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Cross-Gender Identifications in Vodou

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The representation of Vodou in Haitian cultural production is replete with cross-gendered subjectivities that many critics have failed to take into account. In Rene Depestre’s novel Hadriana dans tous mes rêves, the protagonist—Hadriana, a white French woman living in Haiti—is turned into a zombi on her wedding day and becomes the leader of a Vodou community. Martin Munro sees in Hadriana’s whiteness “obvious traces of Depestre’s francophilia” (Munro 2007, 127). He also concedes that there might be an element of resistance in Depestre’s idealization of Hadriana’s beauty by claiming that Hadriana might embody a “reversal of colonial eroticization of its tropical other” (Munro 2007, 127). What Munro fails to notice, however, is how Hadriana’s aborted marriage begins a non-heteronormative characterization that continues throughout her spiritual evolution. At the outset of the text Hadriana is associated with Nana Buruku, a lwa that is often represented as embodying a primordial androgynous gender.

The people of Jacmel, unable to accept that a heart attack brought Nana down to the foot of the altar, used their necrophilic imagination to reinsert their daughter into a fairy tale. Her body’s disappearance from the sepulcher was the catalyst for such a leap from the fear of death into fantasy. ¹(Depestre 1988, 98--99)

At the end of the novel, she is associated with a male deity of springs: “I was Simbi-the-Spring. The gods of Vodou ordered me take a handful of emigrants from Jacmel to Jamaica”² (Depestre 1988, 207). The regendering seen in Hadriana’s transmutation into various deities is also evident in the powerful trance a *Mambo* experiences at another point in the text: From the first notes of the dance, Saint James the Greater—the first in the family of the Oguns—mounts Brévica Losange as his horse. In that manner possessed, the Mambo improvises a song in harmony with the drums³ (Depestre 1988, 77). This female Vodou priestess’ identification with one of the most virile of lwas demonstrates how the substitution of the *gwobonanj* by the *mèt tet* of another gender can have as a result the Vodouisant’s corporeal regendering.

In addition to her association with Nana Buruku and Simbi-la-Source, Hadriana is constantly associated with yet another lwa: Gédé, whose domain is life and death. Although his demeanor is humorous, he is known for speaking harsh truths. His portrayal as an undertaker is enhanced by his top hat. His eyeglasses have only one lens, implying vision in this world and the next. His walking cane is a phallus, acquiring a transcorporeal aspect in the hands of his female devotees. Hadriana’s death is presented as the responsibility of this lwa: A man with a resemblance to Baron-Samedi invites those Gédés at his side to take the casket from the apostolic hands that carry it⁴ (Depestre 1988, 92). Hadriana’s inert body become the very representation of death, and therefore that of Gédé:

Twenty meters around the spectacle, the musicians, in unison, impose the general fever of the drum: the crowd stops dancing to mimic the corpse-like ugliness of

Hadriana Siloé, making the square a settlement of death's kingdom.⁵ (Depestre 1988, 68)

Hadriana's identification with this mortuary and highly sexual deity is evident in a description of a Vodou ceremony that foregrounds Gédé's transgression of the binarisms of death/life, masculinity/femininity, terrestrial/celestial, sacred/profane :

On the contrary, drums and wind instruments change Madame Losange's song into a sunny season of the night: their musical fury alternates in each of the living death and birth, cries of agony and exclamations of orgasmic triumph. The musical volcano reduced to ashes the legendary obstacles between Thanatos and Eros, beyond the prohibitions against the sperm of black males and the eggs of white females. The explosion of Gédés, enlivened by the warm blood, puts the souls and the bodies, the tumescent penises and the vaginas, in cosmic harmony with the crazy hope of rescuing Nana Siloé from death and light again, among us, the star of her life in her flesh.⁶ (Depestre 1988, 78--79)

The transcorporeality found in the religious tradition of Vodou enables the assumption of cross-gender subjectivities in the secular arena. Depestre makes use of irony not only by having Hadriana's death take place at the wedding altar, but also by having the wake take place during carnival. Troupes of revelers parade by Hadriana's dead body. The contrast between feast and funeral highlights a reversal of gender norms in the Caribbean carnival tradition of the *mariage burlesque*:

I stopped in front of a group of men disguised as women. In order to simulate an advanced state of pregnancy, they placed pillows under their satin dresses. They

had breasts and buttocks fit for Venus Kallipygos. Supported by staffs, the cross-dressers chatted with people dressed in white clothes.⁷ (Depestre 1988, 59-60). Edouard Glissant presents this tradition as one of the few places in which West Indian society is able to critique patriarchal heteronormativity:

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 marriages 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.⁸ (Glissant 1981, 299).

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 become been greatly Europeanized as a result of departmentalization.

Likewise, unlike the Western idea of the body as the enclosure of the soul, the *kòr kadav* 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). (Thompson 1983, 182)

In fact, some of the most striking art objects of the African diaspora are anthropomorphic receptacles, as noted by Falgayrettes-Leveau, in his Exhibit book Réceptacles: 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.⁹ (Falgayrettes-Leveau 1997, 32). 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 *pò tets*, literally “container heads:”

This part of the initiation also involves the preparation of the *pò tets*, 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*. (Fernandez Olmos 2003, 118-9).

This representation of the head as an open vessel becomes evident in the association between the material body and various types of ritual containers in Depestre’s Hadriana :

I was overcome by violent internal convulsions. All my bones vibrated until they almost cracked. I was in a nightmare inside a nightmare. I was a stolen soul. They separated my *tibonanj* from my *gwobonanj*. They had enclosed the first in a calabash to take it by mule back to a penitentiary of souls in the mountains of Haut-Cap-Rouge. The second, armed tied behind his back, was flagellated like an ass in the opposite direction. All links were broken between my two forms of being.¹⁰ (Depestre 1988, 175)

Here it is possible to see Depestre's important depiction of the African multiple self. Through this quote we also become aware of the ways in which aspects of the self might be removable without producing the individual's death. It is also significant how Depestre presents the calabash as one of the receptacles that may be used as substitute for the human body.

Davis explains how the separation of the corporeal and immaterial aspects of the self that Depestre describes constitute the phenomenon of zombification :

The spirit zombi, or the zombie 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. (Davis 1986, 186)

This very detached description of the process of zombification is consistent with Davis' clinical view of zombification as purely the result of neurotoxin poisoning (Davis 1988, 7). However, for Depestre, zombification has much more emotive connotations associated to loss of autonomy and spiritual imprisonment:

This place of detention was prepared to receive the bottled up souls of people condemned to a privation of their spiritual liberty. The practice consisted in bottling up the imaginary of individuals who have become living dead. The bottles that you will see are little forgotten things in glass, crystal, metal, ceramic, leather, wood, and stoneware!¹¹ (Depestre 1988, 175)

Through these passages we see that Depestre, like Davis, conceives 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 “[t]he 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 his self, 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—either through 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 day after death, the *gwobonanj* is called up from the water in a ceremony referred to as *rele mò nan dlo* [calling the dead from the water] and installed in a *govi* clay pot (McCarthy Brown 2006, 8).

Depestre and Davis are correct in their assessment of zombification as constituting the embottlement of one of part of the self. However, they are mistaken by 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 the one of the most dreaded Afro-Diasporic state 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 with the body without organs that Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari elaborate in L'Anti-Œdipe:

Death instinct, that is his name. Since the desire desires also that, death, because the body full of death is an immobile motor, because life's organs are the working machine. The body without organs is not the witness of an original nothingness, not any more than the remains of a lost totality. It is not a projection; it has nothing to do with the body itself or the image of the body. It is the body without an image. Him, the unproductive. . .the body without organs is anti-production.¹²
(Deleuze 1972, 15)

In this sense, both the Western and the African view of personhood can be seen to coincide. By presenting the most abject state of being as that of the body that is deprived of its immaterial elements—organs, *gwobonanj*—both traditions present an image of the exploited, enslaved, unremunerated and incomplete worker. Descartes' body-as-clockwork and Vodou's *kòr kadav* are more similar than previously thought.

One of the *gwobonanj* kept by the bokòr in Depestre's Hadriana is that of a same-sex-loving male artist: There is a queer painter imprisoned in the seltzer water siphon¹³ (Depestre 1988, 176). While Fanon insists in Peau Noire, Masques Blancs that there is no homosexuality in the West Indies (Fanon 1995, 146), other French West Indian writers such as Depestre and Frankétienne present same sex desire as intrinsic to the region. Frankétienne's Kreyòl novel Adjanoumelezo utilizes the voice of Gédé—the jocular Vodou lwa of life, death, overflowing sexuality and bawdiness—to speak openly about the important role that queers play in Vodou:

Papa Gédé draws cosmograms with small fine letters for his pleasure on sheets of paper. He plays with words. He sows words. He solders words, He hems words.

He dresses words and phrases in decorative lace. Papa Gédé has no problem or shyness to say that which he sees, hears or feels.¹⁴ (Frankétienne 1987, 12)

Gédé's lack of shame allows the articulation of an erotics of women-loving-women that turns "*mdevinez*" from derogatory epithet into passionate poetic embellishment: "The smell of the divinity along the celestial route of the rainbow, dyke-route, dyke-mouth, open up the path as if cutting through the middle of a pineapple"¹⁵ (Frankétienne 1987, 249).

Similarly, Gédé's voice in Frankétienne's Adjanoumelezo locates the source of sexual desire of men for men in the phallus of Dambala, the snake god. Paralleling his earlier beautification of "*mdevinez*," Frankétienne explains the effeminacy of the "*masisi*" as divine in nature, coming about through male devotion to Lasirenn.

Frankétienne writes:

Wow! Wow! Wow! I am hot. I take a deep breath opening my mouth like the crab to exclaim hip! hip! hurrah! I am sucking on the head of a serpent. I am twisting the serpent's meat. I am eating the cock's vein. I am groping the tailbone. The mermaid calls the faggot sweet things, honey, cherry and mounts him. Oh boy! Oh boy! Oh boy!¹⁶ (Frankétienne 1987, 513)

In fact, Frankétienne's spiralist word play leads us to the origins of the word *Masisi* in the Fon language of Benin and Togo :

Mami Wata is about fertility, femaleness, and beauty. Mostly women become Mamisis; men who become Mamisis are particularly good-looking and often dress and plait their hair like women (Rosenthal 1998, 118).

The African counterpart of Haitian Lasirenn is Mami Wata, whose initiates, Mamisis—read: *Masisis*—embody the femininity of the deity. The Fon term for initiates of the sea goddess becomes in Haiti a referent to male homosexuality.

While Frankétienne's Adjanoumelezo honors the full pantheon of Vodou laws—Dambala's horse is on at the crossroads, torn apart. In order to go higher and farther, we ask Legba to open the barrier for us. We glide and descend into the fire of Ogun. We are troubling Simbi's water¹⁷ (Frankétienne 1987, 60)—Géde and Lasirenn occupy a primordial role in the narrative, the first because of this unbridled sexuality and the second because of her associations to same-sex loving male initiates..

In Anne Lescot and Laurence Magloire's film Des Hommes et Dieux, *masisis* owe their desire not to Lasirenn, but to Ezili Dantò—the eternal mother spirit and a lwa who some consider to be a lesbian (Rene & Houlberg 1998, 299). With the backdrop of marketplaces, hair saloons, Vodou temples, sacred waterfalls and dance clubs in Haiti, this groundbreaking film gives voice to a range of Haitian *masisis*, most of whom explain their same sex desire as stemming from their spiritual connection to Dantò.² There is Blondine, who sells tobacco snuff in the Port-au-Prince street market, as passersby mock him for his effeminate demeanor, appearance and trade. He is tired of the insults in Haiti and would like to move to the Dominican Republic someday. He says that “the lwa spoiled me”¹⁸ and that his father accepts his orientation as “something sacred”¹⁹. There is Denis, who we see at an *Ounfò* singing to Dantò “Mother, where are you?”²⁰. There is Innocente who also feels he has been the victim of prejudice because “people are uneducated”²¹. His public humiliations have lessened a great deal since he became an *Oungan*, or Vodou priest. His family accepts him because it is “bagay mistik” caused by

Ezili. He has adopted his sister's child, acting out of the maternal instinct with which Erzulie has gifted him. All these men use Kreyòl terms to name their lived experience : *masisi, madevinez, en kache*. None use “gay,” “lesbian,” or “the closet.”

However, class divisions in Haiti become clear when the interviewees with a higher degree of education and better command of French come on the screen. Fritzner, an *Oungan*, says that people are born like this, and that placing the origin of same-sex desire on Dantò is rubbish. In his Frenchified Creole, he uses French terms to define same-sex desire: “homosexuelle,” “homo,” and “lesbienne.” Speaking in French, Érol also speaks of “homos” and “héteros.” He explains that queer men say that have been called by Ezili in order to avoid Western taboos and find safety in the refuge a religion of tolerance. According to his reasoning, men who love men choose Dantò, rather than her choosing them. They know that she is a mother who accepts her children just the way they are. She will not turn them away. However, his reason does not prevent him from accepting that in the phenomenon of trance possession something quite transcendental occurs with respect to gender. He acknowledged that when men lend their bodies to Dantò these male bodies are transformed by the femininity of the goddess. Similarly, he believes that Ogun is able to transform the spirit of a woman into a man's.

While the film exposes the hardship of being a sexual minority in a country not always friendly to difference, its narrative is not one of tragedy, but of joy in the face of adversity and of the hope of overcoming difficulties. For instance, the dancers at the *kompas* club underscore the health dangers of casual sex in the country with the highest incidence of HIV infection in the Western Hemisphere. Nevertheless, there is catharsis for this anxiety, and the homophobia, at the ritual bathing at the St. Jacques waterfalls.

The film is to be commended in its giving voice to men from a wide range of social classes and professions. However, the film is not always sensitive to issues of language when it translates *masisi* and *madvinez* in the subtitles using First World terminologies. Furthermore, the film should be critiqued for its foregrounding of the troubling issue of causality: i.e. what makes these men gay? Perhaps a more helpful question ought to have been: What accounts for the large numbers of people who are non-heteronormative in these religions? Such a question would have likely yielded a fruitful exploration on the non-binary quality of Vodou, a multiplicity beyond the dualism of maleness and femaleness, and an elucidation of how the phenomenon of possession allows cross-gender identifications.

Unlike the Western idea of a unitary self that is fixed within the body, the African diasporic philosophical-religious tradition conceives 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 non-compliant identities that are usually constrained by normative heteropatriarchy. Haitian literary works like René Depestre Hadriana dans tous mes rêves, Frankétienne's Adjanoumelezo and filmic ones like Lescot and Magloire's Des Hommes et Dieux illustrate this modular and transcorporeal view of the African Diasporic self in their representations of trance possession, uses of ritual containers and the phenomenon of zombification.

This view contrasts sharply with the Western philosophical tradition which 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. He writes,

The internalization wrought by the modern age, of which Descartes' 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 (Taylor 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 man's search for an identity that lies beyond himself, 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 Discourse on Method, Descartes reasons how even if the mind or soul might be within the body, the two remain distinct parts of the individual. Descartes' concern here is to negate the full absorption of the soul by the body in the process of subjective internalization. The two remain distinct entities, even if one resides within the other. Apart from remarking on Descartes' 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. Descartes believes that the possibility of the body to be separated into parts implies that it is of a different nature than the indivisible mind/soul. In fact, Western

philosophy will not be able to develop a discourse for the parts of the mind until the twentieth century with Freud's "The Ego and the Id" and by Sartre's L'être et le néant.

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 "rubber hand illusion." In that illusion, people hide one hand in their lap and look at the rubber hand set on a table in front of them. As a researcher strokes the real hand and the rubber 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. According to the August, 2007 issue of Science, two different research teams led by Ehrsson H. Henrik and Binga Lenggenhager created whole-body illusions with similar manipulations, this time through the use of virtual-reality technology. The subjects wear 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 can and 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 their exposure of subjective inwardness as an illusion. In Caliban's Reason, 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 (Henry 2000, 43) . . . 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. (Henry 2000, 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 through 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. In African Philosophical Thought, Kuame Gyekye presents a tripartite plan of the self comprised 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, Kwasi Wiredu explains Gyekye's systematization of Akan personhood by comparing it with Descartes' 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. (Montilus 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, Margarite Fernández Olmos and Lizabeth Paravisini-Gebert define these two elusive terms as “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 (Fernández Olmos 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 (Métraux 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 person. In the case of trance possession, the *gwobonanj* surrenders its place and its authority to the *mèt tet*, “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 this notion of the *mèt tet*, 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*. (McCarthy Brown 1991, 112-113)

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 *mèt tet* 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 de Muñoz), the personal

soul or self (Deren 1970, 44). The *tibonanj* is described as the anonymous, protective, objective conscience that is the truthful and objective, the impersonal spiritual component of the individual (Deren 1970, 44), whose domain also encompasses moral considerations and arbitration (Agosto de Muñoz 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. For example, Desmangles ascribes to the *tibonanj* characteristics that most scholars attribute to the *gwobonaj*: “the ti-bon-anj is the ego-soul. It represents the unique qualities that characterize an individual’s personality” (Desmangles 1992, 67).

Comparisons to Western philosophy underscore her 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). Similarly, Wade Davis 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” (Davis 1986, 185). Furthermore, Davis says that the *tibonanj* travels during sleep (Davis 1986, 182), while most scholars agree that it is the *gwobonanj* who does so (McCarthy Brown 2006, 9) (Montilus 2006, 4).

In addition to the *gwobonanj*, *tibonanj* and the *mèt tet*, there remain three components of Vodou concept of personhood. The *nam* is the “sprit 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” it is “the individual’s star of destiny” (Davis 1986, 185). The *kòr kadav* 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 assimilation of Western philosophical concepts by the Haitian intelligentsia and its imposition to Vodou is what has been responsible for inaccurate understandings of trance possession: “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, 120). 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:

Even if the phenomenon of possession—trance or ecstasy—implies among Vodou practitioners 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 is 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.²² (Mars 1928, 128)

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 on Vodou:

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 quote is helpful for us in that it helps 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. As a Haitian scholar, Métraux writes in the interstices between African and European philosophies. He describes trance possession using an ambiguous language

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

The relationship between the *loa* and the man 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’s Go Tell my Horse (1937) and Katherine Dunham’s Island Possessed (1969) articulates the language used by the initiates themselves.

As we have seen, 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. This explains the type of regendering of the body of initiates in ritual contexts that characterizes the representation of Vodouisants in Haitian cultural production.

Notes :

1. Incapables d’admettre l’arrêt du cœur qui a terrassé Nana au pied de l’autel, des Jacméliens à l’imagination nécrophile ont réincorporé leur fille à un conte de fées. La disparition de son corps du sépulcre était l’épisode qui menait à son terme ce saut dans un imaginaire aux prises avec la peur de la mort. [All Translations are my own.]

2. J'étais Simbi-la-Source. Les dieux de vaudou m'auraient chargée de convoier à la Jamaïque une poignée d'émigrants de la région de Jacmel.
3. Dès les premières mesures de danse, saint Jacques le Majeur, chef de la famille des Ogou, monta le cheval Brévica Losange. Aussitôt possédée, la Mambo improvisa une chanson en harmonie avec les batteries.
4. Un homme à l'allure de Baron-Samedi invita des guédés présents à ses côtés à prendre le cercueil des mains apostoliques qui le portaient.
5. A vingt mètres environ du catafalque, les musiciens, dans un accord parfait, imposèrent à la fièvre générale un casse-tambour : la foule s'arrêta de danser pour mimer la raideur cadavérique d'Hadriana Siloé, faisant de la place un canton du royaume des morts.
6. Au contraire, tambours, vaccines, instruments à vent changèrent la chanson de Madame Losange en saison ensoleillée de la nuit : leur furie musicale fit alterner en chaque vivant mort et naissance, râles d'agonie et cris triomphants de l'orgasme. Le volcan musical réduisit en cendres les obstacles légendaires entre Thanatos et Éros, au-delà des interdits jetés entre les spermatozoïdes des mâles noirs et les ovules des femelles blanches. L'explosion des guédés, vivifiée par le sang chaud, mit les âmes et les corps, verges et vagins éblouis, en harmonie cosmique avec l'espoir fou d'arracher Nana Siloé à la mort et d'allumer de nouveau l'étoile de sa chair dans notre vie.
7. Je m'arrêtai d'abord devant un groupe d'hommes déguisés en femmes. Pour simuler un état de grossesse avancée, ils avaient placé sous leurs robes de satin vert des oreillers et des coussins. Ils avaient des poitrines et des fesses de vénus callipyges. En appui sur

des gourdins, les travestis bavardaient avec des personnages enveloppés dans des draps blancs.

8. 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.

9. 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.

10. J'étais saisie de violentes convulsions internes. Tous mes os vibraient à se rompre. J'ai sombré dans un cauchemar à l'intérieur de mon cauchemar. J'étais une âme volée. On a séparé mon petit bon ange de mon gros bon ange. On a enfermé le premier dans une calebasse pour l'emmenager à dos de mule dans un pénitencier d'âmes dans la montagne du Haut-Cap-Rouge. Le second, le bras liés derrière les dos, a été poussé à coups de fouet comme un âne, dans une direction opposée. Tout lien a été rompu entre mes deux formes d'être.

11. Ce lieu de détention a été aménagé pour recevoir les âmes embouteillées des chrétiens-vivants condamnés à une peine privative de liberté spirituelle. Le régime cellulaire consiste à mettre en bouteilles l'imaginaire des individus changés en morts-

vivants. Les bouteilles que vous allez voir sont des oubliettes en verre, cristal, métal, faïence, cuir, bois, grès !

12. 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*. . .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.

13. Dans le siphon d'eau de seltz est détenu un peintre macici

14. PapaGédé trase vèvè ak tilètfen pou bèl plezi sou fey papye. Li jwe ak mo jan li pito. Li koud mo, brase mo, bowde mo. Li taye mo gangans pou abiye pawòl bòzò, dechètè fraz ak bèl dantèl chèlbè. PapaGédé pa gen pwoblèm ni lawontéz ni lakrentif pou di sa li wè, sa li tandè, sa li santi.

15. Lang zo doubout lemante boboun lakansyèl. Odè chalé divininite lavoutselès madivinout madivinbouch louvri chemen ozannanna lan mitan pwèl jòf latoudlin mète'm sou sa

16. Wouy ! Wouy ! Wouy ! Boubounn mwen cho ap kontrakte hip hip hip dekalann yanyan kalmason lan djòl krab respirasyon gwosouf hip hip hip huraa ! Konyen mwen pran chè. M'ap souse piwouli tèt sèpan. M'ap moulen vyann koulèv. M'ap manje venn zozo. M'ap vale goupion zokoupyon zokòksis. Alsiyis lasirèn monte gam simidò similò lan mizik *masisi*, dyèz ak bemòl, sirèn siflèt, sirèt siwo, siwèl sikren, sisilibon. Wouch ! Wouch ! Wouch !

17. Alapòt chwal dambala soule lan kalfou demanbre. Pou rive pi wo pi lwen , nou mande atibonlegba louvri baryè nou. N'ap file glise desann lan dife ogoun, lan van liko. N'ap chire dlo simbi andezo
18. Lwa gate'm
19. Bagay Mistik
20. "Maman kote ou ye?"
21. Moun pa eklere
22. Quoiqu'il en soit, 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.

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