Drums on the Move: An Exploration in Africa-Diaspora Studies

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[This paper is linked to a PowerPoint presentation of 45 slides with images and text. Annotations to the slides are given in the end material to the paper.]

1. First Objective – trace the drums

The specific purpose of this study is to gain a sense of the musical patterns linking Africa and the African Diaspora, their dynamics and interactions, continuities and innovations. Within music, it focuses explicitly on the importance of percussion instruments and percussive rhythms in music of the African diaspora. In practice, the approach is narrowed drastically to focus on material culture – the physical nature of the drum – because the size and shape and components of the drum can be documented rather systematically through images and material remains.

The time frame in which I am most interested is that from the sixteenth through the nineteenth centuries: the time of slavery and slave trade, and the time before sound recordings. Why this time? I hope to find patterns of interconnection for continent and diaspora in the era of slavery. I expect that one can reasonably replace a widespread but oversimplified model projecting one-way movement of musical traditions (from Africa to the Americas and then to further

points, accompanied by attenuation at each destination) with a model of interchange and innovation throughout the cultural system of continent and diaspora.

The main patterns I would like to be able to describe are the distribution of different types of drums throughout the African continent, the distribution of various types of drums used in the Americas, and the dynamics of change and interaction within and between these regions. For the latter point, the dynamics, I would hope ideally to identify (1) the links of African and American drums, (2) the movement of drum characteristics within the Americas, (3) the movement of drum characteristics within Africa, (4) the movement of drum characteristics from the Americas to Africa, (5) the appropriation of drum characteristics from beyond the African diaspora, and (6) the transformation of drum types in each region of Africa and the diaspora.

In fact, the direct evidence on the distribution, displacement, and transformation of drum characteristics from the sixteenth through the nineteenth centuries is sparse and scattered. I have concluded that the analyst needs to explore further, seeking evidence from earlier and later times to find general patterns and specific elements of data that can be projected into interpretation of that time period. This is the main issue in research design for reconstructing the story of drums in the African diaspora: only a restricted quantity of evidence will apply directly to the period 1500-1900. In addition, three more categories of indirect evidence may assist in interpretation of the target period: evidence that cannot be dated, evidence on times before 1500, and evidence on drums in the twentieth century. The strategy is to use the full range of this information to get the

strongest possible impression of patterns and changes for the sixteenth through nineteenth centuries.

2. Second Objective – Africa-Diaspora Studies

The more general purpose of this study is to illustrate the possibilities of cultural studies linking Africa and the African diaspora. Historical studies of Africa and the African diaspora have grown up in interaction with each other, but the ties are arguably not strong enough. That is, I think the analytical ties today are not as strong as the historical ties were in the past.

The term "African diaspora," to my understanding, evokes a historical continuity encompassing all of Africa, people of African descent in the Americas, and the wider social and cultural influence of African traditions in the Atlantic world and beyond. In practice, however, we continue to have a set of more narrowly defined academic discourses. These may be listed as studies of precolonial African history, colonial African history, African international relations, Atlantic slave trade, slave society in the Americas, struggles for emancipation, pan-Africanism, and cultural studies of the Black Atlantic.

I propose making a further attempt to link these fields together. Of course previous authors – from Du Bois to Herskovits, Pierre Verger, R. F. Thompson, Paul Gilroy and their successors – have attempted to document these linkages.¹ Yet even after these productive analyses, there remain gaps and inconsistencies in linkage of Africa and the diaspora. For those working on the diaspora, I argue that the absence of closer linkage to Africa leaves their portrayals with a generalized vision of Africa, giving little insight

into interconnections on the continent.² For Africanists, I have suggested in the same essay that more attention to audiences in the diaspora and more effort to document linkages among African regions would develop the larger-scale vision of African patterns that would connect the continent more clearly to the diaspora.

The drum serves as a metaphor for the African diaspora, and it tends to evoke broad images of Africa and the diaspora. But as with the historical literature, specific studies of drums and drumming have not yet pulled together details to sustain this vision. So this study of material culture is proposed to begin charting the road toward a more specific interpretation of drums, drumming traditions, and of the African diaspora in general.

3. Images – drums of the Niger-Congo region

In the images associated with this text, I offer a review of drums for various parts of Africa, especially drums created in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. These drums are principally membranophones, but also include idiophones in the form of slit drums. The images show the range of materials, shape of the drum body, materials for membranes, methods of attaching and tuning the membranes, and methods of sounding the drums.

In the accompanying images, I classify the drums by body shape, membrane, materials and construction, attachment and tuning, sounding. These elements, plus of course the actual music created with the drums, add up to the full **repertoire** of Niger-Congo drumming:³

- Body material and shape: wood [single log, staves] and gourds. Other materials, not shown are clay and metallic drums.
- Body shapes (cylinder, barrel, waisted, goblet, pot, footed, and frame drums; plus slit drum).
- Membrane (goat, sheep, cow, antelope, monkey, reptile).
- Membrane attachment & tuning (nails, pegs, laces, flexible laces [for talking drums], belts, screws).
- Methods of sounding (by hand, straight stick, bent stick)

The images, which I have drawn from print and internet publications, emphasize the parallels in drums for West Africa and Central Africa. While the forms of drums vary widely, there is a remarkable continuity in the range of drums throughout the region in which Niger-Congo languages are spoken.⁴

To account for this pattern of great variety and underlying commonality in drums of the Niger-Congo region, I propose two general dynamics. First is that the tradition of drums goes back very far indeed, and has spread wherever peoples of this tradition have gone. Second is that the ancestral tradition of drumming has been modified repeatedly by innovations, some of which have spread quite widely.

Because the innovations in drumming may show up subtly in the material form of the drum, the observer may miss some of the resulting patterns of distribution. So I propose to make the argument for patterns of innovation and spread by noting five examples, only one of them invoking drums. The *mbira* is established as having been invented in Zimbabwe. Arguably its invention or full development required iron keys, so that it can be timed to roughly the last two thousand years. Yet the mbira spread to many parts of Africa, all the way to the western savanna. Xylophones were introduced to the East African coast from the Indonesian archipelago, arguably about two thousand years ago, and they spread to many parts of the continent, and also reaches the western savanna. The iron bells of kings, according to Vansina, spread in two waves from West Africa (roughly, the lower Niger Valley) to a large portion of Central Africa: single bells reached Zambia by about 800 CE, and double bells reached the same area by about 1500 CE.⁵

4. Hypotheses: drums in Africa to 1500

Here are hypotheses summarizing my interpretation of the data summarized above.

- Drums and polyrhythms reflect a deep Niger-Congo tradition. The existence of a generic Bantu term for drum, "ngoma," suggests that drums go back beyond the earliest Bantu dispersions, perhaps as much as 5000 years ago. One may propose that drums go far further back than that among speakers of other groups of Niger-Congo languages.
- The variegated repertoire of drums and drumming is shared throughout the Niger-Congo region, though with local variation. Drumming became associated with a wide range of social experiences, and invoked all sorts of feelings and behavior.
- 3. Drums functioned in groups, and rarely as individual instruments. In studying any drum, one should look for its habitual associates.

- Instruments and music often crossed ethnic lines. Thus while drums (like sculptures) are often identified in terms of the ethnicity of their makers and users, drums of very similar nature existed across ethnic boundaries.
- Innovations sometimes spread widely. The examples of mbira and xylophone illustrate this pattern. The practice of using bent drumsticks – common from Igbo- to Gur-speaking regions – is likely the spread of another such innovation.

5. Drums in the Americas, 1500-1900: hints and hypotheses

Drawing in part on an extension of the above hypotheses from Africa to the diaspora, and also from observation of available data on drums in the Americas before 1900, I offer this second set of hypotheses:⁶

- Drums spread from Africa to all corners of the African diaspora in the Americas through the slave trade.
- 2. Specific forms and uses of drums followed population movements as they varied in space and time. The available documentation enables constructing a fairly clear summary of, for instance, numbers of captives who went from the Bight of Biafra to the British Caribbean in the eighteenth century or to Cuba in the nineteenth century.
- 3. Drums survived, declined, or became modified in the New World under the influence of varying materials, language, musical practice, and social patterns.
- 4. New drumming ideas and forms developed in the Americas and spread to nearby and perhaps distant regions

In support of these hypotheses, I offer a small number of images of drums in the Americas, for the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries. The first illustration is that of a beautifully simple drum acquired (and presumably created) in seventeenth-century Virginia. Richard Powell has suggested that this drum "looks very much like percussive instruments found among Akan- and Fon-speaking peoples in West Africa."⁷ While this is true, it is my impression that that there are similarities to this drum in a much wider area of Africa. The second set of illustrations is taken from John Stedman's drawings of in Suriname in the late eighteenth century.⁸ These show several types of drums, including those with membranes at both ends somewhat like *bata* drums of Igbo manufacture; Stedman's drawings, however, do a poor job of representing the devices holding the membranes taut. Third, a painting from northeastern Brazil in the mid-seventeenth century shows a band of three musicians, two with barrel-shaped drums not unlike modern conga drums.⁹ Fourth, the famed painting of "El Dia de los Reyes" in Havana of roughly 1870 shows two drummers with cylindrical instruments.¹⁰

One may offer speculations on changes in drums in the Americas. I suppose one should first address the common assertion that drums were banned among slaves in the Americas. I have been disappointed to see how weakly documented this assertion is in readily available materials. It is more credible for North America than elsewhere, but even then we have only a vague picture of when and under what circumstances drums were banned. Where drums survived, the techniques of drum manufacture may have changed. The commonality of barrels on plantations may have led to creating drums out of staves rather than carving them out of logs; in addition, there was perhaps less time for specialized woodcutters and sculptors among American slaves than among free Africans.

Still, as colleagues have reminded me, the ritual significance of carved drums has kept them alive in Cuba.

The talking drums of Africa seem not to have survived the passage across the Atlantic. The virtual disappearance of tonal languages in the Americas was probably important in this loss. (On the other hand, the importance of Yoruba language in Brazil and Cuba may have sustained talking drums at least for a time in those areas.) Another apparent change is the simplification of polyrhythms on the American side, to the degree that one can ask whether polyrhythms were replaced in the Americas by syncopation.

One further point on population flows from Africa. The nineteenth-century impact of Yoruba captives on traditions of the Americas is well known; it is often contrasted with the impact of eighteenth-century Gbe-speaking migrants to Haiti.¹¹ Such paths of migrations and their timing should be followed in more detail. Consider Venezuela and Dominican Republic, where the slave trade died down early, but where a substantial African-based tradition lived on: the evolution of these traditions over more than two centuries are worthy of analysis.

With the limits on direct information I have been able to collect so far on drums and drumming in the Americas up to 1900, it is difficult to offer firm statements on the dynamics of material and musical change in drums. In attempt to address this gap, I turn next to a review of drums in the twentieth century.

6. Recent patterns: drums in Africa and the Diaspora since 1900

In this review I assume a substantial continuity in the tradition and the dynamics of drums and drumming in Africa and the diaspora, so that the better-documented trends of the twentieth century can be used to suggest what the patterns may have been for earlier times in the diaspora.¹² I assume that twentieth-century innovations in drumming are modest modifications to the inherited repertoire of drumming, rather than assimilation into a global and capitalistic music market. I assume that new drum forms spread where and when they were associated with successful musical and social traditions. And I propose that new materials – at the extreme, aluminum and fiberglass drums with plastic membranes – are adopted wherever they fit the music. The images of the drums I discuss come from readily available internet ads and from photos of drums in play.

Conga drums and bongo drums each developed a specific and exportable form in the early twentieth century, especially in the thriving urban Cuban musical tradition. Conga drums, barrel-shaped with nailed membranes, assumed three and sometimes four standard sizes: the tumbadora, the conga, and the quinta, with the latter the smallest and the lead drum.¹³ Tuning of the nailed membranes was accomplished by heating them over a fire. For audiences at home, the drums themselves were often sufficient to provide support for rumba dancing, which expanded with them. With more extensive instrumentation for more general audiences and for recordings, conga drums spread with Cuban bands throughout the Americas. Cuban bands and instrumentation reached Africa in the 1940s, where bands in Angola and Congo sang in Spanish. Bongo drums, pairs of small drums linked together, traveled also with Cuban musicians.¹⁴ Unlike other drums, bongos traveled beyond the core of African diaspora music, and were mainstreamed into American popular music or played by themselves.

Drum sets were created in the U.S. at much the same time, at the turn of the twentieth century.¹⁵ The form and materials of drum sets owe much to European music,

and the key invention of the foot pedal for the bass drum was by the German-born William Ludwig in 1909. Nonetheless the function of the drum set was especially to provide percussion for jazz ensembles, and the range of drums in a set fit easily into ancestral African patterns. Drum sets spread throughout America and Europe, but they also spread with jazz and other musical forms to many parts of Africa and the African diaspora.

Another drumming innovation was the steel pans of Trinidad.¹⁶ These were idiophones rather than membranophones and were tuned more elaborately than drums, so they may also be compared to xylophones. In any case, steel pans developed rapidly in the 1930s and 1940s, and came to be used at once in formal performances and great competitions and in informal settings. They have spread widely, and I was amused to find a website centering on Antigua that claimed steel pans as a local invention. In a somewhat parallel development, timbale drums (in effect, pairs of small tympani that are open-ended at the bottom) gained in popularity in association with the rise of *salsa* music, Puerto Rican musical identity, and the person of Tito Puente, though the drums and even the music had their origin in Cuba.¹⁷

Three additional recent innovations in drumming show that the originality comes not only from the Caribbean. Djembe drums have become very popular in the U.S. and the Caribbean. The goblet shaped drums, with membranes generally laced into place, are sometimes portrayed today as the elemental African drum. In fact their popularity stems from Les Ballets africains de Guinée, the national dance troupe formed by Keita Fodeba which toured the world following the 1958 independence of Guinea.¹⁸ The djembe drums they used, popular with Mande-speakers of Guinea, became widely adopted in the

wake of their travels. Second, in some cases an individual drummer was able to have great influence. So it was with Babatunde Olatunji, who popularized a certain version of Yoruba drumming with American audiences, and taught many who are carrying on his legacy.¹⁹ My third example is that of the surdo drums of Brazil. These aluminum drums, played with deafening effect in the sambas of Bahia and also Rio, were made famous especially through the music of the Olodum group, and Paul Simon spread their reputation even further as he featured them in one of his albums.²⁰

The overall pattern appears to be that of occasional musical innovation for local social and cultural reasons, drawing on aspects of the common tradition to create a distinctive approach to percussive music. The percussive innovation then persists in the home area and, if it is sufficiently attractive, spreads to other areas.

7. Conclusion: Designing Africa-Diaspora Research

My expectation is that the twentieth-century patterns of development and spread of drums and drumming were anticipated by similar innovations in earlier times, though these were presumably on a more localized or more gradual scale. But for the further study of drumming in the African diaspora, I propose that the following steps be the basis for research design. By tracing populations and (where possible) material culture, one may follow the patterns of drum movement from Africa to overseas. In the Americas one should seek out innovations in drumming; and by the same token, one should continue to seek out indications of musical change within Africa. In addition to such local changes, one should be on the lookout for Atlantic and global exchange in drums and drumming.

Finally, here are four simple principles that I think can be extended from this specific though preliminary investigation to broader investigations of the African diaspora and its history. First, for any topic, there are advantages to conducting a very broad overview of data, for all of Africa and all of the diaspora, and addressing a long period of time. These data may prove useful in unexpected ways. Second, one should naturally search for specific, local characteristics in the topic under study. Third, one should identify significant innovations in any area, and trace their movements. Finally, one should identify interactions of all sorts among traditions – not just the spread of innovations, but more complex interplay as well

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Image descriptions and credits, slides 1-45.

Slide 1. "The Atumpan" (Akan),

http://www.bbc.co.uk/music/features/africa/winsatumpan.shtml.

Slide 5. Image 1, "Akan drum" (West Africa), and image 2, "Talking drum" (West Africa): Hamill Gallery. African Drums Exhibit.

http://www.hamillgallery.com/EXHIBITIONS/AfricanDrums.html.

- Slide 6. Language map: http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/didact/karten/afr/afrikam4.htm; climate map:
- Slide 7. . Images 1 (West Africa) and 3 and 4 (Central Africa): Hamill Gallery. African Drums Exhibit; image 2 (West Africa): Esther A. Dagan, ed., *Drums: The Heartbeat* of Africa (Montreal: Galerie Amrad African Art Publications, 1993), 117 and back cover.
- Slide 8. Images 1 and 2 (West Africa): Hamill Gallery, African Drums Exhibit; image 3, "ngoma," http://www.bbc.co.uk/music/features/africa/cinsngoma.shtml; image 4 "Tikar drum" (Central Africa): Dagan, Drums, 122.
- Slide 9. Image 1: "sub-Sahara drum," Dagan, *Drums*, 23; image 2: djembe; Images 3 and4 (Central Africa): Hamill Gallery, African Drums Exhibit.
- Slide 10. Images 1 (West Africa) and 3 (Central Africa): Hamill Gallery, African Drums Exhibit; images 2 (West Africa) and 4 (Central Africa): Dagan, *Drums*, 21.
- Slide 11. Image 1 (West Africa): Dagan, *Drums*, 12; images 2 (West Africa) and 3 (Central Africa): Hamill Gallery, African Drums Exhibit

- Slide 13. Images 1, 2 (West Africa) and 3 (Central Africa): Hamill Gallery, African Drums Exhibit; image 4 (Central Africa): Dagan, *Drums*
- Slide 14. Image 1: "Chamba drum" (West Africa), image 2 "talking drum" (West Africa), Hamill Gallery, African Drums Exhibit; image 3 "Mpongwe *ikabo* (?) drum (Central Africa): Dagan, *Drums*, 130.

Slide 16. Image 1, "sabar" (West Africa),

http://www.bbc.co.uk/music/features/africa/winssabar.shtml; image 2 "The Atumpan," (West Africa):

http://www.bbc.co.uk/music/features/africa/winsatumpan.shtml; image 3 (Central Africa): http://www.ceeba.at/arts/arts_musique_alfons_mueller.htm.

Slide 17. Image 1 "Yoruba bata drums,"

http://www.bbc.co.uk/music/features/africa/winsbata.shtml. Image 2 "Talking drum," image 3 "Boure drum," image 4 "Chamba drum" – Hamill Gallery, African Drums Exhibit.

Slide 18. Image 1: "Dan drum," Hamill Gallery, African Drums Exhibit; Image 2, G. I. Jones collection; image 3 "Yoruba drum," Hamill Gallery, African Drums Exhibit; image 4 Hamill Gallery, African Drums Exhibit; image 5 : "Yoruba drum," Hamill Gallery, African Drums Exhibit.

Slide 19. Image 1 "Yaka drum"; image 2 "Chokwe drum": Hamill Gallery, African Drums Exhibit. Image 3 "ngoma,"

http://www.bbc.co.uk/music/features/africa/cinsngoma.shtml.

Slide 20. Image 1 "Bamileke drum"; image 3 "Chokwe drum"; image 4 "Yaka drum"; image 5 "Kuba talking drum"; image 6 "Bamileke drum," – all from Hamill Gallery,

African Drums Exhibit. Image 2,

http://www.ceeba.at/arts/arts_musique_alfons_mueller.htm;

Slide 21. Image 1 "mbira, Zimbabwe"

http://www.zambuko.com/mbirapage/m_intro.html; image 2, "Bamana mbira," Hamill Gallery, African Drums Exhibit; image 3 xylophone or balofon, http://perso.wanadoo.fr/jdtr/Balafon.htm; image 4 (bell), Vansina, "The Bells of Kings," p. 188.

- Slide 24. Map: Koeppen's climate classification, http://www.atm.dal.ca/~lohmann/clch/koeppen.jpg.
- Slide 25. Image 1 (drum): "Slave drum, late seventeenth century." Powell, *Black Art and Culture*, p. 6; image 2: "Musical Instruments of the African Negroes," John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative of a Five Years Expedition against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam*, Eds. Richard Price and Sally Price (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988), plate 69, p. 539.
- Slide 26. A *calundú* in northeastern Brazil, seventeenth century. Painting by Zacharias
 Wagener (1614-1668), "Negertanz," *Thier Buch*, pl. 105; courtest Staatliche
 Kunstammlungen, Kupferstich-Kabinett, Dresden, Germany. Sweet, *Recreating Africa*, 150.
- Slide 27. "Victor Patricio Landaluze, 'Dia de Reyes,' oil painting, 1881. Museo de Bellas Artes, Havana," Moore, *Nationalizing Blackness*, 147.
- Slide 30. Image 1 (congas), and images 2 and 3 (bongos): Drum Works, http://www.thedrumworks.com/
- Slide 31. Drum set: proaudiomusic.com/ drums/adam/ad5150d.gif.

Slide 32. Image 1 (steel pans): Mervyn Williams, in F. I. R. Blake, *The Trinidad and Tobago Steel Pan: History and Evolution* (Published by the author, n.d. [c. 1996]), p. 38; image 2: The Renegades, in Blake, *Steel Pan*, p. 278; image 3: "Early Red Army from Prince Street, visited British Guyana in 1947. They remained [sic] themselves Merry Makers when the band removed to Sackville Street," Blake, *Steel Pan*, 282.

Slide 33. Image 1 (djembe), Drum Works; image 2 (timbale): Tito Puente.

- Slide 34. Image 1: "The Soul of Life," Babatunde Olatunji, http://www.metroactive.com/papers/metro/07.11.96/olatunji-9628.html
- Slide 35. Images 1 and 2 (surdos), A Word about Surdos, http://members.cox.net/drum/surdos01.htm.
- Slide 38. Images 1 and 2: "Negrito, probably Paquito Rodríguez. Centro Idilio Urfé," Moore, Nationalizing Blackness, p. 148; "Sexteto Liborio,' 1926. Centro Idilio Urfé, Havana," Moore, Nationalizing Blackness, p. 156.
- Slide 39. Image 1: "Roger Fanfant's orchestra, Fairness Jazz, which represented
 Guadeloupe at the 1937 World's Fair in Paris. Courtest of Joseph Luce," Guilbault, *Zouk*, following p. 134, #8; image 2: "Dédé Saint-Prix, the Martinican promoter of *mizik chouval bwa*. Photo by Christian Géber," Guilbault, *Zouk*, following p. 134, #4.
- Slide 40. Image 1 (Brazilian drums): "Ceremonial umbanda drums and figurines in the Bazar Oxalá. Photo by Chris McGowan." McGowan and Pessenha, *Brazilian Sound*, 16.

Slide 41. Grenada Drum Festival. http://www.spiceisle.com/drumkrumah/photos.htm. Slide 42. Grenada Drum Festival.

- Slide 43. Image 1: "Talking drummers (Uncle Toye Ajafun and his Olumo Soundmakers, 1979)," Christopher Alan Waterman, *Jújù: A Social History and Ethnography of an African Popular Music* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), following p. 116; image 2: "I.K. Dairo and his Blue Spots (ca. 1962). Back row, (right to left): clips, maracas, agoago, dùndún. Front row: Double toy ògìdo, accordion, samba, àkúbà," Waterman, *Jújù,* following p. 116.
- Slide 44. Rural southeast Dahomey, 1996, photo by Patrick Manning.
- Slide 45. Image 1: "Hausa royal drums,"

http://www.bbc.co.uk/music/features/africa/winstambari.shtml; image 2: "Tivoli drummers, Grenada," Grenada Drum Festival.

NOTES

² Patrick Manning, "Africa and the African Diaspora: New Directions of Study."

Journal of African History 44 (2003), 487-506.

³ Slides 5 and 6.

⁴ Slides 7 - 20 (see list of slides for details).

⁵ Slide 21.

⁶ Slides 23 – 24. The climate-vegetation map in slide 24 indicates the ecological similarity of the Niger-Congo homeland in Africa and the tropical American regions in which most Africans were settled.

⁷ Richard J. Powell, *Black Art: A Cultural History*, 2nd ed. (London: Thames & Hudson, 2003), 7; slide 25.
⁸ Stedman, *Narrative*, plate 69, p.539. This image shows cylindrical drums at left; a footed drum at center; and two drums with membranes at both ends, in the style of Yoruba *bata* drums. The illustrator was unfamiliar with drums, at least to the extent of drawing the lacing of the membranes more as package wrapping than with the tension it would take to maintain a taut drumhead ; see slide 25.

⁹ Slide 26.

¹⁰ Slide 27.

¹¹ Slide 28.

¹² Slide 29.

¹³ Slide 30.

¹⁴ Slide 30.

¹⁵ Slide 31.

¹⁶ Slide 32.

¹⁷ Slide 33.

¹⁸ Slide 33.

¹⁹ Slide 34.

²⁰ Slide 35.

¹ Du Bois, *The Negro* (1915); Melville J. Herskovits, *The Myth of the Negro Past*; Pierre Verger, *Dieux*

d'Afrique; Robert Farris Thompson, Flash of the Spirit; Paul Gilroy, The Black Atlantic.