In Zora's Footsteps: Experiencing Music and Pentecostal Ritual in the African Diaspora


Zora Neale Hurston's well-documented travels in the Caribbean during the 1930s—excursions that led to *Tell My Horse: Voodoo and Life in Haiti and Jamaica* (1990 [1938])—are part of a rich legacy of African American interest in these two countries. This legacy has had an undeniable impact on my work as an African American scholar and musician, with special regard to my ongoing ethnomusicological fieldwork in the Caribbean. The religious landscapes of Haiti and Jamaica have changed profoundly since Hurston did her fieldwork there in the 1930s. Still, perhaps more than any other form of expressive culture, music and ritual serve as profound markers of Haitian and Jamaican identities in the Caribbean and around the world. In this article, I conceptualize Pentecostal music in terms of two distinct, yet overlapping, analytical frames. One frame considers musical practice in relation to Pentecostal ritual contexts in the United States, Haiti, and Jamaica. The emphasis is on the ways in which music is experienced within specified church services, in supporting congregational singing, ushering believers into a worship mode, evoking the Holy Spirit, and facilitating trance experiences. A broader analytical frame considers Pentecostal practices as they relate to the religious and musical landscapes of Haiti and Jamaica. Notions of musical appropriateness are juxtaposed against indigenous spiritual practices and commercial musical genres in both countries.

Hurston's ethnographic research in the Caribbean exemplifies for me a profound boundary-crossing endeavor not commonly embraced by scholars of color. As an ethnomusicologist whose faith intersects and overlaps with my research topic, I employ Hurston's work as a springboard for my own juxtapositions of African diasporic expressive culture. Exploring the musical and religious landscapes of Haiti and Jamaica, I strive also to reflect critically upon my own sociospiritual experiences as an African American Pentecostal as they relate to my constructed fields of study. My intention is thus to represent a three-layered description of Pentecostal practice as a dynamic form of transnational Black expressive culture localized in African American, Haitian, and Jamaican spaces. I contend that my particular positionality informs my research and writing and ultimately prompts a discursive reconciliation of the global and the local.

**Contested Boundaries: Making Connections through African Diasporic Research**

Over the past several decades, one-sided media portrayals have reified Haiti and Jamaica in the minds of many observers. Many North Americans, in particular, consider Vodou and Rastafarianism intrinsic cultural attributes of those hailing from these nation-states. Mimi Sheller's *Consuming the Caribbean* (2003) stands out in this regard, as the author highlights the "deep layering and reiteration" of stereotypes of the Caribbean as exotically different from the United States and Europe (165-166). However, scholars have problematized static identity constructions by placing them in sociohistorical and political contexts. In his book, *Vodou Nation: Haitian Art Music and Cultural Nationalism*, Michael Largey raises critical questions about the role of Vodou in promoting particular notions of "Haitianess." What role did Haitian art music composers play in constructing collective identities within the Haitian transnational nation-state? And for what reasons did musicians, writers, and political leaders strive to depict Haiti as a "Vodou Nation"? Largey's ethnomusicological approach resonates with recent ethnographies of Caribbean expressive culture that stand in the long shadow of Hurston's work. Following Elizabeth McAlister's *Racial Vodou, Power, and Performance in Haiti and Its Diaspora* (2002), and Karen Richman's *Migration and Vodou* (2005), Largey provides valuable insight into the role of religion and musical practice in Haitian identity negotiations.

One of the distinguishing elements of Largey's work is its emphasis
on the historical connections between Haitian and African American cultural commentators. Along with Hurston, African American leaders such as W.E.B. DuBois, James Weldon Johnson, and Langston Hughes were clearly inspired by Haiti’s history as the Western hemisphere’s first black-led independent nation. Many African Americans even viewed Haiti as an alternate “homeland” during the nineteenth century, and Jean Price-Mars’s push for Haitian educational reform borrowed, in turn, from Booker T. Washington’s ideas about technical education (47). Anthropologist Deborah Thomas looks critically at identity constructions in Jamaica. Her ethnography, Modern Blackness: Nationalism, Globalization, and the Politics of Culture in Jamaica (2004), focuses on the interplay of “blackness,” “Jamaicaness,” and “Africaness” as it pertains to class struggles and politicized discourses of cultural nationalism. Gina Ulysse’s book, Downtown Ladies: Informal Commercial Importers, a Haitian Anthropologist and Self-Making in Jamaica (2007) is a fascinating example of boundary crossing in African diasporic fieldwork. While critiquing hegemonic identity constructions of Caribbean women, the author provides reflexive account of working among ones “skinfolk” (122; cf. Hurston 1979) in Jamaica. I have found Ulysse’s work most compelling as I navigate my way through Caribbean locales, performing my identity as a “Black” researcher with complicated cultural, spiritual, and historical connections to those I study.

The multiple ties between Caribbean and African American spaces are a source of pride for me as I conduct ethnographic fieldwork, but I have often felt the need to reassert these connections as justification for my own research. On more occasions than I can recount, I have had to clarify my ethnic, racial, and national identity in response to false presumptions that a kin-based relationship is what draws me to the Caribbean. “Well, no,” I reluctantly respond, “I don’t have family here—at least none that I know of.” In both Haiti and Jamaica, I’ve enjoyed being able to “blend in” while conducting fieldwork, even though it usually becomes apparent rather quickly that my birthplace lies elsewhere. And in fact, despite my desire to bond via a shared African diasporic identity, a sense of exclusive national identity (e.g., “we are Haitian; you are American”) is what holds sway in my interactions with Caribbean folk in Haiti, Jamaica, and in the United States.

My first encounters with Haitians and Jamaicans came not in the Caribbean, but in Boston and New York City, where a multiplicity of black ethnicities commingle yet remain distinct, despite sometimes being lumped together by North Americans. When I moved to New York in 1994, I began working as a saxophonist, playing konpa, Haitian dance music, in the horn sections of popular bands such as Phantoms and Tabou Combo. It was through these experiences that another kind of boundary crossing, in the realm of musical expression, took place for me. As I began thinking seriously about pursuing a deeper study of Haitian music and culture, I took note of the strong emotional impact that konpa seemed to have on those who attended concerts and festivals. I would eventually discover that this genre, which “has become a symbol for Haitians in Haiti and the diaspora,” is negotiated in a variety of ways by Haitian Protestant and Pentecostals Christians (Averill, Se Kreyol 89).

Critical Dialogue and Reflexivity in Ethnographic Writing

In the afterword to the 1990 reprint of Hurston’s Tell My Horse, Henry Louis Gates writes at length about Hurston’s profound influence on subsequent generations of writers. One of the “deeply satisfying aspects” of the rediscovery of Hurston’s work in the 1970s is that, as Gates asserts, it led to the establishment of a “maternal literary ancestry,” especially for black women writers of the time. Nearly a half century after Hurston’s death, contemporary scholars often highlight Hurston the novelist, while perhaps downplaying her work as a social scientist. But as one trained to study musical practice from an anthropological perspective, I am drawn to Hurston’s work as a field researcher. Like Hurston, I conduct fieldwork in both Haiti and Jamaica, thus choosing to cross cultural and linguistic boundaries. I am particularly attracted to the vividness of Hurston’s ethnographic writing, as Gates puts it, “the density of intimate experiences ... cloaked in richly elaborated imagery” (294). In Tell My Horse, Hurston flavors her descriptions with a not-so-subtle reflexivity, giving her readers a vibrant sense of the ways in which her Black identity impacts her participation in, and representations of, Haitian and Jamaican ritual expression. Perhaps it is here that I feel my own link to Zora Neale
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Hurston. To a certain extent, I have watched myself following in, or perhaps walking next to, the footsteps of Zora.

It is interesting to note that Hurston’s work is often strongly comparative in nature. In an essay from The Sanctified Church, she posits that the “shouting” or holy dancing that occurs in black Pentecostals is a form of African “possession.” She even asserts that the “same steps” of Pentecostal holy dancing “can be seen in Haiti when a man or a woman is ‘mounted’ by a loa or spirit” (107). Although most ethnomusicologists would be more cautious about making such direct connections among diasporic practices, an “all roads lead to Africa” discourse still crops in scholarly writing. In my work, I tend to avoid it, in part, because of my particular relationship to what I study. Unlike Hurston, who wrote about Black American religion from the perspective of a racial insider and religious outsider, I often choose to write about those with whom I share a racial and religious self-identity. I am, consequently, perhaps, less willing to posit a cultural or spiritual affinity between Vodou in Haiti and Pentecostalism in African America. However, the comparative dimensions of Hurston’s work motivate my own discursive juxtapositions through reflexive ethnomusicology.

In Ethnography through Thick and Thin (1998), George Marcus advocates a multi-locale ethnography that effectively deals with the increasingly complex social environments in which we live and conduct fieldwork. I see Marcus’s ethnographic endeavor as closely related to my theoretical and methodological research objectives. His “multi-sited imaginary” not only entails multiple geographical locales, but also implies a reflexivity whereby the commonalities between the ethnographer and his or her chosen topic are methodologically brought into play. Marcus argues that when “existing affinities between the ethnographer and the subject of study” are projected “from the realm of the more personal to the delineation of more generic social-cultural problems...a multi-sited canvas or space of ethnographic research emerges almost naturally” (15). Comparative analyses then stem primarily from “the fractured, discontinuous plane of movement and discovery among sites as one maps an object of study and needs to posit logics of relationships, translation, and association among these sites” (86).

According to Thomas Turino, the implicit comparisons that emerge in ethnographic work can help to broaden our conceptual horizons “by giving us alternative ideologies, discourses, and experiences to think with” (6). Although the music of the African American Pentecostal church is not the primary focus of this article, it, along with the academy, has served as the experiential and epistemological “home” from which my descriptions and analyses of African Caribbean gospel music proceed. Hence, I refer to African American Pentecostal experience not so much for the sake of direct comparison, but in order to call attention to this project’s dialogic and “multi-sited” character and to reveal how my personal background—as an African American, a Pentecostal, and a scholar—informs my ethnographic representations of Haitian and Jamaican Pentecostal musical practice.

Finding My Way “Home”: Pentecostal Practice in Black Musical Spaces

Zora Neale Hurston’s work, along with my own field research in Caribbean communities, has confirmed for me that “in the very act of doing ethnomusicological research...we inevitably call up myriad comparisons with our own musical experience and social understanding; we approach new experiences or ideas against the backdrop of what we already know” (Turino 6). My church upbringing in the United States was helpful in that it provided an experiential template on which to understand Pentecostal practices in Caribbean contexts. But my Protestant and Pentecostal background also presented certain theological, epistemological, and musical challenges, as I continually encountered Christianities that stretched the boundaries of beliefs I adopted while growing up.

During my childhood, I had the opportunity to attend several different types of churches. On many Sunday mornings, a bus would come by my family’s house to take my brother, my three stepsiblings, and me to Bethel Glen Church of the Nazarene. The mostly white congregation welcomed us with open arms, but we could not help but feel the social uneasiness of being the only African American kids there. Nevertheless, I became increasingly involved in Bethel Glen’s music ministry during my preteen years. I accepted an invitation to sing in the choir and occasionally was even asked to lead congregational hymns just before the Sunday school classes assembled each week.
Although I enjoyed those musical activities at Bethel Glen, it was the Black Pentecostal sound and “Spirit” of the Ebenezer Church of God in Christ, where a friend played drums, that I recall most fondly. My memories of music at Ebenezer remain strong nearly twenty-five years later, just like the music of gospel singers such as the Reverend James Cleveland, whose vinyl albums my mother used to play on our huge living room stereo. I smile at the thought of the indistinguishably deep bass tones, which were so heavy that they made my spine tingle as the Reverend sang, “Lord, Help Me to Hold Out.” African American gospel music has never sounded better to me than it did during my youth. That music still reverberates in my head, and it evokes the particular moment and space in which I first heard it in person.

Unlike the meager organ and piano duo at Bethel Glen, Ebenezer deployed an impressive arsenal of musical instruments to accompany uninhibited saints who used their bodies as a percussive force. The intensity of the handclapping, the restless energy of the guitars, and the sonic impact of the tambourines and drum set captivated me. But more than anything, I was struck by the urgency of the voices. The cries of African American congregational singing stirred me as choruses rang out, summoning a mysterious power that I had yet to comprehend for myself. The mood at Ebenezer felt strangely joyous and exuberant, and the music and words of the sanctified congregation seemed to vibrate along an electric path to my eardrums. I remember sitting silently enthralled listening to them sing, preach, and testify. My eyes darted around the sanctuary while my mind struggled to soak in a musically spiritual atmosphere in which it seemed that, at any second, something totally unexpected would happen.

The definition of “Pentecostal” is sometimes disputed by both scholars and practitioners, and there is a remarkable diversity of religious experiences among those who self-identify as such. In the context of religion, the term “charismatic” refers to Christian practices that privilege gifts and manifestations of the Holy Spirit, such as speaking in tongues, prophesying, supernatural healing, and holy dancing. As some Pentecostals maintain, “All Pentecostals are charismatic, but not all charismatics are Pentecostal.” Although I use “Pentecostal” and “charismatic” more or less interchangeably, many distinguish the two adjectives, reserving the latter to describe a mid-
twentieth century transdenominational movement of the Holy Spirit within congregations who sometimes maintained self-designations such as Baptist, Methodist, or even Catholic. By contrast, Pentecostals typically embrace a more ascetic lifestyle and tend to celebrate a lineage that predates the Protestant Reformation, continues through the twentieth century Azusa Street Revival, and remains largely nondenominational in orientation. At any rate, it is problematic to insist on the existence of a single Pentecostal belief system. Nevertheless, there exists among Pentecostals in Haiti, Jamaica, and African American, a body of key beliefs, doctrines, and practices that are bibliically informed, globally transmitted, and held in common.

The practice of speaking in tongues, known as glossolalia or xenoglossy, distinguishes Pentecostal practice from that of most mainline Protestant denominations. Methodists, Baptists, and other Protestant groups share with Pentecostals the belief that Jesus Christ is the resurrected Savior, but they tend not to view speaking in tongues as initial evidence of Spirit infilling. Many Protestants view Pentecostals with discomfort because of their “heated” style of singing and dancing. Haitian, Jamaican, and African American Pentecostal congregations share the belief that music may be used to enliven or “heat up” the worship space so that the Holy Spirit will descend. Women comprise the overwhelming majority of most congregations, and it is largely through female voices and bodies that the critical process of “heating up” occurs. Pentecostal churches are spaces in which women are the majority holders of expressive and spiritual power. But this power is tempered by the fact that relatively few women pastor their own congregations or play musical instruments. Music also helps congregants to become emotionally involved in the service and more receptive to preaching. Although Pentecostal congregations generally share these beliefs, the character of musical praise varies significantly according to cultural context and the type of church service in which music making occurs.

It was not until I moved away from Kansas to start college in Boston that I began witnessing spiritually and musically charged Pentecostal settings on a regular basis. Feeling that my experiences back at Ebenezer had awakened something in me, I yearned to satisfy my thirst for a “Blacker” worship experience—one in which the music compelled congregants to get physically
involved in the act of praise and become experientially connected to the power of the Holy Spirit. I often accompanied other African American students to nearby Black Baptist churches in Boston. As I grew deeper into my racial identity, so grew my appreciation for the styles of singing, playing, and dancing in the Spirit that I was learning among African American churchgoers.

Kyra Gaunt writes about the powerful role of music as a means of embodying a "home" that helps to protect against the "homelessness" blacks often feel in majority white places and spaces. Gaunt uses the phrase "musical blackness" to denote "an imagined 'home' constructed to represent a place of return, a place of social and political comfort" (49). After I converted wholeheartedly to Pentecostalism, my sense of musical blackness was supplemented by my newfound religious identity, which I believed conveniently celebrated "Black" ways of musically praising God. In fact, through Pentecostal expression, I had rediscovered a musical and spiritual home that cut across regional boundaries in the United States. Whether in Kansas, Massachusetts, or New York, I could easily find members of the "household of faith" with whom I could identify. On the one hand, I was constantly reminded by the social climate of New England that I was hundreds of miles away from my geographical home. As the saying goes, I wasn't in Kansas anymore. On the other hand, my childhood fascination with Black church music took on new significance, and it seemed that by leaving home I had actually managed to find it again. Halfway across the United States I had found my way "home" by rediscovering the music and spirituality of the black church. In a sense, the Black Pentecostal church provided me with a musical and spiritual comfort zone of safety. As a translocal "space" of encouragement and spiritual empowerment, the church helped me to stay emotionally secure and confident amid racial tensions in the United States that seemed to grow increasingly virulent as I made the transition into adulthood. The church was a warm, inviting space that also served as both a literal and imaginative shelter from the harshness and foreignness of a city that was very much unlike the "place" in which I grew up.

As I reflect on my early religious experiences, I realize that my sense of musical blackness has broadened to encompass not merely African American Pentecostal expressions, but Haitian and Jamaican ones as well. I now find that Gaunt's definition of musical blackness gels nicely with Cheryl Sanders' discussion of the exilic identity of African American Pentecostals in the United States. Taken in tandem, the work of Gaunt and Sanders also applies rather conveniently to the Pentecostal experiences of Haitians and Jamaicans who observe their faith and perform their cultural identities in considerable tension with the broader societies in which they live. In Saints in Exile, Sanders provides a thorough insider's perspective on the Black Pentecostal church tradition in the United States, arguing convincingly that the Holiness-Pentecostal experience is "based upon a dialectical, exilic identity of being 'in the world, but not of it'" (123). Pentecostals, she argues, "are fully aware of their marginalized status, based upon racial and religious differences, within the dominant culture; thus, exile has been offered as an appropriate paradigm for interpreting their experience" (123). My ability to transcend geographical boundaries and find spaces and places of spiritual belonging is, in some ways, similar to the capacity of African Caribbean transnational migrants to cultivate and sustain vital networks of affiliation in the United States. Such networks cut across national boundaries, as Pentecostals preserve ties to kinfolk in the Caribbean and form new spiritual homes in the United States. At the level of religious experience, I have found that among both African American and African Caribbean Pentecostals, lively, "heated" music is celebrated as a means of evoking divine manifestations. Singing and dancing in the Spirit is understood to provide joy and spiritual power in the face of social misery.

Heating Up: Music and Pentecostal Experience

In Working the Spirit, Joseph Murphy adopts a "hemispheric perspective" (4) on African American and African Caribbean religious practices. With individual chapters devoted to distinct spiritual communities, Murphy brings into strong relief important differences among Haitian Vodou, Brazilian Candomblé, Cuban Santería, Jamaican Revival, and the African American (i.e., "Black") Church. However, one of Murphy's core arguments is that "it is in the construction of religious traditions of the African diaspora that the most significant similarities lie" (179). The author's emphasis on how religious adherents "work the Spirit" opens the door to "underappreciated hemispheric
and global connections” among diverse communities (3). While the Pentecostals I encounter in the U.S. and the Caribbean occasionally express this notion of spiritual work, they more often stress the importance of musical praise that is lively or “hot,” in contradistinction to the “cold” participatory styles that mainline denominational Protestant churchgoers (e.g., Baptists and Methodists) are perceived to favor. Hot styles are characterized by up-beat tempos, energetic use of the body, highly emotional singing, and driving rhythmic accompaniment, all of which are geared towards evoking the felt presence of the Holy Spirit. Pentecostals experience music as an effective means of “heating up” the atmosphere with praise so that the Holy Spirit will descend.

In Jamaican Pentecostal churches, heating up occurs most noticeably during two portions of the worship service known as the song service and the tarry service. In both, music is used as a means to experience a powerful manifestation of the Holy Spirit and bring about a critical transformation in the service and in the lives of congregants. Song service usually consists of both hymns and choruses. Hymns comprise the first segment of singing while choruses are sometimes interspersed. The ratio of hymns to choruses largely depends on the tastes of individual pastors and the style of the moderator, who directs the song service. As a state of worship is approached during song service, singing and bodily movement often becomes more animated as participants begin to sense the anointing. Song service is conducted in order to prepare the hearts and minds of congregants to receive the Word of God, which comes by way of the sermon. However, if the musical praise of song service transforms into true worship, a person may also be filled with the Holy Spirit before the sermon is actually preached. The sermon is usually followed by an altar call, during which the “unsaved” are entreated to come forward in order to receive prayer and, it is hoped, the baptism (or “in-filling”) of the Holy Spirit. Altar calls typically begin with a slow-paced hymn or chorus, but quite often blend directly into tarry services, during which those who have come forward more actively seek to be filled by the Spirit while other congregants sing an energetic medley of choruses to up-tempo musical accompaniment. The term “tarrying” refers to Jesus’ instructions for the disciples to tarry in Jerusalem for the gift of the Holy Spirit. Although the term literally means “to wait,” this is understood to mean a kind of active waiting, during which those awaiting Holy Spirit baptism are encouraged to tarry by praising God verbally, crying out to him, and praying sincerely and expressively. Although some Pentecostals tarry for years without manifesting the infilling of the Holy Spirit, others receive Holy Spirit baptism much more quickly. Most Pentecostals acknowledge that tarrying, in the sense of a prolonged period of waiting, is not at all necessary once an individual’s heart is properly geared toward God. However, tarry services continue to constitute a major component of Pentecostal services, not only in Jamaica, but also throughout the African Diaspora. Some scholars argue that tarry services stem from the conversion practice of sitting on the “mourners’ bench,” which began in black churches in the United States during the nineteenth century.

Studies of Haitian music usually apply the concept of “heating up” to events such as Vodou ceremonies, rara processions, Carnival, or popular music concerts, whose practices conflict with the beliefs of evangelical Christians (see Averill, Annaje to Angaje and Wilcken, The Drums of Vodou). The goals of these events center on heating up, and the degree to which this occurs is often the criterion by which success is judged (Averill, A Day for the Hunter 22). In Haiti, this kind of energy and enthusiasm is certainly not limited to konpa concerts. It is interesting to note that the terms Averill uses in his description of “carnival exuberance” suggest both similarities (chôfè, balanse, mèn nan li, sote) and differences (annaje, guiye, soukè) between the “koudyay” (“celebratory”) enthusiasm of Carnival and the ecstasy of Pentecostal musical praise:

The peak of carnival exuberance—the ambiance of carnival in its final days on the road—is known as koudyay (French, coup de jaillir, a spontaneous bursting forth) ... Carnival and koudyay enthusiasm, an intersubjective peak experience, is described in terms such as débôde (overflowing, exuberant, furious), annaje (worked-up, turned-on, crazy, enraged), or the colorful antwoutout (exuberant, excited). Carnival participants achieve these states in a progression of escalations involving music and movement. Musicians try to chôfè (heat) the crowd with exhortations to physically respond. Revelers are encouraged to
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Like many labels denoting religious affiliation, “Pentecostal” is a disputed term in the Caribbean. It sometimes refers only to mainline congregations affiliated with an established mission organization. However, Revivalists, heavenly armies, and similar independent Christian groups sometimes self-identify as “Pentecostal” as well, highlighting shared musical and spiritual practices. My discussion of Revivalist and heavenly army groups is meant to underscore this terminological and experiential ambiguity while showing the commonalities and differences between independent and mainline Pentecostals. Commonalities surface most noticeably when musical repertory is viewed as an identifying characteristic. However, most of the mainline Pentecostals with whom I spoke viewed their theological and practical differences with Revivalists as critically important.

In Haiti, the term lame seles, or heavenly army, denotes a church whose members embrace many of classic characteristics of Pentecostal worship. Unlike their mainline counterparts, heavenly armies are independent assemblies featuring all-night healing services, prophecy, and exuberant dancing designed to evoke the Holy Spirit and facilitate trance. The term “heavenly army” may also refer to those specially chosen members of a congregation who are believed to possess spiritual “gifts” and be divinely empowered to wage spiritual warfare through intense singing and dancing. Although it is understood that heavenly armies fight primarily in the unseen, spiritual realm, congregants who have been filled (ranpli) with the Holy Spirit or have gifts of the Spirit (don Sentepris) are the human vehicles through whom divine power is visibly manifested. These Spirit-filled individuals, known collectively as mam solida (soldiers), puofo (prophets), or simply lame (the army), have been chosen by God to perform a variety of spiritual tasks.

Like Jamaican Revivalists, heavenly armies are viewed with disdain by the larger Protestant and Pentecostal communities, who accuse them of worshiping “another spirit.” Mainline Haitian Pentecostals also criticize heavenly army assemblies for engaging in rituals that they believe too closely resemble those of Vodou. Although mainline congregations sing some of the same hymns and choruses used in heavenly army assemblies, the latter often feature...
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indigenous instrumentation and a distinct repertory of choruses. Many mainline Pentecostals with whom I spoke strongly disapprove of heavenly army practices that involve being filled with various angels (zanz) who may speak through chosen participants. Mainline congregants also argue that the types of traditional healing practices heavenly army members employ lack a sound biblical basis. Some Pentecostals echo the views of mainline church leaders who feel that heavenly army pastors are too often unlearned and opportunistic deceivers who prey on the gullible and vulnerable.

Heavenly army churches have some distinguishing characteristics, such as the use of *chante pou* (point songs), a multiplicity of spiritual gifts or angels named according to biblical characters and places, the practice of trance dancing and production of gunfire sounds, and indigenous instrumentation. In the mainstream churches I attended in Haiti, musical activity is more ostensibly geared toward counter-identification with worldly influences of Haitian Carnival and Vodou-related activity. Instruments such as the *graj* and, especially, the *tambou*, which are often seen as iconic representations of *ranse* and Vodous, are considered highly inappropriate, and songs are more regularly chosen from a popular hymnal containing French and Haitian Creole translations of English-language songs. Unlike the heavenly army churches I visited in Jacmel, Leogane, and Port-au-Prince, mainstream churches use musical instruments familiar to most American Pentecostals—drum sets, electric keyboards, and guitars—or simply use hand clapping for accompaniment. Michel, a member of the Church of God, attributed this difference to the leadership’s desire to distance itself ideologically and musically from heavenly army churches and their style of music. I let Michel hear some of my recordings of heavenly army services. As a musician (he sings and plays flute), he appreciated the artistry involved, but found the style of music problematic because, “It’s like they’re singing *ranse* music” (“Se tambou yap chante yon mizik *ranse*”). As Michel elaborates, it became clear that he viewed heavenly army beliefs and practices as distinct from those of Pentecostalism:

They don’t believe the same way as us. It’s the way they operate, with manifestations of the Holy Spirit. There are a lot of things that they put in services that Pentecostals don’t believe in. For example,

heavenly armies use instruments that the Church of God has a little problem with—for example, the *graj* [scraper]. We don’t use the *graj* in the Church of God...because they say it’s an instrument—they see that *ranse* bands usually use it.6

Heavenly army songs serve a variety of purposes: some lyrics address God directly, asking for intervention to resolve personal and social hardships; others offer praise by declaring his power and authority.

The terms Pocomania, Revival, or Revival Zion denote a complex of religious practices viewed by Diane Austin-Broos (75) as the antecedent to modern-day Jamaican Pentecostalism. Just as denominational Protestants (e.g., Baptists and Methodists) often view Pentecostals as overly animated and lacking the refinement of “respectable” culture, mainline Pentecostals in turn, tend to frown upon the practices of Revivalists, viewing their practices as un-biblical and sometimes labeling them “wrapheads” because of the head scarves worn by Revivalist women. One Pentecostal preacher in Spanish Town spoke against Revivalist practices, lamenting the way in which “they spin people around and fill them with all kinds of devils.” Another Pentecostal woman referred to Revivalists as “Pocomanians” because of their “strange” ritual practices.

Mainline Pentecostals to whom I spoke tend to use the label “Poco” to designate all three assemblies, making no distinction between them. Likewise, Ken Bilby points out that “despite what some researchers have suggested, the line between “Revival” and “Pocomania,” if it exists at all, is very vague.”7 Simpson and Murphy suggest that differences between Revival, Revival Zion, and Pocomania may be more imaginary than real. Murphy notes:

These ritual distinctions indicate that whether a tradition is “pocomania” or “revival” or “Revival Zion” is resolved in the eyes of the beholder. There are no institutional structures connecting *pocomania* or revival churches; leaders are free to improvise upon the instruction and ceremonial patterns handed down to them by their elders in the tradition. (126)

Even Simpson eventually concedes that:
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There seems to be no real distinction between Revival and Revival Zion people in West Kingston, and differences between Revival Zion and Pocomania are hard to discern. Pocomania is a derogatory word...and few, if any, cultists will admit belonging to such a group. These devotees claim to be Baptists, Revivalists, anything but Pocomanians. (190)

Despite the disdain with which mainline Pentecostals tend to view Revivalists, there is considerable overlap in the musical repertoires of these groups. Brenda, a twenty-three-year-old woman, recounted to me her experience visiting a local Revival congregation in Trelawny. When I asked her about the songs she heard there, she remarked, "Them sing the same songs as we!" "Really?" I replied, not hiding my surprise. "Yeah, man!" she insisted, "Them sing 'Pentecostal Fire Is Falling'!" Among Jamaican Pentecostals, this hymn is one of the most widely sung because it references the first New Testament instance of Holy Spirit infilling as it occurred in Jerusalem on the Day of Pentecost. The hymn also ties this historical occurrence to present-day Pentecostal practice. The use of "Pentecostal Fire Is Falling" by Revivalists is remarkable considering mainstream Pentecostals' oppositional view of them.

Simpson comments on the musical repertory of Revivalists groups in West Kingston, noting that "such Baptist, Methodist, and Sankey hymns as 'How Sweet the Name of Jesus Sounds: I Heard the Voice of Jesus Say,' 'Just as I Am Without One Plea,' and 'I was a Wandering Sheep' are sung frequently" (177). While these songs are also commonly heard in mainstream Pentecostal churches, Simpson also identifies songs whose origins are less clear, such as "Day After Yesterday," "Sun, Moon, and Stars—They Shine So Bright," "Glory Be to God, He'll Set Me Free Some Day," and "I'll Be So Happy with Jesus by my Side."

Pastor Hermine Bryan, a woman with whom I stayed during my time in Jamaica, attributed the overlap in Revivalist and mainstream Pentecostal repertoires not to Revivalist historical influence on the latter, but, rather, to Revivalists' attempts to mimic Pentecostal praise and worship styles. "They try to be like us, you know!" she asserted, implying that their efforts are generally less than successful. Although Pentecostal leaders often understand that

Revivalists and Pentecostals sing many of the same hymns and choruses, they aim to instill an appreciation in their congregations for those songs that glorify Jesus Christ, regardless of whether they are used in other religious contexts. As an experienced pastor and song leader, Pastor Bryan has both the authority and the expertise to exercise a degree of control over the kinds of songs used in Riversdale's services. One of the problems Pentecostals have with Revivalist song lyrics is that they often focus more on narrating the activities of biblical characters than on directly offering God praise or edifying the congregation. The lyrics of the following chorus are typical of the kinds of "Pogo" songs that mainline Pentecostals usually know but deem less than ideal for use in worship services:

We're inviting you all to come along. We're having a glorious time. We're going to the city where moonlight never shines. I do not know; I cannot tell. But others will be there. God himself will be a light to guide you along the way. Abraham and Isaac; Felix and Elijah. Moses, Joshua, Daniel from the den. Peter, Paul, and Barnabas, waiting for the master. There's many more that I can tell.

Pastor Bryan is also critical of lyrics that dwell on Satan rather than on Jesus Christ. "Sometimes we put the devil on too high a pedestal," she often laments. She discourages her praise and worship leaders from raising songs such as "Satan You Can't Catch Me Again" and "Move, Satan, Move," the lyrics of which are as follows:

Satan you cyan [can't] catch me again [any longer]. You hold me down for a very long time I wanted to go but you wouldn't let me go. Now I'm free you come running after me. But you can't catch me again.

Move Satan move; make me pass
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Move Satan move; make me pass.
I am born again, saved and sanctified.
Move Satan move; make me pass.

The terms “Revival,” “Revival Zion,” and “Pocomania” have negative connotations in Jamaica among both the middle class, and also “poorer class” members of mainline Pentecostal churches. Members of Revival or Revival Zion churches tend, in turn, to distinguish themselves from “Poco” churches, accusing the latter of failing to base their beliefs and practices on the Bible (Murphy 125). As Simpson notes, “In the view of Revival and Revival Zion followers, ‘Poco,’ as they call it, is devil worship” (185). Simpson distinguishes Revival, Revival Zion, and Pocomania according to specific ritual practices. He notes differences in the ways in which altars are used, drinks are consumed, possessions occur, and ceremonies are organized. In his study of Revivalists in West Kingston, he explains,

One might draw a line between Revival Zion and Pocomania…
but putting in the latter category those groups which: (a) place less emphasis on preaching and Bible explanations and more emphasis on singing and “spiritual” dancing, (b) make more frequent use of witchcraft and of more extreme magical techniques, (c) have leaders of greater emotional instability, and (d) have a higher tolerance of the use [of] rum and ganja. (190)

Murphy and Simpson cite phenomenological differences among Revivalist groups in the method of rhythmic breathing known as “travailing” or “trumping.” Simpson claims, “In Revival and Pocomania the breath is exhaled when the body bends down and inhaled on the upswing; in Revival Zion, the process is reversed” (174). One Revivalist church leader interviewed by Murphy notes “only two differences among Revival and Zion—one group trump upward, taking groan down; one groans up and trumps down. One coming down Revival; one coming up Zion” (126). Murphy gives a vivid account of the trumping of Revival Zion groups of spiritual dancers known as the “band” or “bands”:

Each extends the right foot, leans back onto the left, and then shifts forward sharply onto the right, bending the back and waist. As they come forward, they expel air forcefully and inhale deeply as they straighten up and shift weight back to the left foot. This is called “travailing” or working the spirit, laboring in bringing the spirit into consciousness. It is also known as “trumping,” either for the musical effect of the loud intake of breath or the pounding of the feet on the floor. Both act as rhythmic instruments to facilitate and sustain the presence of the spirit. The rhythm of the breathing begins with a simple “hey” at expulsion and a slight whistling effect with intake. But it soon gives way to yet faster cadences. The breathing doubles, the sounds intensify: “Hey...hee-hay,” “Hey...hee-hay!” (126)

Simpson describes the trumping dance as a counterclockwise movement around an altar or the center of a ring (173). Because of the force with which air is inhaled and exhaled, the term “laboring” is also used to describe the rhythmic breathing done while dancing. It is often accompanied by “Sankeys,” which are songs from the Methodist hymnal by Sankey and Moody (134). As a Revivalist service begins, Sankeys are often interspersed with prayers and readings from the Bible, during which the group of spiritual dancers known as the “band” begins to trump around the altar or center of the space. This trumping is an invitation for the Holy Spirit, along with other divine entities to descend upon the Revival band (181-182). According to Simpson, singing and dancing are accompanied by vigorous drumming. A twenty-four inch bass drum and a smaller “rattling” or “kettle” drum are used, along with tambourines played by some congregants (Simpson 173; Murphy 134).

The term “the spirit” is used to refer either to one of the specific entities who acts as a Revivalist’s guide and helper, or, more generally, to the Holy Spirit corresponding to the third person of the trinitarian Godhead (130). The premium placed on evoking one or more spirits seems to be a shared element among Revivalist traditions. Discussing Revival Zion specifically, Murphy explains that the condition of being “in the Spirit” involves a state of awareness in which “the self is no longer identified with the ordinary self of waking life, but with another faculty of the personality, a personal spirit which is capable of ‘journeying’ beyond the confines of the body and seeing what ordinary eyes cannot.” When one is ‘in the spirit,’ one can see the angels
and hear their messages” (128). Thus, spiritual communication usually occurs through dreams, during which a person’s consciousness transcends the natural body and “journeys” to a spiritual dimension inhabited by divine spirits beyond natural time and space. This access to the spiritual realm is understood to signify an individual’s conversion, whereby she is transformed, called into spiritual service for the good of the community, and “birthed” as one of the children of Zion.

Both Revivalists and heavenly army members may be converted through a trance experience described by Jamaican practitioners as being “slain in the Spirit” or “put on the ground” (129). In Haiti, heavenly army members describe the experience as a state of oblivion to one’s surroundings, a temporary phase of “not knowing anything” (pa konnen anjen). During these moments, an individual’s consciousness is led on a journey that may last only a few minutes or, in extreme cases, up to several months. During these longer spiritual journeys, the rest of the congregants care for the body of the “traveler,” pray, and wait for her return to the natural realm. Such trance experiences are a critical source of wisdom and hope for these spiritual practitioners. Although instances of being slain in the Spirit do sometimes occur among mainline Pentecostals, such trances states rarely last more than a few minutes, and they are not usually viewed as a sign of initiation into the faith.

Reconciling Global and Local Dimensions of Pentecostal Practice

There are many features that heavenly army and Revivalist churches share with mainline Pentecostal assemblies in Haiti, Jamaica, and African America. The repertoires of indigenous churches include choruses and hymns sung by African American Pentecostals and simply translated from English into Haitian Creole or Jamaican patois. Moreover, linking choruses in medley fashion and singing in call-and-response style are practices common among Pentecostals (and other religious groups) in the African Diaspora. Like mainline Pentecostals, Haitian heavenly armies draw complex distinctions between praise (lwany), which generally involves energetic, “hot” musical participation, and worship (adoratyon), which is understood to comprise slower, more meditative musical practice. When distinguished this way, worship is usually followed by praise, as the energy level of collective musical participation heightens, tempos increase, and bodily movements become more demonstrative. However, in the African Diasporic Pentecostal churches I attended, praise is also understood to precede worship. This ritual reversal comes by way of a technology of transcendence entailing the transition, discussed above, from musical praise to a state of non-musical worship. In this worship state, powerful manifestations of the Holy Spirit become evident and may include divine healing, prophesying, speaking in tongues, and other displays of supernatural power. Thus, the heavenly army and Revivalist practices of trance dancing as a means to evoking spiritual power can be seen as local manifestations of a global musico-spiritual technology.

By positing Pentecostalism as a global phenomenon, I have in mind both the worldwide Pentecostal movement as it manifests throughout the Caribbean, and also the shared conception among Pentecostals of “the world as a whole” (Robertson 8). This analytical frame involves an understanding of charismatic Christianity as a universal gospel and underscores the critical assertion that Pentecostals everywhere hold in common certain beliefs and experiences.10 Karla Poewe points out that “the significance of [charismatic Christians'] emphasis on the ‘Holy Spirit’...is that the 'Spirit' symbolizes a conception of a world or social system that cuts across national, ethnic, and racial barriers, ignores barriers of communication and language, cross-cuts professionals and laborers, the rich the poor, and diverse denominations” (239). Global elements of Pentecostalism are reinforced by international organizations, which have codified biblical practices and conceptions of the divine. My challenge has been to keep hold of what is particular to the local spaces in which Pentecostal religion and gospel music are practiced. This article’s focus on musical practice demands attention to the local, as songs are experienced in profoundly different ways according to the contexts in which they are sung.

In exploring the global and local meanings of Pentecostal musical practice, my theoretical framework is informed by the ritual studies of Stanley J. Tambiah, Clifford Geertz, Catherine Bell, and Ellen Basso. Tambiah argues that one of the ways in which ritual is performative is that it indexes values. He defines ritual as “a culturally constructed system of symbolic communica-
tion” that “is constituted of patterned and ordered sequences of words and acts” (119). This definition resonates with Geertz’s description of religion as a cultural system in which “sacred symbols function to synthesize a people’s ethos—the tone, character, and quality of their life, its moral and aesthetic style and mood—and their worldview—the picture they have of the way things in sheer actuality are” (89). Also employing a semiotic view of ritual, Ellen Basso views Kalapalo (indigenous people of central Brazil) musical performance as “symbolic action aimed toward comprehension of the world and of the self through active imagining and performative experience…” Sound, she argues, “is the primary symbolic form uniting these processes” (9).

Some scholars have cautioned that semiotic and performative approaches to ritual can become overly reductionist in character. For example, Robin Horton warns that in “symbolist interpretations” of ritual, “the reality of spirits is apt to fade, to be replaced by visions of people engaging in elaborately veiled power-plays, composing secular poetry, or participating in complicated semiological parlour games” (386). Catherine Bell explains that performance theory too often “denies any validity to indigenous claims that certain actions affect the gods, the harvest, or anything beyond the dispositions of the actors and the audience” (43). Bell’s work is helpful because it problematizes semiotic and performative approaches to ritual while avoiding the use of the term ritual as a “global construct” or “key to culture” (7). She also warns against an excessively rigid structuralist framework that dichotomizes thought and action as though ritual can be accurately depicted as “particularly thoughtless action—routinized, habitual, obsessive, or mimetic—and therefore the purely formal, secondary, and mere physical expression of logically prior ideas” (19). Although Bell faults Tambiah for falling back on this dichotomy, Tambiah’s emphasis on the interaction between thought and action serves, at least, to problematize the notion that beliefs or mental concepts precede ritual action and are therefore superior to it:

When beliefs are taken to be prior to ritual action, the latter is considered as derivative and secondary, and is ignored or undervalued in its own right as a medium for transmitting meanings, for the construction of social reality or, for that matter, the creation and bringing to life of the cosmological scheme itself…. Thus, while we must grant

the importance of cultural presuppositions, of cosmological constructs, as anterior and antecedent context to ritual, we must also hold that our understanding of the communicative aspects of ritual may not be furthered by imagining that such a belief context adequately explains the form of ritual event per se. (120-121)

Despite the potential pitfalls of semiotic approaches, I find them constructive insofar as they show that “the form a ritual takes, and the beliefs it expresses concerning the transcendent, are effective because they are also making statements about (symbolize) and mirror society” (157) [sic]. In other words, highlighting the symbolic or performative aspects of Pentecostal practice should not preclude a serious recognition of Pentecostal descriptions, interpretations, and levels of analysis.

Tambiah defines culture as the ideas and actions of those within a single, bounded society, and his discussion focuses on nineteenth-century haircutting ceremonies in Thailand. He sees the marriage between form and content, or between cosmology and culture, as critical. This duality in ritual “points in two directions at once—in the semantic direction of cultural presuppositions and conventional understandings and in the pragmatic direction of the social and interpersonal context of ritual action, the line-up of the participants and the process by which they establish or infer meanings” (154) 12. Tambiah’s search for universal ritual qualities leads him to identify certain “common denominators” in ritual, such as redundancy, rigidity, conventionality and condensation. These features comprise the relatively consistent semantic plane of ritual content. Unlike the semantic or cosmological elements of ritual, which Tambiah describes as “stable and underlying,” ritual’s pragmatic features tend to differ according to the social and historical contexts in which a specific rite takes place. Tambiah stresses the interdependency of semantic or cosmological and pragmatic or “cultural” meanings (160). He suggests that the intertwining of cosmological concepts and culturally communicative actions is the key to ritual’s performative efficacy. Ritual’s pragmatic features are given special attention because they account for “the variation in lexical uses, in the structure of the [ritual] site, and the scale of the ceremonies” (155). Variations occur in relation to the various class and status levels of the primary participants.

I believe this discussion of the interplay between semantic and prag-
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mantic dimensions provides a conceptual framework for exploring the ways in which global and local identities intersect and are expressed by Haitian and Jamaican Pentecostals through musical participation. Tambiah's concept of ritual communication can be usefully expanded to encompass not only the articulation of Pentecostal meanings within a particular ritual or national context, but also an approach to Pentecostalism as a global culture that is localized, in this case, within Jamaican or Haitian transnational nation-states. I want to suggest, therefore, a heuristic modification of Tambiah's framework by replacing his notion of ritual as a universal category with the concept of Pentecostalism as a global culture that is profoundly impacted by local spaces. Tambiah's notion of “ritual duality,” which involves the interplay of semantic and pragmatic dimensions, can be applied, on a micro-level, to the study of Pentecostal churches within Haiti or Jamaica, and on a macro-level, to an analysis of Pentecostal “ritual” as a global system.

This theoretical modification necessarily involves attending to differences in status, racial identity, gender, and historical consciousness among Pentecostals both within specific locales such as Haiti or Jamaica, as well as between these two postcolonial nation-states. One of my goals has been to use ethnography to convey a sense of the “Jamaicaness” and the “Haitianess” of Pentecostal practice by tying local expressions of cultural nationalism to the range of social factors that impact gospel musical participation in each country (e.g., Butler, "Songs of Pentecost"). For example, I contend that differences in Pentecostal musical repertory, style, and instrumentation relate to the ideological stances Pentecostals choose to take towards their country's popular dance music. This may partly explain why konpa is often played in Haitian Pentecostal churches while dancehall reggae is taboo in Jamaican ones. The local variations within and between Haitian and Jamaican Pentecostal practice constitute a pragmatic dimension that is continually reconciled with the global features of charismatic Christianity. I want to concentrate on this interplay between global and local spaces of Pentecostal practice by focusing specifically on some of the ways in which this global religion is practiced among Jamaicans and Haitians.

Conclusion

Religious experience serves as a way in which the ties that bind Haiti, Jamaica, and African America are particularly significant to me. I am especially attuned to the ways in which music serves to “heat up” the atmosphere and, it is believed, evoke the presence of the Spirit and/or spirits throughout the African Diaspora. As an ethnomusicologist who is also a professional musician and a Pentecostal Christian, I have had to think long and hard about some fascinating, yet potentially problematic issues: What does it mean for someone positioned as I am—situated in the racial, musical, religious crossroads of African American and Caribbean ways of being in the world—to represent Haiti and Jamaica in writing and in film? Moreover, how does a “politics of positionality” (Awkward, Negotiating Difference 4) shape my approach to fieldwork among Caribbean Pentecostals?

I find it fascinating to consider how Zora Neale Hurston's positionality may have influenced her work. I often wonder how Hurston, the daughter of a Baptist minister, chose her topic and found the inspiration to write so evocatively about such a variety of religious practices. Of course, the precise ways in which her background shaped her writing would be tricky to uncover, but it is certain reasonable to speculate that works such as Tell My Horse and The Sanctified Church would have a much different flavor had she grown up under another set of family and socioreligious circumstances. Just as Hurston's identity impacted her representations of Black expressive cultures, my writing on Haitian, Jamaican, and African American Pentecostal music making is no doubt shaped by my cultural and religious identity. For example, it is not by happenstance that I find myself attracted to research on Pentecostalism as a global religious movement (e.g., Martin's Pentecostalism, The World Their Parish). Since the 1990s, scholars have begun to devote greater attention to this phenomenon. Martin describes Pentecostalism as "a repertoire of recognizable spiritual affinities which constantly breaks out in new forms" across the globe (Martin 176).ollenweber provides a thorough synopsis of Pentecostalism as it has spread, during the twentieth century, from very few to approximately five hundred million adherents. Poeoe and Coleman also provide comprehensive overviews of Pentecostal and charismatic churches.
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from a global perspective. Rendering Haitian and Jamaican Pentecostals as part of a global "community of practice" (Strauss 177) is ultimately perhaps a legitimizing move on my part: It lends authority to assertions of Pentecostal universality, while providing a basis for claiming a religious bond, perhaps in place of an unrecognized racial one, between me and the Caribbean Pentecostals about whom I write. Such a perspective also has interesting implications for contemporary fieldwork and pushes me, once again, toward George Marcus's critical reassessment of traditional, place-based ethnography.

In this article, I hope to have drawn attention to the ways in which a variety of Black Pentecostals use music to index both their global cosmology and also the local boundaries they traverse. Highlighting the relationship between the spaces of global theology and those of local congregational musical practice, I posit that music provides a means for Pentecostals to articulate a global consciousness that opposes local hegemonies. Pentecostal notions of self are constructed musically and involve a charismatic practice that provides a sense of empowerment, allowing believers to carve out transnational spaces of action situated in the interstices of an African diasporic framework and an oppositional global imaginary. Local concepts of musical appropriateness and cultural nationalism play a major role in how this appropriation of global culture occurs. In Haiti, Jamaica, and African America, Pentecostals both construct and transcend the self, expressing religious, cultural, and (trans) national identities while using musical praise to access a higher spiritual plane where communion with the Holy Spirit becomes possible. Hurston's oeuvre suggests that this is a kind of transcendence that she knew and practiced well.

Notes

1 Among Pentecostal congregations, the term "saints" denotes those "believers who have professed Christ as their personal savior, been saved by His holy power, and now walk the 'set apart' path of sanctification" (Hinson 2000, 2).

2 Although some casual observers in the United States describe Pentecostals and charismatics as "Fundamentalist," there are significant differences between these groups. For example, both Pentecostals and Fundamentalists share a belief in biblical accuracy but tend to differ greatly in terms of political orientation and religious experience. In the United States, self-described Fundamentalists have often been politically conservative supporters of the late Jerry Falwell and other members of the Religious Right. The blanket use of the term "Fundamentalist" thus disregards the ways in which religious perspectives vary according to national, racial, and political identity. See Spittler ("Are Pentecostals and Charismatics Fundamentalists?") for an overview of the uses of these religious labels in American society.

3 U.S.-based Pentecostal organizations such the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World (PAW), the United Pentecostal Church (UPC), and the Church of God have historically exerted a strong missionizing force in Jamaica and Haiti. Although many mission-affiliated churches in the Caribbean are now under local leadership, these churches' use of a mission title suggests at least a nominal recognition of foreign power. Moreover, the doctrines handed down since the 1930s have remained fundamentally in place (see Jeanty, Le Christianisme en Haiti). Although interpreted in different ways by different groups, the Bible is viewed as the inerrant Word of God and serves as a strong unifying factor among charismatic Christians.

4 Taken from Galatians 6:10, the phrase "household of faith" is often referenced in an attempt to draw connections among Pentecostals worldwide.
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4 For historical discussions of the mourners' bench (or "moaners' bench) as it relates to the practice of tarrying for the Holy Spirit during conversion, see Daniels ("African-American Pentecostalism" 280) and Raboteau (Slave Religion, 254-255).

5 Interview with the author. Port-au-Prince, Haiti, September 16, 2001.

6 Personal communication, July 14, 2002.

7 I use the term "Revivalist" in a general sense to denote any or all of the religious systems designated as "Revival," "Revival Zion," or "Pocomania."

8 Roland Robertson uses the concept of globalization to refer to "both the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole" (8). Coleman argues that charismatic Christians "construct a place of their own, a specific arena of action and meaning, within the shifting, liminal, chaotic space of the global" (5-6). He also cautions that "the orientations towards the world displayed by these Christians involve not merely a set of ideas, but also engagement in certain physical and material activities, including the development of a spiritually charged aesthetic that encompasses ritual movements, media consumption, linguistic forms and aspects of the external environment."

9 Ephesians 4:3-6, which emphasizes a spiritual oneness that binds believers, is often cited to reinforce the notion unity among Pentecostals.

10 Tambiah defines cosmology as "the body of conceptions that enumerate and classify the phenomena that compose the universe as an ordered whole and the norms and processes that govern it" (121).

11 Here, Tambiah uses the adjectival "cultural" to mean "cosmological" when denoting the body of conceptual presuppositions comprising the stable, semantic plane of ritual content. In most cases, however, "cultural" refers to the variable, pragmatic dimension of ritual, i.e., the ritual actions that change according to a rite's particular "cultural" context.

12 Coleman (2000) study of charismatic Christianity differs from my own in that he is primarily concerned with "Word of Faith" churches that emphasize obtaining financial prosperity through faith and sacrificial giving.

13 As Joseph Murphy states, "The use of 'diasporan' to refer to the religions of peoples of African descent living in the Americas arises out of African Americans' profound identification with the biblical people of God in their enslavement, exile, and deliverance. An African diaspora connotes both one and several communities, separated by language and culture, but united in a similar past and future" (177).

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