

**AFRO-CUBAN DIASPORAN RELIGIONS:  
A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE  
LITERATURE AND SELECTED ANNOTATED  
BIBLIOGRAPHY**

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## **Afro-Cuban Diasporan Religions: A Comparative Analysis of the Literature**

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“The coercion and resistance, acculturation and appropriation that typify the Caribbean experience are the most evident in the Creolization of African-based religious beliefs and practices in the slave societies of the New World. African religions merged in a dynamic process with European Christian and Amerindian beliefs to shape syncretic theologies that provide alternative ways of looking at the world ‘in a certain kind of way.’ Powerful repositories of inner strength and cultural affirmation, the Caribbean’s African-derived syncretic religions and healing practices . . . have penetrated to the core of cultural development in the Caribbean, leaving deep imprints on every significant cultural manifestation of the various islands” (Paravisini-Gebert, 1997:2).

### **Introduction**

The entire Caribbean region has experienced significant African cultural influences and is, in fact, perceived by some to be the outer edge of an African culture complex. African-based religious systems and magical rites have had a particularly profound impact and transcendence in Cuba, permeating Cuban culture, linguistics, art, and literature, in addition to its religious, historical, and ethnological dimensions. It has been said that one cannot understand Cubans without taking into account their African roots or influences. Our task is to describe the various religious systems, cults, and sects that germinated through the encounter of the African, European (in this case Spanish popular Catholicism) religions and, to a lesser extent, the native indigenous cultures. This paper analyzes the literature that has been produced up to now about each of these systems, comparing the relative abundance or scarcity of the literature devoted to each of them and the scholarly quality of the supporting research.

The term “diasporan religions” originated with American researcher and practitioner of Afro-Caribbean religions, Joseph Murphy, and here it is used to designate the whole spectrum of cultural and religious traditions of the black African diaspora that evolved in the New World with indigenous and Spanish influences, focusing solely on its Cuban dimension.

Research and study on the African diasporan religions has gained tremendous momentum in the last three decades. The hemispheric expansion and increasing significance of syncretic or juxtaposed religious systems that sprang from a merging of diverse African religious creeds, mythology, rites, and practices with Christian liturgy and popular beliefs has influenced many plastic, literary, and musical artistic efforts.

With the exception of Brazil, nowhere in the Western Hemisphere have these diasporan religions been more diligently examined, analyzed, and studied in-depth than in the Caribbean, with Cuba and its variant of Santería (or a Yoruba-based system) being one of the most prominently examined and showcased. The study of these religions has gained enormous significance, as their adherents and students have increased and their practice has spread throughout the United States, Venezuela, and elsewhere in the Spanish Caribbean and Latin America. Since the influence of African religious rites, dances, and musical instruments is so manifest in the Cuban musical arts and has been so thoroughly documented, here we have chosen to highlight primarily the impact of Afro-Cuban religions on the visual or plastic arts.

The expression “Santería,” literally, “the way of the saints,” is often used as an umbrella term for various forms of Afro-Cuban religious traditions, syncretized from the influences of all ethnic groups that reached the island. We will restrict the term here to the worship of the Yoruba-derived deities or *orichas*, which would be more properly termed Regla de Ocha or Religión Lucumí, as Santería is perceived as a somewhat pejorative term by devotees. The Lucumí/Yoruba pantheon of gods, reminiscent of Greek mythology, was juxtaposed or syncretized with those Catholic saints widely venerated in Spanish popular religiosity, whose general attributes, domain, or issues for which they are invoked were perceived as being similar.

The prevalence of the term Lucumí/Yoruba to embrace most of the Afro-Cuban diasporan religions is due in great part to the fact that, though the enslaved Africans who were brought to the island during colonial times -- beginning in the sixteenth century in the wake of the first Spanish conquistadors through the latter part of the nineteenth century -- were from numerous ethnic groups, the Yoruba peoples from West Africa, known in Cuba as the Lucumí (derived, according to most researchers, from the word Ulkumi, an ancient Yoruba kingdom), predominated at a certain period when these syncretic processes were being gestated. Also, from this part of Africa came the Ibo, the Efik from Calabar (known in Cuba as the Carabalí), the Fon (or Dahomean) and numerous other peoples. Outstanding, due to their great numbers and their having a powerful presence, were representatives of the Congo ethnic groups: Loango, Mondongo, and others who came from Central Africa.

As late as circa 1870, contraband slaves continued to flow into Cuba even after the slave trade had officially stopped. That is why in the first third of the twentieth century some older “negros de nación” (African-born slaves) could still be found who remembered well the traditions and customs of their homeland and were able to transmit them to their descendants. This fact greatly fostered the continuity of the religious systems, as well as our understanding of them today.

While the Afro-Cuban community absorbed much of the Hispanic culture and was exposed to its religious tenets and rituals, many of these practices were perceived by Africans and their descendants as complementary to their cultural practices, and not mutually exclusive. This process of mutual influences was termed by pioneer Cuban American studies researcher Fernando Ortiz as transculturation. Whether of Western African or Central African extraction or whether having shared influences in liturgy, rituals, deities and theologies that can be traced to common roots, preponderant traits among all of these religious complexes are their dynamism and their vitality. These characteristics result from the openness of African religious mentality, a permeability that allows other influences to be appropriated into their practices.

Surprisingly, African religions absorbed Hispanic religions and cultural influences without losing the integrity of their unique spirituality. According to Albert J. Raboteau, “African styles of worship, forms of ritual, systems of belief, and fundamental perspectives have remained vital on this side of the Atlantic, not because they were preserved in a ‘pure’

orthodoxy but because they were transformed. Adaptability, based upon respect for spiritual power wherever it originated, accounted for the openness of African religions to syncretism with other traditions and for the continuity of a distinctive African religious consciousness” (Raboteau, 1978: 4-5).

Another common characteristic that unites the African religious complexes is their worship of the spirits or ancestors, who pervade the whole environment. There is no separation between the spirit world and the tangible world. The spirit world, nature, and the human environment coexist in the same sphere. The use of African languages, the occurrence of spirit possession, and the practices of drumming and dancing are also unifying traits.

### **Afro-Cuban Diasporan Religions: Definitions, Historical Background, Similarities, and Differences**

#### *Lucumi/Regla de Ocha/Regla de Ifá*

The ancient religious system of the Yoruba people of Western Nigeria known in Cuba as Regla de Ocha (for its fundamental Rule of Ocha) is characterized by a well-developed, structured mythology and a rich liturgy that merged with various popular Spanish Catholic practices and beliefs in a process of amalgamation or syncretism. The old Yoruba deities (*orichas*) were identified in their various attributes and manifestations (*caminos*) with diverse Catholic saints and various advocations of the Virgin Mary, such as Nuestra Señora de la Caridad, Nuestra Señora de las Mercedes, and others. Thus arose the religious system that underwent a process of syncretization, producing a spontaneous, popular reconciliation of

different religious beliefs that were blended, consciously or unconsciously, or in many cases survived in juxtaposition, in what some authors refer to as parallelism.

Lydia Cabrera and other scholars theorize that the slaves fashioned their religion to a certain extent, as a deceptive tool to escape retaliation for practicing forbidden “heathen” rites, as enforced by white masters or Spanish Catholic authorities. They also attribute development of the syncretism to a logical consequence of the African cosmovision, coupled with the slaves’ subconscious psychological need to see their gods survive in a strange environment. On the other hand, current socio-political interpretations held by U.S. Afro-Cuban researchers such as Harry Lefever and other authors from present day Cuba, cast its origin as a conscious effort at cultural resistance to colonial oppression. This group attributes the persistence of the Lucumí religion to the hegemonic resistance dimension, a characteristic that is “intrinsic to the indigenous, critical hermeneutics of Yoruba belief” (Lefever, 1996:310).

This socio-religious amalgam happened largely in an urban context as urban slaves made up a significant proportion of entire slave populations – one-third in 1825 and one-fifth in 1855 (Klein, 1967). Most Santería rites are genuinely African at their core and cannot be traced to Spanish folk Catholicism or to the brand of Kardenian Spiritism which was very influential in Latin America during the latter part of the nineteenth century. Finding correspondences between their belief in reincarnation and Spiritism’s presence of spirits and their evocation, the slaves allowed Spiritism some share of influence in this blend of

practices and beliefs. For example, some of Santería's current healing rites, such as the use of cologne, glasses of water, and flowers, may derive from the Cuban brand of *Espiritismo*. (Brandon, 1990:38). Likewise, the use of cigar smoke and tobacco have been traced to native indigenous ritual practices, as tobacco is a New World crop.

Good research on this aboriginal influence from the earliest colonial times has been carried out in Cuba, where researchers such as Daisy Fariñas have traced and explored the Taíno (Arawak) Indian retentions in Afro-Cuban religions. In spite of these extraneous influences, it is the core practices of initiation, divination, and sacrificial rites that are more genuinely Yoruba (Brandon, 1990: 210). The highest system of divination, the Table of Ifá, conforms very closely to Yoruba tradition.

Scholars such as George Brandon concur with Catholic Church theologians that few Catholic elements are directly traceable in the substance of the ideology or the core (*fundamento*) of the ritual system. A pivotal part of Yoruba/Lucumí's worship, religious theology, and entire vision of the world is a life-force (*aché*) that imbues all beings, animate or inanimate. This is the vital energy that is captured in the sacred stones (*otanes*), whose power is revitalized by bathing them in the blood of animals sacrificed and consumed in the religious ceremonies. None of this conforms to Catholic practice, although Christ's sacrifice of himself is reenacted in every celebration of communion during mass.

Most serious Lucumí religion scholars agree that prayer formulas in the Spanish language, the names of groups (*cofradías*) and saints' day festivals, and the so-called *velorios de santos* or popular rituals like *bembés*, where the non-initiated can participate, represent mostly external, superimposed Catholic elements and not integral, internal elements.

*Congo/Bantú: Palo Monte/ Mayombe*

One of the variant forms of the Reglas de Congo, Palo Monte, or Palo Mayombe is the most common of the religious cults derived from the Bantú (Congo) of Central Africa, who occupied a vast territory from the southern part of Cameroon through northern Angola to Mozambique and also extended to what is now Congo-Brazzaville. It encompasses various Congo religious systems: Regla Conga, Biyumba, Musunde, Quirimbaya, and Vrillumba. There was also a later variant which admitted whites -- Regla Kimbisa del Santo Cristo del Buen Viaje, established by Andrés Facundo Cristo de los Dolores Petit. This Rule, while expanding its membership and furthering Catholic influences in many of the rituals, as well as also expanding the cult to Yoruba orichas, was viewed as betraying Congo secrets to the ruling whites.

The emphasis of the Bantú/Congo religious practices lies in the magical or sorcery aspects of African beliefs, in tandem with healing practices. The name "Palo" denotes the sticks and branches from the forest (*el monte*) utilized in the elaboration of a sacred object (*nganga*) used for spells. Often maligned, practitioners of Palo (*paleros*) are accused of practicing black magic or witchcraft, with rites utilizing corpses and dangerous herbs and

spells for evil purposes. Palo involves a specialized cult of the dead with emphasis on magic practices such as pacts with the dead, typically made in a graveyard along with the creation of a *nganga*. This *nganga* is placed in a special iron cauldron filled with ritual objects of nature (bones and sticks) and imbued with magical powers. All of these practices and attributes of sorcery with the dead (*trabajos con muertos*) involve the idea of evil witchcraft and make Palo experts or leaders very much feared and regarded as dangerous. In Miami, as in Cuba, they have made the headlines by stealing corpses for use in their *ngangas*. The Africans themselves were implicated by this negative image as they capitalized, to their advantage, on the fear of their sorcery by the whites in power. All these magic rites have earned Palo the epithet of “the dark side of Santería,” the term encompassing in this instance not only the Regla de Ocha but also the Congo-based cults. The various forms of Palo Monte practices feature deities taken both from the syncretism of Catholic saints and the Yoruba orichas.

The Congo presence in Cuba was documented in colonial times in the eighteenth century, with Alejo Carpentier reporting the existence of a “Cabildo de Congos” in 1796. Bantú/Congo peoples continued reaching Cuba’s shores well into the last part of the nineteenth century and are second in importance only to the Yoruba, according to some sources. In contrast with the Reglas Lucumí, the Reglas Congas survived most strongly in the eastern section of Cuba, around Santiago de Cuba and Guantánamo. Congo influence, rites, and figures have since spread throughout the island, particularly in the ritual drawings of a cosmogram (*traza* or *nganga*-marking), which is traced while chanting sacred songs or *mambos*.

In Havana and its environs, Congo and Yoruba beliefs coalesced to beget a cult to Zarabanda -- the Congo counterpart of Oggún, the powerful god of metals -- another instance of syncretic processes among diverse African ethnic practices. Another example of syncretism is the fact that, although African dialects are used in their rituals, *paleros* also add some Arabic words to their chants and greet each other with the “Salaam alaikum” used in Islamic nations. For a complete examination of Congo religious practices, cosmology and structure, beliefs in death and the ancestor spirits, with interesting references to Cuban practice, see the documented monograph by Wyatt MacGaffey (1986), *Religions and Society in Central Africa: The BaKongo of Lower Zaire*, or the informative study by Simon Bockie, (1993) entitled *Death and the Invisible Powers “the World of Kongo Belief,”* which has an extensive and up-to-date analysis of Congo ancestor worship.

#### *Abakuá/Carabalí/Ñáñigo*

Arriving on Cuba’s shores in large numbers, the Ekoi peoples of the Calabar Coast of Africa made a lasting impact on the customs, folklore, popular language, and traditions of the island. This contribution is most evident in the creation and existence of the Cuban Abakuá (or Abakwa) Secret Society, whose members are also known as *ñáñigos*, and appears to be a direct legacy of the ancient Egbo society of the Ekoi and Efik ethnic groups of this particular coast in West Africa. Similar types of associations are very typical of this part of Africa where secret and mutual assistance brotherhoods are abundant and constitute a significant part of the ethnic tradition. The most powerful of these brotherhoods, the Egbo society, was transplanted to Cuba by these groups known in Cuba as Carabalí, because they originated in

the Calabar region of the African continent. Furthermore, the Ekoi claim to have started the whole concept of these societies, which were prevalent into the early twentieth century and still exist in Cuba.

To illustrate the extent to which the Carabalí customs prevailed in Cuba, we note that, according to well-known anthropologists, the initiation ceremonies for the seven grades through which the aspirant must pass before admission to deeper teachings or revelations of any except the lesser mysteries were carried out almost verbatim in nineteenth-century Cuba. Moreover, Cuban popular argot is interspersed with Abakuá-derived words, which have been carried over from ritual to common usage, even to the common slang term for woman, *jeba*, and epithets like *chévere*, which originally meant a brave, macho man and is now widely used to mean “swell” or “cool.”

In Africa, this strictly male association allowed only men to be admitted into the brotherhood, except for an occasional affluent or powerful woman who was allowed to become an honorary member of all grades but never achieved full membership or knowledge of the mysteries (Courlander, 1996: 570-575). However, in Cuba, restrictions for women were even stricter. No women were ever allowed to become members.

The ancient Ekoi societies also bore resemblance to the Spanish civil associations (*cabildos*) prevalent in Seville and other parts of Andalucía, a fact that facilitated their

transport and subsequent syncretism and transculturation. Thus, the stage was set for a merging of the two traditional institutions.

In Cuba, the Abakuá society was a *cabildo* whose membership cut through various cults or ethnic groups. A practitioner of Santería could also be an Abakuá brother (*ecobio*) because membership, besides conferring a certain prestige, also offered an opportunity for mutual assistance. Membership required a period of testing, instruction, initiation, and a complex set of obligations, duties, and responsibilities within a rigid formal structure. Rites included singing, dances, blood and other kinds of offerings, ablutions, processions, use of African languages, and drum playing. Prevalent in Havana, nearby Regla, Guanabacoa, and in the port of Matanzas and the city of Cárdenas in that same province, members of the Abakuá societies took prominent parts in the Havana carnival dances where they danced in folk dance groups (*comparsas*). Their secret symbols (*anaforuanas*) have been amply documented by Lydia Cabrera and their musical instruments by Fernando Ortiz.

The term Abakuá originates from the region of Akwa, where a similar antecedent society, that of “Leopard-men” of the Efik/ Efor, flourished in West Africa and wielded considerable power up to the early twentieth century. Remarkably, as the traditions were handed down in Cuba, they retained their vitality and dynamism, due in part to the constant influx of new slaves from the Akwa region. The slave trade dragged on in Cuba into the latter part of the nineteenth century, with the last contingents smuggled in around 1870. The Calabarí were one of the last ethnic groups to be transported to the island, and their first

society in Cuba was founded in 1836. For all the above reasons, the Egbó vocabulary has been surprisingly preserved, as have the rites and costumes of ceremony participants. Even the music, singing, and drumming is recognizable as an inheritance from the Efik and Ekoi peoples. It is a complex, hierarchical society with clearly defined functions, bound together by strict initiation oaths; authority resides in the king (*iyamba, jefe*). Surprisingly, the numerous officers in the ceremonies in Cuba have preserved the same titles as in Africa, up to and including the priestly *morwa*, who evokes, controls, and guides the visiting spirits, although rites exhibit some elements of syncretism with Catholic practices.

A very detailed description of the rites of this society as compared with those of the original Egbo of the Calabar Coast is found in Harold Courlander's *A Treasury of Afro-American Folklore* (1996), both from the accounts of a British historian/anthropologist, Percy Amaury Talbot, who travelled extensively in Africa and wrote about his first-hand research in his book *In the Shadow of the Bush: A Study of the Ekoi of Southern Nigeria* (1912), and also from Courlander's own (or Talbot's) observations of an actual Abakuá initiation in Guanabacoa, near Havana (Courlander: 1944). It also provides informative narratives on the Egbo Society and the Efik rites.

A distinct feature by which many noninitiates would recognize Abakuá-based ceremonies is the ever-present *diablito* or demon-like figures (*iremes*) who represent visiting spirits from the dead or invisible world, which is ever present and interacts with the real world in all African traditions and religious cultures (Courlander, 1996: 20-21).

According to Roger Bastide, the great French ethnologist who delved deeply into African religions, these traditions and rites have survived nowhere else in the Americas -- only in Cuba (Bastide, 1972 : 109).

Excellent discussions on the Cuban Abakuá associations are provided by Fernando Ortiz, Lydia Cabrera, Juan Luis Martín, and current authors such as Enrique Sosa, Rafael Núñez Cedeño, and Rogelio Martínez Furé.

*Other Afro-Cuban Religions: Arará and Haitian-Derived Voudun*

To a lesser extent, Afro-Cuban religious complexes have also undergone the influence of other ethnic groups. From the Dahomey region of Africa, Haitians transplanted Voudun (or Voodoo, meaning spirit, deity, or image) their syncretic, highly complex religious system. It encompasses diverse cults in which Dahomean deities and traditions predominate. These Dahomean, Fon-speaking ethnic groups were transplanted to Cuba in the years between 1770 and 1820 among the slaves of the French plantation owners who fled there due to the revolution in St. Domingue, Hispaniola.

Voudun religious influence was reinforced in the twentieth century when many Haitians migrated to Cuba as sugarcane laborers. By this time, there had also been slave imports from the Dahomey/Ewe/Fon ethnic groups who had created their own distinct form of Reglas Ararás.

The religious system that ensued was simpler and did not include a conglomerate of as many religious cults as Haitian Voudun, but it was sufficiently similar so that the incoming Haitians could identify with it. In Cuba, some Ararás and Lucumís (Yoruba) came to regard each other as colleagues, and many spoke both languages, Fon and Lucumí (MacGaffey and Barnett, 1962: 206).

Arará religious cults, who traced their origins to the Ewe-Fon of Dahomey, featured an elaborate pantheon of gods known as *luases* (like the Voudun *loas*, meaning mysteries), many of whom were borrowed from or merged with the Yoruba deities. In veritable African syncretic fashion, Arará religious practice also shows traces of Congo influences. Though now rarely practiced in their original form, the Arará thrived in Matanzas, where there were many African enclaves that survived until recently, and in Santiago de Cuba, where Haitian influence was strong. Reminiscences of their Ewe/Fon origins are still found in the instrumental ensembles of the music derived from the Arará tradition. Voudun, on the other hand, was prevalent first in the mountainous, rural areas, but it has now spread to the suburbs of cities such as Camagüey and Santiago. These Dahomean religious beliefs preserved in the Arará rites were named from a cognate of the Haitian Dahomean “Rada,” derived from the town of Allada in Dahomey.

### **Research and Studies: Review of Significant Works**

Prior to the abolition of slavery dating from 1880 to 1886, which was gradual (because a legal mechanism called *patronato* provided that the slaves were under tutelage or

virtual slavery until their eventual freedom), published works on Cuban religious systems unfortunately are scarce. Only a few accounts survive from travelers, such as the one by Dominican Friar Jean Baptiste Labat (1663-1738), a missionary who resided in the French West Indies. In Labat's *Nouveau voyage aux iles de l'Amérique*, published in France in 1722, he regards the slaves as preserving in secret all of the "superstitions of a pagan cult mixed with practices of the Catholic faith" (Labat 1722, 1979). Other accounts largely described the dances, drumming, singing, and public gatherings of the African slaves, which they characterized as "savage and wild," not discerning their religious, ritualistic character. Decrees and proclamations from the Spanish military administration, forbidding these gatherings, regulating drum dances in the sugar plantations, ruling their forced supervision, and limiting slave participation, have also been uncovered by research. Abakuá societies and Congo rites were referred to and documented as early as 1882, usually in negative ways, in legislation restricting their freedom or appearance in public celebrations.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, real Afro-Cuban studies began with the work of its pioneer, the revered scholar Fernando Ortiz, who spearheaded this breakthrough in 1906. He pursued impressive, voluminous studies until his death in 1968. Following his lead, from 1930 to 1991, Lydia Cabrera contributed her prodigious oral history research with direct descendants of "negros de nación" devotees of Afro-Cuban religions, including the members of the Regla de Ocha, the Abakuá Secret Society, and the Palo Monte/Mayombe. Rómulo Lachatañeré, another Cuban ethnologist, carried out research in the late 1930s to 1952 and produced the well-documented *Manual de Santería* and works in the form of

essays and monographs on Regla de Ocha, Palo Mayombe, and the Abakuá society. His various essays appear in *Archivos del Folklore Cubano*, which was published until 1933 and then superseded by the journal *Estudios Afrocubanos*, a forum for Afro-Cuban topics published by The Society for Afro-Cuban Studies, founded by Fernando Ortiz in 1938. Essays published in this journal have been reprinted in *Actas del Folklore Cubano* or as monographs by the present Cuban government. This title continues as a veritable mine for Afro-Cuban studies publications.

Concurrently, during the 1930s and the 1940s, the Negrista Movement, patterned after the Indigenista movement, which involved the rest of Latin America, made a lasting contribution to Afro-Cuban themes in the literary field, with poets such as Nicolás Guillén and Emilio Ballagas, novelists such as Alejo Carpentier, and essayists such as Ramón Guirao and José Zacarías Tallet, all of whom produced a wealth of literary pieces directly influenced by African-derived religions.

Noted foreign researchers and anthropologists made their mark studying the African heritage in Cuba; for example, William Bascom, among his other discoveries and contributions, proved through meticulous comparison that Yoruba customs had been incorporated into Cuban religions almost substantially intact. Roger Bastide, the French ethnologist, broke ground with his *Amériques Noires*, while Melville Herskovitz also delved into African syncretism and its ramifications.

The 1960s proved to be another watershed for Afro-Cuban studies. In Cuba, Afro-Cuban religions were first eyed suspiciously as anti-Marxist practices but then tolerated as a religious tradition that did not pose a great threat to the Revolution, since it was not institutionalized and, furthermore, ran counter to Catholic hierarchy and beliefs, which the new atheistic system was trying to eradicate. Afro-Cuban religions were later fostered for their folkloric and tourist attraction values. Their existence and study were further enhanced to cater to Cuba's new Afro-centric foreign policies. Cuban Afro-religious studies proliferated in Cuba, with researchers such as ethnologists Argeliers León and Isaac Barreal, who explored the ethnologic and musical dimensions; José Luciano Franco, Natalia Bolívar and Miguel Barnet; and Rogelio Martínez Furé, who in his *Dialogos Imaginarios* did serious research with the ethnic groups and associations still surviving in Cuba. Many of these authors either continued research started before the Revolution or published their work under the new government and more auspicious circumstances. Tomás Fernández-Robaina, besides other works on Cuban black issues, compiled two extensive, well-researched bibliographies, which were published by the Cuban National Library.

In the United States, Afro-Cuban religions, which existed before 1959, received new impetus with their second diaspora, this time across the Florida Straits as exiled Cubans brought these rites to its shores. Besides Lydia Cabrera, who republished many of her works in the United States and wrote new ones, two of the researchers she mentored, Mercedes Cros-Sandoval and Isabel Castellanos, continued her work from diverse angles: the former largely from the anthropological, social, and medical aspects and the latter mainly from the

cultural historical. Rafael Martínez, an anthropologist; Miguel Ramos, a researcher using contemporary ethnographic research methods also privy to an insider's view as he is an oriate (master of ceremonies) for initiation rituals for Regla de Ocha; Raúl Cañizares, who chronicles recent U.S. trends and transformations; and a plethora of other Cuban exiles contributed to the development and elucidation of Afro-Cuban themes.

An added surge was felt with the 1980 Mariel Boatlift, which brought many more Afro-Cuban religious devotees to the United States, expanding the diaspora. This was soon followed in the 1990s by the influx of rafters (*balseros*). Not only the written word but also many artistic works in the forms of sculpture, ornaments, paintings, decorations, shrines, and altars proliferated.

In the United States, a growing number of high quality monographs, well selected bibliographies, studies, and essays in journals and collective works provide deeper insights into the various Afro-Cuban religious complexes.

In the meantime in Cuba, a new generation of writers arose, mostly around the Casa del Caribe, a Center for Caribbean Studies in Santiago de Cuba, and began to explore ethno-religious topics not as well examined previously, such as the Voudun derivatives in Eastern Cuba. Among these, we cite and annotate works by Jesús Guanche, Joel James Figarola, Rafael Duharte, and José Millet. Another group of researchers, including Daisy Fariñas, as part of a series *Estudios Socioreligiosos* (Social and Religious Studies) published in Havana,

also examined less documented issues, such as native Taíno Indian influences in Afro-Cuban religions and Spiritist practices.

Afro-Cuban studies in the United States are no longer the domain of Cuban writers. Many North Americans of various extractions, whether African, Anglo, or Puerto Rican have also examined, analyzed, and studied these topics. George Brandon, who conducted field research in Africa and Cuba; Joseph Murphy, who has examined Lucumí religion thoroughly since his dissertation in the 1980s; Harry Lefever, delving into the sociopolitical hermeneutics of Yoruba resistance to cultural penetration; Migene González-Wippler, whose works, albeit popular and anecdotal, have contributed to the dissemination of *oricha* worship; Judith Gleason, with her insightful studies on Oyá, the powerful deity who controls death, and on Ifá divination -- all have made significant contributions to Afro-Cuban religious literature.

We would like to mention here that concurrent with this more formal literature, starting in the 1920s, mostly Regla de Ocha practitioners, who had until then adhered to oral traditions, began saving written annotations (*libretas*) of their religious rites, formulas, prayers, and other details of their worship, as recorded in *Un caso de tradición oral escrita* (León, 1971). These Afro-Cuban versions of sacred narratives *patakís*, which assist in the interpretation of the Ifá oracle, were disseminated in the United States and in parts of Latin America and constitute another form of literature, ritual or liturgical texts taking the place of sacred scriptures and derived from oral sources or rewritten by the practitioner. A good

example is Andrés Rogers' *Los caracoles, historia de sus letras* (1973), containing rituals, incantations, offering of sacrificial gifts (*ebbó*), and other narratives.

Whether scholarly, popular/commercial, or in the guise of sacred notebooks for the priests and oriates, the literature on Afro-Cuban religious complexes is constantly growing with the continuity and change inherent to the subject.

### **Afro-Cuban Religious Systems: Influence on the Arts**

Afro-Cuban diasporan religions have been the source of artistic inspiration for Cuban artists ever since the renowned sculptor and painter Wifredo Lam (1902-1982) started producing his African-influenced works. A disciple of Pablo Picasso and follower of surrealism, Lam stands out for his Yoruba-inspired works, also featuring traces of Palo Monte and Abakuá influences. Fernando Ortiz himself was one of the first to recognize this trait and praise Lam's intrinsic African values and content, though some critics claim that his Afro-Cuban inspiration has been filtered through the French primitivist influence. They regard his work more as having a European aesthetic than truly Afro-Cuban. Lam is perceived as interpreting themes in a more universal way in his sculpture and paintings. It is said he did not, for example, utilize real Afro-Cuban *oricha* colors and elements. Recent critic Julia Herzberg disputes this criticism in her authoritative analyses of his works, as in the essay "Rereading Lam" (1996); and Gerardo Mosquera, also the author of many critical essays on Afro-Cuban-inspired works, points out Yoruba/Santería and Congo/Palo elements, comparing Lam's paintings to the latter's *ngangas* (Mosquera, 1996: 230).

In reviewing current publications on the artistic influence of Afro-Cuban religion, which runs so deep as to warrant one Cuban ethnologist's calling it a virtual "possession" of the arts by the African deities, we found that in the 1960s, Fernando Ortiz deplored that its influences on art were not as well-analyzed as other aspects of Afro-Cuban religion. This gap has been narrowed by an outstanding compilation of essays, *Santería Aesthetics in Contemporary Latin American Arts* (1996), edited by Arturo Lindsay, wherein he and other critics such as Ricardo Viera, Mary Jane Jacob, David H. Brown, and Randall Morris did very authoritative interpretations of the artists and their work. In addition, interesting and well-documented essays and monographs on African Yoruba and Congo arts were contributed by art critic and professor Robert Farris Thompson, comparing tendencies and influences in the Americas and Africa, along with art historian Babatunde Lawal, who explores the ancestral connection between the two art aesthetics, and Henry Drewal, who has showcased the splendid use of beadwork in Yoruba ritual costumes and ornaments in Africa, Brazil and Cuba in exhibits in California and in the Miami Museum of Art in 1999.

In this context, we enumerate a few who exemplify current trends and followed in Lam's footsteps, sometimes going deeper into African roots than he did, breaking ground and creating innovations on African themes and concepts of art. Going one step further than his master, Manuel Mendive (born 1944) gave us the "first direct expression ever produced in Afro-American plastic art from within its religious-cultural space" (Mosquera, 1996: 237). A practitioner of both Santería and Palo, Mendive projects his beliefs in his work as an educated artist.

Also among Lam's disciples, Juan Boza (1941-1991) stands out as another artist who demonstrated more profound Afro-Cuban religious influences. Boza, a priest in the Lucumí religion, pursued his craft in Cuba and later migrated to New York. There, he flourished as his style was revitalized by reinventing himself and rediscovering his African and Cuban roots. Boza's aesthetic foundation is based in Afro-Cuban/Yoruba cosmovision, though he also exhibits characteristics of the Palo Mayombe and Abakuá traditions (Morris, 1996: 184-187). The Lucumí influence is evident throughout his work in drawings, prints, altars, and photographs of the *tronos* of the *orichas*, elaborate and artistic thrones for the gods which he created with colorful and exuberant originality, breaking ground in Afro-Cuban iconography.

Another prominent artist, a follower of Palo Monte, is José Bedia, whose work was recently exhibited in Miami at the Florida International University Art Museum. Migrating from Cuba to Miami via Mexico, Bedia was part of the new crop of artists who came of age at the end of the 1970s in Cuba -- born after and products of the Revolution. Largely university trained, this group of artists has a long and deep tradition rooted in Afro-Cuban religious cults (Mosquera, 1996: 244). Most of these artists joined the ranks of the exiles and brought their innovative concepts and art forms with them. True to the characteristics of this group, Bedia has strong roots in Cuban life and believes that "to understand Cubans it is important to understand the island's African heritage" (Lindsay, 1996: 216). His stark figures of the Mayombe spirit world, ever present in this life, and his *ngangas* or *prendas de palo*, sacred magical objects containing the spirits, are powerful, impressive, full of real meaning, and make a strong impact on viewers. Bedia is just one of the examples of this new Cuban

art style, closer to the African view of the importance of the mystical forces behind the objects portrayed.

By celebrating his religious beliefs and molding them into his works, Osvaldo Mesa, a black Cuban artist who lived in Baltimore, made original artworks by wrapping, hanging, and stretching painted canvases over Santería objects. Ana Mendieta (1948-1985) produced her “silhouette series,” featuring figures carved in rock, incised in clay beds, and molded from mud. An admirer and an avid reader of Lydia Cabrera’s works, Mendieta has been compared to Frida Kahlo for her ardent feminism. Fascinated by Yoruba lore she heard from her servants in Cuba, Mendieta was further drawn to certain characteristics of Santería practices: the Lucumí religion’s earth-centered creed; philosophy and mythology in which male and female orichas have great importance; some male deities with female manifestations; female and male priests having equal status; and, while up to very recently the *babalawos*’ or high priests’ initiation was restricted to males, many rituals are highly female dominated. Mendieta also utilized the *anaforuana* (sacred signs as described by Lydia Cabrera in her book of the same title) that were used by the Abakuá to sanctify a location. Her artistry and works have been analyzed and recorded in essays and monographs.

Cuban-born U.S. artists inspired by Afro-Cuban themes have been the subjects of essays and studies in *African Arts* and other reputable artistic forums, with important exhibitions of their work taking place in key cities renowned as art centers. This is the case of Alberto del Pozo (1945-1992). Working in New York and Miami in painting and theatre

design, this Santa Clara (Las Villas Province) native has contributed colorful, creative renditions of the Yoruba *orichas*, portraits framed in innovative, decorative signs and colors that represent their attributes. An excellent collection of his paintings of the Yoruba deities, numbering about 17, was donated by the artist's family to the University of Miami Richter Library's Cuban Heritage Collection after his premature demise.

The influence of Cuban religions is “prevalent in creative work of individual artists expressing or recreating several aspects of their rich religious and cultural heritage”(Viera, 1996; 174). The fact that these artists evidence African influences “through powers of creative transformation” in their artwork suggests traces of “cultural traditions that reveal ways of seeing objects and perceiving things in a conscious or unconscious way with a different cosmovision” (Thompson 1983:6), a characteristic that imbues their work an authentic African outlook. These artists have been truly “possessed by the *orichas*, *egguns*, *nkisis*, and *nfumbes*” that inhabit the vast jungle of Afro-Cuban worship (Bolívar, 1994).

This confirms Isabel Castellanos' observation, “Like old wine poured into new vessels, the traditional spirit of Africa animates the way these modern Cubans . . . view reality.” These African diasporan religions are no longer solely an African patrimony: all these beliefs have been merged into an Afro-American faith. Products of an “intense transculturation,” they are to be “found at the root of many aspects of Cuban contemporary society: music, literature and art. . . . From Africa to the Caribbean . . . and from there to Cubans and now to Cuban Americans and to other populations in the United States, the

process of cultural transformation and synthesis inexorably marches on” (Castellanos, 1996: 48-49).

### **Methodology and Organization**

The annotated bibliography that follows is based on important bibliographies, such as the very comprehensive and documented classified work done by John Gray in 1989, *Ashé: Traditional Religion and Healing in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Classified International Bibliography*, and the *Bibliography of New Religious Movements in Primal Societies*, compiled in 1977 by Harold Turner. Also consulted were Patrick Ofori’s *Black African Traditional Religions and Philosophy: A Select Bibliographic Survey of the Sources from the Earliest Times to 1974*, published in 1975, and Irving Zaretsky and Cynthia Shambaugh’s *Spirit Possession and Spirit Mediumship in Africa and Afro-America: An Annotated Bibliography*, published in 1978. In Spanish, we relied on Tomás Fernández Robaina’s two Afro-Cuban bibliographies annotated below. No new extensive and comprehensive bibliographies were found; therefore, current, updated entries were taken from bibliographical references in the various works consulted and from such standard works as the *Handbook of Latin American Studies* (now available online) and the *Hispanic American Periodicals Index* (HAPI-ONLINE). *Dissertations Abstracts International* was used for relevant masters and doctoral theses on Afro-Cuban religion and OCLC WorldCAT for books. Monographs and articles that the author was unable to obtain in time for this publication are included if they were deemed significant but not annotated.

Annotations are largely original, although we have used modified author or publisher abstracts whenever they were available. Although recognizing that we have included publications with varying degrees of scholarly quality -- some exhibit popular treatment in that they are basic “how to” manuals geared to divulging diverse religious practices, while many others arise from strict anthropological methods -- we have included numerous entries in the hope that the annotations, though admittedly more descriptive than critical, will guide the reader as to the intrinsic value of the work. Our goal can best be characterized in the words of Miguel Barnet, the Cuban ethnologist who has written extensively on these topics: our task, just as he defines his, is “desbrozar la maraña del monte cubano, donde los elementos Yoruba y Bantú, vivos aún hoy, y en su más espléndida floración, aparecen aquí colocados en estructuras asequibles para el lector profano”; that is, “to clear the intricate maze of the Cuban wilderness where the Yoruba and Bantú elements, still alive today, and in their most splendid flowering, are offered here, placed as accessible concepts for the non-initiated” (Barnet, 1995: 5).

This selected annotated bibliography aims to be the researcher’s guide to a safari through the rich, exuberant jungle of the existing literature on Afro-Cuban religious systems, drawing a map that will aid readers, initiated or not, in researching and studying this complex subject, perhaps even motivating them to make their own contribution to a more thorough exploration, better understanding, and dissemination of the historic roots and the transformations that these systems have undergone over the centuries, since they were first introduced by the enslaved Africans.

## Conclusions

Since it is the Yoruba culture that has been dominant as the principal influence on Afro-Cuban diasporan religions, my bibliographic research has confirmed that it is Santería /Regla de Ocha that has reigned supreme in Afro-Cuban research and scholarship. The Congo-based religious complex, though the second in importance in Afro-Cuban practice, has largely been studied, researched, and analyzed mostly in tandem with the Yoruba cults. This is due in part to its reputation as the “darker side of Santería” and also to the affinities shared by the two cultures (santeros often being initiated as *paleros*, the two traditions being considered as different or complementary sides of the same coin and not mutually antagonistic).

Abakuá secret societies have been widely researched from their African origins to their existence in Cuba, as they were the precursors of many labor unions (*gremios*), meeting places and breeding grounds for insurrection, for conspiracy in the struggle for independence, not only of slaves but of Cubans wanting to be free from Spanish dominance. They have made a significant imprint on Cuban language and on the culture through its utilization of their characteristic symbols. As such, Abakuá secret societies, next to the Yoruba religion, have been researched in-depth, and their existence and traits have been extensively publicized and disseminated in the literature.

The Arará- or Dahomean-derived cults have been less emphasized and covered as a phenomenon of syncretism separate from the other cults (*reglas*) mentioned. This is perhaps

due in part to their perceived “external or foreign” extraction from Haitian-derived Rada sects or to their lesser significance in the Havana area. More studies on Arará and Voudun sects are being conducted currently from research facilities in Eastern Cuba.

The author has included in the selected annotated bibliography representative works that present diverging points of view, research methods, writing styles, formats, disciplinary approaches, and kinds of treatment. The composite view presented by the varied works results in a kaleidoscopic vision of Afro-Cuban diasporan religions from every conceivable facet and angle: scientific and popular, anthropological and artistic, erudite and superficial, and a religious/theological perspective, given by the Catholic Church’s pronouncements and the African theological approach of E. Bolanji Idowu, a Nigerian Methodist minister. From texts by Marxist followers to devout adherents, this eclectic compilation constitutes a broad range of positions, methodologies, perspectives, and interdisciplinary approaches, showing the various ways in which these themes are being pursued in the present, no longer the exclusive domain of anthropologists, historians, and theologians.

Although traditionally the impact of Afro-Cuban religious systems in music, dance, theater, customs, language, and literature has been widely examined and showcased, its artistic dimension has not been, until recently, extensively analyzed in-depth. To complete the panorama of Afro-Cuban religions’ alternative ways of looking at the world, we have provided a brief excursion into the literature of the arts, dealing with an increasing number of

plastic and visual artists who have delved into the sacred recesses of these rites to draw inspiration for their artwork.

Like the writers, scholars, and researchers who have read and composed the written word, these artists have incorporated, in their canvases and statues, ancient cosmovisions in innovative ways, thus showcasing the continuity as well as the changes in African diasporan religious complexes.

## **Acknowledgments**

I would like to acknowledge here my indebtedness to my friend and colleague Diana G.Kirby, a librarian/anthropologist, for introducing me to the research of AfroCuban religious traditions. By actively seeking my collaboration as co-author and requesting my input into her earlier works, she spurred my interest in these themes. I was *deslumbrada* (dazzled), like Lydia Cabrera was throughout all of her life, by the richness of Afro-Cuban mythology, the complexity of the rites and liturgy, and the wealth and scholarship of the bibliographic materials available. As an exile attempting not to be completely absorbed by my environment, I admired the Afro-Cubans' endurance and proud resilience in the preservation of a cultural heritage I feel is partly mine. Lastly, I would like to appreciate the selfless commitment and gracious assistance of my student assistant and computer expert, Elayne Ramos.

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- Encuentro Eclesial Cubano. Documento final e instrucción pastoral de los obispos. (1987)*. La Habana. 1986. Habana: {n.p}. Includes a discussion of popular religiosity and the Church's perception of this syncretism. Text in Spanish.
- Encuentro sobre Pastoral con Grupos Afroamericanos. (1980)*. Cartagena and Bogotá, Colombia: Consejo Episcopal Latinoamericano. Historic vision of the black African world includes religion only, with a description of the various cults and the Catholic Church's position regarding them. Text in Spanish.
- Fernández Robaina, Tomás. (1968). *Bibliografía sobre estudios afro-americanos*. La Habana: Biblioteca Nacional José Martí. Using valuable archival material (books, manuscripts, and documents from the National Library), this is a very comprehensive bibliography on Afro-Latin American topics, among which religions and anthropology are well represented. Text in Spanish.

- \_\_\_\_\_. (1994). *Hablen paleros y santeros*. La Habana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales. A detailed examination and comparison of these two religious systems in their ritualistic oral traditions, this book includes interviews with practitioners. Text in Spanish.
- Fuentes Guerra, Jesús. (1996). *Cultos afrocubanos: un estudio etnolingüístico*. La Habana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales. Focuses on the language dimension of the religious rites and the use of African dialects. Text in Spanish.
- Gates, Brian, ed. *Afro-Caribbean Religions*. (1980). London: Ward Lock Educational. A treatise on religions of African origin in the Caribbean regime, including Santería.
- Guanche, Jesús. (1983). *Procesos etnoculturales de Cuba*. La Habana: Editorial Letras. An overview of ethnic and cultural processes whereby African traditions were syncretized with other influences.
- Harvey, William B. (1988). "Voodoo and Santería: Traditional Healing Techniques in Haiti and Cuba." *Modern and Traditional Health Care in Developing Societies: Conflict and Co-Operation*. Ed. by Christine I. Zeichner. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America. 101-114. Compares traditional healers in a Santería context with those of a Voudun tradition.
- Howard, Philip A. (1998). *Changing History: Afro-Cuban Cabildos and Societies of Color in the Nineteenth Century*. Baton Rouge, La.: Louisiana State University Press. Well-documented scholarly work, supported by in-depth research in archives in Spain and Cuba, studies the mutual aid organizations established by Africans in Cuba to improve their economic, social, and political statuses. Chronicles the celebrations and worship of each ethnic group and their use to person, language, customs, and religious heritage.
- Lachatañeré, Rómulo. (1961). "Rasgos Bantú en la Santería." *Actas del Foklore*. 1, 8:3-6. Comparisons of Lucumí and Mayombe religious beliefs highlight personalities, characteristics, and syncretism of individual deities in Afro-Cuban religion. Also contains an explanation of the transformation of African tribal groups into Afro-Cuban cultural groups. Reprint from *Les Afroamericaines*, 1953. Text in Spanish.
- León, Julio Antonio. (1977). "Afro-Cuban Poetry: An Unpublished Treasure." *Américas*. 29, 9 (Sept): 28-32. A researcher of Afro-Cuban studies from 1950 to 1972, León discusses Afro-Cuban poetry in Yoruba, Congo, and Abakuá oral histories. Contains poems and good descriptions.

- Linares, Luis. (1997). *La doble magia: teatro y religión en Cuba en el siglo XX*. Iowa City: University of Iowa. Includes biographical references. Dissertation on African influences not only on Cuban religion but on the theatre in the twentieth century. Text in Spanish.
- López Váldez, Rafael L. (1988). *Las religiones de origen africano durante el período neocolonial en Cuba*. *Del Caribe* (Santiago de Cuba), 5, 12: 33-40. Briefly deals with African influences in Cuban religions during the Republican period (1902-1958). Includes bibliography. Text in Spanish.
- Martínez Furé, Rogelio. (1979). *Diálogos imaginarios*. La Habana: Editorial Arte y Literatura. An overview of Afro-Cuban folklore, black social life and customs as derived from their diverse African ethnic groups.
- Megenney, William W. (1999). *Cuba y Brazil: etnohistoria del empleo religioso del lenguaje afroamericano*. Miami: Ediciones Universal. In-depth analysis of the use of African-derived words in Afro-American dialects, both in Cuban Spanish and Brazilian Portuguese, in the context of Afro-religious rites. It examines the differences and similarities and studies Yoruba, Arará, Abakuá influences in Cuba.
- Murphy, Joseph M. (1994). *Working the Spirit: Ceremonies of the African Diaspora*. Boston: Beacon Press. A comparative study of five African religions in the Americas, including Candomble, Voudun, and Santería, analyzing their differences but focusing on the music, rites, and beliefs that unite them.
- Ortiz, Fernando. (1965). *La Africanía de la música folklórica de Cuba / Los bailes y el teatro de los negros en el folklore de Cuba / Los instrumentos de la música afrocubana*. La Habana: Editora Universitaria. 5 vols. Comprehensive account of Afro-Cuban music, dance, and theatre, written by the best known Cuban folklorist/anthropologist/writer/ethnographer. The first book is a social history of Cuban music, its evolution, function, and manifestations. The second book deals with Afro-Cuban dance and theatre, including ritual dance and pantomime; and the third describes musical instruments, their use, and origins. Text in Spanish.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1973). *Hampa afro-cubana; los negros brujos*. Miami: Ediciones Universal. Original treatise on the ethnology of criminal behavior by the noted Cuban folklorist. Published first in 1906, this book offers a glimpse into social thinking of the time. One chapter deals with a content analysis of newspaper articles on Santería in Cuba. Text in Spanish.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1981). *Los bailes y el teatro de los negros en el folklore de Cuba*. Ciudad de la Habana, Cuba: Editorial Letras Cubanas; New York: Distributed by Ediciones Vitral. Concentrates on African influence in dance and theater, including the *diablitos* or *iremes* of Abakuá origin. Text in Spanish.

- \_\_\_\_\_. (1984). *Ensayos etnográficos. Selección de Miguel Barnet y Ángel L. Fernández*. La Habana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales. A carefully selected collection of diverse articles and sections of monographs, focusing on African influences in Cuba on religions, social life, and arts. Text in Spanish.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1992). *Los cabildos y la fiesta afrocubanos del Día de Reyes*. La Habana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales. Explains the origins and importance of the religious/mutual aid confraternities, their role in transculturation, and describes the African rituals carried on in the traditional Feast of the Three Kings under the guise of Catholic celebrations. Text in Spanish.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1993). *Étnia y sociedad. Selección, notas y prólogo de Isaac Barreal*. La Habana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales. A selection of various essays and chapters from books by the noted Cuban ethnologist, containing numerous short articles on different Afro-Cuban cults and traditions, reprinted from chapters of his works. Insightful, well-documented prologue by Barreal, an ethnologist. Text in Spanish.
- Panorama de la religión en Cuba*. (1998). Edición, Rosa Alfonso. Ciudad de La Habana, Cuba: Editora Política. Overview of the conditions of religion in Cuba, drafted by a group of researchers from the Dept. of Socio-Religious Studies of the Center for Psychological and Socio-Religious Studies, Ministry of Science, Technology and Environment. Text in Spanish.
- Sosa, Juan J. (1999). *Sectas, cultos y sincretismos: una reflexión teológico-pastoral sobre los movimientos religiosos que, al margen de la Iglesia, predominan entre los católicos hispanos de los Estados Unidos, especialmente aquellos que proceden del Caribe*. Miami: Ediciones Universal. Geared toward the clergy and those performing pastoral duties in the United States, it integrates under one cover the Catholic Church's view on syncretic religious phenomena by including pertinent documents and official statements. Contains good explanatory essay.
- Valdés-Cruz, Rosa. (1977). "The black man's contribution to Cuban culture." *Américas*, 34, 2 (October): 244-251. A sociological perspective on the cultural integration of African music, art, religion, cuisine, clothing, and folklore in the poetry, literature, drama, and the arts of Cuba and Cuban personality traits.

### **III. Afro-Cuban Religions**

#### ***Yoruba/Lucumí-Based Religion (Regla de Ocha, Regla de Ifá: a.k.a. Santería)***

El Akoni. (1975). *La voz de Orunla: el Cordón del Orile*. New York: Stadium Corp. Essay on divination. Contains Yoruba-English-Spanish glossary. Text in Spanish.

*El Arte de tirar los caracoles e interpretar los coco: los Oráculos de Biague y Diloggún*. [198\_?]. Miami Springs, Fla: Language Research Press. Examines *diloggún* or cowrie divination as well as coconut shell divination. Popular treatment. Text in Spanish.

Angarica, Nicolás Valentín. (1979). *Manual de Orihate: religión lucumí*. Miami: Ediciones Universal. Handbook discussing the *camino*s or ways of the gods. Text in Spanish.

Argüelles Mederos, Aníbal. (1997). *Los sistemas adivinatorios de la Regla Ocha*. La Habana: Editorial Academia. Estudios socioreligiosos. Examines divination systems: diloggún, Ifá Table. Text in Spanish.

Awolalu, J. Omosade. (1996). *Yoruba Beliefs and Sacrificial Rites*. Brooklyn, New York: Henrietta Press. An up-to-date discussion of Yoruba mythology, rituals, and ceremonies from the African perspective.

Barnes, Sandra T. (1989). *Africa's Ogún*. Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press. In-depth study of the cult of the powerful warrior Yoruba God of metals, Ogún, contrasting his attributes in Africa, Cuba, and the United States.

Barnet, Miguel. (1969). *The Autobiography of a Runaway Slave, as Narrated to Miguel Barnet*. Narrated by Esteban Montejo (1860-1973). Trans. Jocasta Innes. New York: World Pub. Several passages attest to Africans celebrating Santería and Palo under the guise of San Juan festivities and describe the “fiestas en casas de santo” and the special foods offered.

Barnet, Miguel. (1996). “La Regla de Ocha: The Religious System of Santería.” In *Sacred Possessions: Vodou, Santería, Obeah, and the Caribbean*, eds. Margarite Fernández Olmos and Lizabeth Paravisini-Gebert, 79-100. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. An in-depth study of the religious system, tracing the *orishas* to their respective Yoruba regions and their links to the notion of family. It explores the sociological body of Santería in its transculturation and syncretization aspects, the avatars and transformation of the deities in Cuba.

Bascom, William R. (1950). “The Focus of Cuban Santería.” *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 6,1: 64-68. First-hand account of the worship in Cuba in 1948. Bascom traces the roots of African religion in western Cuba. References to his field work in Nigeria among the Yoruba in 1937-1938 add cultural and historical perspectives to

the understanding of Cuban Santería.

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\_\_\_\_\_. (1951). "Yoruba Acculturation in Cuba." *Les Afro-Américains*. No. 27: 163-168. Dakar: Institute Francais d'Afrique Noire, Memoires de LIFAN. Article analyzing what the author defines as acculturation or adaptation to the Cuban environment of Nigerian practices and traditions. Based on the author's fieldwork in Jovellanos, Cuba, it confirms the ritual use of Yoruba dialects there.

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\_\_\_\_\_. (1951). "The Yoruba in Cuba." *Nigeria* 37:14-20. Anthropological analysis of Afro-Cuban religious ceremonies witnessed by the author in Cuba in 1948. Contains descriptions of the major Yoruba deities and their syncretic identification with Catholic saints.

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\_\_\_\_\_. (1952). "Two Forms of Afro-Cuban Divination." In *Acculturation in the Americas; Proceedings of the 29<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Americanists*. 169-179. Ed. Sol Tax. Vol. 2. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Discusses Dahomean and Yoruban influences in Afro-Cuban divination rites.

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\_\_\_\_\_. (1972). *Shango in the New World*. Austin, Tx: University of Texas. A revised and expanded version of a paper read before the 39<sup>th</sup> (1970) *International Congress of Americanists* in Lima, Peru. Traces the development of Yoruba religious retentions in Latin American and Caribbean countries, focusing on Cuba, Trinidad, and Brazil.

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\_\_\_\_\_. (1980). *Sixteen Cowries: Yoruba Divination from Africa to the New World*. Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press. The introduction contains a great deal of information about divination in Cuba as compared to traditional African rites.

Bencomo, Juan. (2000). "Crafting These Sacred Bata Drums." In *Afro-Cuban Voices: On Race and Identity in Contemporary Cuba*, eds. Pedro Pérez Sarduy and Jean Stubbs. Gainesville, Fla.: University Press of Florida. 140-146. Brief essay on the significance of the *bata* drums in Cuban Santería worship, describing, at the same time, the Santería experience and status in current Cuba, underlining the lack of instruments for popular rituals.

Bolívar Aróstegui, Natalia. (1996). *Ifá: su historia en Cuba*. Ciudad de la Habana: Ediciones Unión. A detailed examination of one of Cuba's more popular religious sects and its historical West African origins. Text in Spanish.

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\_\_\_\_\_. (1997). *Cuba, imágenes y relatos de un mundo mágico*. Ciudad de la Habana: Ediciones Unión. Based on an earlier journal article, describes the magical world of *oricha* worship. Contains healing formulas and glossary of herbs. Photographs by Emilio Reyes Pérez. Text in Spanish.

- \_\_\_\_\_. (1995). *Opolopo owo: los sistemas adivinatorios de la Regla de Ocha*. La Habana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales. Analyzes in detail the two distinct divination systems of Obi, the oracle of Ifá, and the *diloggún* or shell divination, tracing their history in Cuba. Contains glossary. Text in Spanish.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1995). *Orula en el deambular por las antiguas civilizaciones*. La Habana: Editorial Pablo de la Torriente. Briefly examines the origins of the deity of divination and its syncretic transformations throughout time. Text in Spanish.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1990). *Los orishas en Cuba*. La Habana: Ediciones Unión. Described as a “vademecum” of Regla de Ocha to serve the initiated as well as the unbeliever, this is the work of a well-known Santería researcher in Cuba. Her investigations are backed by years of work with her informants, *babalows* and other practitioners, and by consulting archival collections in Cuba. This study is complemented by a vocabulary with comments and a detailed description of offerings, dances, herbs, and clothing. Text in Spanish.
- \_\_\_\_\_. and Carmen González. (1992). *Itutu: la muerte en los mitos y rituales afrocaribios*. Miami: Editorial Arenas. Describes funeral rites and beliefs about death in Cuban Santería. Text in Spanish.
- \_\_\_\_\_. and Mario López Cepero. (1995). *¿Sincretismo religioso? Santa Bárbara/Changó*, by Natalia Bolívar Aróstegui and Mario López Cepero. La Habana: Pablo de la Torriente. Starting with Saint Bárbara and Changó, it disputes that real syncretism occurred between African deities and Catholic saints, comparing and contrasting attributes, stories, background theology, or mythology of each. Text in Spanish.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1995). *Tributo necesario a Lydia Cabrera y sus eggúns*. La Habana: Pablo de la Torriente. A belated homage to the Cuban exile anthropologist from another researcher in Cuba, recognizing her achievements in pioneering Santería studies for a long time ignored in Cuba. Text in Spanish.
- Boston, Rob. (1992). “Blood Feud: Hialeah City Officials and Santería Church Members Are Locked in a Bitter Battle over Animal Sacrifice and the Limits of Religious Liberty.” *Church and State* 45 (May), 7-11. Chronicles the legal battle over the religious rights of Santería worship.
- Boswell, Thomas D. (1984). “Language and Religion.” In *The Cuban-American Experience*, by Thomas D. Boswell and James R. Curtis. Totowa, N.J.: Rowman & Allanheld. Chapter on the development and traits of Cuban Santería in Miami and other American cities with large Cuban communities.

- Boza Masvidal, Eduardo. (1992). "Debemos conservar la pureza de nuestra fe." *Revista Ideal*, 23-24. Pronouncement by a Cuban Catholic bishop on the origins of and differences between Christian and Santería beliefs. Text in Spanish.
- Brandon, George. (1990). "Sacrificial Practices in Santería, an African-Cuban Religion in the United States. In *Africanisms in American Culture*. Ed. Joseph E. Holloway. 119-147. Bloomington, Ind.: University of Indiana Press. An essay concentrating on the *ebbo* or sacrificial aspects of Santería rites and their Yoruba roots.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1991). "The Uses of Plants in the Healing in an Afro-Cuban Religion, Santería." *Journal of Black Studies* 22(1), 55-80. A thorough discussion of Afro-Cuban herbology, emphasizing the religious context of plant use, with references to medical and ritual usage, as well as healing rites.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1993). *Santería from Africa to The New World: The Dead Sell Memories*. Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press. Based on his 1983 doctoral dissertation and extensive field work in Ghana, Cuba, and finally New York City and the Oyotunji Village in South Carolina, this is a well-documented, highly scholarly, historical, and ethnographic study on Santería. Starting from Santería's African origins, the book covers the development of Santería in several phases, from early Santería (1760-1870); Santería proper (1870-1959); to contemporary Santería and what the author calls "Santerismo" and its later U.S. transformation into Orisha-Voodoo.
- Cabrera, Lydia. (1953). "El dueño de Ewé." *Les Afro-Américains* 27:169-180. Dakar: Institut Français d'Afrique Noire. A cast of characters from the Yoruba religious pantheon with special attention on the trickster, Eleggua. Text in Spanish.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1970). *Otan iyebiye; las piedras preciosas*. Miami: Ediciones CR. A treatise concentrating on the sacred stones, the abode of the deities, their meanings, and ritual ceremonies. Text in Spanish.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1980). *Koeko lyawo, aprende novicia: pequeño tratado de Regla Lucumí*. Miami: Ultra Graphics. Divination in Santería, a treatise for the newly initiated. Text in Spanish.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1954, 1983). 5<sup>th</sup> ed. *El Monte: Igbo Finda, Ewe Orisha, Vititinfinda: notas sobre las religiones, la magia, las supersticiones y el folklore de los negros criollos y el pueblo de Cuba*. Miami: Ediciones Universal. (Original ed. 1954). Based on the author's observations of Santería rituals during the 1930s and 1940s in Cuba, this is a widely acclaimed work on African religious worship among the descendents of Yoruba slaves in Cuba and is the "Bible" of Santería studies. Contains illustrations and black and white photographs, as well as detailed subject and herbal indices. Text

in Spanish.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1986). 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. *Anagó: vocabulario lucumí; el Yoruba que se habla en Cuba*. Miami: Ediciones Universal. With an introduction by Roger Bastide. Dictionary of the Yoruba dialect used in rituals and practices among elderly worshippers in Cuba. Text in Spanish.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1988). 7<sup>th</sup> ed. *Los animales en el folklore y la magia de Cuba*. Miami: Ediciones Universal. Explanation of the significant role of animals in ritual practices, both as gifts for the gods and as representations of them. Text in Spanish.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1993). 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. *La laguna sagrada de San Joaquín*. Fotografías de Josefina Tarafa. Miami: Ediciones Universal. Description of the author's trip to honor Yemayá and Santería in a Matanzas sacred pond, accompanied by Paul Verger and other ethnologists. Text in Spanish.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1996). *Yemayá y Ochún: Kariocha, Iyalorichas y Olorichas*. Prólogo y bibliografía de Rosario Hiriart. Miami: Ediciones Universal. Includes bibliographical references. Focuses on the Yoruba water deities: Ochún, the queen of fresh waters and rivers, and Yemayá, the goddess of the seas. The 1996 reprint of the 1980 original is enhanced by an illuminating prologue by Rosario Hiriart and a useful, carefully selected bibliography. Text in Spanish.

Canet, Carlos. (1973). *Lucumí: religión de los Yorubas en Cuba*. Miami: Editorial A.I.P. Anecdotal account of Yoruba religious rites in Cuba from colonial times to the present. Covers the hierarchical structure of the religious pantheon, including a study on the enduring influences of Yoruba culture on Cuban music, language, and the arts. Text in Spanish.

Cañizares, Raúl. (1992). *Transportability and Dissimulation in Santería: A Study in Cultural and Religious Survival*. Doctoral dissertation, University of South Florida. Study that documents the historical connection between Santería practice and political leadership. By examining the Cuban Constitution and the oral testimony of many older practitioners, the author explores the sometimes repressive and sometimes very open reaction to Santería practices by the Cuban government.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1993). *Walking with the Night: The Afro-Cuban World of Santería*. Rochester, Vt.: Destiny Books. Examines the structural changes and other transformations in U.S. Santería with regard to leadership patterns and rituals, as well as perceived current trends.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1994). "Santería: from Afro-Caribbean Cult to World Religion." In *Caribbean Quarterly* 40 (March): 59-63. Documents and explores trends and transformations in Santería practices and adepts, as more non-Hispanics join its

- ranks. Text in Spanish.
- Casanova, Juan Manuel. (1996). *Aggó Orisa: con el permiso de los dioses africanos: componentes étnicos, sociológicos e históricos de la cultura afrocubana* / por Juan Manuel Casanova (Ifá Aremu) [S.l.: s.n.]. Includes bibliographical references. Panorama of African-Catholic religious syncretism explaining the philosophy and theology of the ethnic and sociological components of Cuban society, with good historical background information. Text in Spanish.
- Castellanos, Isabel. (1976). *Language Use in the Lucumí Cult of Cuba*. Doctoral dissertation. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms International. Explores the principal modes of communication in Afro-Cuban ritual speech and the purposes they serve in Santería, including 1) Non-verbal communication, 2) verbal communication, and 3) verbal systems. Also deals with the use of language in ceremonial religious rites.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1996). "From Ulkumi to Lucumí: A Historical Overview of Religious Acculturation in Cuba." In *Santería Aesthetics in Contemporary Latin American Art*. Ed. Arthur Lindsay. 39-50. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press. Updated study on Yoruba religion in Cuba tracing the origin of the term "Lucumí" and discussing the inclusive qualities of the religious system and transformations over time.
- Caunedo, Sylvia. (1995). "Sincretismo y religiosidad en la Santería cubana." *Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos*, 538 (April), 7-18. An essay on the Yoruba creed, the evolution of its syncretism in Cuba regarding rites and ceremonies, and its pantheon of gods. Text in Spanish.
- Chávez Álvarez, Ernesto. (1991). *El crimen de la niña Cecilia: la brujería en Cuba como fenómeno social*. La Habana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales. Chronicles an old murder case attributed to Afro-Cuban worship and explores its racial/social ramifications. Text in Spanish.
- Cornelius, Steven Harry. (1990). "Personalizing Public Symbols through Music Ritual: Santería's Presentation to Añá." *Latin American Music Review/Revista De Música Lationamericana*, 16 (1): 42-57. Scholarly research into the "fundamento" bata drums and their *orisha*, Añá. Reveals the sacred affiliation of the Santería initiation participants through the music rituals.
- Cortez, Enrique. (1980). *Manual del oriate: secretos del oriate de la religión yoruba*. New York: Vilaragus Artículos Religiosos Corp. Yet another handbook for Santería practitioners, this time directed to the functions of the oriate or master of ceremonies. Text in Spanish.

- Cuervo-Hewitt, Julia. (1983). "Ifá: Yoruba and Lucumí oracle. Ifá: oráculo yoruba y lucumí." *Cuban Studies* 13:25-40. A study focusing on the Regla de Ifá, whose mythological, cultural, and ritual form has changed little from the Yoruba original, and its divination practices. Text in Spanish.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1988). *Aché, presencia Africana: tradiciones Yoruba-Lucumí en la narrativa cubana*. New York: P. Lang. From the literary narrative perspective, the author magnificently describes and documents Yoruba tradition, legends, and religious beliefs and rites as portrayed in Cuban literature. Text in Spanish.
- Delgado, Héctor. (1997). "From the Sacred Wild to the City: Santería in Cuba Today." In *Sacred Possessions: Vodou, Santería, Obeah, and the Caribbean*, eds. Marguerite Fernández Olmos and Lizabeth Paravisini-Gebert. 101-121. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 101-121. Excellent photographs capture the persistence of Santería in Cuban culture after 35 years of Socialist revolution. Taken at the scene of events in 1994, they "demonstrate the humble surroundings of participants from all strata of Cuban society who are united by an ancestral belief system that came from the African continent and took root."
- Dianteill, Erwan. (1995). *Le savant et le santero: naissance de l'étude scientifique des religions afro-cubaines*. Paris: Editions l'Harmattan. Traces the origins and history of scientific/ethnological research in Cuba's African-derived religions. Text in French.
- Dily, Pastor. (1987). *Santería moderna*. New York: P. Dilu. Using a popular treatment, updates the practices of Santería, especially its U.S. transplantation and transformations. Text in Spanish.
- Do Campo, Orlando. (1995). "The Free Exercise Clause and Ritual Bloodletting: Church of the Lucumí Babalú Ayé vs. City of Hialeah." In *Enigmatic Powers: Syncretism with African and Indigenous Peoples*, eds. Anthony M. Stevens-Arroyo and Andrés I. Pérez y Mena. 159-179. New York: Bildner Center for Western Hemisphere Studies. A brief providing an overview of the famous court case and Supreme Court decision by a law graduate, who argues that if the state can restrict Santería practices, it can likewise do the same to other "exotic" religions.
- Dornbach, Maria. (1977). "Gods in Earthenware Vessels: Gods and Their Representation in the Afro-Cuban Santería Religion." *Acta Ethnographica, Budapest* 26: 285-308. Based on Dornbach's research in Havana, this article discusses the origins and characteristics of 21 of the most popular *orishas* in post-revolutionary Cuba. Includes photographs.

- \_\_\_\_\_. (1993). *Orishas en soperas: los cultos de origen yoruba en Cuba*. Budapest: Centro de Estudios Históricos de América Latina, Universidad Attila Jozsef, Hungary. Text in Spanish. Scholarly book from an East-European point of view and excellent bibliographical references. Text in Spanish.
- Drewal, Margaret Thompson. (1989). *Yoruba Revisionism in New York*. Gainesville, Fla.: University Press of Florida. An African specialist studies Yoruba rites and ceremonies as transformed in New York. Paper given at a conference sponsored by the Center for African Studies, "Cultural Vibrations: Yoruba Transformations and Continuities in the African Diaspora," April 27-28, 1989.
- Duany, Jorge. (1982). "Stones, Trees and Blood: An Analysis of a Cuban Santero Ritual." *Cuban Studies* 12, 2 (July): 37-53. Analyzes Lydia Cabrera's description of an Afro-Cuban ceremony in Matanzas province in 1956 in her *La Laguna de San Joaquín*, according to structural anthropology perspectives. Author shows how Santería is related to the heritage of slavery and deprivation suffered by blacks.
- Edwards, Gary, and John Mason. (1985). *Black Gods: Orisa Studies in the New World*. Brooklyn, N.Y.: Yoruba Theology Archministry. Fundamentals of the *orisa* (*orisha* or *oricha*) concept helpful to those interested in African retentions in the New World. Less concerned with the syncretic development of Santería than with a discussion of the ancient Yoruba religion and the major *orisa* or deities.
- Efunde, Agún. (1978). *Los secretos de la Santería*. Bronx. Miami: Ediciones Cubamerica. Aimed at the general audience, this book sets out to inform the reader by dispelling falsehoods, myths, and stereotypes and by presenting the religion as a body of knowledge that enables followers to deal with everyday life situations. A social history of the early formation of the Afro-Catholic religion in Cuba. Text in Spanish.
- Elizondo, Carlos. (1979). *Manual del italero de la religión lucumí*. Union City, N.J.: [s.n.] A handbook of Santería that can be found in many *botánicas*, or religious retail stores, in Miami and other cities with large Cuban communities. Text in Spanish.
- Fatumbi, Awo Shopew Fa'lokun. (1991). *Iwá People: Ifá Quest: the Search for the Source of Santería and Lucumí*. New York: Original Publications. An excellent introduction to Ifá religion, highlighting the beauty of African mysticism and spirituality. Includes bibliography.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1992). *Awo: Ifá and the Theology of Orisha Divination*. New York: Original Publications. A treatise that offers both the diviner and seeker a well-founded account of Yoruba divination and other methods of using the *dilogún* for practitioners.

- \_\_\_\_\_. (1994). *Ibá's Orisa: Ifá, Proverbs, Folktales, Sacred History, and Prayer*. New York: Original Publications. Stresses, besides sayings and stories (*patakis*), ritual prayers and chants, providing their scriptural background.
- Filipowicz, Eugene Berhard. (1998). *Santería as Revitalization among African-Americans*. Thesis (M.A.) Florida State University. Focuses on Santería as an instrument of U.S. black nationalism. Includes bibliography.
- Flores-Peña, Ysamur, and Roberta J. Evachuk. (1994). *Santería Garments and Altars: Speaking without a Voice*. Jackson, Miss.: University Press of Mississippi. Folklorists and practitioners detail how multicolored cloth, beads, sequins, and shells are used to create altars and clothing to represent the primordial themes of the religion, which they characterize as having originated with but now separate from African practices.
- Franco, José Luciano. (1959). *Folklore criollo y afrocubano*. La Habana: Junta Nacional de Arqueología y Etnología. Chapter on Afro-Cuban folklore includes sections on Santería lore, music, and ritual. Report to Cuban National Board of Archeology and Ethnology. Text in Spanish.
- Franco, José Luciano. (1978). *La diáspora africana en el Nuevo Mundo*. La Habana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales. An overview of African influences in Latin America provided by collected articles previously published. Good bibliography.
- Frank, Henry. (1982). "African Religions in the Caribbean: Santería and Voodoo." *Caribe* 4:34-36. Brief, informative article dealing with cross-cultural comparisons between Haitian Voodoo and Santería in Cuba and Puerto Rico.
- Frutos, Argelio. (1992). *Panteón Yoruba: conversación con un santero*. Holguín, Cuba: Ediciones Holguín. Examines Santería deities and interviews a widely known santero in Cuba. Text in Spanish.
- Galdiano Montenegro, Carlos. (1994). 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. rev. *Santería Formulary and Spellbook: A Guide to Nature's Magic*. Plainsview, N.Y.: Original Publications. Focuses on Santería talismans and their effect, spells, and incantations.
- García Cortez, Julio. (1980). *Patakí: leyendas y misterios de orishas africanos*. Miami: Ediciones Universal. Yoruba short stories, legends, traditions, customs, and myths compiled by the author from first-hand experience in Cuba, Africa, and the United States. Examines the oral transmission of religion, folklore, and cultural beliefs among the Yoruba in Nigeria and their descendents in Cuba. Over 60 short stories trace the significance of animal symbolism, the supernatural, divination, and music in the oral tradition of contemporary Santería followers. Text in Spanish.

- \_\_\_\_\_. (1983). *El Santo (la Ocha): secretos de la religión lucumí*. Miami: Ediciones Universal. Well-written account of the history and meanings of Santería. Aimed at the general audience, this book provides an informative insider's view of rites, folklore, folktales, and divination. Glossary of terms. Text in Spanish.
- García, Ivonne Marie. (1982). *The Afro-Caribbean Syncretic Theme in the Literature of the 1930's in Cuba and Puerto Rico: A Search for Identity and Liberation*. Thesis (A.B. Honors) Harvard University. Explores Santería influences and inspiration in literary works on both islands during the period of the Negrista literary movement.
- Gleason, Judith Illsley. (1992). *Oyá: In Praise of an African Goddess*. San Francisco: Harper San Francisco. Describes the various manifestations of the powerful Oyá, one of Changó's wives and mistress of cemeteries in her traditional praises, comparing the Yoruba beliefs to Cuban and Brazilian practices.
- González Huguet, Lydia. (1968). "La casa-templo en la Regla de Ocha." *Etnología y Folklore* 5 (January-June): 33-57. Examines objects and ornaments and describes the home shrines.
- González-Kirby, Diana, and Sara M. Sánchez. (1988). "Santería from Africa Via Cuba, Five Hundred Years of Worship." *Tequesta: Journal of the Historical Association of Southern Florida* 48: 36-52. Historical essay on the key factors that fostered the survival of African cultural patterns in Cuba and Miami: slavery, the Catholic Church, and the mass exodus of one million Cubans since the 1959 Cuban Revolution. Illustrated.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1990). "Cuban Santería: A Guide to Bibliographic Resources." *Bulletin of Bibliography* 47 (June): 113-129. A brief selective annotated bibliography focusing on Santería, exploring the main approaches, categories or disciplines under which it has been analyzed.
- González-Wippler, Migene. (1973). *African Magic in Latin America: Santería*. New York: Julian Press. Billed as the first English-language book written about Santería, it presents an objective account of the mythology, beliefs, and practices of Santería. The author draws from interviews with santeros and includes photographs taken by Lydia Cabrera during her field work in Cuba prior to the 1959 Revolution.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1982). *The Santería Experience*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall. An autobiographical account of initiation into Cuban Santería during the 1960s in Puerto Rico and New York. Includes a glossary of terms and a subject index.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1984). *Rituals and Spells of Santería*. New York: Original Publications. A more popular version stressing the magical side of Santería.

- \_\_\_\_\_. (1985). *Tales of the Orishas*. New York: Original Publications. A compilation of *patakis*, or stories, from the Ifá oracle.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1992). 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. *Introduction to Seashell Divination*, 2nd edition. New York: Original Publications. An introductory manual to the seashell divination known as *los caracoles*, geared toward the lay reader. Includes detailed information on the main deigns of the shells and the legends associated with them.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1992). *Powers of the Orishas: Santería and the Worship of the Saints*. New York: Original Publications. An analysis of the practice of Santería with a description of the deities and their attributes. Informative and written in a readable way for the noninitiated.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1994). *Santería: The Religion: A Legacy of Faith, Rites and Magic*. Miami: Harmony. First published in 1989. Brings under single cover the most important portions of the author's earlier works, *Santería: African Magic in Latin America* and *The Santería Experience*, and presents new material in an attempt to correct some errors contained in the earlier books. Chapters deal with sacred drums, deities, the Catholic Church, Santería priesthood, ceremonies, possession, Brazilian Candomblé, a case study, and *botánicas*.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1995). "Santería: Its Dynamics and Multiple Roots." In *Enigmatic Powers: Syncretism with African and Indigenous Peoples*, eds. Anthony M. Stevens-Arroyo and Andrés I. Pérez y Mena. New York: Bildner Center for Western Hemisphere Studies, 99-111. The author explores the religion from its mystical, metaphysical roots that link its Cuban origins to the Theosophical Movement in Europe and spiritism traditions in Puerto Rico. It examines the elements of dynamic structure of Santería and its theology. Contains a bibliography.
- Granda, Julio Omar. (1995). *A Materialist View of Santería and the Expense Associated with the Initiation*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Florida State University. "This thesis will only briefly deal with the topic of animal sacrifice [but additionally] it will focus on a side of the religion that does not attract as much publicity, the initiation. More precisely, the focus will be the expenses accrued by the initiates into this religion." [Dissertation Abstract]
- Gregory, Steven. (1987). "Afro-Caribbean Religions in New York City: The Case of Santería." In *Caribbean Life in New York City: Sociocultural Dimensions*, eds. Constance R. Sutton and Elsa M Chaney. Staten Island, N.Y.: Center for Migration Studies. Based on the author's doctoral dissertation. Historical development and current practice of Afro-Cuban Santería in New York City in 1983-1986. Social organization, cultural activity, and religious beliefs of practitioners of Santería conflict with the dominant ideology and institutions of American society.

- Güerere A., Tabaré. (1995). *Las diosas negras: la Santería en femenino*. Caracas, Venezuela. Alfadil Ediciones. Focuses on the Santería female deities and feminist power and ideas in Yoruba religion. Text in Spanish.
- Guzmán, Carlos. (1981). *Santería: la adivinación por medio de los caracoles*. New York: Latin Press Pub. Co. Concentrates on cowrie shell divination. Popular treatment. Includes Rómulo Lachatañeré biography. Text in Spanish.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1984). *El secreto de la Santería*. New York: Latin Press. Purports to provide a brief encyclopedia of Yoruba/Santería practices. Contains bibliography. Text in Spanish.
- Hernández, Paulino. (1998). *Santería afrocubana: sincretismo con la religión católica: ceremonias y oráculos*. Madrid: Eride Editorial. Brief introduction to Santería for a Spanish audience. Contains bibliography.
- Herskovitz, Melville J. (1966). *African Gods and Catholic Saints in New World Negro Belief*. Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press. African religious elements common to Haitian, Cuban, and Brazilian rituals are viewed within the context of anthropological cultural relativity.
- Hing, Andrés. (1971). *Oddún de Ifá al caracol: secretos de la religión africana lucumí*. [n.p: s.n.] Legends, rituals, offerings, and prayers preserved in writing. Text in Spanish.
- Idowu, E. Bolaji. (1995). *Olodumare: God in Yoruba Belief*. New York: Original Publications. Widely cited classic text from a Yoruba University scholar and a Methodist minister on the history and ritual of the religion from a theological rather than anthropological viewpoint, focusing on the supreme deity. Originally published by Longmans, London, 1962.
- Iglesias, Elena. (1995). *Cuenta el caracol*. Miami: Ediciones Universal. Another popular explanation of cowrie shell divination. Text in Spanish.
- Inkice Kilufá, Mameto ti. (1996). *Santería: Aké: la fuerza de una tradición*. Barcelona: Ediciones Karma. A brief essay by a practitioner, published in Spain. Text in Spanish.
- Lachatañeré, Rómulo. (1995, reprinted from the 1942 edition). *Manual de Santería: el sistema de cultos "Lucumís."* La Habana: Editorial Caribe. A Santería handbook featuring a concise summary of the traditions of this Afro-Cuban religion. One of the first "classic" treatises by a Cuban anthropologist. Text in Spanish.
- Lahaye Guerra, Rosa María de. (1996). *Yemayá a través de sus mitos*. La Habana: Editorial

- de Ciencias Sociales. Concentrates on this deity of the sea, her attributes, manifestations, special rites. Text in Spanish.
- Lawal, Babatunde. (1996). "From Africa to the Americas." In *Santería Aesthetics in Contemporary Latin American Art*. Ed. Arthur Lindsay. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press. 3-37. Written by an African researcher, it traces the historical origins of Santería and contrasts/compares it to its African roots.
- Lefever, Harry G. (1996). "When the Saints Go Riding In: Santería in Cuba and the United States." *The Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 35(Sept.): 3-27. A brief study on Santería that posits the argument that "Santería can be understood as a textual rewriting and rereading of the biographies, the histories, and the social contexts of its adherents. Using the opposition, reversionary, and subversive hermeneutic principles inherited as part of their West African cultural heritage, the creators and followers of Santería developed their religion as a counterhegemonic challenge to the social, economic and political order that controlled their lives."
- León, Argeliers. (1962). "Elebwá: una divinidad de la Santería cubana." *Abhandlungen und Berichte des Staatlichen Museums für Volkerkunde Dresden (Berlin)* 21:57-61. Santería from a Marxist perspective. Scholarly article written by a widely known Afro-Cubanist living in Castro's Cuba. León has done extensive research in Africa. This article focuses on the trickster God Elebwá. León describes Elebwá's eminent position in the pantheon: he is the guide, guardian, and representative of the aspirations of the underclass in a capitalistic society. Text in Spanish.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1971). "Un caso de tradición oral escrita " *Islas* (Revista de la Universidad de Las Villas) 39-40 (May-December). Documents a case of a santero's *libreta* or workbook and its use. Text in Spanish.
- Lim Baro, Sarahi Regla. (1998). *Santería as Religion: A Content Analysis of the "Miami Herald" and "El Nuevo Herald. (Florida)"* Master's Thesis, Boston College, MA. "This content analysis reviews two dominant frames; the legitimizing [of] a religion frame and the primitive cult frame, utilized in the *Miami Herald* and *El Nuevo Herald* in reference to the Santería religion." Explores the role of race and class, refutes definition as cult, reviews Santería and its ceremonies and practices. [Modified Thesis Abstract]
- López, Lourdes. (1978). *Estudio de un babalao*. Habana: Universidad de la Habana. Initiation rites in the babalawo priesthood. Text in Spanish.
- MacNamara, Mark. "Santería." (1982). *Miami, The Magazine of South Florida* (November): 99-101, 109-110, 169-170. Informative article on the many facets of Santería as it is practiced by Cuban immigrants in Miami. Interviews with scholars, health officials, and Santería followers provide a comprehensive account of the multiple roles of the

Afro-Cuban religion.

- Martín, Juan Luis. (1930). *Ecué, Changó y Yemayá: ensayos sobre la sub-religión de los afro-cubanos. La Habana Cultural*. An early essay interpreting and comparing Afro-Cuban religions, including Palo as “black” magic and Santería with descriptions of rites and ceremonies. Text in Spanish.
- Martínez Furé, Rogelio. (2000). “A National Cultural Identity? Homogenizing Monomania and the Plural Heritage.” In *Afro-Cuban Voices: On Race and Identity in Contemporary Cuba*, eds. Pedro Pérez Sarduy and Jean Stubbs. Gainesville, Fla.: University Press of Florida. Essay on Cuban national identity, bemoaning the current status of Afro-Cuban Santería and its use as folklore and as a tourist attraction.
- Martínez, Rafael, and Charles V. Wetli. (1982). “Santería: A Magico-Religious System of Afro-Cuban Origin.” *American Journal of Social Psychiatry* 2:32-38. The historical, psychocultural, and forensic aspects of Santería as it is practiced among segments of the Cuban-American population in South Florida. The main thesis explains why Santería has become pivotal as a functional strategy of conflict resolution at both the individual and interpersonal levels. Illustrated.
- Martínez, Rafael. (1979). *Afro-Cuban Santería among the Psycho-Cultural Approach*. Master’s Thesis. Gainesville: University of Florida. Santería as a functional strategy of conflict resolution for acculturation-related stress.
- Mason, John. (1993). 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. *Four New World Yoruba Rituals*. Brooklyn, N.Y.: Yoruba Theological Archministry. Deals with ancestor worship, blood sacrifice, kola nut divination, and the deity Osayín. Bibliography.
- Mason, Michael A. (1994). “I Bow My Head to the Ground: The Creation of Bodily Experience in a Cuban-American Santería Initiation.” *Journal of American Folklore* 107 (Winter): 23-39. “Although much scholarship in performance-oriented folkloristics has focused on ritual, little attention has been given to the role of the body in such enactments. In an initiation in the Afro-Cuban religion Santería, the formal gestures executed by the neophyte’s body show membership in, and commitment to, the religious community. The meaning of the gestures lies not so much in abstract formulations and concepts but in their performances within ritual context.” [Abstract]
- Matibag, Eugenio D. (1996). *Afro-Cuban Religious Experience: Cultural Reflections in Narrative*. Gainesville, Fla.: University Press of Florida. Stressing prose in literature, this book provides a profound insight into the cultural and ethnic background of the religious experience. Extensive discussion of religious systems.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1994-1995). “The Yoruba Origins of Afro-Cuban Culture.” *Journal of*

- Caribbean Studies* 10 (1-2): 50-65. Focusing on the historical backgrounds of Santería, this brief study deals with the myth of the Ilé-Ifé kingdom and its importance in Yoruba self-identification, the rise and fall of the Oyó kingdom, Yoruba decline and slave trade, social structure, and cultural traits.
- Mauge, Conrad E. (1994). *Odú Ifá: Sacred Scriptures of Ifá*. 2 vols. Mount Vernon: House of Providence. Two volumes dedicated to the scriptures that serve as the moral/ethical guide to the Yoruba peoples. Volume 1 deals with the works of Eji Ogbe; volume two contains the verses of Oyeku Meji, two major priests/scribes.
- Mestre, Jesús. (1997). *Santería: mitos y creencias*. La Habana: Ediciones Prensa Latina: World Data Research Center. Brief essay with bibliography.
- Miller, Ivor Lynn. (1995). *Belief and Power in Contemporary Cuba: The Dialogue between Santería Practitioners and Revolutionary Leaders*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Northwestern University. This dissertation documents the historical connection between “Santería practice and political leadership. In spite of thirty-five years of Marxist-Leninist ideology and education in Cuba, the contemporary population is profoundly religious. While Castro’s regime has ousted both Catholic and Protestant Church clergy as representatives of imperialist institutions, a question remains as to the status of Santería practice and practitioners throughout the Revolution.” [Modified Dissertation Abstract]
- Murphy, Joseph M. (1980). “Afro-American Religion and Oracles: Santería in Cuba.” *Journal of International Th C*. 8: 83-88. Oracular qualities of Santería; qualities that distinguish it from the Roman Catholicism of the colonial Cuban social environment, which perhaps distinguish Afro-American religion in general from European Christianity. [Modified Article Abstract]
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1981). *Ritual Systems in Cuban Santería* 42:2174. Temple University. Traces the development of Santería as a religious system from its African roots through transculturation in Cuba to its manifestations in the United States today. Addresses two related problems, the transformation of the Yoruba religion and the Catholicism of colonial Cuba.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1988). *The Reinterpretation of Christian Symbolism in the Afro-Cuban Religion, Santería*. [S.l]: African Studies Association. A paper presented at the 31<sup>st</sup> annual meeting of the African Studies Association. Chicago, October 28-31: 88-74. Studies Christian art and symbols syncretized in this Afro-Cuban religion.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1993). *Santería: African Spirits in America (with a new preface)*. Boston: Beacon Press. Based on the author’s previous book, *Santería: An African Religion in America* (1988), enhanced with a new preface. Both are derived from his doctoral dissertation. Traces the development of Santería as a religious system from its

- African roots through transculturation in Cuba to its manifestations in the United States today. Addresses the problems of transformation of Yoruba religion by the Cuban environment and the “relationship between this transformed religion and the Catholicism of colonial Cuba.”
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1995). “The Yoruba Origins of Afro-Cuban Culture.” *Journal of Caribbean Studies* 10 (1-2): 50-65. Focusing on the historical background of Santería, this brief study deals with the myth of the Ile-Ife kingdom and its importance in Yoruba self-identification, the rise and fall of the Oyó kingdom, Yoruba decline and slave trade, social structure, and cultural traits. Includes drumming in sacred rituals. Text in Spanish.
- Nodal, Roberto. (1975). *El sincretismo afro-católico en Cuba y Brasil*. Madison: Dept. of Afro-American Studies, University of Wisconsin. Special Research Report. Compares the syncretic religious process in both countries and their differences and similarities. Excellent bibliography. Text in Spanish.
- Ocasio, Rafael. (1993). “Babalú-Aye: Santería and Contemporary Cuban Literature.” *Journal of Caribbean Studies* 9 (1-2: Win.1992-Spr. 1993): 29-40. Focusing on the influences of Santería on literature, this article gives an overview of Santería development in Cuba and the work of renowned anthropologists and sociologists in the 1930s as well as political interpretations of Santería’s “creation” and persistence.
- Ochatowá, Changó, Yemayá, Ochún, Oyá: leyendas afro-cubanas*. (1995). Selección y prólogo de Armando Ferrer. México, D.F.: Ediciones El Caballito. A compilation of traditional *patakis* or stories with religious content, mostly of Yoruba origin. Text in Spanish.
- Omari, Mikelle Smith. (1991). “Completing the Circle: Notes on African Art, Society, and Religion in Oyotunji, South Carolina.” *African Arts* 24(3): 66-75, 96. Documents life in an Afro-American Yoruba village and its efforts at “de-Cubanization” or Africanization of the Orisha religion.
- Oyelaran, Olasope Oyediji. (1988). *Reflexiones sobre Anagó. Del Caribe*. (Santiago de Cuba) 5,12: 78-88. Short essay on Yoruba African influences on religion and culture. Text in Spanish.
- Palmie, Stephan. (1986). “Afro-Cuban Religions in Exile” *Journal of Caribbean Studies* 5, 3 (Fall): 171-179. Explores the expansion and transformations of Santería in the United States.
- Pedroso, Lázaro. (1995). *Obbedí: cantos a los orishas: traducción e historia*. Habana, Cuba: Ediciones Artex. Records and translates sacred Yoruba songs and their origin. Text in Spanish.

- Pérez, Cecilio. [pseud. Obá Ecún]. (1985). *Oricha: metodología de la religión yoruba*. Miami: Editorial SIBI. Claims to disclose to initiates, scholars, philosophers, and laymen, the “mysteries” and foundations of the Yoruba religion. A guidebook based on many years of practical experience. Legends, prayers, songs, and rituals surrounding the worship of each *orisha* or deity. Includes a glossary of terms and illustrations. Text in Spanish.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1990). 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. *Ifá: Mythology of the Yoruba Religion*. Miami: Obá Ecún. An introduction to Yoruba mythology and rites by a well-known santero and researcher.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1992). *Ajitenas: Symbols of the Orishas*. Miami: Obá Ecún Books. Focuses on the *Ajitenas* or emblematic diagrams utilized in Santería rites and magic. They represent the signatures of the deities, potent ritual magnets used to attract power and the forces of nature. Contains drawings of ten diagrams.
- Pérez Medina, Tomás. (1998). *La Santería cubana. El camino de Osha. Ceremonia, ritos y secretos*. Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva. Essay on Regla de Ocha and Ifá.
- Pérez y Mena, Andrés I. (1995). “Puerto Rican Spiritism as a Transfeature of Afro-Latin Religion.” In *Enigmatic Powers: Syncretism with African and Indigenous Peoples’ Religions among Latinos*, eds. Anthony M. Stevens-Arroyo and Andrés I. Pérez y Mesa. New York: Bildner Center for Western Hemisphere Studies. 137-155. Discusses at length the meaning of acculturation, transculturation, and synthesis, according to various ethnologists and the changes brought about by Puerto Rican spiritist practices blending with Santería.
- Pernas, Mirta, and Fernández, Emilio. (1996). *La Orishas: historias cubanas de origen africano*. La Habana: Editorial Pablo de la Torriente. Concentrates on legends and traditions of African deities. Text in Spanish.
- Pichardo, Ernesto, and Lourdes Nieto Pichardo. (1984). *Oduduwa: Obatalá*. Miami: St. Babalú Ayé. A historical/sociological analysis of Santería written by a santero priest and a trained anthropologist. The authors hold that contrary to popular belief, Santería is not the product of a blending of African and Catholic religious elements, but rather a religion that has retained its form and structure without giving way to Catholic influences.
- Puig, María Elena. (1997). *Perceived Social Support, Subjective Well-Being, and the Practice of Santería among Four Immigrant Waves: A Comparative Study of Cuban-Americans in Dade County, Florida*. Ph.D. Dissertation. Barry University, Miami. Data for this study were collected from Cuban American respondents from four migration waves who practiced and did not practice Santería. Contrary to the literature and to the practitioners of Santería, results did not show empirical evidence to confirm that Santería practice provided a social support system or greater sense of

personal well-being. [Modified Dissertation Abstract]

Ramos, Miguel "Willie." (1982). *Asé Omo Osayin: Ewe Ayé*. Carolina, Puerto Rico: [n.p.]. A Santero's account of the current status of Santería outside of Cuba in the 1980s. Contains descriptions of religious objects, such as necklaces worn by initiates, and a collection of 23 transliterated Yoruba chants sung during selected initiation ceremonies. Text in Spanish.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1982). *Ceremonias de Obaluaye; para iniciados solamente*. Carolina, Puerto Rico: [n.p.]. A guidebook of worship of the Yoruba God Obaluaye. Among the most interesting aspects of this monograph is the warning appearing on the back of the title page stating that the contents should not be read by the un-initiated. Text in Spanish.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1982). *Dida Obi, adivinación a través del coco*. Carolina, Puerto Rico: [n.p.]. Brief account of coconut shell divination. Text in Spanish.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1982). *Oro: Egungun; las honras de Egungun*. Carolina, Puerto Rico: [n.p.]. Mourning rites, involving sacrificial offerings of food and animals, the special preparation of meals, and musical arrangements, comprises the range of ceremonies for honoring the recently deceased. Aimed at the interested layperson, this book is intended as a teaching aid for recent initiates and followers of Santería. Text in Spanish.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1996). "Afro-Cuban Orisha Worship." In *Santería Aesthetics in Contemporary Latin American Art*. Ed. Arthur Lindsay. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press. 51-76. Detailed, though brief, portrait of the Afro-Cuban pantheon, with attributes, correspondences, colors, instruments, and domain of each deity, written by an oriate or Santería master of ceremonies.

Ridsdale, Frank Edward. (1998). *Santería and the Historical Construction of Political and Social Relations in Cuba*. M.A. Thesis. University Of Western Ontario (Canada). "Questions how economic, social and political regional differences politically divided the country, affected race relations, contributed to Cuba's independence from Spain, and were expressed in the 1959 Cuban Revolution. It also examines how these differences shaped Santería, an African-Cuban religion" and points out different ways in which its development was related to regionally specific political/economic/social context of its adepts. [Modified Thesis Abstract]

Rogers, Andrés R. (1973). *Los caracoles: historia de sus letras*. Washington, D.C.: Librería Latinoamericana. Contains a good description of shell divination in Santería. Text in Spanish.

Rose, Donna. (1980). *Santería, the Cuban-African Magical System*. Hialeah, Fla.: Mi-World.

A handbook of Santería divination and magical spells. Illustrated.

Sánchez, Julio. (1978). *La religión de los orichas; creencias y ceremonias de un culto afro-caribeño*. Hato Rey, Puerto Rico: Ramallo. Brief description of beliefs and rituals. Text in Spanish.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1980-1981). "Aspectos sicoterapéuticos del opele: un oráculo de la Santería." *Revista/Review Interamericana* 10 (Winter 1980-1981): 454-475. Emphasizes psychotherapeutic aspects of ceremonies, divination, and practitioners of Santería. Text in Spanish.

Sánchez, Sara M., and Diana G. Kirby. (1998). "Cuban Santería: a Review of the Literature and Annotated Bibliography." *Journal of Caribbean Studies* 13, 3 (Winter-Spring): 237-260. Overview of trends, interdisciplinary approaches, changes in trends of Santería studies, and current works in various formats, including websites. Includes annotated bibliography.

Sandoval, Mercedes Cros. (1975). *La religión afrocubana*. Foreword by Lydia Cabrera. Madrid: Playol. Based on her doctoral dissertation, in an expanded version, a sociologist/anthropologist examines the whole gamut of the Cuban Afro religious system, contributing to the comparative study of religion. Focuses on the worship of African deities among the Yoruba of Nigeria and their descendants in Cuba. A final chapter deals with the flourishing of Santería among Cubans living in Miami. Text in Spanish.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1977). "Santería: Afro-Cuban Concepts of Disease and Its Treatment in Miami." *Journal of Operational Psychiatry* 8: 52-63. The way in which the Afro-Cuban religious complex known as Santería has enabled Cuban nationals to adjust to the process of acculturation in Miami by expanding its influence in terms of the people who seek help in its rituals, counsel in its divination systems, and cure in the therapeutic practices of the santero priest, are described. The belief of the santeros in the therapeutic power of plants, herbs, and weeds is examined.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1979). "Santería as a Mental Health Care System: A Historical Overview." *Social Science and Medicine* 13b (April): 137-151. An examination of Santería in attracting more followers. Concludes that Santería's intrinsic flexibility, eclecticism, and heterogeneity have been advantageous in allowing functional, dogmatic, and ritual changes that enable it to meet the different needs of its many followers. In its continuing adaptation, Santería today has the potential to become a collaborating institution handling matters of the soul, while the orthodox health care system deals with matters of the mind. There is no conflict between the two in the eyes of either santeros (priests) or clients.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1982). "Thunder over Miami: Changó in a Technological Society." In

- Thunder over Miami: Ritual Objects of Nigerian and Afro-Cuban Religions*. Miami: Miami-Dade Community College. An essay and catalog of the 1982 University of Florida exhibition of ritual objects of Yoruba and Afro-Cuban religions. Brief discussion on the early development, transportability, and spread of Santería in Cuba and among Cuban exiles living in Miami. Fourteen black and white photographs and accompanying text contribute to an understanding of ritual in Santería.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1983). "Santería." *Journal of the Florida Medical Association* 70 (August): 620-328. Overview of Santería: the pantheon, illness and death, believers, initiation, priesthood, cult centers, effigies, drums, sacrifices, Santería in a technological society, and Santería in Castro's Cuba.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1985). *Mariel and Cuban National Identity*. Miami: Editorial SIBI. Contains an overview of Santería membership and practices among early exiles as contrasted with those of the Marielitos.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1995). "Afro-Cuban Religion in Perspective." In *Enigmatic Powers: Syncretism with African and Indigenous Peoples*, eds. Anthony M. Stevens-Arroyo and Andrés I. Pérez y Mena. New York: Bildner Center for Western Hemisphere Studies. 81-89. Another contribution by the noted sociologist on the origins of Santería. It describes the African cabildos in Spain, the *orisha* identities in Cuba, the cult of the dead, the syncretization of the Catholic concept of guardian angel and the Yoruba *eleda* or protector spirit. It analyzes functional changes of the Yoruba religion in Cuba and the use of its pharmacological healing dimension by all classes during the colonial period. It discusses Santería outside Cuba and its new dimensions, followers, and trends.
- La Santería: la Religión Lucumí o Yoruba en América Latina*. (1990). Caracas, Venezuela: Panapo. From a Venezuelan perspective, it provides an overview of Santería practice and influences in most of Latin America. Text in Spanish.
- La Santería: los cocos, los caracoles, el dominó, los collares*. (1990). Caracas, Venezuela: Libro-oferta. Underlines divination by cowrie and coconut shells and explains the meaning of necklaces. Text in Spanish.
- La Santería: magia y misterio del coco*. (1990). Caracas, Venezuela: Libro-oferta. Popular treatment. Text in Spanish.
- Santiago, Miguel F. (1993). *Dancing with the Saints: the Dance Experience in Santería*. San Juan, Puerto Rico: InterAmerican University Press. Focusing on the dance aspect, this is an innovative examination of the religious ritual and the diverse modes of dance representing each deity.
- Soledad, Rosalía de la, and María J. San Juan de Nobas. (1988). *Ibó: Yorubas en tierras*

- cubanas*. Miami: Ediciones Universal. A result of the authors' research in Cuba and Nigeria on the tradition, culture, and religion brought by the Yoruba to Cuba. Illustrated. Glossary terms. Text in Spanish.
- Sosa, Juan Jorge. (1974). "Santería." *Cuba diaspora: anuario de la Iglesia Católica*. Miami: Revista Ideal. A Catholic priest's treatise on the origins and function of Santería. Text in Spanish.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1981). "La Santería, a Way of Looking at Reality." Thesis. Florida Atlantic University. *Masters Abstracts International*. A study of Cuban Santería in Miami-Dade County. First publication of a Catholic priest who researched this African religion and its implications for Catholicism.
- Sosi, Sangode. (1996). *The Cult of Shango: the Study of Fire: an Anthology*. New York: Athelia Henrietta Press. A historical account of the Shango cult and of corresponding deities of fire, lightning, and thunder in other ancient mythologies.
- "A Statement by the Fraternal Organization of the Clergy and the Religious of Cuba in the Diaspora." (1994). In *Saint Barbara and St. Lazarus: Reflections and Prayers about Two Popular Saints* by Juan Jorge Sosa. Miami: [n.p.] 12-13. A declaration of the Catholic Church's position vis-à-vis Santería beliefs and practices, included in a series of essays on Sts. Barbara and Lazarus, emphasizing the differences with their Santería counterparts. Essays are written by Father Juan Sosa, a priest who has studied this religious syncretism in-depth since his thesis from Florida Atlantic University, 1981.
- Torres Guerra, Geraldine. (1967). "Un elemento ritual: el 'osún.'" *Etnología y Folklore* 3, (January-June): 65-80. Focuses on short staffs known as 'osún,' symbol of the deity Osayin. Text in Spanish.
- Valdés, Yrmino. (1991). *Ceremonies funebres de la Santería afrocubana: ituto y honras de Egún*. San Juan, P.R.: Sociedad de Autores Libres. An oriate (Omi Dina) describes Santería funeral rites. Includes ceremonies and songs. Illustrated.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1997). *Dilogún*. La Habana: Ediciones Unión. Product of long years of practice, describes objects, deities in divination rites. Contains proverbs, bibliography, tables.
- Van Norman, William C. (1997). *Santería in the History and Cosmology of Cuba*. Arizona State University. A thesis presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the Honors College for the Bachelors degree. Attests to the popularity of Santería themes in American academia. Contains bibliography.

Wright, Irene. (1910). *Cuba*. New York: Macmillan. Features a description of ceremonial appearance of Ochún in Cuba. 147-148.

#### **IV. Bantú / Congo-Based Religions (Palo Monte / Mayombe, Regla Kimbisa and others)**

Barnet, Miguel. (1996). *Cultos Afrocubanos: la Regla de Ocha, la Regla de Palo Monte*. La Habana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales. A well-researched and informative study of these two religions, including descriptions of their origins, gods, and sacred objects. Includes black and white photos and diagrams. Text in Spanish.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1965). "Los Congos." *Cuba* (Havana) 4, 43: 20-25. Brief article on Bantú ethnic groups. Text in Spanish.

Cabrera, Lydia. (1997). *Reglas de Congo: Palo Monte, Mayombe*. Miami, Florida: Peninsular Print. The classic work on this Congo-derived religious system, as collected from old African adepts and widely cited by subsequent writers. Text in Spanish.

Carbonell, Walterio. (1967). "Mayombe." *Cuba* (Havana) 6, 68:52-56. Briefly explores Palo Mayombe practices. Text in Spanish.

González Huguet, Lydia, and Jean René Baudry. (1967). "Voces Bantú en el Vocabulario Palero." *Etnología y Folklore* 3 (January-June): 387-389. Focuses on the Congo language used in Palo rites. Text in Spanish.

Izaguirre, Héctor. (1998). *Palo Mayombe*. Caracas, Venezuela. Current essay on Congo religions.

James Figarola, Joel. (1996). "La brujería cubana: el Palo Monte." *Revista Mexicana del Caribe* 2: 100-137. The term "Cuban witchcraft" refers to Regla Conga or Palo Monte, the most complex of all Afro-Cuban syncretic cults. Originating in the Congo, this religious system is based on a monotheistic belief in Inzambi. The article attempts to uncover some of the more obscure aspects of Palo Monte rites. *Nfumbis*, *nkisi*, *ndoquis*, and *mpungos* are some of the key concepts to the internal logic of Regla de Palo Monte; the author bases his overview of the religion on these concepts, which open the door to a better understanding of Congo cosmogony, theogony, and liturgy in Cuba. The pact among the *palero*, the *nfumbi*, and the *nganga* is also explored, throwing light on one of Palo Monte's richest practices, long overlooked by Cuban social sciences. [article abstract]. Text in Spanish.

Meneses, Rogelio. (1984). "La Regla de Palo Monte o Conga." *Del Caribe* 2, 4:103-112. An

essay explaining the origins and prevalence of the Congo beliefs and practices.

Ortiz, Fernando. (1927). "Los Matiabos: folklore religioso del cubano." *Archivos del Folklore Cubano* 7, 4 (June): 387-389. An early discussion of this particular Congo sect and its religious rituals. Text in Spanish.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1955). "Los negros 'Matiabos' de Cuba." *Bohemia* 47, 37 (September 11): 8-9, 120-121, 130. Excellent examination of this Congo cult. Text in Spanish.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1956). *La secta conga de los "Matiabos" de Cuba*. Mexico: [n.p.]. Highlights this specific Congo-derived cult for Latin American readers. Text in Spanish.

Portuondo Zuñiga, Olga. (2000). "Metalurgia y cultura bantues en el oriente colonial cubano." *Del Caribe*. 31:81-87. Concise overview on the influence of bantu (congo) enslaved Africans in the copper mines of El Cobre and its environs. It documents the existence of cofradías and of religious rites, touching on their influence on the cult to Our Lady of Charity.

Wetli, Charles V., and Rafael Martínez. (1983). "Brujería: Manifestation of Palo Mayombe in South Florida." *Journal of the Florida Medical Association* 70 (August): 629-634. The cult of Palo Mayombe, also known as Palo Monte, originated in the African Congo and thrived in Cuba, where it assimilated both Catholic and Santería features. Compares and contrasts Santería (perceived as a neutral or white magic religion) with Palo Mayombe (regarded as malevolent sorcery). Illustrated.

## **V. Carabalí-Based Religion (Abakuá/Ñañigo Secret Societies)**

Alúm, Rolando A., Rafael Nuñez Cedeño, and Roberto Nodal. (1985). "The Afro-Hispanic Abakuá: A Study in Linguistic Pidginization." *Orbis* 31, 1-2: 262-284. Analyzes the Abakuá dialect and its usage and characterizes it not as Creole language but as pidgin. Good bibliography, glossary of Efik-derived dialect.

Cabrera, Lydia. (1970). *La Sociedad Secreta Abakuá, narrada por viejos adeptos*. Miami: Ediciones Universal. Documents the history of the Calabar secret society that originated in Africa among the Efik of the Niger Delta from the testimony of the Afro-Cuban elders. Text in Spanish.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1975). *Anaforuana: ritual y símbolos de la iniciación en la Sociedad Secreta Abakuá*. Madrid: Ediciones R. Focusing on the Abakuá signs and symbols, examines their meaning and transcendence. Text in Spanish.

- \_\_\_\_\_. (1986). 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. *La Regla Kimbisa del Santo Cristo del Buen Viaje*. Miami: Ediciones Universal. The story of Andres Facundo Cristo de los Dolores Petit, a Cuban black man who is said to have sold the secrets of the Abakuá religion to the white man in colonial Cuba. The Abakuá society is a syncretic religion that blends religious traditions of Calabar origin, Catholicism, Santería, and other spiritist influences. Contains a biography, descriptions of the temple, priesthood and ritual, initiation, oracles, and possession. Text in Spanish.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1988). 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. *La lengua sagrada de los ñañigos*. Miami: Ediciones Universal. Dictionary of the sacred Abakuá/Calabar vocabulary used by Cuban ñañigos in rituals, as preserved by the elders. Text in Spanish.
- Castellanos, Israel. (1916). *La brujería y el ñañiguerismo en Cuba desde el punto de vista médico-legal*. Habana: Imprenta de Lloredo y Cia. One of the earliest articles on Abakuá practices from a forensic point of view. Text in Spanish.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1916). *La jerga de los ñañigos*. Habana: Editorial Sol. Focuses on Abakuá argot.
- Courlander, Harold. (1944). "Abakwa meeting in Guanabacoa." *Journal of Negro History* 29 (1944): 461-470. Chronicles a visit to an Abakuá ceremony in 1941, noting the presence of white adepts, interviews Alfredo Zayas, a black practitioner who acts as his guide.
- Deschamps-Chapeaux, Pedro. (1967). "El lenguaje Abakuá." *Etnología y Folklore* 4 (July-December): 39-48. Briefly examines the African vocabulary used by Abakuá practitioners. Text in Spanish.
- Díaz, Alberto Pedro. (1961). "Para Iniciarse en la Sociedad Secreta Abakuá." *Actas del Folklore* 1, 4 (Abril): 17-20. Short explanation of initiation rites. Text in Spanish.
- León, Argeliers. "Símbolos Gráficos de la Sociedad Secreta Abakuá." *Abhandlungen und Berichte*, Bd. 34 (1975): 339-354. A noted ethnologist discusses the anaforuana or graphic symbols of the Abakuá. Text in Spanish.
- López, Rafael L. (1964). "La Sociedad Secreta Abakuá y los procesos de cambio en los obreros manuales del puerto de la Habana." In *International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences*, 7<sup>th</sup>, August 3-10. Proceedings, Moscow, 1970. 11: 206-212. Highlights the role of the Abakuá in the stevedore labor unions in Havana. Text in Spanish.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1966). "La sociedad Secreta Abakuá en un grupo de obreros portuarios." *Actas de Etnología y Folklore* 2: 5-25. Documents this association in Havana harbor workers. Text in Spanish.

Martín, Juan Luis. (1930). "Los secretos de los ñañigos." *Revista de la Habana* (February): 173-178. A journalist who wrote on these Afro-Cuban sects describes Abakuá Secret Society rites. Text in Spanish.

Martínez Furé, Rogelio. (1965). "Los Abakuás." *Cuba* 4, 41: 38-45. A current Cuban ethnologist from the island examines Abakuá origins, practices, and customs. Text in Spanish.

Morales, A.M. (1897). "El Ñañigo." *El Figaro* (November 28). A nineteenth-century newspaper article on the Abakuás. Text in Spanish.

*Los ñañigos: su historia, sus prácticas, su lenguaje, con el facímile de los sellos, que usa cada uno de los juegos o agrupaciones.* (1882). Habana: Imprenta "La Correspondencia de Cuba." One of the earliest historical documents about the Abakuá secret societies. Text in Spanish.

Nodal, Roberto, Rolando A. Alúm, and Rafael Núñez Cedeño. (1977). *Linguistic Folklore in the Latin Caribbean: A Glossary of the Abakuá Language in Cuba*. Milwaukee: University of Milwaukee. Revised, expanded version of an earlier glossary of Cuban Abakuá dialect. Contains bibliography.

Núñez Cedeño, Rafael A. (1988). "The Abakuá Secret Society in Cuban Language and Culture." *Hispania* 71: 148-154. Traces the African origins of this secret society, its transfer to Cuba and findings on the ritual use of the Efik language, spoken by the Ibibio, the second largest ethnic group in Calabar.

Olmo, Vicente del. (1951). "El Ñañiguismo en Cuba." *Carteles* (Havana), 4 (January 28): 51, 58. Brief exploration of Abakuá customs. Text in Spanish.

Ortiz Fernández, Fernando. (1950). "¿Donde hay Ñañigos?" *Bohemia* 42, 43 (October 22): 4-5, 144-145, 156. Highlights the location and expansion of the Abakuá in the island. Text in Spanish.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1950). "Los Espíritus o 'diablitos' de los ñañigos." *Bohemia* año 42, 39 (Septiembre 24): 20-21, 114-115. Focuses on the *ireme* or demon-like performers in Abakuá rites. Text in Spanish.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1950). "La 'tragedia' de los ñañigos." *Cuadernos Americanos* (Mexico), año 9, 4 (Julio-Agosto): 79-101. Concentrates on the legal and law enforcement problems with and perceptions of this cult. Text in Spanish.

Pérez Pérez, Adriana, and Norma García Cabrera. (1993). *Abakuá; una secta secreta*. La Habana: Publicigraf. Brief explanation of the secret society, its rites, and impact on

Cuban traditions.

Quesada Miranda, Cándida. (1973). "Remanentes de una lengua africana utilizada por la Sociedad Secreta de los Abakuá en Cuba." *Islas* 45 (May-August): 145-246. Studies the use of African words by Abakuá members. Text in Spanish.

Roche y Monteagudo, Rafael. (1914). *Los ñañigos...la policía y sus misterios en Cuba*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. corr., aum. y adicionada con "La Policía Judicial," procedimientos, formularios, leyes, reglamentos, ordenanzas, y disposiciones que conciernen a los cuerpos de seguridad pública. Habana: Imprenta y Papelería de Rambla, Bouza y Cia. Highlights the legal and police records of Abakuá Secret Society adepts. Text in Spanish.

Sosa Rodríguez, Enrique. (1982). *Los ñañigos: ensayo*. La Habana: Casa de las Americas. An essay on the Abakuá, discussing their characteristic of machismo, the sensationalism of the news media and racial prejudice that brought them a negative notoriety, and the white presence in the societies. Text in Spanish.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1984). *El Carabalí*. La Habana, Cuba: Editorial Letras Cubanas. Explores the historical origins of the Calabar/Abakuá ethnic group in Cuba. Text in Spanish.

## **VI. Fon / Dahomean-Based Religions (Arará, Voudun-Derived Syncretic Cults)**

Andreu Alonso, Guillermo. (1992). *Los ararás en Cuba; Florentina la princesa dahomeyana*. La Habana: Ciencias Sociales. Documents the presence of this ethnic group and the foundation in 1887 of their *cabildo*, Nuestra Señora de las Mercedes in Matanzas, headed by Florentina Zulueta, an Arará slave, later freed by the aristocratic family that owned her. Text in Spanish.

Houndefo, Vinakpon. (2000). "Presencia arara en Cuba: significado sociocultural." *Del Caribe*. 31:66-71. Brief overview of the transculturation and legacy of the Dahomean arara ethnic group with an analysis of their religious and social practices and beliefs.

James Figarola, Joel, Jose Millet, and Alexis Alarcón. (1992). *El Vodú en Cuba*. Santo Domingo, República Dominicana: Ediciones CEDEE; Santiago de Cuba: Casa del Caribe. Focuses on Voudun as practiced in Cuba and its variants. Excellent historical background, description of rites, magical practices, *luases* (deities), foods, customs. Illustrated. Contains bibliography. Text in Spanish.

Millet, José, and Alexis Alarcón. (1987). "Loas de las montañas cubanas." *Del Caribe* (Santiago de Cuba) 4, 9. Focuses on the Voudun deities in Cuba and their attributes. Text in Spanish.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1990). *Aspectos del ritual vodouista en Cuba. Del Caribe*. (Santiago de Cuba) 7,18: 58-67. Highlighting rites and liturgical practices, it explains the particular features of Cuban Vodun. Includes biographical references. Text in Spanish.

Millet, José, and Julio Corbea. (1985-1986). "Présence haïtienne dans la partie orientale de Cuba." *Haiti Progress* (New York) 3, 38 and 3, 39. Examines Haitian migration to the easternmost provinces of Cuba. Text in French.

Moreno, Dennis. (1994). *Un tambor Arará*. La Habana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales. Concentrates on the particular features of Arará drumming in sacred rituals. Text in Spanish.

## **VII. African and Afro-Cuban Religious Influences in the Arts**

Abiodun, Rowland. (1991). *Yoruba: Art and Aesthetics*. Zurich: Rietberg Museum; New York: Center for African Art. An African art critic examines the art historical record of the Yoruba people, which can be traced to the eleventh century in sculpture and in ritual objects of all kinds, focusing on aesthetics in an African context.

*Ana Mendieta/Gloria Moure*. (1996). Con textos de Donald Kuspit... [et al.]. Coordinación de Francisco Rei. Barcelona: Polígrafa. Exhibit of her works organized by the Centro Galego de Arte Contemporánea, Santiago de Compostela, July 23-October 13, 1996.

Bolívar Aróstegui, Natalia. (1994). *Orishas, eggúns, nkisis, nfumbes y su posesión de la pintura cubana*. La Habana: Pablo de la Torriente. Explores how Afro-Cuban deities of various religious systems and cults have inspired Cuban painters to the point of permeating their whole art. Text in Spanish.

Bonesteel, Michael. (1986). "Paul Sierra at Halsted." *Art in America* 74 (March): 15-156. Review of a Chicago exhibit, "Santería: Secret Rites and Symbols," by Cuban painter Paul Sierra and his rendition of Santería gods and sacred rituals.

Brown, David H. (1993). "Thrones of the Orishas: Afro-Cuba Altars in New Jersey, New York, and Havana." In *African Arts* 26, 4(October): 44-59, 85-87. With beautiful color pictures, this work gives a detailed description of the special altars, beadwork, soup tureens, and other objects and their ritualized circulation. Provides a useful historical/cultural background.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1996). "Toward an Ethnoaesthetics of Santería Ritual Arts: The Practice of Altar Making and Gift Exchange." In *Santería Aesthetics in Contemporary Latin American Art*. Ed. Arturo Lindsay. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.

- 77-146. Vivid descriptions of the “tronos de santo,” their decorations, use of fabrics, beads, and other ornaments. Profusely illustrated and documented.
- Camnitzer, Luis. (1994). *New Art of Cuba*. Austin, Tx: University of Texas Press. Excellent exposition of Cuba’s new wave in art. Contains bibliography and index.
- Clearwater, Bonnie, ed. (1993). *Ana Mendieta: A Book of Works*. Miami Beach: Grassfield Press. An excellent book on Mendieta’s artworks with photos and illustrations.
- Contemporary Art from Cuba: Irony and Survival on the Utopian Island*. (1999). Marilyn Zeitlin, Gerardo Mosquera, and Antonio Eligio. New York: Arizona State University Press/Delano Greenidge Editions. Essays. Contains bibliographical references.
- Drewal, Henry John. (1998). *Beads, Body, and Soul: Art and Light in the Yoruba Universe*. Los Angeles: UCLA Fowler Museum of Cultural History. Includes bibliographical references. Examines the connection between the spiritual and religious dimension and Yoruba artwork and ornaments. Exhibit also shown at the Miami Art Museum, June 1999.
- \_\_\_\_\_. and Margaret Thompson Drewal. (1983). *Gelede: Art and Female Power among the Yoruba*. Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press. Exploring the Yoruba traditional arts, it deals with the rites and ceremonies in art underlining the prominent role of women. Bibliography and index.
- Elso, Juan Francisco. (1991). *Latin American Spirituality, the Sculpture of Juan Francisco Elso, 1984-1988*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT List Visual Arts Center. Analyzes the artwork of Elso (1956-1988), a white Cuban artist and Santería practitioner, whose art is charged with African mysticism and whose “objects have a power or aché beyond craftsmanship and aesthetic standards.”
- Hartney, Eleanor. (1994). “Recontextualizing African Altars.” In *Art in America* 82, 12 (December): 58-65. Critique of the exhibition *Face of the Gods: Art and Altars of Africa and the African Americas*. Organized by Susan Vogel at the Museum for African Art, New York. The essay examines the curatorial challenges presented by exhibiting living altars.
- Herzberg, Julia P. (1996). “Rereading Lam.” In *Santería Aesthetics in Contemporary Latin American Art*. Ed. Arthur Lindsay. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press. 149-169. Explores and analyzes in detail the Santería influences in the famous Cuban painter, whose intrinsic African characteristics were previously pointed out by Fernando Ortiz.
- Jacob, Mary Jane. (1991). *Ana Mendieta: The “Silueta” Series*. New York: Galerie Lelong. Focuses on the artist’s peculiarly personal earth-body sculpture, using her own body

or its form.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1996). "Ashé in the Art of Ana Mendieta" In *Santería Aesthetics in Contemporary Latin American Art*. Ed. Arthur Lindsay. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press. 189-200. Analyzes Santería-inspired art in a Cuban exile artist in Miami and New York in her painting and sculpture. Mendieta also drew her inspiration from the Abakuá sect.

*José Bedia: An Exhibition at the Florida International University*. (1999). Exhibition held February 26 to April 3. Curated by Dahlia Morgan. Essay by Roni Feinstein. Well-illustrated catalog of the artist's paintings and sculpture selected for the exhibit, with an excellent biographical and critical essay.

Lindsay, Arturo. (1996). "Orishas: Living Gods in Contemporary Latino Art." In *Santería Aesthetics in Contemporary Latin American Art*. Ed. Arthur Lindsay. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press. 201-223. Excellent study in which an art critic/professor explores in-depth the current variations and manifestations of the neo-Yoruba African deities in art done by Latino artists from all extractions.

Mason, John. (1994). "Yoruba-American Art: New Rivers to Explore." In *The Yoruba Artist: New Theoretical Perspectives on African Arts*, eds. Rowland Abiodún, Henry J. Drewal, and John Pemberton III. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press. 241-250. Brief essay on what African-influenced art has achieved and how it needs to expand.

Merewether, Charles. (1992). "At the Crossroads of Modernism: A Liminal Terrain." In *Wifredo Lam: A Retrospective of Works on Paper*. New York: Americas Society. 13-35. An authoritative critique of the artist's style, technique, and works.

Mosquera, Gerardo. (1983). "Manuel Medive y la evolución de su pintura," In *Exploraciones en la plástica cubana*. Havana: Editorial Letras Cubanas. 232-310. Focuses on the process of evolution in Mendieta's paintings: an internalization of myths as a way of artistic investigation.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1992). "Africa in the Art of Latin America." In *Art Journal* 51 (4): 30-38. The author discusses the presence of African consciousness and influence of religious cults as they are manifested in the art of various Cuban, Haitian, Venezuelan, and other Latin American artists.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1992). "Modernidad y Africanía: Wifredo Lam in His Island." In *Third Text: Third World Perspectives on Art and Culture* (London) 20, (Autumn): 42-68. Criticizes Lam's artwork as to its Cuban and African dimensions.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1996). "Eleguá at the Modern Crossroads: The Presence of Africa in the

- Visual Art of Cuba.” In *Santería Aesthetics in Contemporary Latin American Art*. Ed. Arturo Lindsay. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press. 225-258. Showcases the main artists who have exhibited African influences from Wifredo Lam onward, including Roberto Diago, Mateo Torriente, Agustín Cardenas, and Manuel Mendive to the New Cuban Art as exemplified in José Bedia, Ricardo Rodríguez, Belkis Ayón, and others. These artists exhibit the influences of one or more of the many African cults that exist in Cuba.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1996). “Sobre religión y nuevo arte cubano.” *Atlántica Internacional: Revista de las artes* (Las Palmas) 13 (Spring): 9-11;127-128. Essay on the current Cuban arts of painting and sculpture and their African religious influences. Text in Spanish.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1997). “Riding Modernism: Wifredo Lam’s Decenterings. In *Nka: Journal of Contemporary African Art* 6-7, (Summer-Fall): 16-21. Brooklyn, N.Y.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1997-1998). “Juan Francisco Elso: Sacralisation and Other Postmodernity in New Cuban Art.” In *Third Text: Third World Perspectives on Contemporary Art and Culture* (London) 41 (Winter): 74-84. Studies the mystical and sacred aspects of Elso’s art. Includes bibliography.
- The Nearest Edge of the World: Art and Cuba Now*. (1990). Brookline, Mass.: Polarities. Rachel Weiss, project director. A very complete overview of the new Cuban art, its developments and evolution, with essays by Rachel Weiss, Gerardo Mosquera, and Luis Camnitzer, in conjunction with a traveling exhibition of the New England Foundation for the Arts. Contains “The new art of the revolution” /Gerardo Mosquera — “Poets of a new style of speak: Cuban artists of this generation” /Kellie Jones — “The eclecticism of survival: today’s Cuban art”/ Luis Camnitzer — “Afterword”/ Carlos Alberto Cruz. Includes bibliographical references.
- Ramos Cruz, Guillermina. (2000). “Grupo Antillano and Marginalization of Black Artists.” In *Afro-Cuban Voices: On Race and Identity in Contemporary Cuba*, eds. Pedro Pérez Sarduy and Jean Stubbs. 147-161. Gainesville, Fla.: University Press of Florida. Anecdotal account of a journalist/art expert who has curated Cuban art exhibits on the plight of contemporary Cuban plastic artists.
- Sims, Lowery Stokes. (1995). *Wifredo Lam. The International Avant-Garde, 1947-1982*. Ph.D. Dissertation. City University of New York. “Evaluates Lam’s position in 20<sup>th</sup> century art, analyzing new critical paradigms such as multiculturalism, decolonization, and identity that provide new contexts for his career” and the Afro-Cuban heritage engagement in his work. [Modified Dissertation Abstract]
- Thompson, Robert Farris. (1975). “Icons of the Mind: Yoruba Herbalism Arts in Atlantic Perspective.” *African Arts* 8 (3), (Spring): 52-59, 89-90. Describes artworks with a

botanical content. The cult of the Yoruba God of Herbalism, Osanyin Elewe, in Nigeria, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Brazil, and New York.

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\_\_\_\_\_. (1983). *Flash of the Spirit: African and Afro-American Art and Philosophy*. New York: Random House. Provides well-researched background on Yoruba philosophical tenets and their incorporation in art forms. Examines Afro-Cuban Lucumí religious objects and art.

Thompson, Robert Farris. (1993). "A Chart for the Soul: The Kongo Atlantic Altar." In *Face of the Gods: Art and Altars of Africa and the African Americas*. New York: Museum of African Art. Focuses on Congo influences in Afro-Latin American religion, its art and altars. Discusses religious aspects of sacred trees, graves, beliefs on death, and other symbols.

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\_\_\_\_\_. (1993). *Face of the Gods: Art and Altars of Africa and the African Americas*. New York: Museum of African Art. Includes bibliographical references and index. Studies the art in the shrines and altars of the deities, including Congo, Yoruba, Dahomean, and other African ethnic groups in their African and Western Hemisphere dimensions. Discusses José Bedia's works. Excellent photographs, maps, index, and bibliography.

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\_\_\_\_\_. (1993). "With the Assurance of Infinity: Yoruba Atlantic Altars." In *Face of the Gods: Art and Altars of Africa and the African Americas* 145-280; 326-329. New York: Museum of African Art. Concentrates on Yoruba influences in Latin American art forms and altars in Cuba and Brazil.

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\_\_\_\_\_. (1994). *The Three Warriors: Atlantic Altars of Esu, Ogún, and Ochosi*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press. This art critic describes the altars of the major warrior deities of the Yoruba pantheon.

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\_\_\_\_\_. (1997). "Sacred Silhouettes. (Afro-Cuban and Native American influences in J. Bedia's work)." *Art in America* 85 (July): 64-71. The writer discusses the work of Cuba artist José Bedia. "Bedia developed the stylistic combination of African, Caribbean, and European motifs that were achieved by Wifredo Lam, Cuba's most famous 20<sup>th</sup>-century painter. Bedia also enriched his own art via intimate involvement with Palo Monte and Afro-Cuban and Native American religion. The artist, who uses the mediums of painting, drawing, collage, and installation, favors sleek, long-limbed depictions of humans, animals, and human-animal hybrids, generally silhouetted against stark horizons." [Abstract]

Thompson, Robert Farris, and Joseph Cornet. (1981). *The Four Moments of the Sun: Kongo Art in Two Worlds*. National Gallery of Art. Washington, D.C. 43-52. Focusing on Congo funerary arts, also examines their influence in the Western Hemisphere, briefly discussing their significant effects on Cuban black artistic culture.

*Tiembla tierra: arte ritual afrocubano*. (1998). Pazo de Bendana, Santiago de Compostela, España. Exhibit May 20-June 22. Curators, Abelardo Larduet, José Millet. Translation; Desmond Joyce. Santiago de Compostela: Fundación Eugenio Granell. Catalog of an exhibition that covered artifacts and artworks from Regla de Ocha, Ifá, Congo, Abakuá, Voudun, and Cuban Spiritism. Excellent background essay with English synopsis for each sect and glossary for each ethnic religious group. Profusely illustrated.

Yai, Olahiya Babalola. (1994). "In praise of Metonymy: The Concepts of 'Tradition' and 'Creativity' of Yoruba Artistry over Time and Space." In *The Yoruba Artist: New Theoretical Perspectives on African Arts*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Yau, John. (1988). "Please, Wait by the Coatroom: Wifredo Lam in the Museum of Modern Art." *Arts Magazine* 4 (December): 56-59. Brief discussion of an exhibit of Lam's paintings, reassessing his work from an African aesthetic perspective.

*The Yoruba Artist: New Theoretical Perspectives on African Arts*. (1994). Eds. Rowland Abiodún, Henry J. Drewal, and John Pemberton III. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press. An excellent compilation of essays by various specialists on Africa dealing with the religious dimension, artistic creativity, philosophical and aesthetic tenets in the artistic expression of this ethnic group.

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