



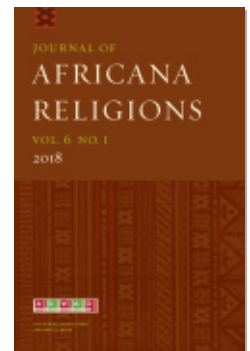
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Toward an Inventory of Influence: Biography and Belonging in Sustained Dialogue with *Black Atlantic Religion*

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Abstract

This article assesses the empirical and conceptual contributions of J. Lorand Matory's *Black Atlantic Religion: Tradition, Transnationalism, and Matriarchy in the Afro-Brazilian Candomblé (BAR)* and of his first monograph, *Sex and the Empire That Is No More: Gender and the Politics of Metaphor in Oyo-Yoruba Religion*. The bearing of these texts on subsequent research in Afro-diasporic traditions is explored through an autoethnographic account that emphasizes the demand for a post-Eliadean style of comparativism, the disciplining function of the university, and social positionality as a condition for influence to manifest. The combination of these factors supports Matory's thesis in the present issue of this journal concerning the interplay of biography and belonging in the critical reception of *BAR*. The article concludes by asserting the inadequacy of debt (along with other economic metaphors) for the expression of intellectual impact, and casts the act of criticism as externalizing an intimate internal dialogical process.

Keywords: African diaspora, Candomblé, Lucumí, comparative methodologies, ethnography

The anniversary retrospective, like the *Festschrift*, is a slippery academic subgenre. It defies categorization as exclusively laudatory, although it is the enduring merit of a work that recommends revisiting it. We are fortunate, then, that J. Lorand Matory has set the standard for probity in this discursive context, as he has in the book-length study of Africana religions. His gripping treatment of *Black Atlantic Religion*, "The Communal Stakes of Scholarly Debate," examines *BAR*'s successes and the instances in which its claims—no matter how strongly corroborated—failed to gain traction with reviewers. As unapologetic an *apologia pro libro suo*

as one is likely to encounter, it represents a hearteningly impolitic effort to curate a legacy that—for good or ill—no longer belongs to him, but to his readers.

That is not to say—setting aside any musings about the death of the author, literary ownership, and intertextuality—that anyone else could have written *BAR*. Elegance of exposition is its unmistakable signature. *BAR* is a tour de force that has weathered the tests of time and space, having traveled much farther around the world in translations, PDFs, and photocopies than the red palm oil and shea butter that lubricated the transatlantic religious circuit documented in its pages. Its arguments still stand on the strength of overwhelming evidence, and have secured a place for the book among classic magisterial studies in anthropology and the history of religions. Yet rereading *BAR* in preparation for this roundtable, after more than a dozen years of engaging with its ideas, I was struck afresh by its sheer rhetorical power.

This experience brought me back to the site of my first ethnographic project and the institution through whose gates Matory himself had passed as a graduate student. When *BAR* was published, it registered not so much as a product of the transnational networks and linkages from which it had emerged—and even less as the outcome of Matory's D.C. upbringing, to which he had alluded in the text itself. It impressed me, instead, as being *very Chicago*. This idiosyncratic response provides an entry point in what follows to a consideration of *BAR* as the welcome prototype for a new style of comparative research, the disciplining function of the university, and social positionality as a condition for intellectual influence to manifest.¹ Although I would not presume to speak for others, my reflections indicate that Matory has accurately grasped the interplay of biography and belonging in the reception of contemporary scholarship.

I read *Sex and the Empire That Is No More* in a course taught at the University of Chicago in the late 1990s by “historical anthropologist” Andrew Apter.² At the time, I was questioning the feasibility of comparative study in Nigeria and Cuba. As a master's student, I had planned to carry out research where my parents were born, in southeastern Cuba, now celebrated for its Espiritismo, Vudú, and the social dance form of Tumba Francesa. In Guantánamo, some descendants of Haitian migrants inherit *lwa* passed down through their families and venerate their ancestors alongside the orishas.³ Many Palo Monte and Lucumí initiates still observe the feast days of Roman Catholic saints, as in the case of the *haitiana-cubana* priestess of Obatalá I had interviewed in 2000, whose devotional practices involved ceremonially dressing and otherwise caring for matching life-sized wooden statues of San Lazaro and Saint Roch (Legba/Babalú Ayé and Agaou/Elegguá, respectively).

I was also drawn to investigating what once appeared self-evidently to be the West African “roots” of Afro-Cuban traditions. While my Yorùbá would never progress beyond the delivery of greetings in two and a half tones, *Sex and the Empire That Is No More* resonated deeply. Along with many other observers of Afro-Caribbean traditions, I felt a frisson of recognition when Matory described the bonds between rider and horse, husband and wife, master and slave, orisha and human being as homologous and historically cogent. Matory’s virtuoso interpretation became a prism for understanding spirit possession across divergent traditions. Deftly conjoining an examination of social structure and political process with a searching inquiry into the erotics of submission to a semiotic-cum-hierarchical order, Matory arrived at “the captivity, the riddenness, the hollowness, the penetrability, and, in a word, the mountedness of the self” constructed as the ideal royal and religious subject.⁴

His analysis spurred my thoughts with regard to the racialized arrangements of gender and sexuality operative within Afro-diasporic religions’ “Yoruba Atlantic complex.” The metaphor of being taken—in the sexual act as well as through the captivity and enslavement of the Middle Passage—has implications far beyond the realm of trance performance as paradigmatically experienced to the beat of sacred drums and in ordination to possession priesthoods. Its logic governs what I came to describe as an ethnosymptomatology, endorsed within oracular and healing rites—such as the Spiritist ceremonies called *misas*—that dramatize and thereby gradually construct spirits’ ownership of human bodies.⁵ Persuaded by Matory’s interpretation of Šàngó initiation ceremonies vis-à-vis the imagery of bridewealth, I would go on to propose that the Afro-Cuban Lucumí ritual repertoire gesturally and verbally equates spirit possession, the transformation of sacrifices into meals for the orishas, and the seasoning of practitioners into their servants.⁶

It would be years before the correspondences between these coordinated displays of the gods’ dominion rose to the surface of my mind. But the impact of *BAR* on the direction and character of my scholarship was immediate. When it was published in 2005, my opinion of the comparative method was at its nadir. Romanian polymath and man of letters Mircea Eliade had reigned supreme at the University of Chicago Divinity School as professor and chair of the History of Religions—the program in which I would later enroll—from 1958 until his death in 1986. Although the terminology that Eliade brought into vogue retained its cachet—hierophany, cosmogony, *in illo tempore*, axis mundi—his universalizing morphological approach had come under increasing fire since the early 1980s. By that time, Jonathan Z. Smith’s devastating critique in *Map Is Not Territory: Studies in the History of Religions* (1978) had been integrated into a critical mass of personal libraries and college curricula.⁷

Smith's own corpus, spanning millennia of human history and primary sources, was an advertisement for comparative methodologies accompanied by a sternly worded warning: *These stunts are performed by professionals; don't try this at home*. Even as Wendy Doniger, Martin Riesebrodt, and my graduate advisor Bruce Lincoln continued to implement ingenious cross-cultural projects, formal inquiries into the congruences between distinct traditions were out of fashion—and strenuously discouraged—for the next generation.⁸ Institutional support for comparative historical or multi-sited ethnographic projects dwindled. The backlash had a chilling effect for students, many of whom had initially become attracted to the history of religions for its bold diachronic sweep and synchronic vision. As one of the few Latinas in my cohort from a working-class background, my footing in the halls of academia already felt precarious; any sensation of belonging, fugitive at best.

Matory had received his master's degree from the Department of Anthropology in 1986 and embarked on his Ph.D. at perhaps the moment of greatest backlash for the method with which the history of religions (plural) had become synonymous. I suspect that Matory was able to develop a harmonious alternative model for future studies of religion precisely because he had little stake in this disciplinary identity crisis—whose ardent deliberations might have been overheard in Haskell Hall, but easily tuned out to the sounds of “soca, soukous, and funk.”⁹ My awareness that Jean Comaroff chaired Matory's dissertation committee had framed my appreciation of her as a professor and the invaluable training in historical anthropology she offered in the classroom; when *BAR* landed in the Seminary Co-op Bookstore, it held out the promise of what a *comparative* ethnographic product of UChicago rigor could be: unabashed in its ambition, replete with insights that had sprung up in fertile long-term relationships with interlocutors, anchored in scrupulous archival research.

BAR refuted the notion that one could locate the basis for any Black Atlantic religion's past in Africa's present day. But Matory's method also exhorted readers to follow the paper trails left by historical exchanges in “oral” traditions. It opened up the metaphor of dialogue figuratively and literally, counseling greater attention to casual conversations in my ethnographic milieu (which, in the meantime, had shifted to a medium-sized kitchen on the South Side of Chicago). *BAR*'s far-reaching success was a social fact I privately relished. As if bearing out its central argument, the book had returned to its author's old stomping grounds, with transnational accolades that bolstered its prestige as a source of educational capital and professional legitimation. Put more emically, it granted license to practical innovations that redounded to the accumulation of his alma mater's *axé*. Thus, without our ever crossing paths, Matory became part of my own imagined community.

“What is often called cultural ‘memory,’ ‘survival,’ or ‘tradition’ in both the African diaspora and at home is, in truth, always a function of power, negotiation, and strategic re-creation.”¹⁰ Although this statement from *BAR* may just look commonsensical today, by the early 2000s retention and preservation in the scholarship on Africana religions had become hegemonically metonymic of resistance. The terms that Matory wraps in scare quotes had been elevated to the status of shibboleths, code words intoned in seminar rooms and monographs to flag one’s political commitments despite an absence of historical data to corroborate purported continuities. For those more intrigued by the inventive genius of African American culture(s), anthropologists Sidney Mintz and Richard Price had stressed their “dynamism, change, elaboration, and creativity,” declaring that individuals, not institutions, had crossed the Atlantic.¹¹ To this compelling yet quite schematic narrative template, *BAR* added names and faces, dates and street addresses.

To be fair, in Melville J. Herskovits’s time, the now seemingly passive, anonymous forces of survival and memory were intended to restore agency to the descendants of those supposedly divested of culture by the Middle Passage. While Afro-diasporic remembrance and tradition persist as shorthand for a liberatory and oppositional “racial sincerity” in popular media, the interventions of distinct historical figures tend to be elided (along with the “structuring structures” of their societies) and Black cultures predictably reified.¹² *BAR*’s focus on pivotal alliances and provisional identifications complemented the historiographical agendas of anthropologists Stephan Palmié and Stefania Capone and historian/ethnographer David H. Brown, among others whose ethnographic studies zeroed in on those urbanities responsible for the crystallization of Afro-diasporic religious formations in Cuba and Brazil.¹³

The originality of *BAR*’s emphasis on dialogue ushered in an invigorating wave of theorization about Africa’s relationship to the Atlantic world. The ascription of Muslim descent to the òrìṣà Ṣàngó in *Sex and the Empire That Is No More* had indicated the extent to which religious formations are mutually constituted; it had complicated the image of pristine Yorùbá cultural autochthony built up both by scholars of Afro-diasporic religions and by several of their authoritative leaders.¹⁴ Matory undoubtedly disappointed a few of them by refusing to present his ethnohistorical data as revising Herskovits’s baseline to center Yorùbá instead of Dahomeyan traits.¹⁵ *BAR* put paid to any such lingering illusions, disclosing that—among other ironies—Brazilian luminaries whose religious expertise would be cast as unimpeachably authentic maintained material and ideological association with the British and Anglophone Africans as a stamp of civilization.

The heterogeneity of Bahia’s religious landscape and its protracted colloquy with Africa suggested a conceptual parallel with Black Chicago’s

“ghetto cosmopolitanism,” a term coined by sociologist and Muslim community activist Rami Nashashibi.¹⁶ Simultaneous religious affiliations had flourished on the South Side in the twentieth century prior to the advent of Afro-Cuban traditions. Rather than a matter of rival loyalties, these promoted, in historian and ethnographer Tracey E. Hucks’s words, “religious coexistence and dual or multiple religious allegiance,” about which Matory would write in terms of citizenship.¹⁷ Yet more significant for me was his explanation in *BAR* that the investment of white scholars and Regionalist intellectuals in Yorùbá superiority and cult patriarchy was not completely decisive for the ascendancy of Quêto/Nagô Candomblé. They had collaborated with “Africanizing” Afro-Brazilian priests and travelers, including merchants and missionaries, whose agency could not be denied.

This discussion, and Matory’s analysis of the distinctively Brazilian discourse of ritual purity, led me to find precedents for the initiation narratives I was hearing from elders in the oral histories of Afro-Cuban religious practitioners. These stories consistently turned on the statement of a desire *not* to have entered an initiatory priesthood; the same plot recurred with such frequency throughout the literature on Afro-diasporic traditions that its animation of a speech genre became clear. As for the temporal efflorescence of this genre in Cuba, *BAR* proved enlightening once again. In the pages of the *Journal of Africana Religions*, I made the case that a prominent Lucumí authority figure in the early twentieth century, Fernando Guerra, had circulated the idiom of “unchosen choice” as part of a public relations campaign to defend fellow practitioners against the excesses of rampant prejudice.¹⁸ Without *BAR*’s example I might not have thought to connect the anecdotes unfolding in the course of sacred food preparation with Guerra’s contention in the 1910s that priests would not serve the spirits, if they had their druthers.¹⁹

Religion in the Kitchen: Cooking, Talking, and the Making of Black Atlantic Traditions incorporates this argument and—emboldened by *BAR*—applies a comparative lens to both Black Atlantic religious storytelling and cuisine. Contrary to the portrayal of Lucumí dishes as emblematic of unchanging tradition, I interrogate the impact of their early twentieth-century depiction by the legendary historian and ethnologist Fernando Ortiz.²⁰ Putting food on the table for the orishas in Chicago is shown to be a transnational endeavor, facilitated by the prevalence of West African groceries stocked with specialty items and by access to published compilations of recipes and culinary techniques.²¹ Prodded by Matory’s exposé of men’s erasure in the literature on Candomblé (but for “passive homosexuals”), I divulge the “open secret” of historical cooperation between women and gay men in running the Lucumí kitchen, redefined as a

queer space that valorizes their leadership, moral-ethical competencies, and aesthetic sensibilities.²²

I am among those “students of Cuban- and Cuban-inspired Ocha” who “simply tend to agree with [Matory] regarding the roles of transnationalism, agency, interclass alliance, and gender in the historically dynamic reproduction of Santería/Ocha and the other Afro-Atlantic religions.” Or maybe not so simply. I have taken issue with, for instance, Matory’s understanding of Lucumí’s “hierarchical vocabulary and body language” as “egalitarian (dare I say republican?).”²³ It has been imperative to supplement his analysis of “Nagoization” in the African diaspora with Apter’s brilliant resolution of Vodou’s “Petwo paradox.”²⁴ And notwithstanding further examples of disagreement, Matory’s studies remain foundational, to the degree that any inventory of influence poses serious difficulty.²⁵ Indeed, I would surmise that a handful of *BAR*’s less perspicacious critiques stem from the onus placed on young scholars to avoid the appearance of pouring unctuous praise on, or drawing inordinate inspiration from, the books they review. These anxieties are understandable in view of the cathexis attached to canonical texts, especially of those assigned in comprehensive examinations that determine doctoral candidacy.²⁶

Root metaphors of debt and repayment tend to dominate the expression of intellectual impact, from the economic tropes of appraisal and citation—giving credit where it is due—to the conceits of acknowledgment (“*I owe enormous thanks . . .*”).²⁷ For a scholar so attuned to figures of speech, Matory deserves better than clichés, yet these are not readily dislodged from our communal vocabulary.²⁸ I would nevertheless venture that engagement with a scholarly text is less like a loan of knowledge disbursed through words than the dialogue transpiring in a lively divination session.²⁹ After exacting the requisite fees, books like *BAR* diagnose problems, recite proverbs, and prescribe remedies. Readers do not automatically accede to their dictates, but react to each assertion with vivid internal assent or nuanced demurral. The act of criticism effectively externalizes this intimate cognitive and affective dialogical process. One’s relationship with a book does not end there, however; following its directives may require prodigious sacrifice. There may be no greater sacrifice for scholars than the surrender of our claim to originality—to admit that we did not really coin the phrase or blaze the trail that bears our footprints. Luckily and trickily for us, the son of Ogum Onirê has seldom put down his cutlass.

Notes

1. J. Lorand Matory, *Black Atlantic Religion: Tradition, Transnationalism, and Matriarchy in the Afro-Brazilian Candomblé* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 100–110.
2. Andrew Apter, *The Pan-African Nation: Oil and the Spectacle of Culture in Nigeria* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 168.
3. Ismael Fuentes Elías, “Vudú y rará en Elena Celestien Vidal: Rutas haitianas en el Oriente cubano,” *Batey: Revista Cubana de Antropología Sociocultural* 4, no. 4 (2012): 56–80; Jualynne E. Dodson, *Sacred Spaces and Religious Traditions in Oriente Cuba* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008).
4. J. Lorand Matory, *Sex and the Empire That Is No More: Gender and the Politics of Metaphor in Oyo-Yoruba Religion* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 212. I was also influenced by Mary Ann Clark’s analysis in *Where Men Are Wives and Mothers Rule: Santería Ritual Practices and Their Gender Implications* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005).
5. Elizabeth Pérez, “Staging Transformation: Spiritist Liturgies as Theatres of Conversion in Afro-Cuban Religious Practice,” *Culture and Religion* 13, no. 3 (2012): 372–400.
6. Elizabeth Pérez, “Cooking for the Gods: Sensuous Ethnography, Sensory Knowledge, and the Kitchen in Lucumí Tradition,” *Religion* 41, no. 4 (2011): 665–83.
7. Jonathan Z. Smith, *Map Is Not Territory: Studies in the History of Religions* (Leiden: Brill, 1978). One of its most important chapters had been published as an article six years earlier: Jonathan Z. Smith, “The Wobbling Pivot,” *Journal of Religion* 52, no. 2 (1972): 134–49. Smith was not single-handedly responsible for the demise of Eliadean comparativism; skeptics and dissenters were never in short supply, although they did not have the proverbial microphone until Smith amplified their critiques. “The Wobbling Pivot” begins, “Eliade [recently] reminisced about a French publisher who invited Eliade to contribute a book to a series he was editing. When Eliade asked him what the subject of his book should be, the publisher responded, ‘On anything except sacred time or space’” (134). In a 1979 journal entry, Eliade himself noted the cool reception to his approach in France: “In the French university milieu, he said, the expression ‘history—comparative or not—of religions’ has bad press. It would be better to use other terms, such as ‘sociology of religions,’ or ‘religious anthropology,’ and from then on many doors would open for me.” Mircea Eliade, *Fragments D’un Journal II, 1970–1978 (Anglais)*, vol. 3 (Paris: Editions Gallimard, 1981), 357. Although studies of Eliade’s varied output are legion, a comprehensive inventory of his influence outside of the United States has yet to be written.
8. This sociocultural moment in the Divinity School’s institutional history was nevertheless intellectually generative, and seminars continued to comprise provocative historical and cultural surveys. “Types of Comparatism in the Study of Religions,” a course taught by the late historian of religions Cristiano Grottanelli in 2000, was a tremendous high point.

9. I infer a few of Matory's favorite genres from his approving mention of them in *Stigma and Culture: Last-Place Anxiety in Black America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 456.
10. Matory, *Black Atlantic Religion*, 70.
11. Sidney Mintz and Richard Price, *The Birth of African-American Culture: An Anthropological Perspective* (Boston: Beacon, 1992 [1976]), 51.
12. John L. Jackson Jr., *Real Black: Adventures in Racial Sincerity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 15; Pierre Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (Palo Alto, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1990 [1980]), 53.
13. For the reference to provisionality, see Stuart Hall, "Minimal Selves," in *Identity: The Real Me* (ICA Documents 6), ed. Lisa Appignanesi (London: Institute of Contemporary Arts, 1987), 44–46. Stephan Palmié, *Wizards and Scientists: Explorations in Afro-Cuban Modernity and Tradition* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2003); Palmié, "Of Pharisees and Snark-Hunters: Afro-Cuban Religion as an Object of Knowledge," *Culture and Religion* 2, no. 1 (2001): 3–20; David H. Brown, *Santería Enthroned: Art, Ritual, and Innovation in an Afro-Cuban Religion* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003); Stefania Capone, *La quête de l'Afrique dans le candomblé. Pouvoir et tradition au Brésil* (Paris: Karthala, 1999); and Capone, *Les Yoruba du Nouveau Monde: Religion, ethnicité et nationalisme noir aux États-Unis* (Paris: Karthala, 2005).
14. Matory, *Sex and the Empire*, 136–37. To be sure, Matory was assisted in this effort by fellow scholars of Yorùbá history and culture(s).
15. Andrew Apter, "Herskovits's Heritage: Rethinking Syncretism in the African Diaspora," *Diaspora* 1, no. 3 (1991): 235–60.
16. Rami Nashashibi, "The Blackstone Legacy, Islam, and the Rise of Ghetto Cosmopolitanism," *Souls: A Critical Journal of Black Politics, Culture, and Society* 9, no. 2 (2007): 123–31.
17. Tracey E. Hucks, "'Burning with a Flame in America': African American Women in African-Derived Traditions," *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion* 17, no. 2 (2001): 90; J. Lorand Matory, "Free to Be a Slave: Slavery as Metaphor in the Afro-Atlantic Religions," *Journal of Religion in Africa* 37, no. 3 (2007): 398–425. See Elizabeth Pérez, "Working Roots and Conjuring Traditions: Relocating 'Cults and Sects' in African American Religious History," in *Esotericism, Gnosticism, and Mysticism in African American Religious Experience*, ed. Stephen C. Finley and Margarita Guillory (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 40–61.
18. Elizabeth Pérez, "Willful Spirits and Weakened Flesh: Historicizing the Initiation Narrative in Afro-Cuban Religions," *Journal of Africana Religions* 1, no. 2 (2013): 151–93. Guerra had been brought to my attention by Palmié, *Wizards and Scientists*, 250; and Alejandra M. Bronfman, *Measures of Equality: Social Science, Citizenship, and Race in Cuba, 1902–1940* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 95. According to Brown, Guerra was secretary, and later became president, of the Cabildo Africano Lucumí / Sociedad de Santa Bárbara, "the twentieth-century reincarnation of the great Changó Tedún, the most widely remembered and important

- Lucumí cabildo in Cuba's history," with a vast "institutional reach and diverse membership" (*Santería Enthroned*, 70). Their analyses remain indispensable.
19. Bronfman writes, "In his role as secretary of the association, Fernando Guerra published a number of manifestos calling for greater respect of African-derived religions on constitutional grounds. He also invited Fernando Ortiz to join the Culto Santa Barbara in 1911." Alejandra Bronfman, "'En Plena Libertad y Democracia': Negros Brujos and the Social Question, 1904–1919," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 82, no. 3 (2002): 573n52.
 20. Elizabeth Pérez, *Religion in the Kitchen: Cooking, Talking, and the Making of Black Atlantic Traditions* (New York: New York University Press, 2016), 62–65.
 21. The most popular of these is Miguel "Willie" Ramos, *Adimú: Gbogbó Tén'unjé Lukumí*, 1st ed. (Miami: Eleda, 2003).
 22. Matory, *Black Atlantic Religion*, 217.
 23. Matory, "Free to Be a Slave," 416–17.
 24. Andrew Apter, "On African Origins: Creolization and *Connaissance* in Haitian Vodou," *American Ethnologist* 29, no. 2 (2002): 233–60; Elizabeth Pérez, "Portable Portals: Transnational Rituals for the Head across Globalizing Orisha Traditions," *Nova Religio* 16, no. 4 (2013): 35–62.
 25. I eagerly anticipate two forthcoming publications that stand to enlarge BAR's legacy while challenging it in exciting ways: N. Fadeke Castor's *Spiritual Citizenship: Transnational Pathways from Black Power to Ifá in Trinidad* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2017); and John Thabiti Willis's *Masquerading Politics: Kinship, Gender, and Ethnicity in a Yoruba Town* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, forthcoming).
 26. See also Harold Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence: A Theory of Poetry* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973).
 27. See Jacques Derrida and F. C. T. Moore, "White Mythology: Metaphor in the Text of Philosophy," *New Literary History* 6, no. 1 (1974): 5–74; and Claire Colebrook, "The Trope of Economy and Representational Thinking: Heidegger, Derrida and Irigaray," *Journal of the British Society for Phenomenology* 28, no. 2 (1997): 178–91.
 28. J. Lorand Matory, "From Survival to Dialogue: Analytic Tropes of African-Diaspora Cultural History," in *Transatlantic Caribbean: Dialogues of People, Practices, Ideas*, ed. Ingrid Kummels, Claudia Rauhut, Stefan Rinke, and Birte Timm (Bielefeld, Germany: Transcript Verlag, 2014), 133–56. I am grateful to Devin Singh for referring me to Marc Shell, *The Economy of Literature* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978); and Shell, *Money, Language, and Thought: Literary and Philosophic Economies from the Medieval to the Modern Era* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982).
 29. In the spirit of these comments, it is incumbent upon me to concede that I am far from the first to hazard the parallel. See Martin Holbraad, "Definitive Evidence, from Cuban Gods," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 14 (2008): S93–S109.