

Contents

List of Figures.....	ix
List of Tables.....	xi
1. Introduction	1
1.1. Preface.....	1
1.2. Archaeological Background.....	3
1.3. The Bakongo Interpretation	5
2. The Cross, and Cross and Circle Motif, in African North America.....	9
2.1. Introduction.....	9
2.2. First Attempts to Identify the Origins of African American Folk Beliefs.....	11
2.3. Explanatory Models for Cultural Retentions, Cultural Transformations	16
2.4. Theoretical Frameworks.....	19
2.5. Discussion	20
2.6. Creolization and Syncretism	20
3. Cross Mark Symbolism in the British Isles	25
3.1. Introduction.....	25
3.2. The Varieties of Cross Symbolism	25
3.3. Euro American Examples.....	40
4. The Archaeology of Cross Marked Objects, and The Bakongo Turn	45
4.1. Introduction.....	45
4.2. The Turn to a Bakongo Interpretation.....	51
4.3. Symbols of World View or Cosmology within Bakongo Culture.....	52
4.4. Use as Body Markings	52
4.5. Rituals involving Crosses.....	52
4.6. Crosses on Portable Objects, Architecture.....	52
4.7. Concept of the Crossroads	52
4.8. West Central Africa – Non-Bakongo Peoples	53
4.9. Use as Body Markings	53
4.10. Rituals involving Crosses.....	53
4.11. Crosses on Portable Objects, Architecture	53
4.12. Concept of The Crossroads	53
4.13. Discussion	54
5. Why Bakongo?	55
5.1. Introduction.....	55
5.2. The Fetishization of The Bakongo Cosmogram	59
5.3. Confirmation Bias	61
6. Alternative African Interpretations.....	63
6.1. African Cross Mark Usage and Cosmologies	63
6.2. Senegambia Region.....	77
6.3. Sierra Leone Region.....	78
6.4. Windward Coast Region	78
6.5. Gold Coast Region	79
6.5.1. Symbols of World View or Cosmology.....	79
6.5.2. Use as Body Markings	80
6.5.3. Rituals involving Crosses.....	82
6.5.4. Crosses on Portable Objects.....	82
6.5.5. Crosses Adorning Architecture.....	83
6.5.6. Concept of the Crossroads	83

6.6. Bight of Benin.....	83
6.6.1. Symbols of World View or Cosmology.....	83
6.6.2. Use as Body Markings	84
6.6.3. Rituals Involving Crosses.....	84
6.6.4. Crosses on Portable Objects.....	84
6.6.5. Crosses adorning Architecture.....	85
6.6.6. Concepts of The Crossroads.....	85
6.7. Bight of Biafra.....	86
6.7.1. Symbols of World View or Cosmology.....	86
6.7.2. Use as Body Markings	86
6.7.3. Rituals involving Crosses.....	86
6.7.4. Crosses on Portable Objects.....	87
6.7.5. Crosses adorning Architecture.....	88
6.7.6. Concept of the Crossroads.....	88
6.8. Southern and Eastern Africa.....	88
6.8.1. Use as Body Markings	88
6.8.2. Rituals involving Crosses.....	88
6.8.3. Crosses on Portable Objects.....	89
6.8.4. Concept of The Crossroads	89
6.9. Discussion	90
7. Conclusions	91
7.1. Introduction.....	91
7.2. The Comparative Evidence	91
7.3. The Inevitability of Syncretism	93
7.4. Reprise.....	95
8. References.....	97