

AFTER THE REVOLUTION:
The Search for Roots in Afro-Cuban Culture

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LOS ÑAÑIGOS. By ENRIQUE SOSA RODRIGUEZ. (Havana: Casa de las Américas, 1982. Pp. 466.)

DIALOGOS IMAGINARIOS. By ROGELIO MARTINEZ FURE. (Havana: Editorial Arte y Literatura, 1979. Pp. 285.)

LA FUENTE VIVA. By MIGUEL BARNET. (Havana: Editorial Letras Cubanas, 1983. Pp. 243.)

Cuba, c'est vraiment un pays
trop surréaliste pour y habiter.
André Breton

The Surrealism of Cuban Culture

"Cuba is truly too surrealistic a country to be lived in," observed one of the founders of the surrealist movement in literature. These words do not refer to Fidel Castro's revolution of 1959, having been uttered during Breton's brief exile in Cuba in the 1940s. Cuba's image as a "surrealist country" has somehow prevailed through the years in spite—or perhaps as a result—of the major social, economic, and political changes on the island in the last three decades.

What is so surrealistic about Cuban culture? At least since the nineteenth century, scholars as well as foreigners traveling in Cuba have been fascinated by the apparently incongruous juxtaposition of two races, cultures, and peoples—the African and the European.¹ A whole literature thus emerged around the Afro-Cuban theme, although the term *afrocubano* itself did not gain academic respectability until Fernando Ortiz introduced it in 1906 in his classic work *Hampa afrocubana: los negros brujos*.

Ortiz was a towering presence in Cuba's intellectual life during the first half of the twentieth century. In the field of anthropology, he single-handedly addressed the major topics of the research agenda drawn up by Melville Herskovits for Afro-American studies (see Herskovits 1945). Ortiz's emphasis on folk religion, music, dance, and the-

atre of African origin in Cuba unwittingly helped to identify the concept of folklore with Afro-Cuban culture. Hence the main thrust of Cuba's anthropological tradition has been to investigate and interpret cultural survivals from the African past (for example, Lachatañeré 1939; Cabrera 1954; Ortiz 1973).

The entire prerevolutionary period (1902–1959) was dominated by Ortiz not only in terms of publications but also in the formation of scholarly societies. With Carolina Poncet and José María Chacón y Calvo, Ortiz founded the Sociedad del Folklore Cubano in 1923 and directed its journal, *Archivos del Folklore*, from 1924 to 1929 (see León 1982; Guancho 1983). In 1937 Ortiz joined poet Nicolás Guillén in forming the Sociedad de Estudios Afrocubanos, which published its own journal, *Estudios Afrocubanos*, for seven years. Several generations of Cuban intellectuals interested in the African component of their national culture thus matured under the tutelage of Fernando Ortiz and his disciples, such as Lydia Cabrera and Argeliers León. As a result, Afro-Cuban studies became focused almost exclusively on the problem of *transculturation*, the term that Ortiz proposed to substitute for *acculturation*.

The Cuban Revolution of 1959 sparked a renewed effervescence in Afro-Cuban studies, until then the province of a few conscientious scholars on the margins of academic life and public interest. Research centers with an Afro-Cuban focus suddenly multiplied, beginning with the creation of the Seminario de Folklore by the Teatro Nacional de Cuba in 1960. Out of this group emerged the journal *Actas del Folklore*, the historical studies of slave quarters by Juan Pérez de la Riva (1975), and some of the work of Rogelio Martínez Furé reviewed in this essay. In 1961 the Instituto Nacional de Etnología y Folklore began to train a younger generation of anthropologists like Miguel Barnet, the author of the celebrated *Biografía de un cimarrón* (1966) and other works in the testimonial genre (Barnet 1969, 1983). Before it was absorbed by the Academia de Ciencias de Cuba, the Instituto published the biannual *Etnología y Folklore* from 1966 to 1969.

Another institution that contributed to the explosion of Afro-Cuban studies was the Biblioteca Nacional José Martí, through its music department, which was founded in 1960 by Argeliers León and María Teresa Linares. In addition, the Seminario de Música Popular, headed by Odilio Urfé since 1948, was reorganized after the Revolution and continues its research tasks today. Most recently, the Ministerio de Cultura (which houses such scholars as Jesús Guancho) has announced its sponsorship of the *Atlas de la cultura popular en Cuba*, a work that promises to map the island's folk culture in detail (see Barreal 1980).

This historical background is the context in which the present studies must be judged. Three elements stand out clearly in this brief

overview. First is the dearth of research on areas of Cuban culture outside the traditional scope of Afro-American studies.² For instance, Spanish, French, and Chinese influences are still virgin territory in Cuban anthropology. Second is the lack of a critical reappraisal of the founding texts of Afro-Cuban studies, although signs of such a reappraisal are emerging. For example, Ortiz's line of thinking, which was born under the aegis of the criminalist Cesare Lombroso, was initially permeated with an evolutionary positivism and was even labeled "functionalist" by none other than Bronislaw Malinowski. Still others have found the seeds of a dialectical and materialistic approach in Ortiz's later writings, such as *Cuban Counterpoint* (1940).³ Finally, except for the latter book and Guanche's recent essay (1983), little has been done so far in constructing an integral analysis of Cuban culture, above and beyond its African component. What we have are isolated bits and pieces, fragments of a complex social reality that awaits exploration.

Secret Societies and African Roots

The three volumes under review here clearly illustrate the continuity between Ortiz's historical orientation and the present generation of Cuban ethnologists.⁴ The best case in point is Enrique Sosa Rodríguez's *Los ñáñigos*, which earned the prestigious Casa de las Américas award for best essay in 1982. This book unabashedly seeks "to analyze for the first time *ñáñigo* societies on the basis of their African origins, their myth-ritual, and their evolution in Cuba" (p. 221).⁵ It deals with one of the most puzzling aspects of Afro-Cuban culture: the *abakuá* secret society, an exclusively male sect organized around the cult of the dead. Sosa's goal is "to trace the linkages between *ñáñiguismo* and the history of class struggle and racism" (p. 10) in Cuba, but underneath lies a more political attempt to reestablish the "filial historical relation" between Cuba and Africa.⁶

Los ñáñigos is based on a variety of primary and secondary sources, some of them of high quality, others long outdated. The author had access to Fernando Ortiz's extensive collection of rare books on Africa at the Biblioteca Nacional, especially those by British explorers, missionaries, and colonial administrators in Nigeria. Sosa also employed archival materials, newspaper articles, and oral histories in his reconstruction of the Afro-Cuban past. Yet he relied heavily on such references as the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* of 1955 and the *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada* for his basic geographic and cultural information on Africa, and on the outmoded theories of Sir James Frazer and Lewis Morgan for his main insights into myth, magic, and religion. This unevenness of documentation makes it difficult to assess the scholarly value of Sosa's contribution. The study contains no evidence that the

author is familiar with the most recent debates in the field of Afro-Caribbean studies (for example, Mintz 1974; Mintz and Price 1976; Moreno Fraginals 1977).

One wonders to what extent the scarcity of current bibliography is due to external factors influencing intellectual craftsmanship in Cuba—namely, the U.S. blockade of Cuba's exchange with the outside world. But Sosa's work undoubtedly was conceived with an immediate ideological purpose: to preserve the memory of a culture bound for extinction because of its "anachronism" in a "Communist society" (p. 15). The author's pessimistic outlook on the prospects of *ñañiguismo* in Cuba is based on two premises: first, that *ñañiguismo* is a survival of "a community in a very primitive stage of socioeconomic and cultural development" (pp. 130–31); and second, that *ñañiguismo* has no place in a classless society without racial divisions, which Cuba should become in the near future. Ultimately, this perspective is grounded in a very rudimentary application of nineteenth-century evolutionary thought à la Marx.

Yet the book has its merits. It succeeds in convincingly tracing the origins of abakuá secret societies all the way back to the Sudanese and Bantu tribes of Nigeria and Cameroon, commonly known in Cuba as *carabalí*. The first three chapters shed light on the structural and symbolic similarities between *ñañiguismo* in Cuba and *ekpe* in Africa. Both are ritual organizations centered on ancestor worship and mutual aid along lines of sex, age, and even color and class. The fourth chapter documents the creation of the first abakuá society in Cuba in the 1830s, Efik Butón. Sosa shows how this exclusively *carabalí* society, born out of a colonial *cabildo*,⁷ gradually incorporated other African ethnic groups, then mulattoes, and finally whites and Chinese.

Throughout the book, Sosa argues that prerevolutionary writers on Afro-Cuban culture overlooked the myriad connections between religious beliefs and practices, on one hand, and economic and material circumstances, on the other (p. 302). Yet his own analysis of *ñañiguismo* largely circumvents that relationship. In fact, the persistence of abakuá societies even after the Cuban Revolution is explained primarily in terms of the length of time of the slave trade in Cuba (from the sixteenth century to the 1880s), the sheer massiveness of Cuba's African population (more than a million slaves were imported to the island during the colonial era), and the institution of the *cabildo*, which assured the conservation of African religion, music, dance, and language. Although these demographic and historical variables are undoubtedly part of the picture, they fail to incorporate precisely those elements dearest to the materialist perspective: class relations, mode of production, and power struggles (see Moreno Fraginals 1964, 1983).

One slim chapter in Sosa's long treatise is dedicated to socioeco-

nomic questions. In it, he points out that most of the *ñáñigos* came from the lower class, particularly from tobacco workers, longshoremen, and other manual laborers in prerevolutionary Cuba. Many were young illegitimate sons who themselves married consensually. They tended to live in the marginal quarters of port cities like Regla, Havana, Guanabacoa, Matanzas, and Cárdenas. Some of the *ñáñigos* had penal records and were involved in the criminal underworld. This aspect stigmatized the entire group to such an extent that *ñáñigo* practices were outlawed in 1876. In short, the *abakuá* secret society was nourished by the dispossessed sectors of Cuba's population, especially the black urban proletariat.

In the end, *Los ñáñigos* suffers from the inconclusiveness of the ethnohistorical school in Afro-American anthropology (see Smith 1965; Mintz and Price 1976). For example, Sosa argues that *abakuá* male ideology is rooted in the African continent, with its traditional disdain for women and its cult of masculine virtuosity. While gender distinctions among the *ñáñigos* resemble their *carabalí* ancestors, they are also reminiscent of the creole society around them. Thus the ideal male values represented by the prototype of the *chévere monina*—courage, agility, impulsiveness, and cunning—may be attributed equally to Hispanic sources. The point is not whether *machismo* is Spanish or African but rather that the search for specific roots in Afro-Cuban culture may prove to be an academic, if not a sterile, exercise.

Afro-Cuban Folklore as a Weapon

In *Diálogos imaginarios*, Rogelio Martínez Furé, a folklorist associated with Cuba's Teatro Nacional, has collected some of his best essays. Like Sosa, Furé longs "to possess an exact vision of what we are, the roots from which we emerge, and the historical destiny toward which we march together" (p. 5). Rhetoric aside, these "dialogues" establish an intimate rapport between Cuba and Africa, particularly Angola, Ghana, Madagascar, and Argelia. The first part of Furé's book, although extremely polemical, evidently draws on his personal experiences in those countries and his acquaintance with their literary authors. This "Diálogo con Africa," however, remains tangential to the book's principal concern: the rediscovery of Cuba's authentic popular culture, "the one created silently by the working masses of Indians, blacks, mestizos, poor whites, and Asians" (p. 7). Only in the second of his *Diálogos* does Furé tackle this fundamental issue.

As a folklorist, Furé's primary sources are his interviews with native informants (in this case, old Afro-Cubans), supplemented by standard anthropological texts such as those of Herskovits on Dahomey, Roger Bastide on Brazil, and Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán on Mexico.

Furé's analysis is at its best when studying oral narratives such as Yoruba myths and fables or the *patakín*, the sacred notebooks that Afro-Cuban priests still pass from one generation to the next. Here Furé makes an original and lasting contribution by documenting some of the ingenious mechanisms through which African dialects, tales, and values were preserved in Cuba.

The existence of these sacred written texts raises questions about the nature of Afro-Cuban folklore. It has long been assumed that Yoruba myth and ritual were transmitted in Cuba by means of oral tradition; this notion is only partially correct. As Furé points out: "In the notebooks, we find hundreds of myths and fables, lists of proverbs, Yoruba-Spanish vocabularies, ritual formulas, recipes for incantations and sacred foods, tales about the *orichas* [Yoruba gods], songs, divinatory systems and their secrets, names of the gods' herbs and their use in rites and in folk healing, etc. In sum, the entire knowledge of the Yoruba and their culture, which resists dying" (pp. 211–12). The most valuable aspect of the *patakín* is that it codifies the core of Afro-Cuban religion, the elaborate divinatory system known as Ifá. Without Ifá, many beliefs and practices of African origin would have disappeared in Cuba, for it is Ifá that gives meaning and structure to the believer's life.

Less interesting, but important, is Furé's attempt to disentangle little-known strands of Afro-Cuban culture, such as the *ewé-fon* subculture from Dahomey or the *iyésá* and the *brikamo* from Nigeria. Methodologically, Furé follows closely in Maestro Ortiz's footsteps by employing etymological speculations, linguistic classification, and historical comparisons. Furé breaks no new ground conceptually in confining himself to the usual notes on the phenomenon of transculturation and the predictable assaults on the slaveholding class and its racial ideology. In this context, one misses the nuanced, erudite prose of the master and the sheer originality of his viewpoint (see Ortiz 1973).

It is clearly the surrealistic aspect of Afro-Cuban culture that continues to attract a poet-ethnologist like Furé. Writing about the hybrid nature of Afro-Cuban religion, he points out that it is "actually a juxtaposition, since the syncretic elements appear in the outward manifestations of the cult; as we penetrate deeper into its mysteries, African elements emerge with an extraordinary purity, as in initiation, divination, or funerary rites" (p. 138). In essence, Furé does not attempt to provide a new theoretical framework for Afro-Cuban studies but rather sets out to refine some of the best-known concepts in the field—transculturation, syncretism, and the like. Although modest, this kind of enterprise has its value.

One engrossing chapter of *Diálogos imaginarios* looks at a conventional topic from a fresh perspective. Furé proposes to show that "the history of the drum, from the sordid barrack houses or the colonial

cabildos to our day, symbolizes the centuries-old sufferings of African descendants [and] their secret struggle to preserve the remains of their cultural patrimony" (p. 177). The task is achieved swiftly by locating musical performances in their social and political context and by interpreting the cultural significance of drumming for blacks and mulattoes in Cuba. In this short essay, Furé's literary imagination combines with his knowledge of folklore to produce a provocative piece of anthropological analysis (compare Abrahams 1983).

The final chapter, entitled "Diálogo imaginario sobre folklore," deserves separate comment. Conceived as a conversation between the author and Don Fernando (Ortiz), it seeks to clarify the former's view of folklore as "a powerful weapon in the struggle for liberation" (p. 257), that is, as a revolutionary science serving the interests of "the people."⁸ Reprinted several times, this programmatic essay has reached a wide audience inside and outside Cuba. Its most important asset is its clear exposition of the Marxist perspective on folklore. Its most controversial aspect is its proposal to "expurgate" folklore from "harmful ideas and habits" that are "contrary to a materialist conception of the world" (p. 260). The basic flaw of Furé's argument is the assumption that someone like himself can decide what is or is not "revolutionary" in the popular traditions of a nation like Cuba. The practical implications of this stance are tremendous.⁹

In sum, the strength of *Diálogos imaginarios* lies in its detailed demonstration that Cuba's culture is tied to Spain, Africa, and the Caribbean; the work's weakness arises from its blanket dismissal of "bourgeois" social science. Ironically, Furé's outlook on folklore is tinged by an elitist attitude regarding the morality of African "superstitions" and "antisocial" habits. In the opinion of this reviewer, value judgments cannot depend exclusively on one's personal biases and political preferences. Who is to say whether Afro-Cuban beliefs and practices should be preserved or purged? Unfortunately, petty state bureaucrats, rather than informed intellectuals like Furé, often make such important policy decisions.

The Live Sources of Cuban Culture

Of the three works under consideration, *La fuente viva* makes the most valuable contribution. Miguel Barnet is well known outside Cuba for his novels based on real-life characters like runaway slave Esteban Montejo, nightclub actress Rachel, and Gallician immigrant Manuel Ruiz (Barnet 1966, 1969, 1983). But Barnet has also written a series of creative and influential anthropological articles, now collected for the first time in this volume, which spans the years between 1964 and 1981. The title, *La fuente viva*, telegraphs its author's two main biases: his

penchant for delving into the “live sources” of popular tradition and his poetic approximation to the problem of national identity. Barnet’s thesis that Cuban culture cannot be understood without reference to the common people—“the people without history,” as Pérez de la Riva (1975) likes to say—seems self-evident to this reviewer.

The book’s two parts reflect Barnet’s dual frame of reference to literature and anthropology. The first section, “Testimonio,” revolves around the conceptual and methodological issues of the *novela-testimonio*, loosely defined as a first-person ethnographic account of historical significance. Barnet takes pains to distinguish the *novela-testimonio* from the biographical narrative popularized by Oscar Lewis in *La Vida* and *The Children of Sánchez* (Barnet collaborated briefly with Lewis on his Cuban project). The main difference, according to Barnet, is that Lewis simply transcribed what his informants told him, while Barnet believes that “the literary imagination must go hand in hand with the sociological imagination” (p. 29). In other words, Barnet feels that he should “polish” the language, “correct” the style, and otherwise “improve” the quality of his informant’s narration. Although this approach might please some poets, it will make anthropologists raise their eyebrows.

In the second part of *La fuente viva*, Barnet makes his most important contribution to Afro-Cuban studies. Appropriately named “Raíces,” this section starts with an early essay on the sources of Cuban culture (Indian, Spanish, and African) and follows with an excellent review of folklore studies in Cuba and two classic articles on the function of myth and the role of sugar in Cuban culture.¹⁰ Also included is a useful overview of Yoruba deities in Afro-Cuban *santería*, as well as informative sketches of Congo religious influences and African folk poetry. Barnet’s prose flows smoothly, his analysis is insightful, and his powers of synthesis remain unparalleled in contemporary Cuban anthropology.

La fuente viva is written in a polemical tone that should annoy proponents of a “value-free” social science, especially political conservatives. In this respect, Barnet resembles the muckrackers of an earlier period in American history as much as the more recent brand of Caribbean anti-imperialism (see Lewis 1985). One of Barnet’s continuing qualms about “bourgeois anthropology” is that it fossilizes its object of study (the “live sources” of everyday life) by its sterile obsession with method, static concept of culture, and paternalistic view of the lower classes. Some of this criticism is well founded. As Barnet observes, “Traditionally folklore, or better still, folk phenomena were analyzed with a class and racial bias” (p. 108), in Cuba and elsewhere. At other points, however, Barnet verges closely on the pamphletary, as in his enthusiastic praise of Fidel, the Revolution, and its cultural accomplish-

ments. The following passage, for example, fits better with the official discourse of political rallies than the critical analysis of a scholarly work: "Those qualities inherent in the old concept of Cubanness appear today, in the light of the Revolution, as vices of inertia, lack of discipline, and individualistic selfishness; not to mention frivolity, hyperbole, proverbial laziness, oblique attitudes that skim over truth or tragedy, mental divagations, or volatile fantasies" (pp. 47–48).

In any case, *La fuente viva* documents the central direction of Cuba's anthropological studies in reevaluating the colonial and neo-colonial past from the standpoint of the postrevolutionary present.¹¹ The factor that essentially differentiates the work of, say, Fernando Ortiz and Lydia Cabrera, on one hand, from that of Barnet and Furé, on the other, is an immediate political context—the socialist state—that defines part of the research problems, methods, and perspectives. "We are seeking to do more than document an era," writes Barnet, "we want to judge it" (p. 40); and value judgments are unequivocally "based on the principles of dialectical and historical materialism" (p. 50).

My reading of Sosa, Furé, and Barnet, however, uncovers a more pragmatic and eclectic approach to the study of Afro-Cuban folklore, despite the constant disclaimers. No radical breaking point exists between earlier researchers and those working within the Revolution in matters of substance.¹² Rather, a remarkable continuity is reflected in the choice of topics (religion and music being the most popular), the stylistic approach (a cult of baroque language prevails), and the intellectual framework employed (as nationalistic and antiracist as ever). While this continuity may not make much sense politically, it helps to bridge the gap between scholars in Cuba and other countries.

In sum, *La fuente viva* is an indispensable text in Cuba's quest for identity. Barnet's interpretation of Cuban culture in terms of the history of sugar and slavery ably synthesizes findings by Manuel Moreno Fraginals, Raúl Cepero Bonilla, Juan Pérez de la Riva, and other Marxist scholars, and it is required reading for anyone interested in Cuba. Barnet's chapter on Yoruba divinities serves as a basic guide to the study of santería, the most important Afro-Cuban religion, in a field characterized by dispersion of sources, lack of conceptual rigor, and excessive literary allusions. I know of no better single analysis of the mythical and ritual significance of the major deities in Afro-Caribbean culture, except for William Bascom's perceptive essay, *Shango in the New World* (1972).

Beyond the Search for Roots

In his useful review of folklore studies in Cuba, the distinguished musicologist Argeliers León observed, "The triumph of the

[Cuban] Revolution initiated a new stage [in Afro-Cuban studies]: the rescue of our traditional culture. And the beginning of a new course of work: to make this culture present; to convert it into the patrimony of our own people; in a word, to liberate it from the alienating forces that impeded its Cuban self-appraisal" (León 1982, 187). The socialist regime has undeniably prompted a reevaluation of national consciousness, most overtly by declaring Cuba an "Afro-Latin-American" country. The work of the scholars reviewed in this essay attests to the growing interest in Afro-Cuban culture and its political relevance. To this extent, the period since 1959 represents the culmination of the *negritud* movement of the 1930s led by Nicolás Guillén in literature and Fernando Ortiz in anthropology.

Yet precisely because these writers are the heirs of this tradition, their limitations become more obvious. More studies are scarcely needed of the Afro-Cuban cabildos of the colonial era, the technical details of the sacred *batá* drums, or the remote origins of long-forgotten tribes in exotic lands. The field needs neither more compilations of African-Spanish terms nor ingenious discussions of cultural similarities between Cuba and Nigeria nor redundant observations of syncretisms between Catholic saints and Yoruba gods. This kind of information forms part of Cuba's intellectual heritage and should be assumed as such. What is needed now is to look beyond the conventional frontiers of Afro-Cuban anthropology in order to advance its conceptual, methodological, and practical implications. Some of this thrust is already anticipated in the best work of Barnet, Guanche, and Furé. As Barnet notes, "the changes that [the Cuban Revolution] produced in our traditional forms of folklore will be the main subject of our country's future folklorists and ethnologists" (p. 138).

NOTES

1. It was, after all, this coexistence of different worlds in the Caribbean that led Alejo Carpentier to write some of his novels in the *real maravilloso* vein, particularly *El reino de este mundo* (1949).
2. The major exceptions to this trend are Samuel Feijóo (1980), María Teresa Linares (1974), and Jesús Guanche (1983), whose research interests center on the folklore of the *guajiros*—the Cuban peasantry of primarily Hispanic origin.
3. Thus de la Campa writes, "*Counterpoint* . . . constitutes nothing less than a constant dialectical movement between the structural economic sphere, its historical consequences, and its linguistic-cultural products" (1981, 47). All translations from the Spanish originals are mine.
4. These books may be ordered from the Center for Cuban Studies (124 West 23rd Street, New York, New York 10011) and Ediciones Vitral (GPO Box 1913, New York, New York 10116).
5. Actually, the first analysis of *ñāñiguismo* is the classic by Lydia Cabrera (1958).
6. In effect, contemporary Cuban ethnology is part of a broader political enterprise, in which history plays the leading role. For an excellent analysis of historiography in socialist Cuba, see Pérez (1985).

7. The cabildos were mutual-aid societies composed of slaves and their descendants, usually from the same ethnic group in Africa. They were officially sponsored by the Spanish colonial government from 1691 to 1898 (Duany 1985, 107).
8. The theme of struggle is one of the most repeated terms in the revolutionary jargon. History, as well as culture, is conceived as a weapon by Moreno Fragnals (1983).
9. Furé is not alone in voicing this opinion. A senior member of the anthropological establishment in Cuba, Isaac Barreal, says of folk festivals: "All elements that appear to have a religious function or a superstitious base, those characterized as a game of stakes or chance, those resembling outmoded class or racial divisions, acts of useless cruelty to animals, or those that endanger the physical or moral integrity of people, etc., must unfailingly be discarded" (Barreal 1980, 5).
10. The latter essay has already been published in English (Barnet 1980).
11. A further indication of this retrospective trend was the celebration of the Seminario sobre la Fundación de la Nacionalidad Cubana in Havana in 1983. Among its participants were Barnet and Moreno Fragnals, as well as historians Julio LeRiverend and Jorge Ibarra.
12. I would suggest that the affinity extends to Cuban emigrés who have begun to write on Afro-Cuban religion. See, for example, the work of Sandoval (1975), Sánchez (1978), Duany (1982), and Cuervo Hewitt (1983).

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