

Introduction

Fernando Ortiz

*Ideology and Praxis of the Founder
of Afro-Cuban Studies*

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Fernando Ortiz Fernández (1881–1969) is recognized today as one of the most influential Latin American authors of the twentieth century. Amazingly prolific, his roughly one dozen books and 600 total publications appearing between 1900 and the mid-1950s address a vast array of subjects and intersect with disciplines such as law, political science, history, ethnography, linguistics, sociology, folklore, geography, and musicology.¹ Poet and essayist Juan Marinello described Ortiz as the “third discoverer of Cuba” (after Columbus and the Prussian geographer Alexander Humboldt), a phrase that has been widely repeated (Coronil 1995, ix). He single-handedly founded the journals *Surco*, *Ultra*, *Revista bimestre cubana*, *Estudios afrocubanos*, and *Archivos del folklore cubano*, and contributed extensively to many others. He edited book collections on Cuban history and founded multiple societies dedicated to studying local culture. Ortiz corresponded with prominent anthropologists, folklorists, and other intellectuals throughout the Americas and beyond (Mário de Andrade, Roger Bastide, Ruth Benedict, Franz Boas, Melville Herskovits, Bronislaw Malinowski, Jean-Price Mars, Alfred Métraux, etc.). He mentored prominent international artists and academics (such as Katherine Dunham and Robert Farris Thompson in the

1. Many of these have been cataloged in García-Carranza 1970. See also the Appendix to this volume with a list of publications by year that focus specifically on black Cuban music and/or culture.

United States), read widely in at least five languages, and maintained an active academic exchange with regional Latin American intellectuals and international institutions.² His honorary doctorate from Columbia University in 1954 attests to this legacy and its recognition abroad (anon. 1954a). At the same time, Ortiz cultivated a role as an intellectual in Cuba by writing short, accessible essays on cultural history for lay audiences, offering public lectures in theaters, at the University of Havana, on the radio, speaking in private clubs, and in other ways stimulating interest in Caribbean heritage.³

Perhaps Fernando Ortiz's most significant accomplishments were creating the field of Afro-Cuban studies and helping establish a foundation for the emergence of Afro-diasporic studies. He is one of the first "modern" authors of the black diaspora, basing his work on an examination of cultural and historical phenomena rather than on craniology and other medical pseudoscience. And he was one of the first to conduct fieldwork and observe Afro-Cuban cultural forms himself as part of his investigations. Almost everyone else associated with the early stages of this field—William Bascom, Roger Bastide, Harold Courlander, Gilberto Freyre, Melville Herskovits, Ruth Landes, Pierre Verger, etc.—began their work decades after Ortiz and in dialogue with his publications (Le Riverend 1973, 325). The only antecedent figures to Ortiz such as Raimundo Nina Rodríguez (1862–1906) in Brazil or Henri Dumont (1824–78) in the Caribbean wrote works on black subjects intended to support commonly held notions of their inferiority. Ortiz was among the first authors to seriously examine black cultures of the Americas and to "break the taboo" (Le Riverend 1961, 38; Price-Mars 1965, 12) surrounding their study, albeit from a troubled ideological perspective for some

2. See Bueno Menéndez 1954, anon 1954a, Arciniegas 1953, Campoamor 1956, Latcham 1952, and Sánchez 1952 for a discussion of Ortiz's interactions with prominent regional folklorists and anthropologists. Ortiz maintained especially active correspondence with Juan Liscano in Venezuela, Lauro Ayestarán in Uruguay, Vicente Rossi in Argentina, and Ricardo Alegría in Puerto Rico, but he communicated with scores of others. The recent publication of correspondence by Ortiz between 1920 and 1940 by the Fundación Fernando Ortiz (www.fundacionfernandoortiz.org/) testifies to the vast extent of his academic collaborations. (Ortiz 2014a, 2 vols).

3. The Appendix to this book lists many of Ortiz's publications for the lay public in journals such as *Bohemia* beginning in the mid-1940s. His presentations in private clubs included lectures at the elite black Club Atenas in Havana (one example is "Por la integración cubana de blancos y negros," published in 1943) and at the elite white female Lyceum (see "El cocoricamo y otros conceptos teoplásmicos del folklore afrocubano," 1929). Examples of lectures Ortiz gave at the University of Havana include: "La música de los negros yoruba en Cuba," 1941; Chapter 8 of this volume, originally published as "La música religiosa de los yorubas entre los negros cubanos," 1945–46; "Las músicas africanas en Cuba," 1947; and "Curso sobre 'las culturas negras en Cuba' por el Dr. Fernando Ortiz," 1951. One of his radio broadcasts was published as "Los problemas raciales de nuestro tiempo," 1949.

years. Within Cuba, he taught and inspired generations of seminal scholars and artists interested in black heritage.⁴

In the mid-twentieth century when most ethnographers and anthropologists preferred to study “pristine primitives” in societies presumably untouched by external influences (Apter 1991, 242), Ortiz was one of the first to recognize the importance of studying diasporic influences in new contexts, cultures fragmented and eventually re-created in response to the coercive brutality of the slave trade, and the fusion of influences from multiple sources on collective national traditions. Themes of cultural exchange and fusion represent a fundamental part of virtually all his writings dating back to the earliest years of the twentieth century (Iznaga 1989, 5). In this sense they anticipate work on acculturation as later championed by Herskovits and others.⁵ Ortiz’s recognition that the constitution of the modern world has entailed both a process of violent conquest and the disintegration/rearticulation of cultural forms makes his work especially significant in anticipating postmodern scholarship and fields such as subaltern and postcolonial studies (Coronil 1995, xiii; Fernández Retamar 1989, 40).

Ortiz’s work became central to new discourses surrounding African-derived expression in the mid-twentieth century that located it more centrally within notions of national expression; in this way too his publications were both groundbreaking and widely influential. He accomplished this primarily through public lectures, written work, the founding of the Society of Afro-Cuban Studies in the mid-1930s, and support of a critical mass of researchers devoted to bringing black histories and perspectives into public view. In the 1940s and 1950s, Ortiz challenged official silence on issues of racial prejudice and discrimination and assertions by some contemporaries that Cuban culture contained no African influence whatsoever.⁶ The eventual recognition of Cuba as an “Afro-Latin” country in the decade following his death owes much to this legacy.

Postcolonial societies in the Americas have long struggled to overcome stark social divisions along lines of race and class, as well as the racial/evolutionist ideologies that justified colonial subjugation. Ortiz’s work represents a prominent part of that struggle, even as some of his work manifests

4. These include historians Pedro Deschamps Chapeaux and José Luciano Franco, ethnographer Lydia Cabrera (Ortiz’s sister-in-law), folklorist Rogelio Martínez-Furú, novelists Alejo Carpentier and Miguel Barnet, choreographer Ramiro Guerra, painter Wifredo Lam, classical composers Alejandro García Caturla and Amadeo Roldán, and musicologists Argeliers León, Jesús Gómez Cairo, and María Teresa Linares.

5. Ortiz and Herskovits engaged in direct discussion over the term acculturation and Ortiz’s alternative concept of transculturation in the 1930s, as discussed below.

6. The first chapter of *La africanía de la música folklórica de Cuba*, for instance, refuted the position of Eduardo Sánchez de Fuentes and other Cuban musicologists of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that indigenous rather than Afro-descendant influences were responsible for the unique characteristics of Cuban music. See Ortiz (1950) 1965, 1–104.

the same biases. His scholarship resonates with broader debates throughout the Americas over the meanings of racial pluralism and the legacy of slavery. Likewise, the changes in his views through the years correspond to the trajectory of modern Western thought in regard to Africa and race, specifically the reevaluation of Afro-diasporic peoples, histories, and cultures, and their contributions to New World societies. In effect, his work speaks to the genealogy of racial thought in Cuba and beyond. The United States' current period of political reengagement with Cuba represents an especially appropriate moment to consider the legacy of Fernando Ortiz, his contributions to the international academic community, and the ways in which his views on race intersect with broader discourses.

Despite the extent of its influence, Ortiz's work is relatively unknown in the English-speaking world, especially his publications on music and dance. The book *Cuban Counterpoint* from 1940 is Ortiz's only book-length study ever to be translated, first in 1947 by A. A. Knopf and again in 1995 by Duke University Press. It focuses on the history of sugar and tobacco production and radical changes in their use and circulation as the result of appropriation by distinct social groups. A few of Ortiz's other independent essays have been translated into English as well.⁷ But roughly half of all his work—the equivalent of ten 500-page books—focuses on music and dance and remains unknown to English-speaking readers. Most of these date from the 1940s and 1950s and are considered his most valuable contributions to humanistic literature (Le Riverend 1973, 44). Ortiz's later works on music and dance include *La africanía de la música folklórica de Cuba* ([1950] 1965) and *Los bailes y el teatro de los negros en el folklore de Cuba* ([1951] 1981); the five-volume series *Los instrumentos de la música afrocubana* (1952–55); and other essays published independently as journal articles or booklets. This anthology represents an attempt to introduce his work on the arts to a new readership.

Ortiz's Early Scholarship

Born in Havana in 1881 into an affluent white family with a Cuban mother (Josefa Fernández González) and a Spanish father (Rosendo Ortiz Zorrilla) who ran a hardware supply company, Fernando Ortiz left Cuba at age two with his mother because of the Wars of Independence to spend his child-

7. For instance, Jane Rubin translated the essay "On the Relations between Blacks and Whites" from 1943 (Rubin 1998); Jean Stubbs translated his Kings' Day essay from the early 1920s in *Cuban Festivals* (Bettelheim 1993); and João Felipe Gonçalves and Duff Morton translated "Los factores humanos de la cubanidad," 1940 (see *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory* vol. 4, no. 3 [Winter 2014], 445–80). Neither these nor the few other essays that have appeared in English (Ortiz [1954] 1980, [1935] 1992b) were released with the permission of the Ortiz family (María Fernanda Ortiz, personal communication).

hood in Menorca, Spain. He completed high school there and returned to Cuba to study law in 1895, but upheaval associated with the final War of Independence led to his departure again in 1898. Ortiz completed a *licenciatura* in law in Barcelona in 1900 and the following year a doctorate in Madrid at the newly founded Instituto Sociológico (Le Riverend 1973, 11). There he was first exposed to writings on criminology, a focus that would influence many of his publications over the next two decades. Ortiz returned to Cuba briefly in 1902, then accepted a job in the country's newly established consular service that took him to Genoa, Italy, as well as la Coruña, Spain, Marseille, and Paris (Pamies 1973, xx). In 1906, he resigned his post to accept a position as a public prosecutor in Havana, while simultaneously offering courses on law at the University of Havana. Thus, at the time of the publication of his first book (*Los negros brujos*), Ortiz was a relative stranger to Cuba, having just returned from abroad; he wrote it largely without recourse to firsthand information.⁸ Ironically, Ortiz's lack of contact with Cuba may have contributed to his interest in Afro-Cuban subject matter, allowing him to view the island from the perspective of an outsider and suggesting topics of study that had received scant attention from elite Cuban society (Moore 1994, 35). Nevertheless, evolutionist views of race of the period strongly affected his research for some time.

Ortiz's early career coincided with the creation of the Cuban Republic, multiple U.S. occupations,⁹ and also intense controversy over the role that Afro-Cubans, especially those who had fought in the insurgency against Spain, would have in the country. Black and mixed-race soldiers constituted a majority of former combatants and expected public recognition and support. Indeed, the plans of the insurgent leadership in the 1860s involved selling confiscated Spanish properties across the island and splitting the proceeds among Cuban soldiers, along with other progressive initiatives (Castellanos and Castellanos 1990, 298). Yet U.S. intervention in the war frustrated such plans, and bias among U.S. military officials and Cuban elites led to policies of ongoing racial segregation and marginalization. In the early twentieth century, most Afro-Cubans continued to be denied access to higher education and were barred from white-collar occupations, refused entry in many hotels, restaurants, and clubs, and given only partial access to parks and other public recreation areas (Le Riverend 1973, 17; Pérez 1986, 211). White intellectuals of the period still routinely described black Cubans as members of a "pernicious and degenerate race" (Helg 1995, 106), doomed to slowly die out because of their supposed mental and physical inferiority. Hypocritically, Cuban officials supported a myth of Cuban racial equality

8. Some of the data came from an examination of Afro-Cuban religious artifacts held in the Museo de Ultramar in Madrid (Guiteras Holmes 1965b, 5).

9. The occupations took place from 1898 to 1902, 1906 to 1909, and 1917 to 1922.

through evocation of the integrationist war rhetoric of José Martí, yet simultaneously disparaged black Cubans as inferior and uncivilized (*ibid.*, 115–16). U.S. officials exacerbated such views with overtly discriminatory policies established during their first four-year occupation, including the exclusion of many blacks from voting and the lynching without trial of Afro-Cubans in the provinces who were suspected of wrongdoing (Castellanos and Castellanos 1990, 294–302). The fact that the newly created national army killed thousands of black farmers in Oriente in 1912 as they protested against the outlawing of black political parties provides further insight into the extent of racial tension surrounding the publication of Ortiz's early work. Ortiz never chose to comment publicly on the massacre, though the extremely tense nature of race relations in early twentieth-century Cuba makes his reticence to discuss such conflict understandable, if not laudable. In instigating studies of Afro-Cubans of any sort, even of a relatively nonpolitical nature, Ortiz touched on extremely sensitive subject matter.

As part of their campaign to attenuate the black racial/cultural presence in Cuba, the Estrada Palma government and subsequent administrations strongly promoted the demographic whitening of Cuba through subsidizing Spanish immigration. Between 1898 and 1916, roughly four hundred forty thousand settlers came to Cuba, either from Spain or its former colonies. By 1929 the figure had increased to nine hundred thousand (Moore 1997, 28). Such massive immigration glutted the job market and frequently led to racial conflict as black or mixed-race Cubans lost jobs to newly arrived immigrants. Ortiz himself encouraged the demographic whitening of Cuba in this manner for some time, as he believed it would “sow among [Cubans] the germs of energy, progress, [and] life” (Helg 1995, 104).¹⁰ By the same token, he suggested that the immigration of any nonwhite races would increase criminality and uncivilized behavior.

Campaigns against African-derived religious and cultural forms in the early twentieth century served as an important means of justifying racial hierarchy to the white leadership and the marginalization of Afro-Cubans from governmental and other positions. The popular press and Cuban academics routinely conflated religious practices of African origin with savagery and criminality through the 1920s and 1930s (Moore 1997, 32–34), for instance, suggesting that they involved human sacrifice. Sensationalist trials, especially those of 1904 and 1906, resulted in the wrongful conviction and killing of black *brujos* (“sorcerers,” “witches”) and their reputed accomplices.¹¹ The frequency of such stories in the Cuban popular press at the time

10. The original quote comes from Ortiz's article “La inmigración desde el punto de vista criminológico,” *Derecho y sociología* 1 (May 1906): 54–64.

11. Pictures of some of these victims are found in Ortiz's *Los negros brujos* ([1906] 1973, 136–37), along with reproductions of newspaper coverage of the events (181–220).

attests to the obsession of Cuban middle-class society with the topic. As a young prosecutor, Ortiz supported campaigns against African-derived religions by incarcerating devotees believed to be involved in them. Some of those jailed became his first ethnographic informants (Guiteras Holmes 1965, 5). Many of their instruments and other ritual objects eventually became part of Ortiz's personal artifact collection and supported his research as well; others were destroyed or donated to the newly established Museum of Ethnography in Havana (Helg 1995, 114).¹² This was still a period of "white" Cuban nationalism (León 1991), one in which black people might be rhetorically accepted in the lower strata of Cuban society if they "knew their place" and ascribed to Eurocentric notions of racial hierarchy.

While working abroad in the consular corps, Ortiz dedicated himself in his spare time to studying delinquents, with special focus on the relationship between one's racial background and criminal tendencies. He took inspiration primarily from the writings of Cesare Lombroso, an Italian physician of Jewish descent who studied populations in asylums and in prisons and who believed that the basis of most criminal inclinations could be found in the psychic atavisms of primitive peoples (Le Riverend 1973, 13). Lombroso's 1876 publication *L'Uomo Delinquente*, discussing among other things "the evolution of the human species until it arrives at the superior phase, that of the white race" had a strong influence on Ortiz (e.g., Ortiz 1906b, 13).¹³ His first book, *Los negros brujos. Apuntes para un estudio de etnología criminal*, attempted to apply Lombroso's frame of analysis to the Cuban "underworld" (*hampa*) and specifically crimes associated with black sorcerers.¹⁴ He conceived of the study in dialogue with the sensationalized trials mentioned above involving the murder of children, especially that of Zoila Díaz in 1904, in which brujos were believed to have abducted the girl in order to cut out her heart and use it in demonic rites. Ortiz seems to have accepted the validity of the press coverage and assumed the accused to be guilty (Ramírez Calzadilla 2005, 202).¹⁵ His book was the first to disseminate the term "Afro-Cuban" among academics and is still used today despite some objections to it through the years (Castellanos and Castellanos 1994, 13–14; Fernández Robaina 2005).

As one might expect, Ortiz in *Los negros brujos* depicts practitioners of African-influenced religions as psychically and morally inferior and in need

12. Pavez Ojeda (2016, 214) cites a specific police raid that provided instruments later used by Ortiz; it took place on May 20, 1914, in an Abakuá potencia named Eforí Muna Tanzé in the neighborhood of Pogolotti.

13. "La evolución de la especie humana hasta llegar a la fase superior, cual es la raza blanca."

14. Iznaga (1989, 7) notes that Constancio Bernaldo de Quirós's 1901 publication *La mala vida en Madrid* also served as an important source of inspiration for Ortiz.

15. For further information on the Zoila Díaz case and similar prosecutions of the period, see Palmié 2002, 210ff.

of mental liberation through the inculcation of bourgeois European norms and education. His position is spelled out in the concluding chapter: “Brujo cults are, in the end, a negative influence with respect to the betterment of our society, because given the primitiveness that characterizes them, total immorality, they contribute to keeping black minds uncultured, in the farthest depths of African barbarism” (Ortiz [1906] 1973, 227; see also Chapter 1 of this volume).¹⁶ Ortiz was an agnostic, and, later in life, did not oppose religious beliefs in others, but during this period he characterized Afro-Cuban religions as especially egregious.¹⁷ He called for the outlawing of all such practices as a means of “disinfecting” the country (Ortiz [1906] 1973, 232, 235), the incarceration of those unwilling to disavow their beliefs, and the destruction of their houses of worship (242). Castellanos (1955, 13) notes that Ortiz frequently employed the phrase “*primitividad moral*” when describing Cuban brujos. It is not entirely clear in the text whether Ortiz perceived this primitive morality or “lack of evolution” (ibid., 14) as derived from race and thus inherent or as learned behavior that could be changed. His dim view of all religion as a young man derives at least in part from adherence to positivism, a philosophy rejecting all belief in the supernatural. Even in this early stage of his career and despite the racist presuppositions of *Los negros brujos*, however, Ortiz’s scholarship is impressive in many respects. He cites academic literature in multiple languages to support his arguments and provides detailed information about specific African deities, talismans associated with Kongo-derived rites, ritual altars, practices of divination, the origin of particular African-derived terminology like *bilongo* or *taita*, and includes visual representations of religious masks, costumes, and styles of dance. His scholarship in fact mutely attests to the complexity and aesthetic cohesiveness of the same forms of worship he ultimately condemns.

Ortiz’s publications in the years immediately following the publication of *Los negros brujos* suggest that his views of African-derived heritage remained unchanged for some time, even after returning to Havana. In 1907, his first article specifically on Afro-descendant music and dance, devoted to black carnival bands (*comparsas*), was published. The groups had generated considerable controversy, as their members aspired to take part in largely white, middle-class street processions even though dominant society consid-

16. “El culto brujo es, en fin, socialmente negativo con relación al mejoramiento de nuestra sociedad, porque dada la primitividad que le es característica, totalmente amoral, contribuye a retener las conciencias de los negros incultos en los bajos fondos de la barbarie africana.”

17. Note that even in Chapter 3, an essay published fifteen years after *Los negros brujos*, Ortiz continues to manifest considerable ambivalence toward the validity/utility of Afro-Cuban religious expression. And his cynicism toward religion was not limited to Afro-descendant forms; see, for instance, his amusing commentary in Chapter 9 about St. Peter, said to carry “the keys of heaven in his hands which appear to be made of iron, according to those who know about key making in heaven.”

ered their drums and dances savage (Moore 1997, 62–86). Citing the conclusions of his contemporary Jesús Castellanos, Ortiz suggested that comparsa bands evoked “the spirit of the primates” and were representative of the “primitive and almost invariably African psyche of its members.”¹⁸ In 1909, he wrote a short essay on the *negro curro*, focusing on another famous character type associated with the nineteenth-century Cuban “underworld”: a marauding black thug similar to the Brazilian *malandro* or the Argentine *compadrito*. Ortiz’s curro essay appeared in the book *Entre cubanos* ([1913] 1987) as an extension of his criminological studies. He initially conceived of two additional book-length studies of a similar nature to accompany *Los negros brujos*: one on the curros and one on *ñáñigos*,¹⁹ though neither appeared during his lifetime.²⁰ In the 1909 essay (97), Ortiz describes curros as “an open sore on society,” part of the same “primitive and impulsive African psychology” associated with deviance.

Many essays in *Entre cubanos* focus on politics, which is unsurprising given the volatility of the period in Cuba, but others consider cultural phenomena. Several urge Cubans to read more, take note of contemporary events in other Latin American countries, and study their own history. Clearly, Ortiz sees education in a European mold as a way for the country to progress. In chapters such as “Fiestas populares” one finds a burgeoning interest in folklore as a means of understanding the character of the nation and the beliefs of the common people, black and white. Ortiz encourages the study of music associated with white/Hispanic peasants, the “voice of all the people, the common soul of generations” in order to inculcate a sense of national pride: “And finally, tell me, my compatriots, whether as you listen to a Cuban *zapateo*, or a few *guajiras*, or a *punto criollo*²¹ the spirit of our history and the feelings of love for country and faith in the future are not evoked in you” (Ortiz [1913] 1987, 123–24). It is worth noting that Ortiz’s first publication as an adolescent was on the local customs and dialect in Menorca, Spain (Ortiz 1895); his interest in Hispanic folklore, and eventually other forms of culture, can be viewed as an extension of this early interest.

Fernando Coronil (1995, xviii) suggests that as of 1914 Ortiz began to distance himself from biological essentialism and focused to a greater extent

18. “La psiquis primitiva y casi siempre africana de sus componentes” (Ortiz 1907, 137–38).

19. A male secret society derived from groups based in the Calabar and southern Nigeria, and perpetuating many African-derived traditions. It also played an active role in the insurgency against Spain. See the entry for *Abakuá* in the glossary, and Chapter 9.

20. In 1926, Ortiz published a series of essays on the negro curro in the *Archivos de folklore cubano* and late in life began to rework them with the intention of publishing them as a book. His manuscript appeared posthumously in 1986, edited by Diana Iznaga (Iznaga 1986). Ortiz also completed a text on the *ñáñigos* in 1916, but it remained in manuscript form at the time of his death (see Rubin 1998, 141).

21. These are all string-based forms of music and dance native to Cuba but with stylistic roots in Spain and the Canary Islands.

on supporting culture and education as a means of spurring social progress. This is difficult to assess, as even in early works he advocates strongly for further education of the population, as mentioned. But through the 1910s and into the 1920s, Ortiz's advocacy of education and culture suggests a bias against many forms of African-derived heritage. In 1917, for instance, he published a second edition of *Los negros brujos* and in the new prologue included no disclaimers about its content, suggesting he still conceived of African-derived religions as pathologies. One can detect a shift in the emphasis of his work beginning with the publication of *Los negros esclavos* (1916), however. Certain segments of that book still depict Afro-Cubans as childlike, undeveloped, and intellectually deficient (Ortiz [1916] 1996, 13, 40–41). Yet others discuss black subjects more sympathetically through a focus on the horrific work conditions to which slaves were subjected, the forms of punishment they experienced, the ways in which they resisted or challenged authority through the years, and their ongoing struggles after attaining freedom. Interestingly, 1916 also marks the year that Ortiz resigned his position as public prosecutor in order to serve in the Cuban House of Representatives. Beginning in that year he made various attempts at social reform by drafting bills devoted to the prohibition of gambling, regulation of labor laws, and modification of the penal code. None of his initiatives ultimately proved successful, and, in 1922, he resigned from the legislature in frustration (Le Riverend 1973, 30; Castellanos 1955, 330). For years thereafter Ortiz worked as legal counsel to the fire insurance company El Iris, only resigning from that position after it was nationalized and later closed during the first years of the socialist revolution.²²

The 1920s gave rise to a heightened sense of cultural nationalism within Cuba and a greater desire among advocates of the arts to promote local heritage, including certain Afro-diasporic forms. Various factors contributed to this shift including political and economic trends, artistic developments abroad, and changes in the commercial music industry. In regard to politics and the economy, the 1920s witnessed tremendous upheaval in Cuba, leading intellectuals to reflect upon the wisdom of the country's monocrop sugar industry and its close ties to U.S. businesses. The sharp deflation of sugar prices in 1920, subsequent tariff legislation passed in the United States, and the eventual stock market crash of 1929 led to high levels of unemployment in Cuba and to a constant series of strikes and activism. Eventually, such activity destabilized the unpopular Machado administration and led to all-out civil war. In this context, intellectuals questioned earlier perceptions of the United States as benevolent. Authors expressed a desire for greater sovereignty in both political and cultural spheres, one manifestation of the latter being a widespread movement known as *afrocubanismo* (Moore 1997).

22. María Fernanda Ortiz, personal communication, September 10, 2015.

Internationally, the widespread popularity of jazz in the United States and Europe, the rise of the Harlem Renaissance in New York, and the use of Afro-diasporic culture in the academic compositions of many high-profile composers (Krenek, Stravinsky, Ravel, etc.) also inspired a new appreciation of local black music among the white Cuban elite. At the same time, new forms of recording technology and the popularization of black Cuban dance bands on 78 records and newly established radio broadcasts made black popular music more accessible to middle-class white society than ever before. The mass media thus created new listening audiences for Afro-Cuban music and slowly contributed to changing attitudes about such expression.

Fernando Ortiz played a prominent role in helping to valorize Cuban culture and document its many manifestations during this period. He founded new organizations dedicated to such efforts including the Junta de Renovación Nacional (1923), the Sociedad de Folklore Cubano (1924), and the Sociedad Hispanocubana de Cultura (1926). Ortiz frequently emphasized the importance of lowering Cuba's illiteracy rate—roughly 50 percent in 1920—and combating what he perceived as declining interest in education among the population. As of the 1920s he gradually lost interest in criminology and instead published on topics related to Cuban culture and history. Other authors of Ortiz's generation such as musicologist Gaspar Agüero y Barreras and Eduardo Sánchez de Fuentes also began promoting local culture through the creation of music festivals and the publication of scholarly essays. In part, their efforts were inspired by a more radical generation of younger scholars known as the Grupo Minorista, founded in 1923. With such individuals in their ranks as novelist and music critic Alejo Carpentier, the Minoristas denounced U.S. imperialism and dictatorial regimes in Cuba and throughout Latin America. Artistically, they attempted to integrate elements of local Afro-Cuban heritage into avant-garde artistic works as manifest in the journals *Atuei*, *Musicalia*, and *Revista de avance*.

In the early 1920s, Ortiz wrote an influential series of essays on wide-ranging topics. They included documentation of nineteenth-century slave celebrations ("La fiesta afrocubana del 'Día de Reyes,'" see Ortiz [1920] 1993); a publication on mutual aid societies for slaves and free blacks established under colonial rule, included in this volume ("Los cabildos afrocubanos," 1921; Chapter 2); an essay on indigenous Cuban heritage ("Historia de la arqueología cubana," 1922b); and the linguistically oriented works *Un catauro de cubanismos: apuntes lexicográficos* (1923b), and *Glosario de afronegrismos* ([1924] 1991).²³ Both the *Catauro* and the *Glosario* can be read

23. Stephan Palmié suggested in a review of this manuscript that Ortiz's work on Afro-Cuban terminology is best described as lexographic or philological rather than linguistic, given that the author had no formal training in linguistics and never formulated any explicit theory underlying his work on language.

as polemics against pan-Hispanic ideologies as propagated by Spanish intellectuals and politicians in the aftermath of 1898. Ortiz used such works to help define a vernacular voice for the Americas by subverting Spanish as the language of former colonial control and emphasizing new vocabularies that negated rather than underscored Cuba's ties to Europe (Palmié 2013, 89–90). Pérez Firmat discusses the haphazard methodologies and frequent leaps in logic employed in these works, leading to many instances of what he characterizes as “philological fictions” (Pérez Firmat 1985) in the service of an emergent creole nationalism.

At the same time, Ortiz accelerated the editing and/or reissue of books devoted to Cuban history and culture by authors of the past. One of these book series, known as the *Colección Cubana de Libros y Documentos Inéditos o Raros* (Cuban Collection of Books and Unpublished or Rare Documents), included nineteenth-century memoirs, an early anthropological study of the slave population, reflections on the Wars of Independence, and unpublished essays by José Antonio Saco, José Martí, and other authors.²⁴ Another series dating from the same period was known simply as the *Colección de Libros Cubanos* (Cuban Book Collection) and included volumes on Cuban history and politics of the nineteenth century.²⁵ In a letter to Brazilian folklorist Jacques Raimundo in December 1927, Ortiz mentioned collecting the “religious chants of black Africans in Cuba” (Ortiz 2014a vol. 1, 181), suggesting that his research specifically on black music dates from this period as well as his organological studies of instruments.²⁶

Close examination of essays from the early and mid-1920s suggests that Ortiz's earlier views of non-European cultures and peoples had not changed substantially relative to those in his earlier works. His primary goal at the

24. The series included *Lo que fuimos y lo que somos* by José María de la Torre (1913); *Efeméridas cubanas. Calendario histórico, con los hechos más notables sucedidos en cada día* by Francisco Cartas (1921); *Antropología y patología comparadas de los negros esclavos* by Henri Dumont (1922); Ortiz's own *Un catauro de cubanismos* (1923); *Libro de sangre, martirologio cubano de la guerra de los 10 años* by José Ignacio Rodríguez and Nestor Ponce de León (1926); *Aquellos tiempos. Memorias de Lola María* by Dolores María de Ximeno y Cruz (1928–30); “José Antonio Saco y sus ideas cubanas” by Ortiz (1929); *Artículos desconocidos de José Martí* by Félix Lizaso (1930); *Nicotina: Costumbres cubanas* by Wenceslao Gálvez y del Monte (1932); and *Bibliografía de Enrique José Varona* by Fermín Peraza Sarausa (1932).

25. Ortiz 2014a vol. 1, 344. Works reprinted in this shorter series include *Cuentos cubanos* by Ramón de Palma (1928), *Historia de la isla de Cuba*, 3 vols., by Pedro J. Guiteras (1928), *Cuba a pluma y lápiz* by Samuel Hazard (1928), *Poesías* by José Martí (1928), *Dos amores* by Cirilio Villaverde (1930), *José de la Luz y Caballero como educador*, ed. Francisco González del Valle (1931), *Ensayo político sobre la isla de Cuba* by Alexander von Humboldt (1930), and *Artículos de costumbres* by José Victoriano Betancourt (1941).

26. In a letter dated December 26, 1930, to Melville Herskovits, discovered by David Garcia in the Library of Congress, Ortiz mentions wrapping up a book-length study related to the study of black musical instruments. However, no publication of this kind was immediately forthcoming.

time seems to have been careful documentation of cultural forms on the island in order to understand what their origins were, how they had changed over time, and how they might need to be further modified in the future in order to compare favorably with elite European culture. Documentation of Afro-Cuban expressive arts appears to have been undertaken with the eventual goal of raising the cultural standards of the nation, making it aware of its deficiencies, and charting a path toward a “civilized” future. The *cabildo*²⁷ essay, for instance, makes reference to what Ortiz considered the “monotonous music” and “ridiculous lyrics” of twentieth-century comparsa bands and suggests that the music and dance associated with earlier cabildos were considerably more distasteful, the “survivals of infantile African art” (Ortiz 1984, 31). Even harsher evaluations of such groups appear in the essay via the quotations of others without commentary.²⁸ The Día de Reyes essay similarly refers to the “infantile psyche of the black man” (1984, 53) and portrays street processions associated with the celebration as atavistic. Ortiz’s linguistic studies of the 1920s, mentioned above, have a more neutral tone, as they focus on issues of etymology. Still, in the “Los afronegrismos” essay he notes that most of the language to be discussed comes from religious contexts, and that religious views, “especially the most primitive, perpetuate themselves over time” (1922, 321). It should be noted that Ortiz viewed many working-class cultural traditions derived from Europe as similarly primitive and inferior.

In the 1920s, Ortiz occasionally issues an open call for the “purification” of Afro-Cuban heritage, by which he apparently means their transformation into forms more acceptable to Eurocentric middle-class society. Toward the end of the *cabildo* essay, for instance, he defends comparsas in the face of more conservative critics who wish to ban such groups from all future carnival events. He notes that “even in comparsas of evident primitiveness we find something artistic . . . why should we eliminate them when we can transform, improve, and incorporate them, thus purifying our national folklore? Don’t we maintain other traditions just as savage, impure and impossible to purify, of corrupting and antisocial transcendence [that we never discuss banning], such as the lottery and cock fighting?” (1984, 34).²⁹ Yet he

27. The term for a council or social organization, in this case of Afro-Cubans. See Chapter 2 and the Glossary in this volume.

28. See, for instance, the comments of Aurelio Pérez Zamora from 1866, quoted at length (Ortiz 1984, 48).

29. “También en esas comparsas de evidente primitividad, encontramos su algo de arte . . . ¿porqué hemos de perderlo cuando podemos transformarlo, mejorarlo, e incorporarlo, purificándolo a nuestro folklore nacional? ¿Acaso no conservamos otras costrumbres tan salvajes, impuras e impurificables, de transcendentalismo corruptor y antisocial, como la lotería y los gallos?” Ramírez Calzadilla (2005, 204) suggests that this tendency toward a greater tolerance for non-Western cultural forms divorced from religious belief began even earlier, in the 1910s.

simultaneously calls for an ongoing ban on “fetishistic” religious music and dance, and on rumba music/dance because of its “orgiastic” qualities. A few years later, in his essay discussing the founding of the Cuban Folklore Society, he states that the group’s goals are to document local elements of popular culture with an aim toward national reconstruction. Ortiz calls for the study of (strongly Spanish-influenced) musical forms such as *décimas* and boleros, oral poetry, children’s games, and so on. He also mentions the importance of “descriptive study, with a goal of true social therapy, of certain morbid practices such as acts of witchcraft and *ñañiguismo*” (1923a, 49).³⁰ Although the early 1920s gives rise to Ortiz’s first substantive publications on Afro-Cuban drumming and dance, his views toward such expression remain highly ambivalent, to say the least.

A number of publications from the late 1920s appear in the journal *Archivos del folklore cubano* that align with Ortiz’s goal of scrutinizing Afro-Cuban cultural forms perceived as primitive or embarrassing. These include articles on ritual music instruments and *ñañigo* costumes by Israel Castellanos (Castellanos 1926, 1927, 1928), two of which include editorial commentary by Ortiz (see also Ortiz’s own publications in the journal, Ortiz 1924 and 1925). Despite the fact that Castellanos describes African-derived religions as superstition, ritual instruments and music as primitive and the culture of *hampones* (underworld thugs), etc., his publications do provide useful organological information and detailed drawings, much as in the case of *Los negros brujos*. In the *ñañigo* article, Castellanos mentions that the outfits he examined for purposes of his investigation came from Havana’s Criminology Museum, part of the School of Medicine at the university (Castellanos 1928, 30). Ortiz published a similar article on teeth filing practices among *ñañigos* in 1929 (Ortiz 1929c), though with less inflammatory language. That same year he wrote another essay on the origin of the terms *cocoricamo*, *mereketén*, and *bilongo*³¹ in Afro-Cuban religious ritual. While noting that all three were the products of primitive minds that tended to invent deities out of thin air (1929b, 308, 311), he concluded by emphasizing that such ideas were not terribly far removed from conceptions of the divine in the West, suggesting a greater degree of empathy with his object of study. Finally, the “Cultura, no raza” (1929a) article makes clear that Ortiz still accepted the validity of the notion of race but understood Hispanic culture to be the common element tying together much of the Americas. He argued

30. “El estudio descriptivo encaminado a un fin de verdadera terapéutica social, de ciertas prácticas morbosas, como los actos de brujería y *ñañiguismo*.”

31. *Cocoricamo* and *mereketén* are African-derived terms that refer to wondrous, inexplicable, or extraordinary things or occurrences and, by extension, the supernatural. *Bilongo* is a local term for an Afro-Cuban spell or conjuring. All three have passed into the parlance of the general population.

against commonly held notions of the “Hispanic race” and made clear that individuals of non-European origin had a right to full citizenship in Hispanic society. He no longer accepted the idea that black and mixed-race people were mentally inferior but rather that they could aspire to full participation in modern society through education and the adoption of European norms.

Ortiz's Publications of the Mid-1930s and Beyond

The early 1930s represented a pivotal moment in Ortiz's career, one in which his views toward Afro-diasporic expression became markedly more favorable. Various factors undoubtedly contributed to the shift. First, it appears that ongoing political and economic turmoil in Cuba and clearer recognition of U.S. complicity in such problems led to even stronger support of national culture and sovereignty. Through 1926, for instance, most of Ortiz's publications on noncultural topics focused on reform of the Cuban penal code. After 1927, however, and continuing into the 1930s one finds a series of articles overtly critical of U.S. foreign policy. They include: “A Cuban Manifesto” in 1927 denouncing U.S. intervention in Nicaragua, as well as open letters published in Cuban and Spanish newspapers on the same topic;³² “The Responsibilities of the United States” in 1929, discussing the need for its support of the Cuban economy;³³ and “Cuba Is Not Asking for New Intervention, but Rather the End to the One That Began in 1916” (1931), calling for the closing of U.S. military bases on Cuban soil and the abrogation of the Platt Amendment.³⁴ Second, Ortiz's exile to the United States between 1930 and 1933 seems to have led to a period of intense reflection about the value of Afro-Cuban culture as national heritage, as well as ongoing political involvement.³⁵ Forced to flee for his safety after writing an essay on the despotism of President Gerardo Machado (Rubin 1998, 31), Ortiz moved between New York and Washington, DC, in search of employment. He arrived during the peak of the “rhumba craze” and must have seen firsthand the enthusiasm black Cuban culture had generated in the United States, as well as the vitality and massive commercial popularity of jazz and other Afro-diasporic musical traditions. He must have noticed also the widespread racial strife in the United States at the time, perhaps leading to further introspection on that topic.

32. “Un manifiesto de los cubanos,” *El Mundo*, January 15, 1927, 17, Havana.

33. Ortiz 1929d. “La responsabilidad de los Estados Unidos; una circular cubanófila del ‘First national Bank of Boston,’” *Revista bimestre cubana* 24, no. 4 (July–August 1929): 484–90.

34. “Cuba no está pidiendo nueva intervención, sino que cese la existente allí desde 1916,” *La Prensa*, 1, January 12, 1931, 1, 8, New York.

35. The extent of his engagement with politics is documented in correspondence of the period; see, for instance, Ortiz 2014a vol. 2, 66–167.

The clearest turning point in the tone of Ortiz's scholarship can be seen in his 1934 essay "On Afro-Cuban Music. Stimulus for Its Study."³⁶ In it, Ortiz references the greater engagement on the part of Western society with "music that is not over-intellectualized" (112). He also makes clear that much of his own support for Afro-Cuban music has political overtones.

In these times of national suffering and profound tragedy, in which Cubans must begin a reconquest of their own country, economically and politically, so that they survive in the face of the destructive force of foreign imperialism . . . it is absolutely necessary that all affirmations of the Cuban spirit of its own creation be supported. Ideological imperialism, if not as insidious as the economic imperialism that sucks the blood of our nation, is also deleterious . . . Let us try to better understand ourselves . . . And let us not forget that vernacular music represents one of a nation's most vital forms, and that Cuban music resonates throughout the world, among all people (113).³⁷

It is instructive to compare this essay to a publication from 1929³⁸ with a similar title, in which Ortiz also calls for the study of Afro-Cuban music but more tentatively and by focusing primarily on determining the extent of African-derived retentions in traditional religious repertoire. The 1934 essay is one of Ortiz's first after returning to Cuba following the ouster of Machado. It, and subsequent academic work, foregrounds Afro-Cuban music and dance (including at least some popular music) more strongly, and his enthusiasm for both is overt. Ortiz's more pronounced interests in Afro-diasporic heritage and politics are also evident in the two new journals he established in the mid-1930s: *Ultra* (1936, vol. 1), dedicated to international events and intended to serve as a point of contact between all Spanish-speaking nations of the Americas; and *Estudios afrocubanos* (1937), a publication supported by a new society devoted to Afro-Cuban heritage. Writings in subsequent years stressed again that Cubans' sense of identity derived ultimately from commonly shared cultural forms rather than racial or even geographic

36. Ortiz 1934a. "De la música afrocubana. Un estímulo para su estudio," *Universidad de la Habana* 1, no. 3 (May–June 1934): 111–25.

37. "En estos tiempos de nacionales congojas y de honda tragicidad, cuando el cubano tiene para sobrevivir que comenzar por reconquistarse a sí mismo contra las aniquilantes presiones de los imperialismos foráneos, así en la economía como en la política; es indispensable que sean mantenidas todas las afirmaciones del espíritu cubano por el esfuerzo propio. Si no tan grave como el imperialismo económico, que succiona la sangre del pueblo cubano, es también disolvente el imperialismo ideológico que le sigue . . . Tratemos, pues, de conocernos a nosotros mismos . . . Y no olvidemos que la música vernácula es una de las más vigorosas afirmaciones de una nación, y que la cubana da al mundo resonancias que llegan a todos los pueblos."

38. "El estudio de la música afrocubana," *Musicalia* 5 (January–February 1929): 169–74.

ties.³⁹ And they made clear that Ortiz now viewed racial division within Cuba as a major obstacle to progress. He redoubled his efforts to support a project of national integration through scholarship focusing more heavily on Afro-diasporic themes.⁴⁰ Apparently recognizing the significance of the 1934 essay cited above, originally released in a university journal, he reprinted it in *Estudios afrocubanos* in 1946.⁴¹ Even in the reprint, however, one finds an ambiguity in regard to Afro-Cuban music and Africans themselves, such as in the following quotation that perpetuates disturbing stereotypes.

[Blacks'] love of music is not, as is often assumed, the manifestation of a superficial character, a mere eruption of their infantile dynamism. It has been observed now that behind the undoubted childishness of their culture one finds a significant musical stratification, with [complex rhythmic elements] unsuspected from the people of other continents.⁴²

Whereas Ortiz's work prior to 1930 focused on the origins of particular African-derived retentions in the Americas (frequently characterized as at least somewhat odd or risible), essays from the mid-1930s shift to overt praise of culturally hybrid or "mulatto" expression for the first time. In this sense they bear similarities to writings by influential authors such as José Vasconcelos in Mexico and Gilberto Freyre in Brazil at approximately the same time (e.g., Needell 1995, 69). An essay from 1934 on mulatto poetry⁴³ may be the first in which Ortiz strongly asserts that mixtures of African and European heritage best represent Cuba. In it, he describes poetry in Spanish with Afro-Cuban themes and interpreted by individuals such as *mulata* stage artist Eusebia Cosme as a metaphor for national integration and even Cuba itself, "the inextricable embrace of Africa and Castile in emotion" (210). An essay the

39. For example, "La cubanidad y los negros," *Estudios afrocubanos* 3, no. 1–4 (1939b): 3.

40. See, for instance, "Por la integración cubana de blancos y negros," *Revista bimestre cubana* 51, no. 2 (March–April 1943): 262.

41. It appeared as "Estudiemos la música afrocubana," *Estudios afrocubanos* 5 (1945–46): 7–18.

42. "Su amor por la música no era, como se quería suponer, la manifestación de una superficialidad de carácter, mera explosión de su dinamia infantil. Se ha observado ya que tras la indudable puericia de su cultura se halla una fuerte estratificación musical, con cristalizaciones rítmicas insospechadas en los pueblos de otros continentes" (Ortiz 1946, "Estudiemos la música afrocubana," 9). Note that very similar, though much less offensive, text appears in *La africanía de la música folklórica de Cuba* from 1950 (Ortiz 1965, 155–56), suggesting that the author continued to reflect on the bias of earlier writings late in life: "Su amor por la música no es, como se quería suponer, la manifestación de una superficialidad psíquica, mera explosión de un carácter infantil. Se ha observado ya que en su cultura se halla una fuerte estratificación musical, con cristalizaciones rítmicas superiores e insospechadas en los pueblos de otros continentes y con valor estético en otros aspectos."

43. Ortiz 1934b. "La poesía mulata, presentación de Eusebia Cosme, la recitadora," *Revista bimestre cubana* 24, nos. 2–3 (September–December 1934): 205–13.

following year (1935) dedicated to the history of the *claves* expounds upon the same theme. It represents Ortiz's first extended organological study, an area of investigation he devoted considerable time to in his final decades. Accolades for mulatto expression can be found in other publications such as "La cubanidad y los negros" ("Cubanness and Blacks," 1939): "The extraordinary vigor and the captivating originality of Cuban music is a mulatto creation. All original music is white-black music, its beauty a gift from the Americas to the rest of the world."⁴⁴ Similar sentiments appear in an essay from the late 1940s that became the first chapter of *La africanía de la música folklórica de Cuba* ([1950] 1965). Ortiz notes that the styles of Cuban music that have been most influential internationally are "forged in a creole crucible, thrust into the tropical heat, emitting streams of Africanness. It is the black-white product of transculturation, a process of fusion begun in the century-old times of the *zarabanda* and the *cumbé*."⁴⁵ Yet other essays of the period similarly describe Cuban culture as an *ajijaco* or complex stew with diverse ingredients.⁴⁶ At the same time, Ortiz denounced the cultural changes associated with cabaret music and dance as "grotesque deformations"⁴⁷ and generally chose to confine his studies to folkloric rather than mass-mediated or staged music. This aspect of his scholarship parallels the fields of musicology and ethnomusicology that demonstrated little interest in popular repertoire at the time.

During the 1930s, Ortiz significantly revised his former views of the Cuban "underworld" or "bad life" (*la mala vida*), and the degenerate or self-destructive behaviors associated with them. As discussed, Ortiz's initial conception of the underworld was informed by Lombroso's theories of criminology, presuming that many if not all forms of social deviance derived in some way from irrational psychic tendencies innate to particular racial or other groups. Ortiz's understanding of crime or "deviance" in the black community as of the mid-1930s is decidedly more sympathetic and could be read as informed by Marxist views, as some in Cuba have maintained (Iznaga 1989, 38). For instance, in 1936, Ortiz writes:

The black man, taken forcibly from Africa and introduced into a colonial society based on slavery and exploitation, and of course one

44. "La cubanidad y los negros," *Estudios afrocubanos* 3, no. 1–4 (1939): 12.

45. "Fundida en el crisol criollo, puesto al fuego tropical, con raudales de africanía; producto de una transculturación blanquiegra, desde los multiseculares tiempos de la zarabanda y el cumbé," quoted in "Preludios étnicos de la música afrocubana," *Revista bimestre cubana* 59, nos. 1–3 (January–June 1947): 11. Also quoted in Iznaga 1989, 73. The zarabanda and cumbé are examples of early New World dances that developed among mixed-race populations. They gained widespread popularity in the Americas and also influenced European tastes.

46. For example, "Los factores humanos de la cubanidad," *Revista bimestre cubana* 45, no. 2 (March–April 1940): 167.

47. "Los últimos versos mulatos," *Revista bimestre cubana* 35, no. 3 (May–June 1935): 324. Ortiz blamed such deformations on the influence of tourists from the United States.

with economic and psychological norms very different from his own, entered *en masse* into the “bad life”; that is, into a form of existence not viewed kindly by dominant society and marked by isolation and social inferiority. The ruling ideologues of every time period and nation define this sort of life from on high as “bad” because it is not the same as the dominant practices which they define for themselves as good and normative . . . The religion [of blacks] was thus perceived as ridiculous and diabolical, their language unintelligible, their art laughable, their morality abominable, their family disjunct, their habits incorrect, their ideology absurd.⁴⁸

Ortiz rarely admits to his own early racist views, in this period or subsequently; on the contrary, he openly denies “any evidence of prejudice” in his writings on more than one occasion (e.g., Ortiz in Rubin 1998, 21). Many late essays criticize others for depicting Africa as a savage continent and with inhabitants who have elemental intellectual or rational abilities, etc.,⁴⁹ yet fail to note that the same critiques could be leveled at much of his own work. One example of Ortiz’s recognition of bias in his early scholarship, however, can be found in the article “Brujos o santeros” (“Sorcerers or Santería Devotees”) from 1939 (Ortiz 1939a). It responds to calls by Ortiz’s protégé and fellow researcher Rómulo Lachatañeré for an end to the use of the pejorative term *brujo* when referring to practitioners of Santería (Lachatañeré 1938). Following their publication, Ortiz admits that the term *brujo* has negative, racialized connotations in Cuba and that his earlier use of it inadvertently suggested bias, especially against Santería.⁵⁰

48. “Más acerca de la poesía mulata. Escorzos para su estudio,” *Revista bimestre cubana* 37, no. 3 (May–June 1936): 439–40. “El negro al ser arrancado del África y precipitado en la sociedad colonial de esclavitud y explotación y, sobre todo, de psicológica y económica diferenciación a la de su originaria procedencia, había entrado en masa en ‘la mala vida’; es decir, en una vida conceptuada como ‘no buena’ y marcada por el apartamiento y la inferioridad social, impuestos por los elementos dominadores; o sea, en esa ‘mala vida’ que la ideología imperante en cada época y pueblo define, desde lo alto de su posición ordenadora, como ‘mala’ porque no es la misma de los dominantes, quienes por sí definen la suya como la buena y normativa . . . La religión del dominado se tuvo por ridícula y diabólica; su lenguaje era ‘un ruido, no una voz’; su arte, risible; su moral, abominable; su familia, desvinculada; su costumbre, sin derecho; su ideación, absurda.”

49. As examples of such critiques, see “De la música afrocubana. Un estímulo para su estudio” (1934):119; or “Los problemas raciales de nuestro tiempo” (1949):3.

50. “Brujos o santeros,” *Estudios afrocubanos* 3, no. 1–4 (1939): 85–90; see especially 88–89. See also Ortiz (1938) 1992 for Ortiz’s recognition of Lachatañeré’s research overall. Lachatañeré’s original article critiquing Ortiz’s use of the term *brujo* is reproduced in his *El sistema religioso de los afrocubanos* (1992, 196–204). Note that although Lachatañeré suggests the term is inappropriate when discussing practitioners of Santería, he also believes it should not be used in reference to most individuals involved in Kongo-derived religions or any other form of Afro-descendant religious practice, only those who truly attempt to harm others through recourse to the supernatural (1992, 198).