-à-dire à établir entre elle et l’être une relation externe, ce qui nécessiterait la présence d’un témoin pour constater que l’autre est autre que l’en-soi” (1943, 666; All other conceptualizations of alterity will end up presenting it as in-itself, in other words, to establish between it and Being an external relationship, which would require the presence of a witness to verify that the other is different from that which is in-itself). This French philosophical internalization of the self acquires its most recent expression in Foucault’s “repressive hypothesis,” presented in his *L’histoire de la sexualité* (*History of Sexuality*, [1979] 1976) as the popular belief that since the seventeenth century discourses of sexuality have been driven underground and made secretive while in fact narratives and “confessions” about sex have nothing but proliferated since then. If we believe we are repressed, it is because of the Cartesian model of a bodily entrapped soul—a culturally conditioned image that is not shared by all phenomenological traditions across the world and historical periods.

In *Caliban’s Reason: Introducing Afro-Caribbean Philosophy*, Paget Henry explains that Afro-diasporic philosophy does not exist as a tradition isolated from other manifestations of culture:

Because traditional African philosophy emerged implicitly in the ontological, ethical, existential, and other positions taken in religious, mythic, genealogical, and folkloric discourses, its presence and visibility depended upon the continued vitality and growth of these systems of thought. Their contraction or decay would mean decline and eclipse for traditional African philosophy. . . . In the Caribbean . . . traditional African philosophy experienced an even greater eclipse as a result of the rise of colonial discourses and a literate, hybridized local intelligentsia. (2000, 43, 45)

Henry’s statement implies the need to investigate Afro-diasporic religion as a repository of philosophical information that can overcome the imposition of Western philosophical discourses on colonized peoples. In fact, a thorough study of Afro-diasporic religions reveals how—unlike the Western idea of the fixed internal unitary soul—the Afro-diasporic self is removable, external, and multiple. This idea has antecedents in J. Lorand Matory’s

“Vessels of Power,” his 1986 anthropology master’s thesis, and in his *Sex and the Empire That Is No More* (2005b), where he discusses how African pots, calabashes, baskets, and other concave ritual, representational, and utilitarian objects provide Oyo-Yorùbá metaphors of personhood. My work is inspired by his statement that “the Cartesian notion of the body is the detachable and disposable vessel of an invisible mind or soul” (2005b, 169) and extends it to interrogate just how the notion of the body as vessel allows for queer resubjectifications that are rare or impossible under the containment model provided by Descartes.

In *An Essay on African Philosophical Thought: The Akan Conceptual Scheme*, Kuame Gyekye presents a tripartite plan of the self, consisting of the *honam*, the material body; the *okra*, the immaterial soul; and the *sunsum*, the quasi-material spirit (Gyekye 1995, 89). In *Cultural Universals and Particulars: An African Perspective*, Kwasi Wiredu explains Gyekye’s systematization of Akan personhood by comparing it with Descartes’s mind/body binarism:

One thing, in any case, should be absolutely clear: Neither the *okra* nor the *sunsum* can be identified with the immaterial soul familiar in some influential Western philosophical and religious thinking (with all its attendant paradoxes). This concept of the soul is routinely used interchangeably with the concept of mind while the concept of *okra* and *sunsum* are categorically different from the Akan concept of mind (*adwene*), as our previous explanation should have rendered apparent. Thus Descartes (in English translation) can speak indifferently of the soul or the mind and appear to make sense. In Akan to identify either the *okra* or the *sunsum* with *adwene* would be the sheerest gibberish. (Wiredu 1996, 129)

The multiplicity of the self displayed in the Akan scheme is prevalent in Western African societies and has been noted by Haitian Vodou scholar Guérin Montilus in his study of Adja philosophy:

The Vodou religion of the Adja taught these same Africans that their psychic reality and source of human life was metaphorically symbolized by the shadow of the body. This principle, represented by the shadow, is called the *ye*. There are two of these. The first is the inner, the internal part of the shadow, which is called the *ye gli*; that is, a short *ye*. The second, the external and light part of the same shadow, is called the *ye gaga*; that is, the long *ye*. The first *ye gli*, is the principle

of physical life, which vanishes at death. The second, *ye gaga*, is the principle of consciousness and psychic life. The *ye gaga* survives death and illustrates the principle of immortality. It has metaphysical mobility that allows human beings to travel far away at night (through dreams) or remain eternally alive after the banishment of the *ye gli*. After death, the *ye gaga* goes to meet the community of Ancestors, which constitutes the extended family and the clan in their spiritual dimensions. (2006, 2)

This multiplicity of the self found in African philosophy survives in the Caribbean diaspora. The African duality of the immaterial self—the okra and sunsum of the Akan and the *ye gli* and *ye gaga* of the Adja—become the *tibonanj* and the *gwobonanj* in Haitian Vodou. In *Creole Religions of the Caribbean: An Introduction from Vodou and Santería to Obeah and Espiritismo*, Margarite Fernández Olmos and Lizabeth Paravisini-Gebert define these two elusive terms:

The head, which contains the two elements that comprise the soul—the *ti bònanj* or *ti bon ange* (the conscience that allows for self-reflection and self-criticism) and the *gwo bònanj* or *gros bon ange* (the psyche, source of memory, intelligence, and personhood)—must be prepared so that the *gros bon ange* can be separated from the initiate to allow the spirit to enter in its place. (2003, 118)

Here we begin to see that there is a cooperative relationship between the *tibonanj* and the *gwobonanj*. Alfred Métraux further expounds on this cooperation:

It is the general opinion that dreams are produced by the wanderings of the Gros-bon-ange when it abandons the body during sleep. The sleeper becomes aware of the adventures of the Gros-bon-ange through the Ti-z'ange who remains by him as a protector and yet never loses sight of the Gros-bon-ange. He wakes the sleeper in case of danger and even flies to the rescue of the Gros-bon-ange if this faces real danger. (1946, 85)

For the self to achieve altered states of consciousness—in trance possessions, dreams, or death—the *tibonanj* allows the *gwobonanj* to become detached from the body. In the case of trance possession, the *gwobonanj* surrenders its place and its authority to the *mètet*, “the main spirit served by that person and the one s/he most often goes into trance for” (McCarthy Brown 2006, 10).



In her landmark book *Mama Lola: A Vodou Priestess in Brooklyn*, Karen McCarthy Brown further explains the multiple concept of the self in Vodou by presenting the notion of the *mètèt*, roughly translated as “the master of the head”: “The personality of the *mèt tet* and that of the devotee tend to coincide, an intimate tie hinted at in the occasional identification of the ‘big guardian angel’ (*gwo bònanj*), one dimension of what might be called a person’s soul, with the Vodou spirit who is his or her *mèt tet*” (1991, 112–13). Here we see how the *gwobonanj* is the central element of the self in Vodou. Not only is it the seat of individuality but it also maintains links between *mètèt* and the *tibonanj*, two aspects of the self that are not directly connected to each other. These links are broken after the death of the individual, in the Vodou ceremony of *dessounin*:

In a certain sense, the *maît-tête* is the divine parent of the *gros-bon-ange*, the psychic inheritance from the parents. The ceremony of *dessounin* thus accomplishes two separate but related actions: it severs the *loa* cord of the *gros-bon-ange*; and it separates the *gros-bon-ange* from its physical parent—the now defunct matter of the body—launching it as an independent spiritual entity into the spiritual universe, where it, in turn, becomes either part of the general spiritual heritage of the descendants of that person, or even, perhaps, the divine parent, the *loa maît-tête* of some subsequent *gros-bon-ange*. (Deren 1970, 45)

We can summarize the roles of the two most important aspects of the self by saying that the *gwobonanj* is consciousness, while the *tibonanj* is objectivity. The *gwobonanj* is the principal soul, experience, personality (Agosto 1976, 52), the personal soul, or self (Deren 1970, 44). The *tibonanj* is described as the anonymous, protective, objective conscience that is truthful and objective, the impersonal spiritual component of the individual (Deren 1970, 44), whose domain also encompasses moral considerations and arbitration (Agosto 1976, 52). The *tibonanj* is a “spiritual reserve tank. It is an energy or presence within the person that is dimmer or deeper than consciousness, but it is nevertheless there to be called upon in situations of stress and depletion” (McCarthy Brown 2006, 9).

The complex relationship between the *gwobonanj* and the *tibonanj* has at times not been correctly understood by Western scholars, who have disseminated erroneous information, further mudding our collective understanding of the self in Vodou.<sup>6</sup> For example, Desmangles ascribes to the *tibonanj* characteristics that most scholars attribute to the *gwobonanj*: “The *ti-bonanj* is the ego-soul. It represents the unique qualities that characterize an





FIG. 1.2. Representation of the gwobonanj as the Blue Angel. Hector Hyppolite (1894–1948), *Lange blue (Blue Angel)*, ca. 1947. Oil on cardboard, 0.65 × 0.65 m. Musée d'Art Haïtien. Photograph: Mireille Vautier / Art Resource, NY.

individual's personality" (1992, 67). Comparisons to Western philosophy underscore his confusion:

The Vodou concept of the ti-bon-anj in heaven seems to correspond to the Roman Catholic doctrine of the soul, for Vodouisants believe that it "appears" before Bondye to stand before the heavenly tribunal where it is arraigned for its misdeeds, and must suffer the appropriate penalties. (Desmangles 1992, 69)

Wade Davis also ascribes to the tibonanj attributes that most scholars use to define the gwobonanj: "the Ti bon ange [is] the individual, aura, the source of all personality and willpower" (1986, 185). Furthermore, Davis (1986, 182)

says that the *tibonanj* travels during sleep, while most scholars agree that it is the *gwobonanj* who does so (McCarthy Brown 2006, 9; Montilus 2006, 4).

In addition to the *gwobonanj*, the *tibonanj*, and the *mètèt*, there remain three components of the Vodou concept of personhood. The *nam* is the “spirit of the flesh that allows each cell to function” (Davis 1986, 185) or “the animating force of the body” (McCarthy Brown, 2006, 8). The *zetwal* is the “celestial parallel self, fate” (McCarthy Brown 2006, 9) and the “spiritual component that resides in the sky,” “the individual’s star of destiny” (Davis 1986, 185). The *kòkadav* is “the body itself, the flesh and blood” (Davis 1986, 185), “the dead body of a person,” and “a material substance separable from these various animating spiritual entities” (McCarthy Brown 2006, 9).

The phenomenon of trance possession needs to be explained through the multiplicity of the self in Vodou. The projection of Western philosophical concepts by certain schools of anthropology onto Vodou has been responsible for inaccurate understandings of trance possession: “Dans sa phase initiale, la transe se manifeste par des symptômes d’un caractère nettement psychopathologique. Elle reproduit dans ses grands traits le tableau clinique de l’attaque hystérique” (Métraux 1958, 120). “The symptoms of the opening phase of the trance are clearly pathological. They conform exactly in their main features, to the stock clinical conception of hysteria” (Métraux 1959, 107).

Nevertheless, it is important to note how other scholars from the Haitian national elite have questioned the uses of Western philosophy to understand Afro-diasporic trance possession:

Si le phénomène de la possession—la transe ou l’extase—chez les criseurs du Vaudou est une psycho-névrose, peut-on la classer dans la catégorie de l’hystérie selon l’une ou l’autre doctrine ci-dessus exposée? Nous ne le croyons pas. Les possédés de la loi ne sont pas de criseurs dont on peut provoquer l’attaque par suggestion et qu’on peut guérir par persuasion. (Mars 1928, 128)

Even if the phenomenon of possession—trance or ecstasy—among Vodou practitioners implies a psychological breakdown, can one classify it within the category of hysteria according to one or another doctrine here presented? We do not believe this to be a correct approach. Those possessed by *lwa* are not psychotics who can be induced into such a state by the power of suggestion or healed through persuasion.

However, even as Métraux inaccurately equates trance possession with the already questionable notion of hysteria, he does provide one of the clearest

definitions of this phenomenon during the 1950s, the early period of serious scholarly investigation of Vodou:

L'explication donnée par les sectateurs du vaudou à la transe mystique est des plus simples; un *loa* se loge dans la tête d'un individu après en avoir chassé le "gros bon ange," l'une des deux âmes que chacun porte en soi. C'est le brusque départ de l'âme qui cause les tressaillements et les soubresauts caractéristiques du début de la transe. Une fois le "bon ange" parti, le possédé éprouve le sentiment d'un vide total, comme s'il perdait connaissance. Sa tête tourne, ses jarrets tremblent. Il devient alors non seulement le réceptacle du dieu, mais son instrument. C'est la personnalité du dieu et non plus la sienne qui s'exprime dans son comportement et ses paroles. Ses jeux de physionomie, ses gestes et jusqu'au ton de sa voix reflètent le caractère et le tempérament de la divinité qui est descendue sur lui. (Métraux 1958, 106)

The explanation of mystic trance given by disciples of Voodoo is simple: a *loa* moves into the head of an individual having first driven out "the good big angel" (*gros bon ange*)—one of the two souls everyone carries in himself. This eviction of the soul is responsible for the tremblings and convulsions that characterize the opening stages of trance. Once the good angel has gone, the person possessed experiences a feeling of total emptiness as though he were fainting. His head whirls, the calves of his legs tremble; he now becomes not only the vessel but also the instrument of the god. From now on it is the god's personality and not his own which is expressed in his bearing and words. The play of these features, his gestures and even the tone of his voice all reflect the temperament and character of the god who has descended upon him. (Métraux 1959, 120)

Métraux's quote is helpful for us in that it allows us to locate the seat of selfhood in the corporeal head of the individual. In Haitian Kreyòl, *tèt* has an interesting double meaning. It is a noun referring to the anatomical head and, in its function as a reflexive prefix attached to personal pronouns, it also means "self." This synecdoche becomes important, as it establishes the head as a referent for selfhood, in a part-for-whole metaphor. It also presents the head as the physical location for the multiple parts of the self. Writing in the interstices between African and European philosophies, Métraux describes trance possession using an ambiguous language implying penetration and

hovering. This vacillation between metaphors for possession continues in the following quote:

Le rapport qui existe entre le *loa* et l'homme dont il s'est emparé est comparé à celui qui unit un cavalier à sa monture. C'est pourquoi on dit du premier qu'il "monte" ou "selle" son *choual* (cheval). . . . Elle est aussi un envahissement du corps par un être surnaturel qui s'en approprie; d'où l'expression courante: "le *loa* saisit son cheval." (Métraux 1958, 106)

The relationship between the *loa* and the man it has seized is compared to that which joins a rider to his horse. That is why a *loa* is spoken of as mounting or saddling his *chual* (horse). . . . It is also an invasion of the body by a supernatural spirit; hence the often-used expression: "the *loa* is seizing his horse." (Métraux 1959, 120)

Métraux's use of in/out metaphors for the phenomenon of possession is a Western importation. The rider metaphor popularized by early scholars of Vodou like Zora Neale Hurston, Maya Deren, and Katherine Dunham—whose works are discussed in chapter 1—articulates the symbolic language used by the initiates themselves.

Afro-diasporic religions operate under a transcorporeal conceptualization of the self that is radically different from the Western philosophical tradition. Unlike the unitary soul of Descartes, the immaterial aspect of the Afro-diasporic self is multiple, external, and removable. These various subjectivities rest upon a concave corporeal surface reminiscent of a saddle or an open calabash.

Unlike the Western idea of the body as the enclosure of the soul, the *kòkadav* is an open vessel that finds metaphoric and aesthetic expression in the *kwi*, *govi*, and *kanari* containers of Haitian Vodou. As Thompson explains, one of the most arresting sights for a newcomer into an Afro-diasporic religious setting is the collection and assortment of ritual containers:

The close gathering of numerous bottles and containers, on various tiers, is a strong organizing principle in the world of vodun altars. That unifying concept, binding Haitian Rada altars to Dahomean altars in West Africa, precisely entails a constant elevation of a profusion of pottery upon a dais, an emphasis on simultaneous assuagement (the liquid in vessels) and exaltation (the ascending structure of the tiers). (1983, 182)

In fact, some of the most striking art objects of the African diaspora are anthropomorphic receptacles, as noted by Falgayrettes-Leveau, in her exhibition

catalogue *Réceptacles*: “Les Kuba et les peuples apparentés du Zaïre ont privilégié de façon presque systématique, mais avec raffinement, la représentation de la tête dans la conception des plus beaux de leurs réceptacles: les coupes à boire le vin de palme” (1997, 32; The Kuba and their kin in Zaire have privileged in an almost codified, yet refined, manner the representation of the head in crafting the most beautiful of their receptacles: the cups for drinking palm wine). These cephalomorphic receptacles emblemize the function of the head—and through synecdoche, the body—as an open container. This association of the head with such ritual containers is evident in the use of a specific receptacle called *pòtet*, literally “container heads”:

This part of the initiation also involves the preparation of the *pòtets*, as containers for the new selves, repositories for ingredients symbolic of the new union of spirit and human being: hair, sacrificial food, herbs, and oils. When the initiates join the community for their presentation as *ounsis*, they walk with these pots balanced on their heads and place them in the altar, as symbol of their entering the community as initiated *ounsi*. (Fernández Olmos and Paravisini-Gebert 2003, 118–19)

Wade Davis explains how the separation of the corporeal and immaterial aspects of the self involving such containers effects the phenomenon of zombification:

The spirit *zombi*, or the *zombi* of the *ti bon ange* alone, is carefully stored in a jar and may later be magically transmuted into insects, animals, or humans in order to accomplish the particular work of the *bokòr*. The remaining spiritual components of man, the *n'âme*, the *gros bon ange*, and the *z'étoile*, together form the *zombi* cadaver, the *zombi* of the flesh. (1986, 186)

This very detached description of the process of zombification is consistent with Davis's (1988, 7) clinical view of zombification as purely the result of neurotoxin poisoning. Davis views the *tibonanj* as the principal soul and the seat of individuality. However, this view is incongruent with the work of other scholars, who believe that “the famous zombies are people whose *Gros-bon-ange* has been captured by some evil *hungan*, thus becoming living-dead” (Métraux 1946, 87). Moreover, apart from zombification, there are various forms of spiritual embottlement, all of which involve the capturing of the *gwobonanj*, not the *tibonanj*. For instance, when the individual willingly decides to bottle up part of himself, it is the *gwobonanj*:

A certain amount of immunity against witchcraft may be obtained by requesting an hungan to extract the Gros-bon-ange from the body and to enclose it in a bottle. The soul, removed from its bodily envelope, may either be hidden or buried in a garden or entrusted to the hungan for safekeeping. (Métraux 1946, 86)

While this procedure protects the gwobonanj, it does not prevent bodily damage to the material body from which it proceeds. This creates a potentially dangerous scenario in which people who have sustained severe bodily injury—through either spells or accidents—will beg to have their gwobonanj liberated from the bottle, in order to end their corporeal suffering through death.

The gwobonanj must be ritually removed from the person's head shortly after death through the ceremony of *desounnen*, in which

the Oungan calls the spirit, or in some cases the name of the dead, then removes the lwa and puts it in a pitcher or bottle, called a *govi*. In death, the link between the spirit and its human vessel must be broken, so that the individual's spirit can move beyond death, and beyond revenge, joining the ancestors under the waters in the mythical place called *Ginen* (Guinea). (Dayan 1995, 261)

Then, a year and a day after death, the gwobonanj is called up from the water in a ceremony referred to as *relemònanldo* (calling the dead from the water) and installed in a govi clay pot (McCarthy Brown 2006, 8).

Davis is correct in his assessment of zombification as constituting the embottlement of one part of the self. However, he is mistaken in saying that this part is the tibonanj, since this and other types of spiritual embottlements involve the containment of the gwobonanj. Beyond noticing these important discrepancies, what is important for us here is to consider how regardless of what aspect of the self is bottled, according to all of these authors, any type of hermetic enclosing of the self is seen as potentially dangerous or associated with death. The fact that one of the most dreaded Afro-diasporic states of being should be so similar to the Cartesian view of the hermetically sealed soul points to the contestatory and critical relationship between these two philosophical traditions. Curiously, the zombified body of Haitian Vodou bears striking similarities to the body without organs that Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari elaborate in *L'anti-Oedipe*:

Instinct de mort, tel est son nom. Car le désir désire aussi cela, la mort, parce que le corps plein de la mort est son moteur immobile, parce que les organes de la vie sont la *working machine* . . .





FIG. 1.3. The container substitutes for the body of the deceased in the process of zombification. Hector Hyppolite, *Vol de zombis*, 1946–48. 66 × 81 cm. Musée d'Art Haïtien.

Le corps sans organes n'est pas le témoin d'un néant originel, pas plus que le reste d'une totalité perdue. Il n'est surtout pas une projection; rien à voir avec le corps propre, ou avec un image du corps. C'est le corps sans image. Lui, l'improductif . . . le corps sans organes est de l'anti-production. (1972, 15)

Death instinct, that is its name. Because desire *also* desires that, death, because the body full of death is its immobile motor, because the organs of life are the *working machine* . . .

The body without organs is not the witness of an original nothingness, no more than the remains of a lost totality. It is not a projection; it has nothing to do with the body itself or with an image of the body. It is the body without an image. The unproductive itself . . . the body without organs is antiproduction.

In this sense, both the Western and African view of personhood can be seen as coinciding. By presenting the most abject state of being as that of the individual that is deprived of its constitutive elements—organs, gwobonanj—

both traditions present an image of the exploited, enslaved, unremunerated, and incomplete worker. Descartes's body as clockwork and Vodou's kòkadav are more similar than previously thought.

Unlike the Western idea of a unitary self that is fixed within the body, the African diasporic philosophical-religious tradition conceives of the body as a concavity upholding a self that is removable, external, and multiple. Allowing for a wider range of subjectivities than the more rigid Western model, the modular African diasporic discourse of personhood becomes a vehicle for the articulation of noncompliant identities that are usually constrained by normative heteropatriarchy.

### Science and the Location of Consciousness

Recent scientific experiments in the area of perception and cognition present further evidence that the relationship between the self and the body is not a universal given, but imagined and constructed. Out-of-body experiments conducted by two research groups using slightly different methods expanded upon the so-called rubber hand illusion. In that illusion, people hide one hand in their lap and look at a rubber hand set on a table in front of them. As a researcher strokes the real hand and the rubber hand at the same time with a stick, people have the sensation that the rubber hand is their own. When a hammer hits the rubber hand, the subjects recoil or cringe. Various versions of this experiment have been repeated through the use of whole-body illusions created through virtual reality technology (Ehrsson 2007, 1048). The subjects wore goggles connected to two video cameras placed six feet behind them and, as a result, saw their own backs from the perspective of a virtual person located behind them. When the researcher stroked the subject's chest and moved the second stick under the camera lenses simultaneously, the subjects reported the sense of being outside of their own bodies, looking at themselves from a distance where the cameras were located. The scientists infer from these experiments that they now understand how the brain combines visual and tactile information to compute and determine where the self is located in space. These experiments are relevant to us in that they help us to understand that the location of the self vis-à-vis the body is culturally constructed through the senses. The body and its self need not be coterminous. The self need not reside inside the body, but may be imagined or placed externally. In different ways, current scientific discourse coincides with Afro-diasporic philosophy in its exposure of subjective inwardness as an illusion.



A notable genealogical trajectory for my project can trace its roots to the debate between Oyèrónké Oyěwùmí and J. Lorand Matory, which took place at the 1999 Globalization of Yorùbá Religious Culture Conference at Florida International University in Miami. This debate—outlined in Matory's (2005a, 2005b) *Black Atlantic Religion* and *Sex and the Empire That Is No More*, Oyěwùmí's (1997) *The Invention of Women*, and Olupona and Rey's (2008) *Òrìṣà Devotion as World Religion*—concerns the cross-cultural applicability of the concept of gender and the politics of positionality in cultural criticism.

The debate has inspired multiple public lectures, a large number of scholarly articles, the founding of an online journal, one edited volume, hundreds of citations, and to date at least one book devoted exclusively to the topic (Matory 2008, 516). While it would be beyond the scope of this present study to delve at length into all the complexities of this interaction and into the abundant scholarship it has generated, it might be in order for us to revisit some of the main points of contention in order to provide inroads for readers wishing to become more fully acquainted with its details on their own.

Nostalgically alluding to a mythical African past and defying established feminist criticism, Oyěwùmí introduces the controversial idea that the category of woman did not exist in pre-colonial Africa. Oyěwùmí's argument is built on the premise that semantic analysis of kinship terms in Yorùbá reveals that seniority, not gender, was the definitive societal form of subjective categorization. Matory contradicts her hypothesis by providing alternative interpretations of Yorùbá lexical items and by exposing a current practice of transvestism in Yorùbá religions, going back to pre-colonial times in Africa. The ability to don the garments of another gender, as the femininely clad male priests of Šàngó have done in Nigeria for centuries, points to the social reality of gender. One cannot transgress a nonexistent boundary. While Oyěwùmí sees gender in contemporary Yorùbá society as a European colonial importation, Matory, on the other hand, understands gender as a long-standing reality of Yorùbá social life. Sacramental cross-dressing, far from evidencing the nonexistence of gender, for Matory implies clear categories that can under certain limited situations be transposed. Firmly staking her ground, Oyěwùmí takes issue with Matory's presentation of transvestism in Yorùbá religious life. Her genderless model would simply explain the female-clad and -coiffed male priests of Šàngó not as men who dress as women, but as wives of the orisha.<sup>7</sup>

The importance of the debate cannot be understood without some attention to the matter of authorial reflexivity. Oyěwùmí deploys her status as Yorùbá royalty for authenticity purposes (1997, xvi), and Matory, an African American, exposes the blind spots that class privilege can bestow upon such a “princess” (2008, 515). As much of the debate pivots around the correct English translations of key Yorùbá language terms, who has the ultimate right to linguistic—and cultural—interpretation among Afro-diasporic scholars over African languages’ terminology is at stake. This became clearly visible in Oyěwùmí’s choleric remarks when Matory corrected a missed Yorùbá plural marker in her spontaneous translation of another scholar’s address (2008, 544). Undergirding the entire debate is the tacit fact that an African woman’s definition of the category of “woman” is being challenged by a black man, confounding the gist of the debate with the specter of patriarchy and intra-ethnic gendered antagonisms. Matory notes that Oyěwùmí avoids all direct quotation of his work (2008, 526), and that instead of citing his book, she chooses to cite his relatively unavailable 1991 dissertation (515). There is no essay of Oyěwùmí’s in the Olupona and Rey (2008) volume, and that her argument is recapitulated by another female scholar, Rita Laura Segato, only adds to the controversy over who has the right to speak for whom and in what manner. The fact that Oyěwùmí’s book was the winner of the American Sociological Association Sex and Gender Section’s 1998 Distinguished Book Award would have lent her argument something of a protective shield until the politics of representation again reared its head when it became known that not a single Africanist was among the panel of judges. Redressing this omission, the 2008 African Studies Association conference hosted a panel of Africanist scholars to discuss the work through the lenses of this regional specialist expertise.

Both scholars agree on the notion that the Yorùbá conception of gender defies the binary constraints of Western Cartesian representations of the body. This common platform may very well serve as the point of departure for a continued investigation into what has been one of the most polemic issues in Yorùbá religious studies for the past two decades: that is, the question of how Yorùbá culture constructs the body and how this construction might produce gender categories that surpass the constraints of Western modes of being. Neither Matory’s nor Oyěwùmí’s project asks where the body is in relation to the spirit/essence/anima, nor do they engage with the theories and testimonies surrounding spiritual embodiment, especially as they configure queer subjects. I surmise that the elucidation of the body/self relationship I present here can reorient the deliberation on gender they

inaugurated in this new direction for the current and upcoming generation of scholars of black Atlantic religions.

Calling on the intellectual virtues of the orisha and lwa of wisdom, Oxalá-Dambala-Obatalá, it pleases me to present *Queering Black Atlantic Religions* as an offering to advance the terrestrial conversation about the divine in the black Atlantic on the twentieth anniversary of the 1999 conference in which the Matory-Oyěwùmí debate first emerged. Upon learning these introductory family secrets, you have firmly and irreversibly traversed the threshold. You may now confidently enter the igbodu, the Yorùbá “womb of the forest,” a place where your psyche and body will be prepared for your new sacramental function as the “ìyáwó,” the bride of the Spirit. As you turn the leaf onto this new chapter of your existence and settle into the silence of your cloister, await there the revelation of the hallowed technology allowing you to bear this matrimonial title, irrespective of your sexual anatomy and gender expression.

DUKE

## NOTES

### INTRODUCTION

1. Igboḍu, without the accent, is the Yorùbá spelling for the initiation chamber.

2. *Orisha* is the English spelling of Yorùbá *òrìṣà* and analogous to Spanish *oricha* and Portuguese *orixá*. Because many practitioners of Candomblé and Santería see Brazil and Cuba, respectively, as the sources of their religions, I have sought to retain the spellings in the language of use by the various communities in which I conducted field research. For example, some practitioners might not consider Nigerian Ọṣun, Cuban Ochún or Oshún, and Brazilian Oxúm as the same divinity and would even question whether the idea of the orisha is identical across the black Atlantic.

3. The liberatory potential that black Atlantic religions provide for the performance of queer subjectivities need not force us to conclude they are spaces devoid of troubling hierarchies and exclusions. Sobering reminders preventing us from a descent into a romantic primitivism on these religions are the traditional proscriptions against women in the Ifá priesthood, ceremonial prohibitions of premenopausal women slaughtering four-legged animals, and the antagonism that certain hypermasculine divinities can bear toward trans-identified devotees. Interestingly, it is precisely through the interstices of these gendered interdictions that queer men are able to carve a niche for themselves, as they are free of the interdictions against women and can also carry out the paradigmatic feminine sacramental role of being mounted by the gods. For a more extended study of the exclusions that persist in Lucumí communities for queer people and women, see Pérez 2016, particularly chapter 4, “Gendering the Kitchen” (111–40).

4. Transcorporeality is clearly within the literature on the embodied religious perception and behavior currently discussed within the field of religious studies. Over the last decade, there has been increasing attention to the human body not as a historical or biological artifact, but as a multisensory interface between spiritual and physical realms that is continually reconfigured through ritual practice. Some call this “body pedagogics” (Csordas 1990; Mellor and Schilling 2010) or “sensuous ethnography”

D

UNIVERSITY  
PRESS

(Stoller 2004; van Ede 2009) and get insights from anthropology and neuroscience. There is also the introduction to a special issue on the body in *Religion and Theology* (2014), which reviews the literature in this emerging subfield within religious studies. Furthermore, the reader is directed to the special issue of the *Journal of Religion in Africa* (2007), volume 37, issue 3, which deals with the instability of categories or units of analysis and the problematics of definition when theorizing about black Atlantic religions.

5. All translations are my own unless otherwise noted. Special gratitude to Eric Anton Heuser for his help in decoding the most complex German passages of Hubert Fichte.

6. An alternative view accounting for these differences might lie in the non-canonical and diffused structure of Vodou, which allows some degree of latitude for varying interpretations and localized versions of rituals.

7. While Matory's discussion of transvestism does not entail a disruption, inversion, or ironizing of gender categories, his provocative comments prompt some of my own observations on the carnivalesque, diffused throughout this book, in which I contend that the temporary exchange or assumption of identities that takes place during Carnival is quite different from the all-pervasive effects on subjectivity that trance possession implies for initiates. While a devotee might go into trance for an orisha or lwa for twenty minutes at a ceremony once a week, the personality of this deity informs his routine life, predicting employment, marital circumstances, and overall personality. This life-transforming quality of trance possession is markedly different from the fixed and limited experience of Carnival, which is all over on Ash Wednesday. In this sense, carnivalesque cross-dressing functions as the secular counterpart of sacred transcorporeality. While the carnivalesque merely provides an escape valve and therefore strengthens normative categories, cross-gender possessions and mystic marriages allow for a thorough resubjectification of the individual.

## CHAPTER 1. OF DREAMS AND NIGHT MARES

1. For earlier developments of the idea of transcorporeality in Vodou, I would like to direct the reader to two previous articles of mine on the subject: "The Afro-Diasporic Body in Haitian Vodou and the Transcending of Gendered Cartesian Corporeality" and "Transcorporeality in Vodou" (Strongman 2008a, 2008b).

2. Edouard Glissant presents this Carnival tradition as one of the few secular places in which West Indian society is able to critique patriarchal heteronormativity:

Il est une occasion en Martinique où hommes et femmes se rencontrent d'accord pour donner une semblable représentation de leurs rapports: c'est dans la coutume des mariages burlesques du Carnaval, critique de la structure familiale. L'homme y tient le rôle de l'épouse (le plus souvent enceinte) et la femme celui de l'époux; un adulte y tient le rôle d'un enfant au berceau. . . .

Il n'est pas surprenant que le mariage burlesque soit une des rares formes encore vivaces de ce grand questionnement populaire et collectif qu'était et que ne peut plus être le carnaval martiniquais. (1981, 299)

There is an occasion in Martinique in which men and women meet in order to give a symbolic representation of their relationship. This is the tradition of the burlesque marriage during Carnival, a critique of family structure. The man has the role of the wife (often pregnant) and the woman that of the husband; an adult has the role of an infant in a crib. It is not surprising that the burlesque marriage is one of the rare forms still alive of that great popular and collective questioning that can be none other than the Martinican Carnival.

Glissant's Martinican context prevents him from considering Haitian Vodou as yet another site in which West Indian societies are able to question the dictates of gender and sexual norms. However, this Martinican perspective enables us to consider the ways in which this transcorporeality extends beyond the religious and permeates the entire structure of West Indian society, even of those that have been greatly Europeanized as a result of departmentalization.

3. For an alternative view that ridership involves an egalitarian, symmetrical double mounting, please see Jaqui Alexander's (2006, 324) *Pedagogies of Crossing*.

## CHAPTER 2. HECTOR HYPPOLITE ÈL MÈME

1. In his lecture "Lo barroco y lo real maravilloso," Alejo Carpentier argues that unlike European surrealism's dependence on contrived technologies to render the fantastic visible, the Latin American marvelous real expresses the always already interwoven threads of the magical and the factual in the quotidian and everyday. In his own words: "Lo real maravilloso, en cambio, que yo defiando, y es lo real maravilloso nuestro, es el que encontramos al estado bruto, latente, omnipresente en todo lo latinoamericano. Aquí lo insólito es cotidiano, siempre fue cotidiano" (1981, 127; On the other hand, the marvelous real that I defend and that is our own marvelous real is encountered in its raw state, latent and omnipresent, in all that is Latin American. Here the strange is commonplace, and always was commonplace). "En cuanto a lo real maravilloso, sólo tenemos que alargar nuestras manos para alcanzarlo. Nuestra historia contemporánea nos presenta cada día insólitos acontecimientos" (1981, 132; As far as the marvelous real is concerned, we have only to reach out our hands to grasp it. Our contemporary history presents us with strange occurrences every day).

2. Unclear third-person pronoun.

3. The elusive painting *Erzulie auf einem Delphin* was last exhibited in 2010 at Ramapo College Gallery and can be viewed by typing its title in Google images. It was owned by film director Jonathan Demme (*The Silence of the Lambs*, 1991) until the 2014 auction of his extensive Hyppolite collection.

4. "Kounbit" is a Caribbean work party in which bonds of reciprocal aid cement social bonds.

### CHAPTER 3. A CHRONOLOGY OF QUEER LUCUMÍ SCHOLARSHIP

1. The spelling of this deity's name in this book does not seek to recast it in an Anglophone or "re-Africanizing" manner. The Yorùbá divinity Ọṣun is revered by the name of Ochún or Oshún in Cuba. As Caribbean Spanish retained the "sh" fricative phoneme from Yorùbá in intervocalic position among the ethno-educational social classes that compose the vast majority of Santeros, I have opted for *Oshún*, the spelling that most closely represents the most common variation of its pronunciation. A similar argument can be made for the Spanish spelling of *orisha* instead of *oricha* and *Regla de Osha* instead of *Ocha*. Notice that the retention of this phoneme only takes place intervocalically. In word initial position, Spanish phonological fortition applies and turns the fricative "sh" into affricate "ch." In Cuba, *Changó* is never pronounced as *Shangó*, as it is in the Bight of Benin and Brazil.

2. Ori-eleda is the master of the head. It is the orisha who governs the destiny of an individual person.

3. This is a patakí, a Yorùbá oral narrative, that is widely known in Ifá circles. Fernández Robaina retells it as it is given to him by babalao Agustín Martínez. For further information on this important patakí, Fernández Robaina (1994, 43–45) directs us to his earlier work, *Hablen Santeros y Paleros*; Natalia Bolívar Aróstegui's (1993, 103–66) *Opolopo Owo*; and Heriberto Feraudy Espino's (1993) *Yoruba: Un acercamiento a las raíces*.

### CHAPTER 4. LUCUMÍ DIASPORIC ETHNOGRAPHY

1. The *blanquiamento* (whitening) of Lam parallels that of Mário de Andrade and Machado de Assis discussed in chapter 6.

### CHAPTER 5. QUEER CANDOMBLÉ SCHOLARSHIP

1. In contrast to Matory's fleeting presentation of same-sex desire in Yorùbá religions in Nigeria and Brazil, note Oyèwùmí's outright dismissal: "Homosexuality does not seem to have been an option [for African bachelors and husbands with pregnant wives]" (1997, 63), and any presentation of "homosexuality into Yorùbá discourse is nothing but the imposition of yet another foreign model" (117). This can be read as a reinscription of the problematic myth of the nonexistence of homosexuality in sub-Saharan Africa as prescribed by Sir Francis Burton in his treatise on the Sotadic Zone.

2. The film director may not have known that at the time the title of babalaô was not conferred on women. The role was not available to women as Iyaláwo or Iyánifá until the 1990s. Here, the regendering of the character also likely involves a hierarchical reclassification from babalaô to *mãe-de-santo* or *filha-de-santo*.

1. I have obscured my informants' names in this chapter in order to maintain their anonymity.

2. One more interesting instance of the whitening of black Brazilian literary figures involves the recent representation of Machado de Assis. The idea that money whitens on the bill displaying Mário de Andrade is echoed in a controversial 2011 Caixa Econômica Federal television commercial in which a white actor portrays Machado de Assis. (A clip of this commercial and its "corrected" version can be accessed via this link: Guilherme Howes, "Comercial caixa machado de assis," YouTube, July 5, 2012, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OboocxKLfRk>.) The co-optation of two national writers and the erasure of their African ancestry by two distinct financial institutions speaks to the degree to which blackness and citizenship are incongruous among elite circles in Brazil and the way in which economic ascendancy redeems an ancestry historically dishonored. For more information on the origins of racial whitening in Latin America, I would like to direct the reader to my article "On the Non-equivalence of Black and Negro" (Strongman 2015).

3. For an extended analysis of the relationship between Candomblé and Umbanda, see Lindsey Hale's (2009) *Hearing the Mermaid's Song*. In a schematic way, however, let it be said that Candomblé venerates African deities while Umbanda, in a more eclectic manner, acknowledges these African deities plus Amerindian spirits and those of old slaves, infants, and other ethnic and professional archetypes.



## REFERENCES

- Abodunrin, Femi. 1996. *Blackness, Culture, Ideology and Discourse: A Comparative Study*. Bayreuth: Bayreuth African Studies Breitingen.
- Agosto de Muñoz, Nélida. 1976. *El fenómeno de la posesión en la religión "Vudú."* Río Piedras: Instituto de Estudios del Caribe.
- Alexander, M. Jacqui. 2006. *Pedagogies of Crossing: Meditations on Feminism, Sexual Politics, Memory, and the Sacred*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Alexis, Gérald. 2004. "Hector Hyppolite: Sa peinture profane." *Journal of Haitian Studies* 10 (2): 135–41.
- Alexis, Gérald. 2011. "Images des Loas, Portraits d'Homme." In *Hector Hyppolite*, edited by Comité Hector Hyppolite. Paris: Éditions de Capri.
- Alves, Henrique L. 1973. *Mário de Andrade*. São Paulo: Editora do Escritor.
- Amado, Jorge. 1966. *Dona Flor e seus dois maridos: História moral e de amor*. São Paulo: Martins.
- Amado, Jorge. 1969. *Dona Flor and Her Two Husbands: A Moral and Amorous Tale*. New York: Avon.
- Ancona Lopez, Telê Porto. 1983. *Mário de Andrade: Entrevistas e depoimentos*. São Paulo: Queiroz.
- Argeliers, León. 2002. "Notas Preliminares." In *Visiones sobre Lam*. Havana: Ortiz.
- Aschenbrenner, Joyce. 2002. *Katherine Dunham: Dancing a Life*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Atwood Mason, Michael. 2002. *Living Santería: Rituals and Experiences in an Afro-Cuban Religion*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian.
- Barnitz, Jacqueline. 2001. *Twentieth-Century Art of Latin America*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Bastide, Roger. 1946a. *Estudos afro-brasileiros*. São Paulo: Universidade de São Paulo.
- Bastide, Roger. 1946b. "Macunaíma visto por un francés." *Revista de Arquivo Municipal*, no. 106: 45–50.
- Bastide, Roger. 1958. *Le candomblé de Bahia*. Paris: Mouton.

DUKE

UNIVERSITY  
PRESS

- Bastide, Roger. 1978. *The African Religions of Brazil: Toward a Sociology of the Interpenetration of Civilizations*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. Originally published as *Les religions afro-brésiliennes: Contribution à une sociologie des interpenétrations des civilisations*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1960.
- Bataille, Georges. 1943. *L'expérience intérieure*. Saint-Amand: Gallimard.
- Beaubrun, Mimerose. 2010. *Nan Dòmi, le récit d'une initiation vodou*. Quétigny: Vents d'ailleurs.
- Beaubrun, Mimerose. 2013. *Nan Dòmi: An Initiate's Journey into Haitian Vodou*. San Francisco: City Lights.
- Benson, LeGrace. 2011. "Hector Hyppolite, Maître de la Présence." In *Hector Hyppolite*, edited by Comité Hector Hyppolite. Paris: Éditions de Capri.
- Birman, Patricia. 1995. *Fazer estilo criando gêneros*. Rio de Janeiro: Relume Dumará.
- Birringer, Johannes. 1996a. "Homosexuality and the Nation: An Interview with Jorge Perrugoria." *Drama Review* 40 (1): 61–76.
- Birringer, Johannes. 1996b. "La melancolía de la jaula." *Performing Arts Journal* 18 (1): 103–28.
- Böhme, Hartmut. 1991. "Eine Schematisierung von Zerstückelungsphantasien: Über einen Ursprung der Fichte'schen Literatur." In *Leben, um eine Form der Darstellung zu erreichen: Studien zum Werk Hubert Fichte*, edited by H. Böhme and Nikolaus Tiling. Frankfurt am Main: Fischer.
- Böhme, Hartmut. 1992. *Hubert Fichte—Riten des Autors und Leben des Literatur*. Stuttgart: Springer.
- Bolívar Aróstegui, Natalia. 1993. *Opolopo Owo*. Havana: Ed. de Ciencias Sociales.
- Bourguignon, Erika. 1975. *Importante papel de las mujeres en los cultos afroamericanos*. Caracas: Instituto de Investigaciones Historicas.
- Breton, André. 2002. *Surrealism and Painting*. Boston: MFA. Originally published by Gallimard, 1928 and 1965.
- Brown, David. 2003. *Santería Enthroned*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Butler, Judith. 1993. *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex."* New York: Routledge.
- Cabrera, Lydia. 1995. *El Monte*. Miami: Ediciones Universal.
- Cachita, Yeyé. 2001. "Ochún in a Cuban Mirror." In *Osun across the Waters: A Yoruba Goddess in Africa and the Americas*, edited by Joseph Murphy and Mei-Mei Sanford. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Campa Marcé, Carlos. 2002. *Tomás Gutiérrez Alea y Juan Carlos Tabío: Fresa y Chocolate*. Barcelona: Paidós.
- Carnicel, Amarlindo. 1994. *O fotógrafo Mário de Andrade*. Campinas: Unicamp.
- Carp, Ulrich. 2002. *Rio Bahia Amazonas: Untersuchen zu Hubert Fichtes Roman der Ethnologie mit einer lexicalischen Zusammenstellung zur Erforschung der Religionen Brasiliens*. Würzburg: Königshausen und Neumann.
- Carpentier, Alejo. 1981. "Lo barroco y lo real maravilloso." In *La novela latinoamericana en vísperas de un nuevo siglo*. Mexico City: Siglo XXI.
- Cascudo, Câmara. 1972. *Dicionário do Folclore Brasileiro*, 3rd ed. Rio de Janeiro: INL.

- Célius, Carlo Avierl. 2011. "Les vèvè du créateur." In *Hector Hyppolite*, edited by Comité Hector Hyppolite. Paris: Éditions de Capri.
- Césaire, Aimé. 1983. *Cahier d'un retour au pays natal*. Paris: Présence Africaine.
- Chamberlain, Bobby. 1985. "Deus, deuses e dues ex machina nòs Lusíadas e na ficção contemporânea de Jorge Amado." *Hispania* 68 (4): 716–23.
- Chamberlain, Bobby. 1990. *Jorge Amado*. Boston: Twayne.
- Clark, Mary Ann. 2005. *Where Men Are Wives and Women Rule: Santería Ritual Practices and Their Gender Implications*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.
- Comité Hector Hyppolite. 2011. "Avant-propos." In *Hector Hyppolite*, edited by Comité Hector Hyppolite. Paris: Éditions de Capri.
- Congdon, Kristin G., and Kara Kelley Hallmark. 2002. *Artists from Latin American Cultures: A Biographical Dictionary*. Westport, CT: Greenwood.
- Conner, Randy, and David Sparks. 2004. *Queering the Creole Spiritual Traditions: Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Participation in African-Inspired Traditions in the Americas*. Binghamton, NY: Harrington Park.
- Cosentino, Donald J. 1995a. "Imagine Heaven." In *Sacred Arts of Haitian Vodou*, edited by Donald Cosentino. Los Angeles: UCLA Fowler Museum of Cultural History.
- Cosentino, Donald. 1995b. "Interleaf G: Hector Hyppolite." In *Sacred Arts of Haitian Vodou*, edited by Donald Cosentino. Los Angeles: UCLA Fowler Museum of Cultural History.
- Cramer, Silke. 1999. *Reisen und Identität: Autogeographie im Werk Hubert Fichtes*. Bielefeld: Aisthesis.
- Cros Sandoval, Mercedes. 1975. *La Religión Afrocubana*. Madrid: Playor.
- Cros Sandoval, Mercedes. 2008. "Santería in the Twenty-First Century." In *Òriṣà Devotion as World Religion: The Globalization of Yorùbá Religious Culture*, edited by Jacob Olupona and Terry Rey. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Csordas, Tom. 1990. "Embodiment as a Paradigm for Anthropology." *Ethos* 18 (1): 5–47.
- Cuthrell Curry, Mary. 1997. *Making the Gods in New York: The Yoruba Religion in the African American Community*. New York: Garland.
- Daniel, Yvonne. 2005. *Dancing Wisdom: Embodied Knowledge in Haitian Vodou, Cuban Yoruba, and Bahian Candomblé*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Dantas, Beatriz Góis. 2009. *Nagô Grandma and White Papa: Candomblé and the Creation of Afro-Brazilian Identity*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. Originally published as *Vovó Nagô e Papai Branco: Usos e abusos da África no Brasil*. Rio de Janeiro: Editora Graal, 1988.
- Davenport, Charles Benedict, and Morris Steggerda. 1929. *Race Crossing in Jamaica*. Washington, DC: Carnegie Institution.
- Davis, Wade. 1986. *The Serpent and the Rainbow*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Davis, Wade. 1988. *Passage of Darkness: The Ethnobiology of the Haitian Zombie*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Dayan, Joan. 1995. *Haiti, History and the Gods*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- de Andrade, Mário. 1965. *Macunaíma: O herói sem nenhum caráter*. São Paulo: Martins.

- de Andrade, Mário. 1984. *Macunaíma*. Translated by E. A. Goodland. New York: Random House.
- Deleuze, Gilles, and Félix Guattari. 1972. *L'anti-Oedipe*. Paris: Éditions de Minuit.
- Depestre, René. 1988. *Hadriana dans tous mes rêves*. La Flèche: Gallimard.
- Deren, Maya. 1970. *Divine Horsemen: Voodoo Gods of Haiti*. New York: Chelsea House.
- Descartes, René. 1948. *Oeuvres philosophiques et morales: Discours de méthode, méditations, les principes de a philosophie, les passions de l'âme, lettres*. Vienna: Aubin.
- Descartes, René. 1996. *Discourse on Method and Meditations on First Philosophy*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Desmangles, Leslie. 1992. *The Faces of the Gods: Vodou and Roman Catholicism in Haiti*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- de Souza, Eneida Maria. 1999. *A pedra mágica do discurso*. Belo Horizonte: UFMG.
- Dianteuill, Erwan. 1995. *Le savant et le santero: Naissance de l'étude scientifique des religions afro-cubaines (1906-1954)*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Dianteuill, Erwan. 2000. *Des dieux et de signes: Initiation, écriture et divination dans les religions afro-cubaines*. Paris: Éditions de l'École des hautes études en sciences sociales.
- Dunham, Katherine. 1969. *Island Possessed*. New York: Doubleday.
- Dunham, Katherine. 1983. *The Dances of Haiti*. Los Angeles: Center for Afro-American Studies, UCLA. Originally published 1947.
- Ehrsson, H. Henrik. 2007. "The Experimental Induction of Out-of-Body Experiences." *Science* 317 (5841): 1048.
- Eppendorfer, Hans. 1977. *Der Ledermann spricht mit Hubert Fichte*. Frankfurt: Suhrkamp.
- Falgayrettes-Leveau, Christiane. 1997. *Avant-Propos: Réceptacles*. Paris: Éditions Dapper.
- Fanon, Frantz. 1995. *Peau noire, masques blancs*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil.
- Feraudy Espino, Heriberto. 1993. *Yoruba: Un acercamiento a las raíces*. Havana: Ed. Política.
- Ferguson, Roderick. 2003. *Aberrations in Black: Toward a Queer of Color Critique*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Fernández, Oscar. 1970. "Dona Flor and Her Two Husbands by Jorge Amado." *Modern Language Journal* 54 (5): 386-87.
- Fernández Calderón, Alejandro. 2010. "Homosexualidad masculina en la Osha." *Desde Cuba* (blog), May 22. <https://desde-cuba.blogspot.com/2010/05/homosexualidad-masculina-en-la-osh.html>.
- Fernández Olmos, Margarite, and Lizabeth Paravisini-Gebert. 2003. *Creole Religions of the Caribbean: An Introduction from Vodou and Santería to Obeah and Espiritismo*. New York: New York University Press.
- Fernández Robaina, Tomás. 1994. *Hablen Santeros y Paleros*. Havana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales.
- Fernández Robaina, Tomás. 1996. "Cuban Sexual Values and African Religious Beliefs." In *Machos, Maricones and Gays: Cuba and Homosexuality*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

- Fernández Robaina, Tomás. 2005. "Género y orientación sexual en la santería." In *La Gaceta de Cuba*. Havana: UNEAC.
- Ferrera-Pena, Maria Alicia. 1987. "Dona Flor and Her Two Husbands by Jorge Amado." *Third World Quarterly* 9 (4): 1381–85.
- Fichte, Hubert. 1974. *Versuch über die Pubertät*. Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe.
- Fichte, Hubert. 1976. "Die Rasierklinge und der Hermaphrodit." In *Xango*, with Leonore Mau. Frankfurt: Fischer.
- Fichte, Hubert. 1979. "Toten Gott und Godmiché." In *Kunst aus Haiti*, edited by Sabine Holburg and Gereon Sievernich. Berlin: Heinemann.
- Fichte, Hubert. 1980. *Psyche: Anmerkungen zur Psychiatrie in Senegal*. Frankfurt: Qumran.
- Fichte, Hubert. 1985. *Lazarus und die Wash-Maschine: Kleine Einführung in die Afroamerikanische Kultur*. Frankfurt: Fischer.
- Fichte, Hubert. 1987. *Homosexualität und Literatur 1: Polemiken*. Frankfurt: Fischer.
- Fichte, Hubert. 1988. *Der Kleine Hauptbahnhof oder Lob des Strichs*. Frankfurt: Fischer.
- Fichte, Hubert. 1989. *Das Haus der Mina in São Luiz de Maranhão*. Frankfurt: Fischer.
- Fichte, Hubert. 1993. *Explosion: Roman der Ethnologue*. Frankfurt: Fischer.
- Fichte, Hubert. 1996. "The Mediterranean and the Gulf of Benin: The Description of African and Afro-American Rites in Herodotus." In *The Gay Critic*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Fichte, Hubert. 2007. *Lustverlust: Ansichten eines alten Mannes 1972–1982*. Aachen: Rimbaud.
- Fichte, Hubert, and Leonore Mau. 1976. *Xango*. Frankfurt: Fischer.
- Fletcher, Valerie. 1992. "Wifredo Lam." In *Crosscurrents of Modernism: Four Latin American Pioneers: Diego Rivera, Joaquín Torres-García, Wifredo Lam, Matta*, edited by Valerie Fletcher. Washington, DC: Smithsonian.
- Foster, David William. 2003. "Negociaciones queer en Fresa y Chocolate: Ideología y homoerotismo." *Revista Iberoamericana* 69 (205): 985–99.
- Foucault, Michel. 1979 [1976]. *The History of Sexuality, Volume 1: An Introduction*. London: Allen Lane.
- Fouchet, Max-Pol. 1984. *Wifredo Lam*. Paris: Editions Albin Michel.
- Frankétienne. 1987. *Adjanoumelezo*. Port-au-Prince: Imprimerie des Antilles.
- Fry, Peter. 1986. "Male Homosexuality and Spirit Possession in Brazil." *Journal of Homosexuality* 11 (3–4): 137–53.
- García Lorca, Federico. 1928. *Romancero Gitano: Selección poética*. [http://www.paginadepoesia.com.ar/escritos\\_pdf/lorca\\_rg.pdf](http://www.paginadepoesia.com.ar/escritos_pdf/lorca_rg.pdf).
- Gates, Henry Louis. 1988. *The Signifying Monkey: A Theory of African American Literary Criticism*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Genet, Jean. 2004. *The Declared Enemy: Texts and Interviews*. Edited by Albert Dichy. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Gillett, Robert. 1995. "On Not Writing Pornography: Literary Self-Consciousness in the Work of Hubert Fichte." *German Life and Letters* 48 (2): 222–40.
- Glissant, Édouard. 1981. *Le discours antillais*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil.

- Görke, Daniela. 2005. *Sexualität im westdeutschen Roman der späten sechziger und frühen siebziger Jahre*. Lübeck: Der Andere.
- Gregory, Steven. 1999. *Santería in New York City: A Study in Cultural Resistance*. New York: Garland.
- Guillot, Maia. 2009. "Du mythe de l'unité luso-afro-brésilienne: Le candomblé et l'umbanda au Portugal." *Lusotopie* 16 (2): 205–19.
- Gyekye, Kuame. 1995. *An Essay on African Philosophical Thought: The Akan Conceptual Scheme*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Haberly, David T. 1983. *Three Sad Races: Racial Identity and National Consciousness in Brazilian Literature*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hale, Lindsey. 1997. "Preto Velho: Resistance, Redemption, and Engendered Representation of Slavery in a Brazilian Possession-Trance Religion." *American Ethnologist* 24 (2): 392–414.
- Hale, Lindsey. 2001. "Mama Oxum: Reflections of Gender and Sexuality in Brazilian Umbanda." In *Osun across the Waters: A Yoruba Goddess in Africa and the Americas*, edited by Joseph Murphy and Mei-Mei Sanford. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Hale, Lindsey. 2009. *Hearing the Mermaid's Song: The Umbanda Religion in Rio de Janeiro*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Hamilton, Russell G. 1967. "Afro-Brazilian Cults in the Novels of Jorge Amado." *Hispania* 50 (2): 242–52.
- Hamilton, Russell G. 1970. "The Present State of African Cults in Bahia." *Journal of Social History* 3 (4): 357–73.
- Hauschild, Thomas. 2002. "Kat-holos: Hubert Fichtes Ethnologie und die allumfassende Religion." In *Ethno/Graphie: Reiseforme des Wissens*, edited by Peter Braun and Manfred Weinberg. Tübingen: Gunter Narr.
- Henry, Paget. 2000. *Caliban's Reason: Introducing Afro-Caribbean Philosophy*. New York: Routledge.
- Herzberg, Julia P. 1987. "Afro-Cuban Traditions in the Work of Wifredo Lam." *Review—Latin American Literature and Arts*, no. 37.
- Herzberg, Julia P. 1992. "Wifredo Lam: Interrelaciones entre el afrocubanismo y el surrealismo." In *Wifredo Lam 1902–1982: Obra sobre papel*, edited by Lucía García-Noriega et al. Mexico City: Televisa.
- Herzberg, Julia P. 2001. "Naissance d'un style et d'une vision du monde: Le séjour à La Havane." In *Lam Métis*, edited by Christiane Falgaryettes-Leveau. Paris: Dapper.
- Hoffman, L. G. 1985. "Hector Hyppolite." In *Haitian Art: The Legend and Legacy of the Naïve Tradition*. Davenport, IA: Beaux Arts Funds Committee.
- Hoffman-Jeep, Lynda. 2005. "Creating Ethnography: Zora Neale Hurston and Lydia Cabrera." *African American Review* 39 (3): 337–53.
- Hucks, Tracey E. 2008. "From Cuban Santería to African Yorùbá: Evolutions in African-American Òrìṣà History, 1959–1970." In *Òrìṣà Devotion as World Religion: The Globalization of Yorùbá Religious Culture*, edited by Jacob Olupona and Terry Rey. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Hurston, Zora. 1990. *Tell My Horse: Voodoo and Life in Haiti and Jamaica*. New York: Harper and Row. Originally published 1938.

- Johnson, Paul Christopher. 2002. *Secrets, Gossip, and Gods: The Transformation of Brazilian Candomblé*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Katschthaler, Karl. 2005. *Xenolektographie*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang.
- Kulick, Don. 1998. *Travesti: Sex, Gender and Culture among Brazilian Transgendered Prostitutes*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lachatañeré, Rómulo. 1992. *El sistema religioso de los Afrocubanos*. Havana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales.
- Lafetá, João Luís. 1986. *Figuração da intimidade: Imagens na poesia de Mário de Andrade*. São Paulo: Martins Fontes.
- Landes, Ruth. 1940. "A Cult Matriarchate and Male Homosexuality." *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 35: 386–97.
- Landes, Ruth. 1947. *City of Women*. New York: Macmillan.
- Leacock, Seth, and Ruth Leacock. 1972. *Spirits of the Deep: A Study of an Afro-Brazilian Cult*. New York: Doubleday.
- Le Boulter, Jean-Pierre. 2002. *Pierre Fatumbi Verger: Um homem livre*. Salvador: Fundação Pierre Verger.
- Le Clézio, J. M. G. 2011. "Préface." In *Hector Hyppolite*, edited by Comité Hector Hyppolite. Paris: Éditions de Capri.
- Leiris, Michel. 1970. *Wifredo Lam*. New York: Abrams.
- Lenggenhager, Bigna, T. Tadi, T. Metzinger, and O. Blanke. 2007. "Video Ergo Sum: Manipulating Bodily Self-Consciousness." *Science* 317 (5841): 1096–99.
- Lerebours, Michel-Philippe. 2011. "À la recherche d'Hector Hyppolite." In *Hector Hyppolite*, edited by Comité Hector Hyppolite. Paris: Éditions de Capri.
- Loorde, Audre. 1982. *Zami: A New Spelling of My Name—a Biomythography*. Berkeley: Crossing Press Feminist Series.
- Lowe, Elizabeth. 1969. "The 'New' Jorge Amado." *Luso-Brazilian Review* 6 (2): 73–82.
- Lowe, Elizabeth. 2001. "A Character in Spite of Her Author: Dona Flor Liberates Herself from Jorge Amado." In *Jorge Amado: New Critical Essays*, edited by Keith Brower, Earl E. Fitz, and Enrique Martínez-Vidal. New York: Routledge.
- Lühning, Angela. 2002. "Introdução." In *Verger-Bastide: Dimensões de uma amizade*, edited by Angela Lühning. Rio de Janeiro: Bertrand Brasil.
- Madsen, Bertil. 1990. *Auf der Suche nach einer Identität: Studien zu Hubert Fichtes Romantetralogie*. Stockholm: Germanistisches Institut.
- Manalansan, Martin F. 2003. *Global Divas: Filipino Gay Men in the Diaspora*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Manigat, Leslie François. 2011. "L'Époque des Dernières Années d'Hector Hyppolite." In *Hector Hyppolite*, edited by Comité Hector Hyppolite. Paris: Éditions de Capri.
- Manning, Susan. 2005. "Watching Dunham's Dances, 1937–1945." In *Kaiso! Writings by and about Katherine Dunham*, edited by Vèvè Clark and Sarah E. Johnson. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Marcelin, Milo. 1950. *Mythologie Vodou (Rite Arada) II: Illustrations de Hector Hyppolite*. Pétionville, Haiti: Éditions Canapé Vert.
- Mars, Jean Price. 1928. *Ainsi parla l'oncle: Essais d'ethnographie*. New York: Parapsychology Foundation.



- Martínez, Juan. 2002. "Los Paisajes Míticos de un pintor cubano: *La Jungla* de Wifredo Lam." In *Wifredo Lam: De lo circunscrito y eterno*. Havana: Centro de Arte Contemporáneo Wifredo Lam, Consejo Nacional de Artes Plásticas.
- Matibag, Eugenio. 1996. *Afro-Cuban Religious Experience: Cultural Reflections in Narrative*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.
- Matory, J. Lorand. 1986. "Vessels of Power: The Dialectical Symbolism of Power in Yoruba Religion and Polity." Master's thesis, University of Chicago. Available online at <https://culturalanthropology.duke.edu/people/j-lorand-matory>.
- Matory, J. Lorand. 2005a. *Black Atlantic Religion: Tradition, Transnationalism, and Matriarchy in the Afro-Brazilian Candomblé*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Matory, J. Lorand. 2005b. *Sex and the Empire That Is No More: Gender and the Politics of Metaphor in Oyo Yoruba Religion*. New York: Berghahn.
- Matory, J. Lorand. 2008. "Is There Gender in Yorùbá Culture?" In *Òrìṣà Devotion as World Religion: The Globalization of Yorùbá Religious Culture*, edited by Jacob Olupona and Terry Rey. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Mbiti, John S. 1970. *African Religions and Philosophy*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.
- McCarthy Brown, Karen. 1991. *Mama Lola: A Vodou Priestess in Brooklyn*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- McCarthy Brown, Karen. 2006. "Afro-Caribbean Spirituality: A Haitian Case Study." In *Vodou in Haitian Life and Culture: Invisible Powers*. New York: Palgrave.
- Medina, Álvaro. 2002. "Lam y Chango." In *Wifredo Lam: La cosecha de un brujo*, edited by José Manuel Noceda. Havana: Letras Cubanas.
- Mellor, Phillip, and Chris Schilling. 2010. "Body Pedagogics and the Religious Habitus: A New Direction for the Sociological Study of Religion." *Religion* 40 (1): 27–38.
- Merewether, Charles. 1992. "At the Crossroads of Modernism: A Liminal Terrain." In *Wifredo Lam: A Retrospective of Works on Paper*. New York: Americas Society.
- Métraux, Alfred. 1946. "The Concept of the Soul in Haitian Vodou." *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 2 (1): 84–92.
- Métraux, Alfred. 1958. *Le Vaudou haïtien*. Paris: Gallimard.
- Métraux, Alfred. 1959. *Vodou in Haiti*. New York: Schocken.
- Métraux, Alfred. 1978. *Itinéraires*, vol. 1: *Carnets de notes et journaux de voyage, 1935–1953*. Paris: Bibliothèque scientifique.
- Mielke, Rita. 1981. *Doppel-Perspektivisches Erzählen bei Hubert Fichte: Text + Kritik*, vol. 72. Munich: Richard Boorberg Verlag.
- Molloy, Sylvia. 1995. "Disappearing Acts: Reading Lesbian Desire in Teresa de la Parra." In *¿Entiendes? Queer Readings, Hispanic Writings*, edited by Emile L. Bergmann and Paul Julia Smith. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Montilus, Guérin C. 2006. "Vodun and Social Transformation in the African Diasporic Experience: The Concept of Personhood in Haitian Vodun Religion." In *Haitian Vodou: Spirit, Myth, and Reality*, edited by Patrick Bellegarde-Smith and Claudine Michel. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Moreno Vega, Marta. 2008. "The Dynamic Influence of Cubans, Puerto Ricans, and African-Americans in the Growth of Ocha in New York City." In *Òrìṣà Devotion*



- as *World Religion: The Globalization of Yorùbá Religious Culture*, edited by Jacob Olupona and Terry Rey. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Mott, Luiz. 2007. "Historical Roots of Homosexuality in the Lusophone Atlantic." In *Cultures of the Lusophone Black Atlantic*, edited by Nancy Priscilla Naro, Roger Sansi-Roca, and David H. Treece. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Munro, Martin. 2007. *Exile and Post-1946 Haitian Literature: Alexis, Depestre, Ollivier, Laferriere, Danticat*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.
- Murphy, Joseph M. 1988. *Santería: African Spirits in the Americas*. Boston: Beacon.
- Noceda, José Manuel. 2002. *Wifredo Lam en las colecciones cubanas*. Havana: Arte Cubano.
- Nunes, Maria Luisa. 1973. "The Preservation of African Culture in Brazilian Literature: The Novels of Jorge Amado." *Luso-Brazilian Review* 10 (1): 86–101.
- Olomo, Olóyè Àinà. 2009. "Sàngó beyond Male and Female." In *Sàngó in Africa and the African Diaspora*, edited by Joel E. Tishken, Tóyìn Fálolá, and Akíntúndé Akínyemí. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Olupona, Jacob, and Terry Rey, eds. 2008. *Òrìṣà Devotion as World Religion: The Globalization of Yorùbá Religious Culture*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Omari-Tunkara, Mikelle Smith. 2005. *Manipulating the Sacred: Yòrùbá Art, Ritual, and Resistance in Brazilian Candomblé*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press.
- Ortiz, Fernando. 1950. *Wifredo Lam y su obra vista a través de significados críticos*. Havana: Ministerio de Educación.
- Ortiz, Fernando. 1973. *Los negros brujos*. Miami: Ediciones Universal.
- Ortiz, Fernando. 2002. *Visiones sobre Lam*. Havana: Fundación Fernando Ortiz.
- Oyèwùmí, Oyèrónké. 1997. *The Invention of Women: Making an African Sense of Western Gender Discourses*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Paillière, Madeleine. 1975. *Peintres d'Haïti*, vol. 1: *Hector Hyppolite/Lucien Price*. Collection Histoire de l'Art. Port-au-Prince: La Société des Amis du Musée d'Art Haïtien.
- Pérez, Elizabeth. 2016. *Religions in the Kitchen: Cooking, Talking, and the Making of Black Atlantic Traditions*. New York: New York University Press.
- Pordeus, Ismael, Jr. 2000. *Uma casa luso-afro-portuguesa com Certeza: Emigrações e metamorfoses da Umbanda em Portugal*. São Paulo: Terceira Margem.
- Pordeus, Ismael, Jr. 2009. *Portugal em Transe: Transnacionalização das religiões afro-brasileiras: Conversão e performances*. Lisbon: ICS.
- Poupeye, Veerle. 1998. *Caribbean Art*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Prandi, Reginaldo. 2008. "Axexê Funeral Rites in Brazil's Òrìṣà Religion: Constitution, Significance, and Tendencies." In *Òrìṣà Devotion as World Religion: The Globalization of Yorùbá Religious Culture*, edited by Jacob Olupona and Terry Rey. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Pressel, Esther. 1977. "Negative Spirit Possession in Experienced Brazilian Umbanda Spirit Mediums." *Case Studies in Spirit Possession*, edited by Vincent Crapanzano and Vivian Garrison. New York: John Wiley.
- Quiroga, José. 2000. *Tropics of Desire: Interventions from Queer Latino America*. New York: New York University Press.

- Raillard, Alice. 1990. *Jorge Amado: Conversations avec Alice Raillard*. Paris: Gallimard.
- René, Georges, and Marilyn Houlberg. 1995. "My Double Mystic Marriages to Two Goddesses of Love: An Interview." In *Sacred Arts of Haitian Vodou*, edited by Donald Cosentino. Los Angeles: UCLA Fowler Museum of Cultural History.
- Ribeiro, René. 1969. "Personality and the Psychosexual Adjustment of Afro-Brazilian Cult Members." *Journal de la Société des Americanistes* 58: 109–20. Reprinted in René Ribeiro, *Antropologia da religião e outros estudos*. Recife: Editora Masangana, 1982.
- Rodman, Selden. 1948. *Renaissance in Haiti: Popular Painters in the Black Republic*. New York: Peregrini and Cudahy.
- Rojas-Jara, Carlos Luis. 1995. "Modernism with a Cuban Accent: A Contextual Approach to *The Jungle* by Wifredo Lam." Master's thesis, University of California, Riverside.
- Rosenthal, Judy. 1998. *Possession, Ecstasy, and Law in Ewe Voodoo*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia.
- Rossetti Batista, Marta. 2004. *Coleção Mário de Andrade*. São Paulo: Universidade de São Paulo.
- Russeff, Ivan. 2001. *Educação e cultura na obra de Mário de Andrade*. Campo Grande, Brazil: UCDB.
- Santí, Enrico Mario. 1998. "Fresa y Chocolate: The Rhetoric of Cuban Reconciliation." *MLN* 113 (2): 407–25.
- Santos, Maria José. 2004. "Pelos caminhos críticos de *Dona Flor e seus dois maridos*." In *Em torno de Gabriela e Dona Flor*, edited by Ivya Alves. Salvador: Casa de Palavras.
- Saraiva, Clara. 2007. "African and Brazilian Altars in Lisbon—Some Considerations on the Reconfigurations of the Portuguese Religious Field." In *Cultures of the Lusophone Black Atlantic*, edited by Nancy Priscilla Naro, Roger Sansi-Roca, and David H. Treece. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Sartre, Jean-Paul. 1943. *L'être et le néant: Essai d'ontologie phénoménologique*. Paris: Gallimard.
- Seljan, Zora. 1999. "Aduni." In *Um Grapiúna no país do carnaval: Atas do I Simpósio Internacional de Estudos sobre Jorge Amado*, edited by Vera Rollemberg. Salvador: Casa de Palabras.
- Seltzer Goldstein, Ilana. 2000. *O Brasil Best Seller de Jorge Amado: Literatura e identidade nacional*. São Paulo: Senac.
- Serra, Ordep. 2006. "Carnaval dos Travestidos: Verger e as metamorphoses do carnaval." In *Brasil de Pierre Verger*. Rio de Janeiro: Fundação Pierre Verger.
- Serres, Michel. 1999. *Variations sur le corps*. Saint-Amand-Montrond: Éditions le Pommier.
- Smith, P. J. 1994. "The Language of Strawberry." *Sight and Sound* 4 (December): 31–32.
- Sosa, Juan J. 2008. "La Santería: An Integrating, Mythological Worldview in a Disintegrating Society." In *Òrìṣà Devotion as World Religion: The Globalization of Yorùbá Religious Culture*, edited by Jacob Olupona and Terry Rey. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

- Stebich, Ute. 1978. *Haitian Art*. New York: Brooklyn Museum.
- St. Jean, Serge. 1973. *Hector Hyppolite: Une somme*. Port-au-Prince: n.p.
- Stokes Sims, Lowery. 2002. "The Painter's Line: The Drawings of Wifredo Lam." *Master Drawings* 40 (1): 57–72.
- Stoller, Paul. 2004. "Sensuous Ethnography, African Persuasions, and Social Knowledge." *Qualitative Inquiry* 10 (6): 817–35.
- Strongman, Roberto. 2008a. "The Afro-Diasporic Body in Haitian Vodou and the Transcending of Gendered Cartesian Corporeality." *Kunapipi, Journal of Postcolonial Writing and Culture* 30 (2): 11–29.
- Strongman, Roberto. 2008b. "Transcorporeality in Vodou." *Journal of Haitian Studies* 14 (2): 4–29.
- Strongman, Roberto. 2015. "On the Non-equivalence of Black and Negro: Origins of the Cultural Constructions of New World Blackness in Iberian and Northern European Slave Codices." In *Slavery as a Global and Regional Phenomenon*, edited by Eric Hilgendorf, Jan-Christoph Marschelke, and Karin Sekora. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter.
- Sweet, James H. 1996. "Male Homosexuality and Spiritism in the African Diaspora: The Legacies of a Link." *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 7 (2): 184–202.
- Taillandier, Yvon. 1970. *Wifredo Lam*. Paris: Denoël.
- Taylor, Charles. 1989. *Sources of the Self: The Making of Modern Identity*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Teixeira dos Santos, Newton Paulo. 1994. *A carta e as cartas de Mário de Andrade*. Rio de Janeiro: Diadorim.
- Thompson, Robert Farris. 1983. *Flash of the Spirit: African and Afro-American Art and Philosophy*. New York: Random House.
- Vadillo, Alicia E. 2002. *Santería y Vodú: Sexualidad y homoerotismo*. Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva.
- van Ede, Yolanda. 2009. "Sensuous Anthropology: Sense and Sensibility for the Rehabilitation of Skill." *Anthropological Notebooks* 15 (2): 51–60.
- Veiga, Benedito. 2004. "A Dona Flor de Bruno Barreto." In *Em torno de Gabriela e Dona Flor*, edited by Ivã Alves. Salvador: Casa de Palavras.
- Verger, Pierre. 1954. *Dieux d'Afrique: Culte des Orishas et Vodouns à l'ancienne Côte des Esclaves en Afrique et à Bahia, la Baie de tous les Saints au Brésil*. Paris: Hartmann.
- Verger, Pierre. 1957. *Notes sur le culte des Orisa et Vodoun: A Bahia, la Baie e tous les Saints au Brésil et l'ancienne Cote des esclaves en Afrique*. Dakar: Ifan.
- Verger, Pierre. 1968. *Flux et reflux de la Traite des Nègres entre Le Golfe de Bénin et Bahia de Todos Os Santos du XVII au XIX siècle*. Paris: Mouton.
- Verger, Pierre. 1981. *Notícias da Bahia-1850*. Salvador: Corrupio.
- Verger, Pierre. 1982. *Orisha: Les Dieux Yorouba en Afrique et au Nouveau Monde*. Paris: Métailié.
- Verger, Pierre. 1992a. "A Contribuição especial das mulheres ao Candomblé do Brasil." In *Artigos*, vol. 1. São Paulo: Corrupio.
- Verger, Pierre. 1992b. *Os Libertos: Sete caminhos na liberdade de escravos da Bahia no século XIX*. São Paulo: Corrupio.

- Verger, Pierre. 1993. *Le Messenger*. Paris: Editions Revue noire.
- Vidal-Ortiz, Salvador. 2005. *Sexuality and Gender in Santería: Towards a Queer of Color Critique in the Study of Religion*. New York: City University of New York.
- Wafer, James William. 1991. *The Taste of Blood: Spirit Possession in Brazilian Candomblé*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Ward, Graham. 2000. *Cities of God*. London: Routledge.
- Weinberg, Manfred. 1995. "Die stupende und bisher noch wenig reflektierte Idee von Bikontinentalität und Bisexualität der afroamerikanischen Kultur: Zu Struktur und Function des 'Zwischen' bei Hubert Fichtes." In *Medium und Maske: Die Literatur Hubert Fichtes zwischen den Kulturen*, edited by Hartmut Böhme and Nikolaus Tilting. Stuttgart: M&P.
- Werneck de Castro, Moacir. 1989. *Mário de Andrade: Exílio no Rio*. Rio de Janeiro: Rocco.
- Wiredu, Kwasi. 1996. *Cultural Universals and Particulars: An African Perspective*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

## INDEX

*Note:* Page numbers in italics refer to illustrations.

- Abakuá religion, 157, 167  
*Aberrations in Black* (Ferguson), 7  
 Abodunrin, Femi, 210  
 Adefunmi, Osejeman, 138  
 Adja philosophy, 11–12  
*Adorables mentiras* (*Adorable Lies*) (film), 118  
 Afrekete (sea divinity), 82  
 Africa: bicontinentality and, 63, 72–73, 76;  
     Congo religions, 2–3, 150, 240; *Ginen* as  
     mystical world, 19, 28–29; Hyppolite's  
     dreams of return, 53–54, 63–64, 98; Kimbanda  
     religious tradition, 201–3; Oyèwùní/Matoy  
     debate, 22–24; Sotadic Zone theory, 105, 258n1.  
     *See also* Yorùbá religion  
 African Americans, 136–39, 181; ethnic identity,  
     136–37; religious art, 53  
 African epistemology, revalorizing of,  
     125–26  
*African Religions of Brazil, The* (Bastide), 184  
 African Studies Association, 23  
 Afro-Brazilian religion. *See* Candomblé  
 Afro-Cuban culture and religion, 104, 114, 135,  
     139–41, 144, 157, 162–63, 166, 172. *See also*  
     Lucumí/Santería  
 Afro-diasporic religion, 6–20, 136–37, 252; co-  
     optation of, 66, 114, 120, 159–60, 222, 227, 229,  
     258–59n2; embedded in other manifestations  
     of culture, 10–11; Exu as unifying element,  
     181–82; internet use, 214, 217; mediatized as  
     homophobic, 186; in Portugal scholarship,  
     219–22; transcorporeality, 174–75, 248; Waters  
     of Oxalá, 212, 224–26, 229–30. *See also*  
     Candomblé; Lucumí/Santería; Vodou  
 Agbè (lwa), 98–100  
*água de cheiro*, 227  
 Aida Wedo (lwa), 50, 60, 70, 73, 100. *See also*  
     Dambala (lwa)  
 Akan philosophy, 11–12  
 Akhenaten (pharaoh), 59  
 alacuatá (same-sex-loving female), 147–48  
 Alea, Tomás Gutiérrez, 103, 252. *See also* *Fresa y*  
     *Chocolate* (film)  
 Alexis, Gèrald, 54, 68, 70, 95–96  
 alterity, 9–10, 44, 75–76, 90; othering, racial and  
     sexual, 65–66, 104–5  
 Alves, Henrique L., 242  
 Amado, Jorge, 6, 181, 199, 234, 252; Candomblé,  
     links to, 194–95; on ending of *Dona*  
     *Flor*, 202. *See also* *Dona Flor e seus dois*  
     *maridos*  
 ambivalence: of anthropologists, 104, 106, 110–11,  
     128, 131–32; of art critics, 161–63  
 American Sociological Association, 23  
 androgyny/hermaphroditism, 108–10; in *Dona*  
     *Flor*, 210; in Hyppolite's paintings, 55–56, 59,  
     68–69, 83; in Lam's paintings, 166, 168–69,  
     174–75, 176; “nafroditos,” 148–49; of orishas,  
     183, 185, 207–8, 258n1; spiritual, 83  
 Anglophone tradition, 107, 128–30, 155,  
     170–71

- anthropology/ethnography: Africanist scholars, 23; ambivalence phase, 104, 106, 110–11, 128, 131–32; Anglophone tradition, 107, 128–30, 155, 170–71; Brazil–Africa dialogue on Candomblé, 219–22; as ceremony, 24, 175–77; from Cuba, the US, and France, 104; Cuban tradition, 107, 121–24, 132, 258n3; cultural conversion, 134; cultural production, influence on, 195; degeneracy phase, 104–7, 131–32, 182–83, 186–87; dialogic quality of field research, 6; essentialist discourses, 104–6; First World researchers, 104, 171–72; French tradition, 125–28, 171–72; lack of knowledge of scholarly tradition, 193; literary theft by foreign ethnographers, 243; nonheteronormativity rejected by, 111–12; passing for gay, 128; patronizing attitudes, 52–53, 112, 225; sexual interactions with informants, 59–60; testimonial ethnographical genre, 115; transcorporeality phase, 104, 194; as transcriptuality, 252–53; Western misunderstandings, 15–19; women anthropologists, 27–28, 47–48. *See also* white art critics; white queer ethnographers
- Argeliers, León, 164–65
- artists, Caribbean, 51–100; artistic renaissance of 1940s, 93–94; magical realism in writings of, 53–55; patronizing attitudes toward, 52–53. *See also* de Andrade, Mário; Hyppolite, Hector; Lam, Wifredo
- Ashé-power, 2
- Asians, 104–5
- Atwood Mason, Michael, 128
- Augustine, 7
- authorial reflexivity, 23
- Autoportrait* (Hyppolite), 60, 66–70, 68, 74, 76, 87, 91
- Axé (divine life force), 218
- Axé (divine power), 224
- babalorixá, 184, 224, 234, 250
- Baron Samedia (Iwa), 36, 58
- “Baroque and the Marvelous Real, The” (Carpentier), 55
- Barreto, Bruno, 6, 195, 208–10
- Bastide, Roger, 182–84, 197, 227, 232, 241, 248–49
- Bataille, Georges, 9
- Batuque. *See* Candomblé
- Beaubrun, Mimirose, 5, 28–32, 35, 37, 45, 253. *See also* Nan Dòmí
- Beaubrun, Theodore “Lòlò,” 32, 37
- Believers, The* (film), 137
- Benoit, Rigaud, 81
- Benson, LeGrace, 96–97
- Between Men* (Sedgwick), 206
- bicha, 189–90
- bicontinentality, 63, 72–73, 76
- binarisms, 103–4; Candomblé distinct from Western, 203; of Exu, 206; literacy/illiteracy, 91, 97; in Lucumí, 111, 115–16; middle-class dichotomy, 195; mind-body, 7–11, 182; reason and emotion, 70; saint/orisha, 115–16
- bird imagery: in Hyppolite’s paintings, 80, 82–83, 115; in Lam’s works, 156, 170–71, 175; in *Macunaíma*, 212, 213, 222–24, 226, 229–30, 243–44; Oxalá and, 212, 213, 223–24; parrot as linguistic trickster, 243–44
- Birman, Patricia, 190–91
- Birringer, Johannes, 114–15, 118–19
- bisexuality, 63, 72–76
- Black Atlantic Religion* (Matory), 22
- black nationalist movements, 138
- blackness: erased in discussions of de Andrade, 241; erased in discussions of Lam, 159–68; erased in *Fresa y Chocolate*, 119–20, 159; erased in Portuguese Candomblé, 214, 218–19; queeriness coarticulated with, 141–48, 231; spiritual, 141–42
- Black Panthers, 65
- body: black, emptied by European imperialism, 4–5; black male, fetishizing of, 62–67; of Christ, 4; divine as a self inside, 9, 17; *honam* (material body), 11; *kòkadav* (flesh and blood), 15, 17, 21, 30; leather fetish equated with black body, 84–87; as machine, 20–21; *nannan-rèv* (dream body), 30; as open vessel, 4, 171, 207; regendering of during trance, 35–36; in religious studies, 255–56n4; removable anima, 127; shadow of (*ye*), 11–12; without organs, 19–20; Yorùbá construction of, 23, 127. *See also* receptacularity; transcorporeality
- Bonfim, Our Lord of (Nosso Senhor do Bonfim), 195, 196, 224; Bonfim-as-Oxalá, 230; hymn to, 227–29; Lavagem do Bonfim, 226–30
- Bourguignon, Erika, 188
- Brazil, 63–64; Constitution, 214; First Congresso Afro-Brasileiro, 241; homophobia, 187–88; independence struggle, 227–30; Inquisition, 203; ministers of religion, state certification, 213–14; music, state co-optation through, 227–29; nationalism, 240; Quimbanda spiritual tradition, 203; Salvador da Bahia, 181, 192–93, 213; Vodou in, 98–100; whitening of literary figures, 238–39, 239, 258–59n2. *See also* Candomblé

- Breton, André, 52, 55, 92, 94; *Fata Morgana*, 157
- Brown, David, 129–30
- Burton, Francis, 105, 258n1
- Cabrera, Lydia, 5–6, 72, 134, 139–55, 140, 252–53; appropriation of racial minority identity, 145–47; “La casada infiel” (poem by García Lorca), 142–54; Lam’s friendship with, 163, 165; marginality of, 141, 144, 147–48; unconscious knowledge of bodily representations, 154–55; Verger dedicates *Orisha* to, 231
- *Works: Cuentos negros de Cuba*, 139, 141; *El Monte*, 91, 107, 139, 146–55, 244
- Cachita, Yeyé, 119
- caduceus staff, 50
- Cahier d’un retour au pays natal/Notebook of a Return to the Native Land* (Césaire), 52, 97
- Caliban’s Reason: Introducing Afro-Caribbean Philosophy* (Henry), 10
- Campa Marcé, Carlos, 113
- Candomblé, 1, 129; acceptance of nonheteronormative arrangements, 183–86; bichas, 189–90; Bori, ritual of, 224; *castanha de caju*, 207; cosmopolitanization of, 231–32; cultural retentions, 220; educated professionals in, 215; funerary rites, 200–201; *jogo de búzios*, 216, 217; Kimbanda religious tradition, 201–3; men as usurping female gender roles, 183; ministers of religion, state certification, 213–14; Nagô, 194, 200; national council, 216; nonheteronormativity in, 182, 193, 195, 202–3; *Oga* position, 194; *pai-de-santos*, 213–18, 221–22; in Paris, 249–50; pathologizing of, 187–89; performative in, 189–90, 251–52; phases of scholarship, 182–83, 187–88; poverty as motivator, 217–18; queer men in, 183–92; as sexual marketplace for queers, 189–92; syncretism, 223–24, 227–30; *terreiros*, 183–84, 220; travestis of Salvador, 192–93; twice removed from Africa, 215; Waters of Oxalá, 212, 224–26, 229–30. *See also* Brazil; *Dona Flor e seus dois maridos* (Amado); Portugal, Candomblé in *candomblé de Bahia, Le* (Bastide), 183–84
- Caradjine (mythical island), 54, 64, 98
- Carnival/carnavalesque, 36, 110, 227, 242, 250, 256n7; in *Dona Flor*, 204, 204–5, 210; Martinique, burlesque marriage, 256–57n2
- Carpentier, Alejo, 54–55, 257n1
- “casada infiel, La” (García Lorca), 142–54
- Cascudo, Câmara, 227
- cashew pear (*Anacardium occidentale*), 2–3, 3, 36, 82, 168, 171, 207, 252
- Castro, Fidel, and government, 137, 157
- Catholicism. *See* Roman Catholicism
- Cavat, Irma, 95
- Célius, Carlo Avierl, 92
- Césaire, Aimé, 52, 55, 97
- Ces Plaisirs* (Colette), 140
- Chamberlain, Bobby, 196
- Changó (oricha/orisha), 2, 108, 112, 115, 116–17, 129, 258n1; cross-dresses to hide, 153–54; hostility to queers, 150–52; protection of “effeminate” men, 121–22. *See also* Shangó (oricha/orisha); Xangô (orixá)
- Chauncey, George, 39
- Chijona, Gerardo, 118
- chimeras, in work of Lam, 157, 158, 167–70, 173–75, 177
- Christianity. *See* Roman Catholicism
- Cities of God* (Ward), 4
- City of Women, The* (Landes), 183, 235
- Clark, Mary Ann, 126–27, 130
- cogito, 9
- Colette, 140
- colonialism, 6; imposition of Western philosophical discourses, 10–11; lusotropicalism, 222; zoologizing tendencies, 85
- colors associated with orishas/orichas/orixás, 105, 116–18, 117, 123, 129, 132, 176, 195–96, 201, 227
- commensalism, 218, 254
- Congo religions, 2–3, 150, 240
- Conner, Randy, 83–84
- consciousness, 12–13, 31; black, 4–5; science and location of, 21. *See also* *gwobonanj* (*gros bon ange*, big guardian angel)
- containers, ritual, 17–21, 71; concave vessels, 11, 17, 82–83, 194; *kwi*, *govi*, and *kanari*, 17, 19, 33; *pòtet* (container heads), 18, 32, 90–91; saddle, 17, 45, 71, 194, 237. *See also* body; receptacularity; transcorporeality
- Creole Religions of the Caribbean: An Introduction from Vodou and Santería to Obeah and Espiritismo* (Olmos and Paravisini-Gebert), 12
- creolization, 6, 30, 250, 252–53; Brazil, 181, 193, 201; Cuba, 107, 137
- Cros Sandoval, Mercedes, 130–31, 148
- Cuba: atheist policy, 114; Castro government, 137; co-optation of black spirituality, 159–60; homosexuality in, 113; Iberian high art, aspirations to, 161; mixed-race women in, 119; national identity, 171–72; politics of Marxist state and queer sexuality, 113–14. *See also* *Fresa y Chocolate* (film); Lucumí/Santería



- Cubanismo, 137
- Cuba y América* magazine, 139
- Cuentos negros de Cuba* (Cabrera), 139, 141
- "Cult Matriarchate, A" (Landes), 182–83
- cultural production, 3, 195, 211, 251–52
- Cultural Universals and Particulars: An African Perspective* (Wiredu), 11
- Dahomey, 98
- Dambala (Iwa), 47, 50, 60, 70, 73, 100
- Daniel, Yvonne, 130, 246
- Dantas, Beatriz Góis, 220
- Das Ich und das Es (The Ego and the Id)* (Freud), 9
- Davenport, Charles, 104
- Davis, Wade, 14–15, 18–19
- de Andrade, Mário, 212; ethnographic research by, 240–41; harlequin image, 239; liminality in, 238–49; plagiarism accusation against, 242–43; whitening of, 238–39, 239, 258–59n2
- *Works*: "A Calunga dos Maracatus," 241; "Anthropophagist Manifesto," 242; "Carnival in the Hallucinated City," 242; *Contos Novos*, 242; "Federico Paciência," 242. See also *Macunaima*
- de Andrade, Oswald, 242
- death: Axèxè and Egún, 200–201; death instinct, 19–20; *dessounin*, ceremony of, 13, 19, 32–33; Exu and, 200–201, 206
- de Barrios, Emilia, 139
- degeneracy, equated with same-sex desire, 104–7, 131–32, 182–83, 186–87
- de la Parra, Teresa, 139, 141, 145, 146–47
- Deleuze, Gilles, 19–20
- Denunciations of Bahia, The*, documents, 203
- Deren, Maya, 5, 17, 28–29, 31, 35–36, 44–45, 253
- de Rojas, María Teresa, 139
- Descartes, René, 7–11, 17
- desire, 24, 36; coded same-sex, 37–40, 83; same-sex as culturally relative, 105, 193; same-sex as degenerate, 104–7, 131–32, 182–83, 186–87
- Desmangles, Leslie, 13–14
- de Souza, Eneida Maria, 243
- dessounin*, ceremony of, 13, 19, 32–33
- desubjectification, 33
- de Vilar, Peiton, 227–29
- Diantéill, Erwan, 125–28, 130, 132
- Diário de São Paulo*, 242
- Dicionário do Folclore Brasileiro* (Cascudo), 227
- Dieux d'Afrique* (Verger), 233
- Divine Horsemen* (Deren), 5, 28–29, 31, 35–36, 44–45
- Divine Horsemen* (film), 29
- divisibility, 8–9
- DNA, 50
- Dona Flor e seus dois maridos* (Amado), 6, 181–82, 194–211, 234, 252; binarisms in, 195; Exu portrayed in, 195–201, 204–11; nonheteronormativity in, 195, 202–7, 210–11; transcorporeality in, 196; transvestism, apologia for, 204–5
- Dona Flor e seus dois maridos* (film), 6, 189, 191, 194–95, 197, 205, 206, 208; regendering of novel, 209–10, 210
- dreaming: as leitmotif, 24; lucid, 45–46; as parallel reality, 28–29; trance possession as, 45–46; as witness, 28
- dreams: *gwobonanj* and, 12, 15; Iwas/Iwas, communication with, 29–30; Maya as Sanskrit name for, 29; self as dreamed, 30–35; *ye gaga* and, 12
- Dunham, Katherine, 5, 17, 28, 29, 33, 39, 47–48, 135–36, 253; on Erzulie, 43; *Woman with a Cigar*, 40. See also *Island Possessed* (Dunham)
- Dunham Company, 39, 47–48; Boule Blanc events, 135–36
- dyslexia, queer potential in, 70
- effeminacy, discourse of, 55–56, 83, 110, 117, 120, 122, 151, 187
- Église de la Madeleine, Paris, 249–50
- ego, 32, 155
- Egypt, 59, 86–87, 175
- Eleguá (oricha/orisha), 133, 149; in Lam's paintings, 156, 160, 163–64, 168–70, 174, 175, 176
- Ellis, Havelock, 104
- El Monte* (Cabrera), 91, 107, 139, 146–55, 244; María Luisa story, 150–52, 153; medicalizing terms in, 149–50; orichas/orishas reject queers in, 150–53
- Enlightenment, 7; individual, foregrounding of, 7–9
- Eppendorfer, Hans, 84–86
- Erzulie (Iwa): Erzulie Dantor, 43–44, 81; Erzulie Freda, 43–44, 46, 60, 74, 76–77, 80; Hippolyte as, 56, 60, 62, 82
- Eshu-Elegbara (òriṣà), 125, 181–82, 201, 239. See also Exu (orixá)
- esprit* (intelligence), 30–31
- Essay on African Philosophical Thought: The Akan Conceptual Scheme*, An (Gyekye), 11
- essentialist discourses, 104–6, 189
- Estudos afro-brasileiros* (Bastide), 227
- ethnography. See anthropology/ethnography



- Eucharist, 4
- Europe: Candomblé in, 6, 63–64, 219
- everyday life, 3
- Ewe (Verger), 216
- Exílio in Rio* (Werneck de Castro), 242
- Explosion* (Fichte), 62–64
- Exu* (journal), 198
- Exu (orixá), 6, 181–82, 195–201, 199; de Andrade and, 240, 244–47; devil associated with, 166, 169, 196–98; as genderless/dual gender, 207; Oludumaré myth, 210–11; phallus as symbol of, 197; queerness of, 203; Sete Facadas, 202; Tranca Rua, 202. *See also* Eshu-Elegbara (òrìṣà)
- Exu, in *Macunaíma*, 244–47
- Exua (orixá), 6, 200–202; Maria Padilha, 201–2; Pomba Gira, 201–2
- eyes, as referents for clairvoyance, 29
- fainting, language of, 45
- Falgayrettes-Leveau, Christiane, 17–18
- familial metaphors, 81, 186, 189–90
- Fata Morgana* (Breton), 157
- female-authored accounts of Vodou, 5, 27–48; coded same-sex desire, 37–40; Erzulie Freda/Erzulie Dantor, 43–44; horse and rider metaphor, 27, 44–45; lesbianism in, 39–43; narrating possession, 44–48; nonheteronormativities, 35–36; pregnancy and womb, 24, 34–35; self, constituents of, 11, 30–35. *See also* lesbianism; and individual women authors
- feminization, cultural, 190
- Ferguson, Roderick, 7
- Fernández Calderón, Alejandro, 131
- Fernández Olmos, Margarite, 12, 18
- Fernández Robaina, Tomás, 121–24, 132, 258n3
- Fichte, Hubert, 5, 51–53, 59–60, 61, 66, 252–53; bicontinentality, thesis of, 63, 72–73, 76; Brazil, fieldwork in, 98–100; ethnopoetic style, 90–91, 252–53; leather fetish equated with black body, 84–87; open discussion of sexual orientation, 72; sex work, notes on, 87–89; on Vodou as queer space, 73–74; writing style, changes in, 89–91 — *Works: Explosion*, 62–64; *Xango*, 63, 244
- Field, Sally, 201
- field notes, 91, 149, 252–53
- Figuração da intimidade: Imagens na poesia de Mário de Andrade* (Lafetá), 242
- First Congresso Afro-Brasileiro, 241
- Flash of the Spirit: African and African American Art and Philosophy* (Thompson), 171
- Fletcher, Valerie, 161
- folklorization, 114
- Foster, David William, 113
- Foucault, Michel, 10
- Fouchet, Max-Pol, 160–61
- French tradition, 9–10, 125–28, 171–72
- Fresa y Chocolate* (film), 5, 103–4, 105, 108, 111, 112–21, 117, 123, 127, 128, 128, 130, 132, 132; critiques of, 113, 120; erasure of blackness and queerness in, 119–20, 159–60; heteronarrative frame, 120–21; Lucumí in, 113, 114–23, 115, 117, 121, 123, 127, 129, 130, 132, 132
- Freud, Sigmund, 9
- Freudianism, 109–11, 186
- Fry, Peter, 188–90
- García Lorca, Federico, 142
- Gates, Henry Louis, Jr., 181, 207
- Gédé Nibo (lwa), 56–58, 60, 67, 74–77
- gender, 3; bicontinentality thesis, 63, 72–73, 76; Brazilian categories, 193; cross-gender identifications during trance, 35–36, 48, 108–11, 117, 121, 164, 188, 256n7; of horse, as feminine, 45, 166, 166–67, 174–75; mystic marriages, 77–79; in pre-colonial Africa, 22–24; womb, role in construction of Vodou body, 24, 34–35. *See also* regendering of body
- Genet, Jean, 65–66
- Ginen* (Guinea), 19, 28–29
- Girard, René, 206
- Global Divas* (Manalansan), 7
- Globalization of Yorùbá Religious Culture Conference, 1999, 22
- govi, container, 17, 19, 33
- Gregory, Steven, 136
- griot, 223, 244
- Guattari, Félix, 19–20
- Guernica* (Picasso), 157, 167
- Guillot, Maia, 220–22
- Gutiérrez Alea, Tomás, 103
- gwobonanj* (*gros bon ange*, big guardian angel), 12–14, 16, 31–32; bottling up of self, 17–19; substituted for lwa during trance, 44–48; zombification and, 18–19, 20, 33–34
- Gyekye, Kuame, 11
- Haberly, David T., 238–39, 243–45, 249
- Haiti: artistic renaissance, 1940s, 93–94; Kreyòl, 16, 44, 92; nonheteronormative polyamory, 39; patriarchal nature of, 42–44, 73, 77; revolutionaries, 77; spiralism literary movement, 91. *See also* Vodou

- Haitian Revolution, 77
- Hale, Lindsey, 191–92, 259n3
- Hall, Radclyffe, 41
- Hamilton, Russell G., 194, 197
- head, 16–18; *mètet* (main spirit, master of the head), 12–13, 14, 33; *pòtet* (container heads), 18, 90–91
- Henry, Paget, 10
- hermaphroditism. *See* androgyny/  
hermaphroditism
- Herodotus allusions, 78
- Herzberg, Julia, 167, 171
- Hispanophone writers, 141–42
- Hoffman, L. G., 83
- Hoffman-Jeep, Lynda, 141, 144
- homosexuality: “addodi” as term for, 124, 131, 148–49; as culturally relative, 105, 193; as degenerate, 104–7, 131–32, 182–83, 186–87; gay males as auxiliaries of reproductive heterosexuals, 215; “maricas” as term for, 148–49; mothers blamed for, 186–87; “passive,” 116–17, 122, 127, 130, 175, 182–84, 193, 203; pathologizing language about, 108–9, 149, 183–87, 205; rejected by some African diasporic religions, 150–53. *See also* lesbianism
- homosociality, 24, 206; female, 37–40; triangulated relationships, 206, 208, 211
- honam* (material body), 11
- horse and rider metaphor, 17, 27, 44–45, 98; in Lam’s paintings, 166, 166–67, 168, 174, 174–75; partial possession, 155
- Hurston, Zora Neale, 5, 17, 28, 29, 33, 34, 36, 41, 45, 251, 253; on Erzulie, 43–44. *See also* *Tell My Horse*
- Hyppolite, Florvil, 51
- Hyppolite, Hector, 5, 49–100, 252; Africa, dreams/experience of return to, 53–54, 63–64, 98; androgyny as theme in works of, 55–56, 59, 68–69, 83; background, 51, 53; bird imagery, 80, 82–83, 115; boat/captain image and project, 94–100, 95, 97; death of, 57, 57–60, 58, 96; fetishized by white anthropologists, 59–60; literacy, 66–68, 91–94; Iwas, association with, 56–59, 57, 58, 68–69, 79, 81–82, 82, 96, 100; mystic marriages, 79–81, 80; narration of his own life, 53–55, 80–81; as oungan, 51, 79; self-portraiture, 60, 66–71, 68, 81–82, 82; self-presentation, 55, 58, 60, 83; Lasirèn and, 68–69, 79, 82, 96, 98–100; textuality, transcorporeal, 66–67, 91–93
- Paintings: Autoportrait*, 60, 66–70, 68, 74, 76, 87, 91; *Black Magic*, 71; *Erzulie auf einem Delphin*, 82–83, 257n3; *Ezili and Her Earthly Court*, 62; *Fisherman in a Cove/Man in a Speedboat/La Chaloupe*, 96–97; *La Dauration de l’Armor*, 69, 91; *lange blue* (Blue Angel), 14; *Maitresse Erzulie*, 82; *Maritravo*, 94; *Mistress Siren* (Le Metrès Sirène), 80; *Promenade sur Mer*, 95; *Vol de zombis*, 20; *Woman with a Ribbon*, 82–83, 84
- Iansá (orixá), 183, 185
- Ibarra, Mirtha, 118
- Ici La Renaissance (bar), 51
- Ifá religious tradition, 98, 124–25, 216, 225–26
- Ifigenia* (de la Parra), 139
- igbodu, 1–2, 158, 253, 255n1
- Igreja da Conceição da Praia, 227
- Igreja de Nosso Senhor do Bonfim, 227, 249–50
- Ilê Axé Opô Afonjá (terreiro), 224
- incarnation theology, 4
- individual, Enlightenment and, 7–9
- indivisibility, 8–9
- infidelity, 41–42
- initiates, 1–3, 17–18, 27, 37, 39, 44–45; cross-gender experiences, 35–36, 48, 108–11, 117, 121, 127–31, 164, 188, 256n7; feminization of, 107, 129, 130; multiplicity of self and, 32–33; scholars as, 48; as wives of the orisha, 22, 126–29, 238
- initiation: dreams as start of, 29–30; as metaphor for scholarship, 1–4, 23; regendering of bodies, 2–3, 107. *See also* individual religions
- initiatory-critical genre, 27–28, 29, 32
- in-itself, 10
- Inle (oricha/orisha), 147–48
- in/out metaphors, Western, 16–17, 155
- interiority, discourse of, 4–5, 7–9; boundaries of self and body, 7–10; French view, 9–10
- internet, 214, 217
- Invention of Women, The* (Oyèwùmí), 22–24
- “invertido,” as term, 149
- Island Possessed* (Dunham), 5, 28, 39, 47–48
- Iyaláwo role, 258n2
- iyalorixá, 224, 226
- iyáwó (bride of the Spirit), 24, 107, 128–30, 237–38
- Je* (“eye,” “opening”), 29
- Jesus, 223–24
- jimbandaa* (passive sodomite), 203
- Johnson, Paul Christopher, 193–94, 225
- kanzo fire ritual, 32–33
- Katschthaler, Karl, 59–60, 63–64

- Ketu lineage, 194  
 Kimbando religious tradition, 201–3  
*Kiss Me Goodbye* (film), 201  
 knowledge, Oxalá and, 212, 225–26, 241  
 Koch-Grünberg, Theodor, 242–43  
*kòkadav* (body, flesh and blood), 15, 17, 21, 30  
 Kreyòl: French, relation to, 92; Haitian, 16, 44, 92;  
   Hypolite's *Autoportrait* and, 67–70; Martini-  
   can, 37; as written language, 93  
 Kuba people, 18  
 Kulick, Don, 192–93
- Lachatañeré, Rómulo, 108–12  
 Laddó (mythical queerland), 148, 149  
*ladwat*. See *gwobonanj* (*gros bon ange*, big  
   guardian angel)  
 Lafetá, João Luís, 242  
 Lam, Ana Serafina, 156  
 Lam, Wifredo, 6, 51, 66, 82, 105, 134, 155–77; Afri-  
   canness equated with backwardness, 165–66;  
   androgyny in works of, 166, 168–69, 174–75,  
   176; background, 156–57; bird figure in works  
   of, 156, 170–71, 175; blackness erased in critiques  
   of, 159–68; Cabrera, friendship with, 163, 165;  
   chimeras in works of, 157, 158, 167–70, 173–75,  
   177; Eleguá in paintings of, 156, 160, 163–64,  
   168–70, 174, 175, 176; exhibitions and awards,  
   157–58; femme cheval paintings, 166, 166–70,  
   168, 172, 174, 174–75, 252; hermaphroditism in  
   work of, 164, 166, 172; in New York City, 135–36;  
   period of arrival in Cuba, 172; receptacularity  
   in, 171–75; schools of thought about, 159; supra-  
   cephalic images in, 156, 160, 162, 173, 174, 247;  
   syncretism in work of, 157, 168–69; transcorpo-  
   reality in work of, 158, 162, 164, 165, 166, 171–73,  
   230; universality attributed to, 160–61  
 —*Paintings: The Eternal Presence (An Homage*  
*to Alejandro García Caturla)*, 176; *Femme*  
*sur Fond Vert*, 165; *Goddess with Foliage*, 164;  
*Ibaye*, 160; *The Jungle*, 157, 158, 160–61; *Le Bruit*,  
 162; *Les Noces*, 174; *Maternities*, 161; *Mother*  
*and Child*, 170; *Satan*, 166; *The Third World*,  
 157; *Un coq pour Chango*, 156; *Zambezia*,  
*Zambezia*, 168  
 Lam, Yam, 156  
 Landes, Ruth, 182–84, 235  
*L'anti-Oedipe* (Deleuze and Guattari), 19–20  
*lanvè*. See *tibonanj* (*ti bon ange*)  
 Lavagem de la Madeleine, 249–50  
 Lavagem do Bonfim, 226–30  
 Leacock, Ruth, 187  
 Leacock, Seth, 187  
 leather fetish, 84–87  
 Leiris, Michel, 162–63  
*Le Messager* (Verger), 57  
 lesbianism, 39–40, 235; alacuatá (same-sex-  
   loving female), 147–48; lesbians as virgins, 148;  
   *madvinez* (women-loving women), 44, 74;  
   openness of 1920s, 140, 147; trope of tragic les-  
   bian, 41–43. *See also* female-authored accounts  
   of Vodou; homosexuality  
*Les Nègres* (Genet), 66  
*L'être et le néant (Being and Nothingness)*  
   (Sartre), 9  
 Lévi-Strauss, Claude, 157  
*L'histoire de la sexualité* (Foucault), 10  
 linguistic concerns, 23, 148, 244  
 linguistic disorientation, 91  
 linguistic genocide, 244  
 literacy/illiteracy binarism, 91, 97  
 Lorde, Audre, 82  
*Los negros brujos* (Ortiz), 104–6  
 Lowe, Elizabeth, 201–2  
 Lucumi/Santeria, 1, 40; acceptance of nonhet-  
   eronormative arrangements, 147, 175, 255n3;  
   Africanizing project, 137–39; ambivalence  
   allows for openness, 154; appropriation of racial  
   minority identity to affirm queerness, 145–47;  
   babalaos, 124; binarisms in, 111, 115–16; Cabrera  
   and, 139–55; communitarian activity, 135; cross-  
   gender identification, 108–11, 117, 121, 153–54,  
   164; ethnic conflict within, 137; as feminized  
   and feminizing religious system, 126–27; gender  
   limitations in, 123–24, 129–30; homophobia  
   in, 123–24, 150–52; iyáwó (bride of the Spirit),  
   24, 107, 128–30, 237–38; Lam and, 155–77;  
   misogyny in, 123–24; oral scriptures or *patakís*,  
   124, 131, 139, 258n3; Papá Colás (practitioner),  
   149; as platform of common cultural motifs,  
   135–36; queer scholarship tradition, 5–6, 103–32;  
   receptacularity in, 117, 122, 127; same-sex desire  
   articulated via, 107, 147; syncretism, 103–4,  
   109, 111–12, 157, 168–69; tropes of life, death,  
   and rebirth, 107, 128; in United States, 135  
 Lusophone Atlantic world, 190, 219–22. *See also*  
   Brazil; Portugal  
 lusotropicalism, rhetoric of, 222  
 lwas/loas, 16–17; cross-gender identifications  
   during trance, 35–36, 48; dream communica-  
   tion with, 29–30; as *gwobonanj*, 31; *gwobonanj*  
   substituted with, 44–48; infidelity to, 41–42.  
*See also* orichas/orishas/orixás

Machado de Assis, 258–59n2  
 machismo, 131, 188  
*Macunaíma* (de Andrade), 6, 212–19; bird imagery in, 212, 213, 222–24, 226, 229–30, 243–44; city, treatment of, 248–49; Exu in, 244–47; as founding text, 223, 242–43; indeterminacy of genre, 244; liminality in, 238–49; “Macumba” chapter, 244–45; multiplicity of self in, 245–47; tale within a tale, 222–23; transcorporeality in, 222–23, 230, 244–46  
 Madame Sara market women, 40  
*Mädchen in Uniform* (Sagan), 41, 140  
*madevinez* (women-loving women), 44, 74  
 Mãe Senhora (Candomblé matron), 224  
 “Male Homosexuality and Spirit Possession in Brazil” (Fry), 188–90  
*Mama Lola* (McCarthy Brown), 5, 28, 29–30, 46–47; lesbianism in, 41–42  
 Manalansan, Martin F., 7  
 Manicongo, Francisco, 203  
 Manigat, Leslie François, 93–94  
 marginality, 66, 121, 125, 172, 231; Cabrera and, 141, 144, 147–48  
 Maria Padilha (Exua), 201–2  
 Mariel boatlift (1980), 137  
 marriages, mystic, 77–79  
 Martínez, Juan, 166–67  
 Martinique, Carnival, 256–57n2  
 Mary Magdalen, 249  
 masculinity, 117, 125–26, 190, 204, 206, 208  
*masisi, makomé* (men-loving men), 74  
 Matibag, Eugenio, 114  
 Matory, J. Lorand, 10–11, 22–24, 193, 256n7  
 — *Works: Black Atlantic Religion*, 22; *Sex and the Empire That Is No More*, 11; “Vessels of Power,” 10–11  
 MawuLisa (androgynous deity), 50  
 Maya, as Sanskrit name for dreams, 29  
 McCarthy Brown, Karen, 5, 12, 13, 28, 29–30, 35, 41–42, 46–47, 253; on Erzulie, 44, 46. See also *Mama Lola*  
 Medina, Álvaro, 165  
 mediums, 191, 191–92  
 Mèt Awe Tawoyo (Iwa), 98, 100  
 mètèt/mèt tet (main spirit, master of the head), 12–14, 33  
 Métraux, Alfred, 12, 15–16, 57–58, 95–96  
 migrants, 7, 135; discursive bridge-burning, 218; in 1960s and ’70s, 137; *santurismo*, 137–38  
 mind-body binarism, 7–11, 182  
 misogyny, 123–24, 255n3

modernism, 104  
 Molloy, Sylvia, 140–41  
 mono-identitarianism, 120  
 Montilus, Guérin, 11  
 Morais, Raimundo, 242–43  
 Morisseau-Leroy, Félix, 49–50  
 mothers, blame of, 186–87  
 Mott, Luiz, 234  
 Moynihan Report, 186  
 Murphy, Joseph, 107  
 Museo Afro-Brasileiro, 232  
 music, state co-optation through, 227–29  
 musicians, Cuban, 135, 137  
  
 Nagô Candomblé, 194, 200  
*nam* (spirit of the flesh), 14  
*Nan Dòmì* (Beaubrun), 5, 28–32, 35, 37, 45; Aunt Tansia, 28–29, 32, 35, 37–39  
*nannan-rèv* (dream body), 30  
 negritude, 52, 105, 106, 125, 128  
 Nigeria, Šàngó priests, 22  
 Noceda, José Manuel, 164–65  
 nonheteronormativities, 7, 21, 35–36; anthropologists reject, 111–12; in Candomblé, 202; categories, 148–49; coded same-sex desire, 37–40, 83; cross-gender experiences during trance possession, 35–36, 48–121, 108–11, 117, 127–31, 164, 188, 256n7; in *Dona Flor*, 195, 202–7, 210–11; Erzulie Freda/Erzulie Dantor, 43–44; Iansá, possession by, 183, 185; lesbian, trope of tragic, 41–43; Lucumi/Santeria, 147, 175; possession and, 44–48; sex workers, 118; Vodou, 35–36. See also homosexuality; lesbianism; queerness  
  
 Obatalá (oricha/orisha/orixá), 108, 109, 177, 210–11  
 objectivity, *tibonanj* as, 13, 31  
 Ochún/Oshún (oricha/orisha), 2, 105, 111, 116, 117, 119, 133–34, 176, 258n1; hostility toward queerness, 152–53  
 Odedei, Iyalocha, 145  
 Odun-Elegba (òriṣà), 210–11  
 Ogou/St. Jacques Majeur/Senjakmajé iconographical tradition, 98  
 Ogum (orixá), 87, 88, 199  
 Ogún (oricha/orisha), 116, 127, 174, 176  
*okra* (immaterial soul), 11–12  
 Oliana, Christopher, 138  
 Olofi (supreme deity), 170  
 Olokun (oricha/orisha), 108–9

- Oludumare (supreme deity), 210–11
- Omari-Tunkara, Mikelle Smith, 200, 225
- “On the Marvelous Real in America” (Carpentier), 54–55
- orality, 2, 124, 131, 139, 258n3
- Order of Damballah Hwedo Ancestor Priests (Greenwich Village), 138
- orichas/orishas/orixás, 2, 255n2; androgyny of, 183, 185, 207–8, 258n1; colors associated with, 105, 116–18, 117, 132, 176, 195–96, 227; eating-sex metaphor, 195; human agency vis-à-vis, 200–201; initiates as wives of, 22, 126–29; mismatches with, 152; rejection of homosexuality, 150–53. *See also* lwas/loas; and *individual deities*
- Orientalism, 85, 104–5
- Òrìṣà *Devotion as World Religion* (Olupona and Rey), 22
- òrìṣàs, 255n2
- Orisha* (Verger), 231–32
- orixás, 255n2; initiates as wives of, 238
- Ortiz, Fernando, 104–6, 130, 131, 132, 184; on Lam, 159, 161, 163–64
- Orula (oricha/orisha), 124
- Osain (oricha/orisha), 158
- Osanquiriyan (oricha/orisha), 109
- othering, racial and sexual, 65, 104–5
- out-of-body experiments, 21
- Oxalá (oricha/orisha), 24, 195, 196, 210; dove as animal referent for, 223–24; knowledge and, 212, 225–26, 241; Opaxorô walking staff, 223, 224, 229; Waters of, 212, 224, 226, 229–30
- Oxalá-Dambala-Obatalá, 24
- Oxalufan (orixá), 223
- Oxum (orixá), 185–86, 191, 255n2
- Oxumaré (orixá), 208–10
- Oyá (oricha/orisha), 130, 154
- Oyèwùmí, Oyèrónkè, 22–24, 258n1
- Oyo-Yorùbá concave vessels, 11, 17
- pai-de-santos, 213–18, 221–22
- Paillière, Madeleine, 58, 67
- Panatenéia, 249
- Paravisini-Gebert, Lizabeth, 12, 18
- Paris, Candomblé in, 249–50
- Parthenon, 249
- pathologizing language, 108–9, 149, 183–87, 189, 205
- Paz, Senel, 118
- pedagogical relationships, 139
- pédysion* (withheld pregnancies), 34–35
- performative, 3, 36, 71, 251–52; in Candomblé, 189–90, 206; in Lucumí, 119, 130, 132
- personality. *See* self
- “Personality and the Psychosexual Adjustment of Afro-Brazilian Cult Members” (Ribeiro), 183–85
- Perugorria (actor), 118–19
- Peters, DeWitt, 51–52
- phallus, 76; in Lam’s paintings, 164, 166, 168; as symbol of Exu, 197, 205–6
- Picasso, Pablo, 157, 167, 172
- Pierre Verger Foundation, 234
- Place Hector Hyppolite (Port-au-Prince), 51
- Plato, 7
- Pomba Gira (Exua), 201–2
- Pordeus, Ismael, Jr., 220–21
- Portugal: Afro-diasporic religion in scholarship, 219–22; Salazar dictatorship, 219, 222; Umbanda, 217, 219, 220
- Portugal, Candomblé in, 6, 63–64, 212, 214–18; alliances with Celtic and Druidic religions, 222; blackness erased, 214, 218, 219; ethnic makeup, 216–17, 221
- pôtet/pòt tet, 18, 90–91
- Poupeye, Veerle, 51, 94
- poverty, 217–18
- Prandi, Reginaldo, 201
- pregnancy, 34–35
- Pressel, Esther, 202
- psyche, 31. *See also* *gwobonanj* (*gros bon ange*, big guardian angel)
- psychological explanations, 15, 109–11, 247–48
- Puerto Ricans, 137, 138
- queer commissioning, 139
- Queering the Creole Spiritual Traditions* (Conner and Sparks), 83–84
- queerness: blackness coarticulated with, 141–48, 231; pai-de-santos, 215; self-performance, 55; of sex work, 87–89; supernatural associated with, 185. *See also* homosexuality; lesbianism; white queer ethnographers
- queer scholarship tradition, 5–6; elucidation phase, 182, 194–95; factualization phase, 182, 194–95; history of queer Candomblé research, 182–94; pathologizing phase, 182, 194–95, 205; transcorporeal phase, 104, 182, 194; white queer ethnographers, 50–100
- Querelle de Brest* (Genet), 66
- Quimbanda spiritual tradition, 203
- Quiroga, José, 113, 139

- Race Crossing in Jamaica* (Davenport), 104
- racism, 112, 120; Cuba and, 132, 135, 137, 172; scientific, 104–5, 132; of white art critics, 162–63
- Raillard, Alice, 195
- Ramos, Arthur, 241
- Réceptacles* (Falgayrettes-Leveau), 17–18
- receptacularity, 7, 45, 94, 98, 125–26, 160, 194; in Lam's work, 171–75; in Lucumí, 117, 122, 127; of "passive" gay males, 116–17, 122, 127, 130, 175, 193; queer men's and women's bodies and, 191. *See also* body; containers, ritual; transcorporeality
- regendering of body, 2–3, 35–36, 62; in Candomblé, 185, 190, 210, 245–48; cultural feminization, 190; in Hyppolite's work, 62, 68, 70–71, 76; in Lucumí, 107, 109–10, 126–27, 130, 176; in *Macunaíma*, 245–48; sacramental, 107, 126–27. *See also* gender; receptacularity; trance possession; transcorporeality
- Regla de Ocha/Osha. *See* Lucumí/Santería
- reincarnation, 98
- relemòndlo/rele mò nan dlo/retirer d'en bas de l'eau* ceremony, 19, 33
- religión popular*, 114
- Renaissance in Haiti* (Rodman), 55
- representation, politics of, 23
- repressive hypothesis, 10
- retirer d'en bas de l'eau (relemòndlo)* ceremony, 19, 33
- Revista de Antropofagia*, 242
- Ribeiro, Rene, 182, 184–87
- Robaina, Fernández, 132, 258n3
- Rodman, Selden, 51, 54, 55, 79–80
- Rojas-Jara, Carlos Luis, 165
- Roman Catholicism, 77, 104, 111, 112, 156, 215–16; dove, image of, 223–24; Puerto Ricans and, 137; saints as images of orichas/orishas/orixás, 112, 115–18, 147–48, 168, 175, 199, 223–24; as veneer for African religious worship, 115–16
- royalty, metaphors of, 107
- rubber hand illusion, 21
- Russeff, Ivan, 241
- saddle, as container, 17, 45, 71, 194, 237
- Sagan, Leontine, 41
- Saint Raphael, 147
- Salvador da Bahia, Brazil, 181, 192–93, 213; Lavagem do Bonfim, 226–30
- Şàngó (òrişà), 22
- Santa Barbara/Changó, 114, 115
- Santería. *See* Lucumí/Santería
- Santería: African Spirits in the Americas* (Murphy), 107
- Santería Enthroned* (Brown), 129–30
- santurismo*, 137–38
- Saraiva, Clara, 220–21
- Sartre, Jean-Paul, 9, 10
- scientific racism, 104–5, 132
- Seale, Bobby, 65
- secularization, 7, 9
- Sedgwick, Eve, 206
- Segato, Rita Laura, 23
- self: Adja view, 11–12; Akan view, 11–12; bottling up of, 17–19; concave vessels as metaphors for, 11, 17; constituents of, 11, 30–35; divine as, 9; as dreamed, 30–35; *gwobonanj* as central element of, 13; immaterial aspects of, 30–31; in-itself, 10; internalized within body, 7–10; literacy and, 94; multiplicity of, 11–15, 17, 32–33, 127, 171, 192, 245–47; nonheteronormative, 7, 21, 35–36; secularization of, 7, 9; *tèt* as Haitian Kreyòl metaphor for, 16; transcorporeality of, 17, 182, 203; Western containment model, 7–11
- selidò*. *See* *tibonanj* (*ti bon ange*)
- sèmèdò*. *See* *gwobonanj* (*gros bon ange*, big guardian angel)
- serpentine embrace, metaphor of, 50, 55, 60, 69–71, 84, 91, 100
- Serra, Ordep, 233–34
- Serres, Michel, 9–10
- Sete Facadas (Exu), 202
- Sex and the Empire That Is No More* (Matory), 11, 22
- sexology, nineteenth-century, 104, 110, 132, 149–50, 184, 186
- sexuality: Africans as hypersexual, 105–6, 125; bicontinentality thesis, 63, 72–73, 76; bisexuality, 63, 72–76; eating-sex metaphor, 195; non-Western categories, 74–76, 79; repressive hypothesis, 10. *See also* homosexuality; lesbianism
- sex work, 87–89
- shadow *ye*, 11–12
- Shangó (oricha/orisha), 156, 258n1. *See also* Changó (oricha/orisha); Xangô (orixá)
- Shango Temple (Harlem), 138
- Signifying Monkey, The* (Gates), 181
- Sims, Stokes, 167
- slave trade, 4; Africans separated from each other, 235; Oxalá-as-knowledge traversing waters, 212, 226; Verger's scholarship, 234–35
- Smith, P. J., 118

- Sosa, Juan J., 135
- Sotadic Zone, 105, 258n1
- soul: containment model, 7–11, 19; *mètèt* as, 13, 33; *okra* (immaterial soul), 11–12; unitary concepts, 7–10, 17, 21
- Sources of the Self* (Taylor), 7
- Sparks, David, 83–84
- spiralism, 91
- spirit: *esprit* (intelligence), 30–31; *sunsum* (quasi-material spirit), 11; transcorporeal, 2–3
- Spirits of the Deep: A Study of an Afro-Brazilian Cult* (Leacock and Leacock), 187
- Stebich, Ute, 83
- St. Jean, Serge, 80–81
- subconscious, 109–10, 172
- sunsum* (quasi-material spirit), 11–12
- Supreme Court, 138
- surrealism, 52, 55, 97
- Sweet, James, 190–91
- syncretism, 7, 30; Candomblé, 223–24, 227–30; Lavagem de la Madeleine and, 249–50; Lucumí, 103–4, 109, 111–12, 157, 168–69
- Tabío, Juan Carlos, 103, 252. *See also* *Fresa y Chocolate* (film)
- Taillandier, Yvon, 167–69
- Taste of Blood: Spirit Possession in Brazilian Candomblé*, *The* (Wafer), 201
- Taylor, Charles, 7
- Tell My Horse* (Hurston), 5, 28–29, 41, 45, 251
- testimonial ethnographical genre, 115
- tèt*, 16. *See also* head
- textuality, transcorporeal, 91–92, 252–53
- theocentrism, 7
- Thoby-Marchelin, Philippe, 51, 55–56, 81
- Thompson, Robert Farris, 17, 171
- tibonanj* (*ti bon ange*), 12–14, 31
- Ti-Jan Petwo, 44
- Tranca Rua (Exu), 202
- trance possession, 3–4, 12–13; cross-gender identifications during, 35–36, 48, 108–11, 117, 121, 164, 188, 256n7; as dreaming, 45–46; *gwobonanj* and, 31; horse and rider metaphor, 17, 27, 44–45, 98; Hyppolite's painting during, 51; in/out metaphors, Western, 16–17, 155; multiplicity of the self and, 15, 171, 192, 245–47; narrating, 44–48; Oyá trance, 130; partial states, 155; power surge, experience of, 46–47; spiritual androgyny, 83; supracephalic nature of, 156, 160, 162, 173, 174, 247; as testicular implantation, 252; trance of expression, 237; transcorporeal textuality and, 91; types of, 237; Verger on, 236–37; vessel/captain image, 96–98, 97; Western misunderstandings of, 15–17. *See also* regendering of body; transcorporeality
- transcorporeality, 116, 255n4; in Afro-diasporic religion, 174–75, 248; in Candomblé, 185; cashew pear analogy, 2–3, 3, 82; coded same-sex desire, 37–40; in *Dona Flor e seus dois maridos*, 196; as ethnographic methodology, 177; *gwobonanj* substituted with Iwa, 44–48; in Lam's work, 158, 162, 164, 165, 166, 171–73, 230; in *Macunaíma*, 222–23, 230, 244–46; as performative strategy, 71; as phase in scholarship, 104, 182, 194; as sacramental regendering, 126–27; as term, 4; textuality and, 91–92, 252–53. *See also* body; regendering of body; trance possession
- transcriptuality, 27, 91, 251–54
- transculturation, 104
- travestis of Salvador, 192–93
- triangulated relationships, 206, 208, 211
- trickster, 6, 149, 196–97; Eshu-Elegbara, 125, 181–82, 201, 239; parrot as linguistic, 243–44. *See also* Exu (orixá)
- trigueño, 136
- Tropicália ou Panis et Circensis* (Veloso), 229
- Tropics—Shore Excursion* (Dunham), 40
- twinning, 5, 31, 46; Dambala and Aida Wedo, 47, 50, 60; Laserpan Arkansyel, 50; marriages between deities, 50, 98–100; MawuLisa, 50
- Umbanda, 217, 219, 220, 259n3
- Un Chant d'amour* (Genet), 66
- United States: African Americans, ethnic identity, 136–37; Lucumí in, 135; Lucumí houses in, 138–39; one-drop rule, 136, 172
- universalism, 160–61
- Van Vechten, Carl, 39
- Variations sur le corps* (Serres), 9–10
- vegetative metaphor, 214
- Veloso, Caetano, 229
- Verger, Pierre, 5, 51, 56–60, 70–71, 96, 230–38, 252; de Andrade and, 212; initiated into Candomblé, 231–32; negation and anxiety in, 237–38; queerness in photography of, 61, 234–35; on role of gender in Candomblé, 235; on trance possession, 236–37
- Photographs*: of Amado, 199; of Cabrera, 140, 145; homoerotic, of black bodies, 58, 61, 233; of Hyppolite, 57, 58; *The Opaxorô of Oxalá*, 213



Verger, Pierre (*continued*)

— *Writings: Dieux d'Afrique*, 233; *Ewe*, 216; *Le*

*Messenger* (Verger), 57; *Orisha*, 231–32

“Vessels of Power” (Matory), 10–11

Vidal-Ortiz, Salvator, 130

Virgin of Regla, 108–9, 123, 152. *See also* Yemayá (oricha/orisha)

Virgin of the Caridad del Cobre, 111, 116

“Visit with Hector Hyppolite, A” (Rodman), 79–80

Vodou, 1; Adja philosophy, 11–12; altars and ritual containers, 17; cross-gender identification, 5, 35–36, 48; *dessounin* ceremony, 13, 19, 32–33; dreaming, role of, 28–29; *écriture féminine*, 24; familial metaphors, 81; *kanzo* fire ritual, 32–33; *kounbit* aspect, 95, 257n4; life-cycle rituals, 32–33; 1950s studies, 15–16; non-heteronormativities, 35–36; personhood, components of, 12–15; as queer space, 73–74; *retirer d'en bas de l'eau* (*rele mò nan dlo*) ceremony, 19, 33; suppression of, 94; *tibonanj* (*ti bon ange*), 12–14, 31; two Erzulies, 43–44; Western misunderstandings of, 13–19. *See also* female-authored accounts of Vodou; *gwobonanj* (*gros bon ange*, big guardian angel); Haiti

*Vom Roroima zum Orinoco* (Koch-Grünberg), 243

Wafer, James William, 201

Wanderlei, João Antonio, 227–29

Ward, Graham, 4

water imagery: *Lavagem de la Madeleine*, 249–50; *Lavagem do Bonfim*, 226–30; *Waters of Oxalá*, 212, 224–26, 229–30

*Well of Loneliness, The* (Hall), 41

Werneck de Castro, Moacir, 242

white art critics, 159–65; antiblack racism, 162; dismissal of African influences in Lam's work, 160–66; universalizing tendency, 160–61  
white foreign intellectuals, 52

white queer ethnographers, 50–51; bicontinentality, thesis of, 63, 72–73, 76; co-optation of blacks, 66; fetishization of black body, 62–67, 94; fetishization of Hyppolite, 59–61; non-Western categories of sexuality misinterpreted by, 74–76; paternalism, 52, 66, 85; queer sexuality and blackness coarticulated, 141–48; serpentine embrace, metaphor of, 50, 55, 60, 69–71, 84, 91, 100. *See also* Cabrera, Lydia; Fichte, Hubert; Verger, Pierre

Wilde, Oscar, 56, 74

Wilson, Matonica, 156

womanism, 201

womb, 24, 34–35

women: as ideal spirit medium, 190–91. *See also* Beaubrun, Mimerose; Cabrera, Lydia; Deren, Maya; Dunham, Katherine; female-authored accounts of Vodou; Hurston, Zora Neale; lesbianism; McCarthy Brown, Karen  
*woule vant* (belly dance), 35

*Xango* (Fichte), 63, 244

Xangô (orixá), 73, 225–27, 229, 231, 232, 254. *See also* Changó (oricha/orisha); Shangó (oricha/orisha)

*ye* (principle of consciousness and psychic life), 11–12

Yemanjá/Iemanjá (orixá), 207, 210, 254

Yemayá (oricha/orisha), 108–9, 116, 117, 124, 129, 133, 148, 152, 254

Yewá (oricha/orisha), 147–48

Yorùbá religion, 107, 115–16, 136–37, 197, 249; dove, image of, 223–24; kinship terms, 22–23

Yorùbá Temple (Harlem), 138

*Zami: A New Spelling of My Name* (Lorde), 82

*zetwal* (celestial parallel self), 14

zombification, 18–19, 20, 33–34

Zulu society, 190

DUKE