

“i got voodoo, i got  
hoodoo’: ethnography  
and its objects in disney’s  
*the Princess and the Frog*”  
elizabeth pérez

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## ABSTRACT

Since the 2009 release of Disney's *The Princess and the Frog*, critiques from within religious studies have focused on the role of its villain, Dr. Facilier, and its stereotypical distortions of Haitian Vodou. These are but a fraction of the allusions made to Black Atlantic traditions, however. Several scenes contain artifacts pulled from the material cultures of Afro-Brazilian Umbanda and Quimbanda, as well as Afro-Cuban Abakuá, Palo Mayombe, and Lucumí. I establish that filmmakers not only accessed a broader range of ethnographically-informed sources than has been acknowledged, but also engaged in their own ethnographic data collection with Vodou and "Yorùbá" priestess Ava Kay Jones. As a result, the film reproduces an extensively-documented discourse promulgated by practitioners of Afro-Diasporic religions concerning the (im)morality of magic. The film even follows Jones and the foundational scholarly literature on Black Atlantic traditions in furnishing characters with ethnically differentiated props and dwellings, coded as either proximate (Black and West African) or Other (Caribbean and Central African). I argue that filmmakers erred primarily in harboring a Protestant normative bias and depicting objects endowed with agency according to the logic of the fetish. I conclude by proposing strategies for more ethically viable future representation of Black Atlantic traditions.

Elizabeth Pérez is Associate Professor of Religious Studies at the University of California, Santa Barbara. Her first book, *Religion in the Kitchen: Cooking, Talking, and the Making of Black Atlantic Traditions* (New York University Press, 2016) won the 2017 Clifford Geertz Prize in the Anthropology of Religion from the Society for the Anthropology of Religion, and received Honorable Mention for the Caribbean Studies Association's 2019 Barbara T. Christian Literary Award. She has published widely in edited volumes and scholarly journals. Her current research project examines the challenges faced by transgender people as religious actors in the contemporary United States.  
eperez@religion.ucsb.edu

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If ethnography is (also) fiction, how much fiction is ethnography?  
—Michel-Rolph Trouillot<sup>1</sup>

In the decade-plus since the 2009 release of *The Princess and the Frog*, the film has garnered both reproach and accolades for introducing the first African American “princess” in the history of Walt Disney Studios, Tiana. On the one hand, she spends most of her time on screen as a frog, appearing as a young woman for only a little over half an hour (Turner 2013). On the other hand, Tiana’s portrayal does (mostly) diverge from the racist caricatures that Disney has promoted since the dawn of cinema (McCoy Gregory 2010). The same cannot be said for the movie’s villain, Dr. Facilier. Critiques from within the field of religious studies have seized on his role in the film, as when Michelle A. González Maldonado (2010) decried the movie for its travesty of the Vodou deities, or *lwas*:

The [*lwas*] are represented as evil spirits full of greed and anger. The masks themselves are vengeful, and end up killing Dr. Facilier when, in inevitable Disney fashion, his evil plan fails. This climax occurs, of course, in a graveyard, reaffirming the film association of Voodoo with death. . . . Disney Voodoo is bad magic; it just doesn’t have anything to do with the authentic African Diaspora religion.

Other scholars have since registered their dismay (Ulysse 2010; Bostic 2011; McGee 2012; Paul, Luce, and Blank 2013).

In his most memorable musical number, Dr. Facilier (the “Shadow Man”) boasts, “I got voodoo, I got hoodoo—I got things I ain’t even tried!” Set in New Orleans, *The Princess and the Frog* conflates the African American religious formations sometimes called conjure or rootwork with Haitian Vodou, yet these are but a fraction of the allusions made to Black Atlantic traditions. Several scenes contain artifacts pulled from the material cultures of Afro-Brazilian Umbanda and Quimbanda, as well as Afro-Cuban Abakuá, Palo Mayombe, and Lucumí. It has been established that Disney accessed foundational texts about Afro-Diasporic religious formations to win over Black viewers with its knowing citation of “Africanisms” (Breux 2010; Samuel 2016). In fact, the studio went further, and conceived the figure of Mama Odie in formal consultation with Ava Kay Jones, a Black American priestess initiated in Vodou and “Yorùbá” (a “re-Africanized” form of Lucumí, also called Santería) (Capone 2017). Disney staff effectively conducted ethnographic research with Jones as an informant.

This article contends that filmmakers synthesized their interviews with Jones and ethnographic accounts of Black Atlantic traditions to sharpen the dramatic conflict between religion and “bad magic.” In so doing, *The Princess and the Frog* reproduced an extensively-documented discourse promulgated by practitioners of Afro-Diasporic religions—such as Jones herself—concerning the (im)morality of ritual actions performed solely to cause injury or generate wealth. Filmmakers followed

Jones not only in condemning such acts as sorcery, but also in coding them as either “Congo” or creole Caribbean in origin. Although the film does traffic in clichés, I argue that filmmakers hewed to ethnographic sources with a surprising degree of fidelity, and erred primarily in harboring a Protestant normative bias that denies the importance of material things in Afro-Diasporic religions. Indeed, *The Princess and the Frog* (hereafter *TPATF*) disallowed any moral investment of power in objects and depicted those endowed with agency according to the logic of the fetish. Since these narrative decisions precluded the film from visualizing Black Atlantic traditions in an ethically viable manner, I conclude by proposing strategies for future representation.

### **The Consultant in the Dr.’s Shadow**

In December 2006, Disney’s casting call for *TPATF* was posted online. In it, Dr. Facilier’s prototype surfaced for the first time, under a different title (Daniels 2006):

[DR. DUVALIER] A 30–40 year old Voodoo magician/fortune teller. African American. Charming, charismatic, smooth and a sinister bad guy. Theatrical and grandiose. Dialect: Elegant, possibly New Orleans Creole.<sup>2</sup>

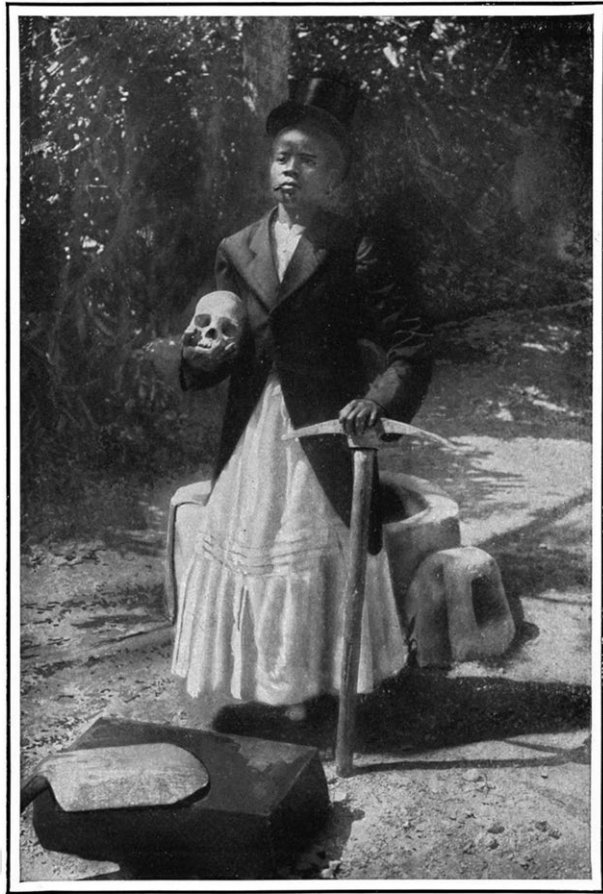
Preliminary illustrations for Dr. Duvalier closely resembled the Iwa Bawon Samdi, as impersonated in a range of cinematic genres. Along with the zombi, Bawon Samdi was introduced to the North American public shortly after the United States invaded Haiti in 1915 (Hurbon 1995). Marines stationed in Haiti produced travelogues embroidering the mythology of the zombi. No civilian’s account was more influential than William Seabrook’s sensationalistic *The Magic Island* (1929), inspiring the first film on the theme, 1932’s “White Zombi.” Hollywood seized on Bawon Samdi’s image simultaneously, probably spurred by the photo essay on “Papa Nebo” and the family of top-hatted “Gouédé” in Seabrook’s book (Figure 1).

For those who serve the Vodou spirits, Gede Iwas personify the communal dead. When the most famous Gede, Bawon Samdi, incorporates the bodies of initiates in spirit possession, they may be dressed in top hats and suit coats, their faces whitened with powder to signify the pallor of death. Despite Bawon Samdi’s penchant for cracking sexual and scatological jokes, he adores children and listens patiently to adults’ most intimate problems (Brown 2001 [1991]), 375). No Hollywood movie has ever featured a virtuous Bawon, however, and the name of *TPATF*’s villain initially referenced the U.S.-supported dictatorships of François “Papa Doc” Duvalier (1957–1971) and Jean-Claude “Baby Doc” Duvalier (1971–1986). It was changed to Facilier only after a barrage of criticism. Writer and co-director John Musker accepted the blame in an interview now scrubbed from the internet: “I had named him that and I thought it was a

**FIG 1**

Photograph from *The Magic Island* (1929) by William Seabrook, with "Papa Nebo, Hermaphroditic Oracle of the Dead, Garbed as Half Man, Half Woman," the prototype for Hollywood depictions of Bawon Samedi.

Q5 Samedì.



"Papa Nebo," Hermaphroditic Oracle of the Dead, Garbed as Half Man, Half Woman.

fun name. Of course there is a Doc Duvalier who was the dictator of Haiti. I knew that but I thought who's going to know?" (Von Riedemann 2007).<sup>3</sup>

Papa Doc turned his mystique to political advantage, wearing a brimmed hat, jacket, and glasses comparable to those worn by Bawon Samedi. To intimidate adversaries, Duvalier circulated rumors that he was a sorcerer, or *bòkò* (Johnson 2006). The same term recurs in interviews with *TPATF*'s filmmakers. During one roundtable discussion, Musker was quoted as saying, "Early on in our script [co-director] Ron [Clements] called Facilier the Shadow Man, based on some of the bokkurs of New Orleans, fortune tellers and voodoo practitioners who would sell you charms to help your love life or curse your enemies." Clements added,

Dr. Facilier is based on the New Orleans "Bokur." These are loners who've broken away from the Voodoo religion, made pacts with dark Voodoo spirits and sell magic for money. As Ava Kay told us "these spells almost always backfire, as easy answers are really no answers at all." (Noyer 2010)

The unfamiliar word *bokur* was intended to signal that *TPATF*'s presentation of Voodoo would be authentic, in implicit contrast with previous renderings.

The word has rarely been applied in the context of New Orleans (Ott 1991) and nowhere does "New Orleans bokor" (or any orthographic variant thereof) occur in print or online prior to the promotional campaign for *TPATF*. I suspect that the phrase should be attributed to the "Ava Kay" mentioned by Clements, Ava Kay Jones. Jones was initiated into Vodou in Haiti and the Yorùbá tradition in Atlanta after earning a law degree at Loyola University.<sup>4</sup> Once employed by the Voodoo Museum (Ott 1991), she became the "Officia Voodoo Priestess of the NFL" after lifting the Superdome Curse from the New Orleans Saints football stadium in a 2000 televised event. Jones founded and performs in the Voodoo Macumba Dance Ensemble with a boa constrictor; Macumba is an (often derogatory) umbrella term for Afro-Brazilian "black magic" and/or Candomblé.

Filmmakers gave Jones the credit for inspiring their "fairy godmother" figure (Kurtti 2009, 8). Despite their efforts to make Jones' involvement seem fun and casual (Stanford-Jones 2009), her agent's website clarifies that she was hired to provide information: "Ava Kay Jones ... met with a Disney Pixar team at Commander's Palace Restaurant, and she shared with them her colorful family history. As a result of that meeting, Ava Kay was asked to be a consultant for the film."<sup>5</sup> Disney Studios retains several types of consultants in its various divisions, and it has formally identified as such those "cultural insiders" employed in advisory roles for films about underrepresented minority groups. For instance, Disney enlisted the aid of Mattaponi tribal elder and Powhatan nation storyteller Shirley Custalow McGowan (Little Dove) for the 1995 *Pocahontas* (Ward 2002, 37).<sup>6</sup> She later repudiated the film, and this may have led Disney to demand that future consultants sign a more restrictive legally binding non-disclosure agreement (NDA) than hitherto required.<sup>7</sup>

Jones has not spoken publicly about *TPATF*, and her contribution has thus far excited little interest. While the lack of attention has insulated her against censure for the filmmakers' more egregious decisions, it has effectively erased the Black woman most responsible for the arc of the movie.<sup>8</sup> Born on Halloween, the charismatic Jones was straight out of central casting, with an extensive paper trail of newspaper interviews and profiles in scholarly and trade publications. The filmmakers liberally alluded to her hyperlocal bona fides as a means of legitimating their narrative choices, and it is possible that they settled on her words as a post-hoc rationale after they had already determined the course of their plot. Citing Jones' imprimatur might have been the kind of tricky misdirection known in African American Vernacular English (AAVE) as an *okey-doke*: a "nonsensical swindle, clever surplusage, distracting jive, tactical pabulum" meant to deflect criticism of a racist incident or situation (Troutt 2013, 125).



Even so, filmmakers' accounts of Jones' input are consistent with her statements, and their repetition of related phrases when addressing the role of magic in *TPATF* implies that they crafted a rhetorical strategy placing its treatment in her more knowledgeable hands. A nuanced evaluation of Jones' influence obliges us to consider their dialogues with her not simply as a public relations gambit (although this it inarguably was) but also as a fundamental component of applied ethnography. Using Jones as a native informant, the *TPATF* team sought to "write culture," or at least enough of it to lend their film a veneer of authenticity. Although sufficient information does not exist to determine whether the filmmakers complied with normative protocols for corporate ethnography (Cayla and Arnould 2013; Nafus and Anderson 2006), Disney has commissioned ethnographic studies from firms like the Center for Cultural Studies & Analysis—a Philadelphia-based "pop-culture consulting company" and "think tank"—to design immersive spaces and predict product use (Lukas 2013, 42; Barnes 2009b; Armstrong, Adam, Denize, and Kotler 2015).

While scholars have conducted illuminating ethnographies of its theme parks, institutional culture, and planned communities (Fjellman 1992; Project on Disney, 1995; Stewart 2005), Disney's engagement with film consultants has yet to be theorized as a form of ethnographic data collection. Disney's consultants have nevertheless tendered expertise regarding historical and social relationships in specific temporal-geographical settings, then presented their observations as evidence for broader cultural patterns. The inferences gleaned from this evidence have then been integrated into scripts and visuals meant to exemplify characters' worldviews. In this sense, Disney's representational practices have been analogous to those of art and natural history museums (Karp and Lavine 1991; Sturge 2007). In keeping with other ethnographic approaches, curatorial policies are ineluctably political, entailing the endorsement of certain narratives over others and exhibiting contested objectifications of emergent cultural forms (Kahn 2000).

Like those of museums, Disney's representational practices have both sustained dominant discourses—of race/ethnicity, gender/sexuality, class, and religion, in the case of *TPATF*—and generated fictions that have gone on to shape very real social identities (Kratz 2013). Among the world's top ten largest media conglomerates, Disney is unique as an image-creator, due to the sheer scale of its global operations. Its power to mold public opinion about diverse cultures should not be underestimated (Selyukh 2016). It would be worth lingering over the insights ascribed to Ava Kay Jones if only to appreciate the intellectual labor of one of the few Black women affiliated with *TPATF* at the production level. Yet careful assessment of her participation reveals Disney's truth-claims about Afro-Diasporic religions to be based on a broader set of ethnographic resources than have

been acknowledged. Filmmakers' interviews indicate coaching by Jones, but her input went further than supplying phrases like "New Orleans bokor." Jones' contribution was to challenge the filmmakers' very understanding of what Black Atlantic traditions can morally allow.

### **Voodoo vs. Hoodoo**

Upon *TPATF*'s release, reviewers noted that Disney's usual reliance on magic as a plot device had been conspicuously toned down (Kois 2009; Young Frisbie 2009; Chang 2009). In 2010, an entertainment blogger posted a question-and-answer session with Musker and Clements, and one moment in their exchange bears quoting at length:

**Musker:** In earlier versions of our story, Mama Odie gave our heroine some gris-gris, herbal charms that got "energized" in the climax. We wound up rewriting that as our gris-gris felt like a bit of a *deus ex machina*[:]

**Clements:** Mama Odie was based on Ava Kay Jones, an ordained Voodoo Priestess who we met with in New Orleans. She told us that even though magic is part of the Voodoo religion, when people come to someone like her for help, she advises them to never use magic to solve their problems. That almost always backfires. Rather they should look inside themselves for the answers. Dr. Facilier was based on the New Orleans "Bokur." People who've broken away from the religion, made pacts with dark Voodoo spirits, and sell their magic for money. (Orange 2010)

Here Clements cuts and pastes in the same language marshaled during other interviews, contrasting the "ordained" priestess—Jones/Mama Odie—with the pro-magic bokur.

This was to be last time *TPATF* filmmakers touched on an alternative happy ending dependent on a fate-altering magical object. Jones had advertised herself as a purveyor of gris-gris bags, the wearable spell-binding bundles associated with New Orleans (Illes 2007, 273), yet she resented their status as a synecdoche for Voodoo.<sup>9</sup> One newspaper article from 2002 revolves around the offense that Jones took to a flier defining gris-gris as "the power, the weapon, the force, the strength, the might, the magic, the hex, the spell, the whammy... To kick one's opponent's... posterior!... A BIG TIME JINX." In response to the flier's distribution prior to one of her performances, she wrote in a letter of complaint,

[A]s God as [*sic*] my witness, I was retained [on behalf of the New Orleans Saints]...to do a two-minute blessing along with my dance ensemble...I discussed saying such things as "the most powerful gris-gris is faith, love and vision" ... I've built my reputation on love and doing only good work. (Pitts 2002)

Jones cast herself as defending the dignity and integrity of Afro-Diasporic religions: "Everything that I put out is about



affirming African spirituality." While gris-gris bags have traditionally been assembled for a variety of reasons, Jones claimed to have a "do no evil," "blessings only" policy" (Pitts 2002).

Prior to Jones' hire by Disney, her entire persona pivoted on her commitment to virtues, values, and beliefs over gross matter and base materials (Clores 2000). In one passage from an article that contained no mention of *TPATF*, Jones expanded on her methods and point of view (Clapp 2010):

"I function mostly as a healer. I'm not killing chickens or any of that nonsense." ... "Yes, I make the gris-gris potions and perform the rituals," Jones said. "But I try to take all of the superstitions out of the Voodoo products. . . . It takes prayer, and you can use these items like a prayer cloth or the rituals as offering prayer to God."

Jones said that one of the largest misconceptions is that voodoo is evil or satanic, but "you have to make a distinction between Voodoo and Hoodoo."

As a servant of both the *Iwas* and the *Yorùbá* deities (called *òrìṣà* or *orishas*), Jones would certainly have been aware that sacrifices play essential roles in Afro-Diasporic rites of passage, ritual cleansings, and ceremonies of object consecration. But she framed her healing mandate as purifying Voodoo of irrational beliefs and encouraging the internalization of religious principles.

In a tourist guidebook from 2010 (Herczog 2010, 199), Jones stated, "People confuse negative magic with voodoo. It is not. That is not dealing with the religion of voodoo but the intent to harm. That is hoodoo. And it is not voodoo." As Yvonne P. Chireau writes (2003), hoodoo describes the geographically idiosyncratic body of medical and magical procedures originally developed by enslaved people in North America that has combined West and Central African, Amerindian, and colonial European ethno-pharmacopeias and ritual knowledge.<sup>10</sup> Hoodoo has been practiced historically in one-on-one consultations with clients and passed on through apprenticeships to Black "conjure doctors" or "roots" men and women. Voodoo in New Orleans did exist as a communal initiatory tradition prior to the 1860s, then diminished after a series of trials prosecuting female practitioners (Fandrich 2005). Thereafter, what was called Voodoo throughout the Mississippi Valley became functionally identical to hoodoo elsewhere in the South.

Jones' contrast of hoodoo with contemporary Southern Voodoo is thus a distinction without a difference, since the latter has merely referred to a regionally-specific form of hoodoo (Wehmeyer 2000; Jacobs 2001; Estes 1998). But her semantic separation of the two forms part of an Afro-Diasporic religious speech genre (Pérez 2013). For millennia, taxonomies of magic and religion have been structured in paired oppositions: "secret/public, night/day, individual/collective, anti-social/social, *vores magicae*/understandable language, coercive manipulation/

supplicative negotiation, negative gods/positive gods and so on" (Bremmer 2002, 269). Practitioners of Black Atlantic traditions often invoke these dualisms in dismissing the religions of others as sorcery or witchcraft. In Cuba, the most vilified religious formations have been Abakuá and Palo Mayombe, along with other Kongo-inspired *reglas*; in Brazil, they have been Macumba or Quimbanda (Palmié 2003; Hayes 2007). "Obeah" is anathematized in the Anglophone West Indies; "kenbwa" or "quimbois," in the French Antilles. Servants of the Iwas contrast magic performed with "Ginen" spirits—according to protocols of the Rada ritual orthodoxy or *nachon* ("nation")—with works (*travay*) of sorcery done through Petwo nachon spirits, "Bizango" rites, or *pwen* (McAlister 1995).

In reality, Black Atlantic traditions have been interdependent. Since Afro-Diasporic religions are not mutually exclusive, there is an illustrious history of multiple simultaneous affiliations and overlapping ordinations, even in the United States—as in the case of Jones (Hucks 2001; Pérez 2015). For example, many a Palo Mayombe initiate has become a Lucumí priest so as to secure the protection of both Palo forces (called *mpungus*) and orishas, while cultivating relationships with the spirit guides of Espiritismo (Matory 2009).<sup>11</sup> And no one can adequately propitiate the Iwas without maintaining good citizenship in both the Rada and Petwo nachons (among others within Vodou). The relativity of the religion/magic distinction is foregrounded when practitioners reflect on the ethics of ritual retaliation. Practitioners give Ginen spirits the license to be vindictive in the pursuit of righteous vindication; the Petwo are said to predominate justifiably when revolutionary action is warranted.<sup>12</sup>

However, one of the rhetorical strategies that practitioners have adopted to evade criticism for participating in a stigmatized religious formation has been to disparage another as fitting the "voodoo" stereotype. Practitioners have tended to be Durkheimian *avant la lettre*, professing that fast-acting, injurious, and moneymaking magic is done for clients by "loners who've broken away from" their religions. As Émile Durkheim (1965, 60) famously wrote, "There is no church of magic." His incipient social critique—that magic exists to assist those on the margins of "churchly" discourses and practices—rings particularly true in the Afro-Diasporic context. Mintz and Trouillot (1995, 130; italics in the original) observe with respect to Vodou, as in other Black Atlantic traditions, "a transformative ritual is thought to belong to sorcery rather than religion *primarily on the basis of what it does to other human beings*."

In ethnographies, oral histories, memoirs, and other primary source materials, practitioners reject the harnessing of "dark" forces for money or revenge (Paton and Forde 2012; Brazeal 2014). They speculate that others choose sorcery and witchcraft because communal worship has failed to benefit them personally—that *those people's* wants and needs exceed what normative ritual experience can provide. Sorcerers and witches are

denounced precisely as Facilier is in *TPATF*: as unscrupulous scoundrels seeking shortcuts around hard work by manufacturing points of contact with nefarious powers, eventually to be consumed by the spirits they tried to enslave (Parés and Sansi 2011). Practitioners also rebuke works of sorcery as reifying the worst elements of modern technology, rationality, and capitalist individualism. For example, when spells advance dishonorable agendas, they are said to “make progress” (Richman 2005, 164). Ava Kay Jones would have been exposed to this “hoodoo versus Voodoo” speech genre many times through mentorship by her religious elders and assimilated it as she came to inhabit an Afro-Diasporic spirit idiom (Pérez 2013).<sup>13</sup>

### Ethical/Ethnic Object Lessons

Are you ready? Are you ready?

Transformation central!

Reformation central!

Transmogrification central!

Can you feel it?

You’re changin’, you’re changin’, you’re changin’, all right!

I hope you’re satisfied—but if you ain’t, don’t blame me.

You can blame my friends on the other side.

—“Friends on the Other Side” (2009), lyrics by Randy Newman, sung by Dr. Facilier (actor Keith David)

Jones’ perspective on “African spirituality” vs. hoodoo “nonsense” was sufficiently compelling for filmmakers to change a pivotal plot point on which *TPATF*’s resolution turned. It prompted a revision of the fairy godmother archetype as well. While such figures generally advocate “magical thinking and prayer where prayer is answered and wishes and dreams come true” (Breux 2010, 401), Mama Odie does nothing but rail against “magical thinking.” In an act that mimics the water scrying of some Black Spiritual Churches (Wehmeyer 2000), she uses her gumbo as a divination tool, but she declines to convert it into a potion to turn the amphibian Tiana and Naveen back into human beings. Her motto could be *Inquire, aspire, perspire*. As she sings in her signature song, “Dig a Little Deeper”: “When you find out who you are, you’ll find out what you need.”<sup>14</sup> An Oprah Winfrey-style life coach, Mama Odie insists that self-knowledge, a clear conscience, and diligent effort obviate the necessity for magic. Dr. Facilier’s menacing locket—galvanized by Prince Naveen’s blood—is the only object in the film that evokes a gris-gris bag.

Drawing from a large pool of references, Richard Breux (2010) shows that filmmakers included historical “Africanisms” as a preemptive hedge against accusations that it did not reflect the African American experience. Pre-production sketches by animators demonstrate that they also sought to signpost Mama Odie’s embodiment of “good” Voodoo with ethnographically accurate illustrations of Vodou paraphernalia. In the movie, she bears an enchanted gourd that Adam M. McGee (2012, 249)

dubbed “a send-up of the Vodou ason,” a sacred rattle covered with beads and/or bones that acts as a staff of office among *manbo* (priestesses) and *houngan* (priests). In several pieces of concept art published or posted online by the studio, Mama Odie actually does wield an ason as if it were a magic wand (Kurtti 2009, 143–44; “Mama Odie/Gallery” 2015) (Figure 2).<sup>15</sup> In addition, she dons beads around her neck like those of Lucumí and Candomblé initiates, instead of the golden collar worn in the film.<sup>16</sup>

At some point, the decision was made to scrap these and other items. Traces of the research that went into *TPATF* nevertheless may still be glimpsed in Mama Odie’s and Facilier’s belongings. The meticulously detailed props inked into their scenes suggest more than a passing acquaintance with publications on Afro-Diasporic religions; they replicate an ethnicized binary between religion and magic documented (and historically reinforced) in that scholarship. Practitioners have not only judged some Black Atlantic traditions to be religion and others to be magic, but also classified spirits, ceremonies, and objects with West African precedents as less morally ambiguous than those with roots in the Central African Kingdom of Kongo or the circum-Caribbean creole milieu. As J. Lorand Matory (2007, 402) writes,

Particularly in Cuba and Haiti, those religious practices identified with West African origins (that is, in Nigeria and the People’s Republic of Benin) tend to be associated with communal piety and



**FIG 2**

Walt Disney Animation Studios concept art by Andreas Deja (included in the blog post “Early Mama Odie” (<https://tinyurl.com/ya3ekhhf>) and in the Mama Odie Gallery of the Disney Wiki Fandom ([https://disney.fandom.com/wiki/Mama\\_Odie/Gallery](https://disney.fandom.com/wiki/Mama_Odie/Gallery)) (accessed May 10, 2020).

the worship of esteemed gods. These traditions are called 'Ocha' or 'Lucumi' in Cuba and 'Rada' in Haiti. On the other hand, those religions widely identified with West-Central African origins (in the Democratic Republic of Congo and the Republic of Congo), which emphasize work with the spirits of the dead, are disproportionately suspected of self-protective, self-aggrandizing and even anti-social magic. These traditions are called 'Palo Mayombe' in Cuba.<sup>17</sup> In Haiti they are associated with the 'Petwo' nation and with the activities of priests known as the *bòkò*.

*TPATF* filmmakers followed suit, endowing Mama Odie with objects from African American history and West African cultures, while inundating Facilier in those from traditions coded as either "Congo" or Caribbean.

Within the last few years, a handful of practitioners on social media websites and online video-sharing platforms like YouTube have called for an end to the Black Atlantic practice of ranking ethical systems according to ethnic differences, criticizing it as divisive and discriminatory (such as Alafia 2017). The construction of ethnicized religious binaries may be most fruitfully viewed as "a form of *indigenous* Afro[-Diasporic] historiography and social analysis" (Palmié 2003, 191; italics in the original), best delineated here with reference to Vodou. The Rada nachon, or *Ginen*, has encapsulated the sweet, cool, predictable, familial, reproductive powers rooted in a nostalgic vision of the precolonial West African past. Alive with salty, hot, volatile, transactional powers, the "Congo" and creole-coded Petwo "nation" has articulated the bitterness of history (Apter 2002, 251). While practitioners have petitioned Ginen spirits cyclically to assist them in the performance of reproductive and productive labor, the fierce rhythms, gestures, and objects of Petwo rituals have been mobilized more sporadically to address the violent experiences of enslavement, wage labor, and political oppression.<sup>18</sup>

Jones has spoken with pride about the "West African heritage" of Voodoo, strategically leaving out the Central African elements of both Mississippi Valley voodoo and Haitian Vodou (Pinn 1998, 43). The ethical and ethnicized division between rival ritual orthodoxies became enshrined within the Black Atlantic "ethnographic interface" in the early twentieth century (Palmié 2013), when Afro-Diasporic religious authorities, scholars, and journalists cooperated to obtain legal status and social recognition for those traditions with the most persuasive claim to African "purity" and "authenticity" (Matory 2005). Yorùbá and Ewe-Fon-inspired traditions achieved a modicum of legitimacy at the expense of religious formations said to be "polluted" with "degenerate" Kongo (or "Bantu") cultural forms (Capone 2010). *TPATF* took its cue from this literature as well as Jones' remarks in coding Mama Odie's and Facilier's props both ethically and ethnically.

Although a few of Mama Odie's trappings are identical to those of the sorceress Tia Dalma of the *Pirates of the Caribbean* franchise



(Samuel 2016, 143), she and Tiana have a monopoly on the positive Black “survivals” in *TPATF*. In early concept art, Tiana sports a diadem that directly cites blues singer Shug Avery’s headdress in the cinematic version of Alice Walker’s novel *The Color Purple*, while Mama Odie wears a Yorùbá-style headwrap, or “gele” (Breux 2010, 402). Evincing the animators’ debt to Robert Farris Thompson’s *Flash of the Spirit: African & Afro-American Art & Philosophy* as well as Julie Dash’s 1991 *Daughters of the Dust*, Mama Odie owns a large “bottle tree” of the sort once assembled throughout the Black South to trap wayward spirits.<sup>19</sup> She also sits in a fan-backed wicker chair, which “was ubiquitous in the 1960s and 1970s, but it had particular political resonance in the context of the nascent visual iconography of black nationalism, pride in African heritage, and the black power movement” (Thompson writes 2015, 85).<sup>20</sup> Originally slated to be voiced by Oprah Winfrey, Mama Odie is thus tied to a gendered “politics of respectability” (Higginbotham 1993) and legendary era of civil rights activism.

To brand Facilier exotic and “sinister,” filmmakers deployed the iconography of “Congo”-coded and circum-Caribbean traditions. Outside Facilier’s Voodoo Emporium stands the quintessential “fetish,” a wooden Kongo *nkisi* studded with nails. Its placement and the offering dish set before it cite the threshold-dwelling orisha Elegguá.<sup>21</sup> The outside walls are graffitied with *vèvès*, the graphic signatures of the Iwas, and Facilier’s front doors bear *pontos riscados*, the sigils of Umbanda and Quimbanda published in *Flash of the Spirit* (Thompson 1983, 114). A carpet motif and doodles on the Emporium’s inside walls recall *anaforuana*, the ideographic script of the Afro-Cuban secret society Abakuá, and the cosmograms called *firmas* inscribed ritually by Palo Mayombe practitioners (Figure 3) (Thompson 1983, 252–55). The Emporium contains a Rada drum and during Facilier’s musical number “Friends on the Other Side,” his voodoo dolls beat on Petwo drums with their pins (Figures 3 and 4).<sup>22</sup> Facilier’s collection of masks—traceable to those of the 1941 B-movie *King of the Zombies*, set in the Caribbean—fuse with airborne *vèvès* to empower him (Figures 4–7).<sup>23</sup>

There is yet another tradition that cries out for attention: Roman Catholicism, a spectral presence that haunts *TPATF*.<sup>24</sup> A figurine of the Virgin Mary pops up twice on the Emporium’s floor: on the left side of the frame, as Facilier, Naveen, and his manservant enter it, and then on the right, after Facilier tosses his guests’ hats onto a skull and voodoo doll resting on a curio table. The figurine is easy to miss, but it follows the contours of the Immaculate Conception sculpture at the Voodoo Museum in New Orleans. At the Virgin’s feet lie a string of beads and a soup tureen reminiscent of those used by Lucumí initiates to hold the orishas’ consecrated objects (Figure 3). The pairing bespeaks the outmoded yet persistent gloss of Lucumí as a “syncretic” blend of Catholicism and African traditions, and the desire to equip Facilier with Afro-Diasporic Voodoo that he “ain’t even tried.”





**FIG 3**

TPATF screenshot: Prince Naveen and his valet Lawrence enter Dr. Facilier's Voodoo Emporium. Such screenshots are considered fair use, especially when shown to critically engage the film in question.



**FIG 4**

TPATF screenshot: Dr. Facilier/Bawon Samedi with masks, drums, voodoo dolls, & vèvès (in the air and inscribed on the drums).

Catholicism reasserts itself more aggressively in the Emporium's architecture. It is designed on the model of a basilica, with a central nave, vault, and consultation table that occupies the space where an altar would be in a Catholic church. Facilier's table sits on the highest of three steps, called a *predella* in the context of sacramental architecture, and his high-backed wooden chair mirrors the *cathedra*, or throne, of a bishop (Figure 8).<sup>25</sup> The

**FIG 5**

*TPATF* screenshot: Dr. Facilier's masks-cum-talismans come to life over the heads of Lawrence and Prince Naveen.



**FIG 6**

Screenshot from *King of the Zombies* (1941), directed by Jean Yarbrough, in which the villain Dr. Sangre wears an oversized fanged mask.



**FIG 7**

*TPATF* screenshot: Dr. Facilier's "friends on the other side."



embroidered curtains behind him reference both theater drapes and baldachins (the cloth canopies suspended over Catholic and Lucumí altars) (Brown 1993, 46). By contrast, Mama Odie's living quarters bring to mind the layout of a Protestant church, with a bathtub in place of a baptismal font, and a pulpit raised two and a half steps up from the floor. Backed by a choir of flamingo singing and dancing on tiered risers, Mama Odie mounts the pulpit to preach a sermon to Naveen during her gospel number,

"Dig a Little Deeper" (Figure 9). When it culminates in the lyrics, "All you need is some self-control/Make yourself a brand-new start," the bottles on the tree branches and Spanish moss outside merge into aniconic, abstract-patterned stained-glass windows.

While Mama Odie ministers to her small congregation, Facilier presides over a parody of a Catholic service. According to the doctrine of transubstantiation, when priests celebrate the Sacrifice of the Mass, the bread (usually a small wafer) and wine change into the body and blood of Christ. After Facilier tells his guests' fortunes with cards, he asks, "Come on boys, would you shake a poor sinner's hand?" Their handshakes seal a pact between them, triggering the nightmarish revelation of the emporium's true nature as a portal to the underworld. As Facilier chants the epigraph for this section, his masks spring into action, and he fetches an amulet in the shape of a smaller mask from the mouth of a horned figure with pointed teeth. At the climax

**FIG 8**  
TPATF screenshot: Facilier's consultation table.



**FIG 9**  
TPATF screenshot: Mama Odie at the pulpit with her flamingo choir .



of “Friends on the Other Side,” he pricks Naveen’s finger with the amulet’s fangs while intoning the line, “Transmogrification central!” Facilier’s human sacrifice converts his victim’s blood into a talisman and turns his body into a frog’s.

More than any anti-Catholic prejudice, *TPATF* displays a Protestant normative bias that vitiates the necessity of religious objects and demonizes transformative action in ritual. This bias may be confirmed by turning to the one scene set in a Catholic church. Tiana and Naveen marry twice: once as frogs in the bayou, with Mama Odie officiating, and the second time as humans, with no sacerdotal witness, in a near-exact replica of New Orleans’ St. Louis Cathedral. The animators have preserved the saints above and around the altar, as well as other distinguishing features of this historical landmark. But the reredos, or decorative panel behind the altar, has been Protestantized: the carving of the monstrance between two angels is blurred and cropped so that it no longer contains an icon of the Eucharistic host. Its effacement renders explicit what remains implicit throughout the film. It has no room for favorable representation of an object that contains a “Real Presence” of the divine, even within an unambiguously Christian context.

### **Facilier’s Fetishes**

*TPATF*’s Protestant normative bias is what prevents it from representing Afro-Diasporic traditions in an ethically defensible fashion, rather than its interpretation of hoodoo’s “bad magic.” Mama Odie cannot be portrayed as a conjure woman according to ethnographic precedent because this would entail the admission that such a person can and does invest power in objects. As the film’s moral voice, Mama Odie discounts things as vehicles for intentions and disdains status symbols. In *TPATF*, the visual is a metonym for the sensory, and her blindness literalizes her obliviousness to property and material goods. She has such little concern for possessions that she tosses a gourd into a row of pots and proves absolutely indifferent when one shatters. Her bare-walled abode is cluttered with artifacts from the boat’s shrimping days that she did not care enough about to clear away. Her container-filled shelves bring to mind a rural home’s pantry, rather than a Latinx botánica or New Orleans hoodoo shop. Viewers catch sight of mushrooms, chilies, and garlic, instead of herbs and roots; her gumbo is spiced with nothing stronger than Tabasco sauce, and only at Tiana’s urging.

Facilier, on the other hand, incarnates *TPATF*’s critique of materiality. The film clings to a Protestant normative semiotic ideology that organizes its representational economy, to borrow two concepts elaborated by Webb Keane. Contingent on historical processes, “semiotic ideologies are not just about signs, but about what kinds of agentive subjects and acted-upon objects might be found in the world” (Keane 2003, 419). “Representational economy” refers to “the dynamic

interconnections among different modes of signification at play within a particular historical and social formation" (Keane 2003, 410). Birgit Meyer has most fruitfully applied these concepts to the analysis of film, tracing the encompassment of indigenous African discourses and practices by a cinematic Protestant semiotic ideology (Meyer 2011; Meyer 2015). *TPATF* categorizes persons as the only legitimate subjects; these can include animals and human beings, but not things conventionally referred to as inanimate.

The drums, statues, and masks so integral to Facilier's persona are all granted varying degrees of agency.<sup>26</sup> Such agentive objects are cast as fetishes: worthless items irrationally endowed with malevolent power over their owner (Pietz 1985). *TPATF*'s semiotic ideology has roots in Reformation-era debates about human freedom, mediation, and the possibility of moral behavior with respect to things.<sup>27</sup> Emerging as the transatlantic slave trade was approaching its height, Protestant normative semiotic ideologies became embedded in nominally secular representational practices and racialized in the logic of the fetish. The conceptual diffusion of the fetish through Enlightenment philosophy and foundational Western political thought need not be rehearsed here (Pietz 1982; Johnson 2014; Matory 2018). Yet it bears remembering that the author of *A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea* (1705), Calvinist Willem Bosman, used "offering-papist" as a synonym for "Fetischeer" (Hendriksen 2015, 162). Although early anti-fetishists counted Papists among their chief targets of scorn, both Catholic and Protestant evangelical enterprises would later proceed from Bosman's assumption that Africans misattributed agency to objects and failed to reckon ethical and economic value properly (Keane 1997, 678).<sup>28</sup>

*TPATF*'s most potent fetish is not the amulet fed with Naveen's blood, but money. Karl Marx drew on the ethnographic account of African fetishism in Charles de Brosses' theory of religion to develop his model of commodity fetishism (Pietz 1985, 11), and it is of paramount relevance here. Facilier carries the personification of objects at the heart of Marx's critique to an extreme (Marx 1992, 168). In thrall to a cathected object that promises fulfillment of every fantasy, he tells Naveen, "Freedom takes green... It's the green, it's the green, it's the green you need!" To his manservant, Facilier says, "You and I both know the real power in this world ain't magic. It's money. Buckets of it." Facilier's sacrifice of Naveen to the amulet—misunderstood as an inherently valuable generator of capital—epitomizes his objectification of persons. By contrast, Mama Odie repudiates any equivalence between human beings and money, singing, "Money ain't got no soul/Money ain't got no heart!" Only the "use value" of commodities interest her. Similarly, for Tiana, money is merely the means to an end rather than a good in itself.

## Digging Deeper

By film industry standards, *TPATF* underperformed at the box office (Ness 2016). It was meant to end Disney's "dreck-to-video" streak and resurrect the zombi of the hand-drawn feature-length movie: "In February 2006, John Lasseter and Ed Catmull, the visionaries of Pixar, arrived in Burbank, California, eager to revitalize the lifeblood of Walt Disney Animation" (Kurtti 2009, 8). *TPATF* animators dropped hints that they deemed Facilier's craft akin to their own; for example, when he tells the fortune of Naveen's lackey, his tarot cards jump to life in classic flipbook style. Disney likewise relied on a sleight of hand to gain a loyal audience. The studio wanted to "cash in" on ethnographically attested features of Afro-Diasporic religions while painting morality in black-and-white terms. Long before her employment by Disney, Jones had assumed a problematic position in advertising herself as "a spokeswoman for Voodooists everywhere" (McGee 2012). But just as the flocked damask of the Voodoo Emporium's wallpaper morphs into skulls and crossbones when Facilier's shadow falls across it, *TPATF*'s Protestant normative bias distorted the information that Jones contributed.

The architectural environments inhabited by Mama Odie and Facilier teem with appropriated artifacts coded as either proximate (Black and West African) or Other (Caribbean and Central African). As in the case of voodoo sorcery, these hyperrealistic simulacra came to exert dangerous force over their prototypes, having acquired the agency to stand in for Black Atlantic traditions through their imitative precision (Gell 1998, 40). As Kameelah Martin Samuel writes (2016, 169), "The Disneyfication of histories, cultural narratives, and myths is one of the most lasting types of epistemic violence perpetuated against marginalized groups." To witness the material violence of "Disneyfication," one need look no further than the media coverage after Hurricane Katrina hit New Orleans on August 29, 2005, or when a 7.0-magnitude earthquake rocked Haiti on January 12, 2010, while *TPATF* was still playing in theaters (Napier, Mandisodza, Andersen, and Jost 2006; Bellegarde-Smith 2011). In both cases, reports of "wicked," devil-cursed residents dabbling in Voodoo fueled apathy and enabled a fatally inadequate emergency response.

Fans of *TPATF* have stressed the importance for Black and brown-skinned children of having heroines with whom to identify, and future representational practices should eschew the pervasive "whitewashing" of underrepresented minority characters. The ethnographic objects in the film need only have been reframed so as to offer a plausible vision of "true African Diaspora religion." Rather than erasing Facilier's drums, masks, and statues, the film could have comically revealed Mama Odie's possession of the same objects, activated to more constructive ends. Her sermon in "Dig a Little Deeper" could have stayed the same, accompanied with a winking aside at the fact



that some of the best Christians have been the most respected conjurers (Chireau 2003).<sup>29</sup> Black pastors and holy women have historically implemented techniques of conjuration in church services and at home; Mama Odie might have nodded to them and let slip that the “Good Book” moonlights as a grimoire throughout the Black Atlantic world.

In song lyrics or dialogue, the film could have acknowledged the provenance of ceremonial objects and the points along the “Diasporic horizon” (Johnson 2007) of which they are emblematic: Port-au-Prince, Havana, Harlem, Salvador da Bahia, and beyond. While conceding the historical significance of New Orleans, the film would thus have indicated that the Big Easy is metonymic of other cities in the Americas within which African-inspired traditions have crystallized. In so doing, the film would have underscored the cosmopolitan nature of Afro-Diasporic religious experience, with practitioners holding concurrent allegiances to distinct ritual orthodoxies (Matory 2009; Pérez 2015). By identifying the *nkisi* at Facilier’s door as Kongo, and the graffiti as Afro-Cuban and Afro-Brazilian sacred writing, the film would have recognized practitioners in the Americas as conversation partners in ongoing “dialogues” with Africa that have periodically infused Black Atlantic traditions with new ritual protocols, paraphernalia, and personnel (Matory 2005).

These recommendations consolidate insights that have emerged within the last quarter-century concerning Afro-Diasporic religions. They offer scope for the exploration of moral ambiguities, discursive patterns, and conceptual dichotomies that have too often been downplayed by their champions. It remains imperative to press for accountability when films, television shows, and other media purporting to depict “Voodoo” resort to the specter of the fetish. Yet the entrenchment of its logic is such that mere proof of its inaccuracy will not unseat it. Unless depictions of Black Atlantic traditions overtly contest the Protestant normative semiotic ideologies through which they are disseminated, even the most faithful representations of them—in all of their messy, counter-intuitive, dualistic complexity—are destined to be recycled as stereotypes. Narrativized, these become convenient cultural fictions, requiring no informants (paid or otherwise) for their transmogrification into ethnography.

## notes and references

<sup>1</sup> “Review of *Mama Lola: A Vodou Priestess in Brooklyn*, by Karen McCarthy Brown.” *American Ethnologist* 21, no. 3 (1994): 653.

<sup>2</sup> The casting call was posted at the following link (now expired): [http://manhatttheatreresource.forumcircle.com/viewtopic.php?p=278&sid=4a5dc7eac4d0dfb2effb45083fb\\_d463](http://manhatttheatreresource.forumcircle.com/viewtopic.php?p=278&sid=4a5dc7eac4d0dfb2effb45083fb_d463)

<sup>3</sup> I was last able to access this interview (Von Riedemann 2007) on April 6, 2013. Mentions of *TPATF*’s “Dr. Duvalier” online are all now hyperlinked to a much later interview in which Musker is quoted, disingenuously, as saying, “Dr. Facilier was originally Dr. Duvalier but we didn’t want to confuse him with the ruler of Haiti with that same name” (Noyer 2010).

<sup>4</sup>Some sources refer to the traditions of orisha worship in which Jones was initiated as “Yoruba,” others as “Orisha-Vodú.”

<sup>5</sup> See <http://www.judithfaye.net/avakay-jones>.

<sup>6</sup> For *The Lone Ranger* (2013), Disney sought the assistance of the late Comanche Nation Chairman Johnny Wauqua, along with William “Two-Raven” Voelker and Troy (no surname) (Armitage 2015). Perhaps in response to that film’s poor reception, Disney made its team of consultants for 2016’s *Moana*—“a group of anthropologists, cultural practitioners, historians, linguists, and choreographers from islands including Samoa, Tahiti, Mo’orea, and Fiji”—a major selling point. In interviews, co-directors Musker and Clements put the spotlight on their “Oceanic Trust of scholarly and cultural advisers” (Robinson 2016).

<sup>7</sup> These are customary even for Disney’s theme park and resort workers (Doe 2017).

<sup>8</sup> Filmmakers also consulted with the NAACP, Oprah Winfrey, and African American members of their production team (Barnes 2009a). There was likely more than the one Black focus group attendee named in Hains 2014 (227–28).

<sup>9</sup> Jones also released a self-published book, *Principles of the Use of Gris Gris Bags, Potions, and Dolls* sometime before 2010. This book is cited as undated in Bibbs 2010: 93.

<sup>10</sup> My description of these procedures as “magical” rather than “religious” betray me as precisely the type of Durkheimian I go on to analyze below, approaching religion as communal and magic as a more solitary affair.

<sup>11</sup> I owe my thanks to the anonymous reviewers whose remarks led me to clarify these and other important points.

<sup>12</sup> The locus classicus of justified Petwo action has been the Vodou ritual performed at Bois Caïman on August 14, 1791, widely cited as having spurred the Haitian Revolution.

<sup>13</sup> While McGee (2012) has objected that her notoriety and association with “voodoo tourism” disqualify her from representing Afro-Diasporic traditions, idiosyncratic informants are perhaps the norm in ethnography rather than the exception (Clifford 1988).

<sup>14</sup> Lyrics by Randy Newman.

<sup>15</sup> See, for example, the Mama Odie concept art posted on the official Walt Disney Facebook page on December 21, 2009, with the caption, “Mama Odie relaxes in her favorite bunny slippers”: <https://tinyurl.com/ycyev64s> (accessed May 10, 2020). The author is identified as Sue Nichols in Kurtti (2009, 144). A second relevant image—also identified as Sue Nichols in Kurtti (2009, 144)—appears in the same Mama Odie Gallery of the Disney Wiki Fandom: [https://disney.fandom.com/wiki/Mama\\_Odie/Gallery](https://disney.fandom.com/wiki/Mama_Odie/Gallery) (accessed May 10, 2020).

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<sup>16</sup> Facilier was also portrayed wearing such beads in the concept art.

<sup>17</sup> There are actually several different *reglas de congo* in Cuba, including Palo Monte, Palo Briyumba, and Palo Kimbisa. Palo Mayombe is only one Kongo-inspired religious formation.

<sup>18</sup> Andrew Apter (2002, 251) has hypothesized that the Rada nachon became valorized partly due to Haiti’s post-plantation class politics: “What was socially low became ritually high, endowed with the authority of Ginen and the weight of tradition. And what was socially high within the slave community became ritually low, embodying the power of sorcery and its dubious means.”

<sup>19</sup> Farris Thompson traces bottle trees to Kongo precedents, but in *TPATF* they are “relexified” (Apter 2002, 247) as African American (Breux 2010, 401).

<sup>20</sup> This detail seems traceable to Jones herself. As one interviewer described her (Davis 1999, 306), “Ava sat alone . . . beneath two large crimson sheets hung as backing for her throne, a wicker chair. African masks, fresh palm fronds, orisha [Lucumí deity] pots and rows of white candles were spread around her.” In *TPATF*, two African masks, palm fronds, and an array of pots are shown at the entrance to Mama Odie’s living quarters, and two dozen white candles are arrayed behind her wicker “throne.”

<sup>21</sup> Another *nkisi* also looms above Facilier.

- <sup>22</sup> The most visually conspicuous difference between them lies in their fastenings (rope vs. pegs).
- <sup>23</sup> The concept art in Kurtti 2009 makes it clear that *King of the Zombies* was one of the filmmakers' sources, since they inserted the shadow of that film's distinctive chandelier into Facilier's emporium.
- <sup>24</sup> The Portuguese introduced Roman Catholicism to the Kingdom of Kongo in the late 15<sup>th</sup> century.
- <sup>25</sup> There are traditionally an uneven number of steps leading up to a predella.
- <sup>26</sup> In *Kirikou et la Sorcière* (1998) an animated film directed by Michel Ocelot, the titular sorceress commands an army of mechanized *nkisi* called "fetishes" in the original French dialogue. *Kirikou* was based on folktales compiled in West Africa by a French colonial administrator, Francois-Victor Equilbecq, and published in 1913–16. Scholars have yet to examine the Islamic logocentric thrust of the film, in keeping with the stories' putative Fulani, or "Peul," roots and the Malian Muslim background of one of Equilbecq's main informants, a young Amadou Hampâté Bâ.
- <sup>27</sup> Keane 2003 argues convincingly that this debate ushered in the hegemonic modern understanding of ritual action as symbolic rather than immediately effective.
- <sup>28</sup> The magic words "hocus-pocus" are a burlesque of the Latin words said by priests at the moment of transubstantiation: *Hoc est corpus meum*, "This is my body."
- <sup>29</sup> This reflects the history of "religious coexistence and dual or multiple religious allegiance" among Black Americans more generally (Hucks 2001, 90). See also the identification of cultural ambiguation as a feature of urban "religious coexistence" in Pérez 2015.
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