

Incorporating the Averse

Emulating Freemasonry? Approach to racial and hermeneutical entanglement in the
Abakuá religious exercitatio.

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Abstract

During the nineteenth century, the secret societies Ekpe (Egbo) of the Cross River and Cuban Abakuá, were called "a kind of black masonry." Ekpe (Egbo) had a social, political and economic function that regulated the Calabar society. Its members, heads of the most powerful families in Calabar, managed the slave trade with the Europeans. Both his private esoteric exercise and public masquerades were integrated as a mechanism of his economic dynamics. Finally, its members will be victims of this slave trade that has helped feed and will end up as enslaved subjects in Cuba giving rise to the Abakuá. Through comparative history, we will try to approach the inverse dynamics of the incorporation of whites for Ekpe (Egbo) and Abakuá and black subjects for regular masonry.

Resumen

Durante el siglo XIX las sociedades secretas Ekpe (Egbo) del Cross River y Abakuá de Cuba, fueron llamados "masonería negra". Ekpe (Egbo) tenía una función social, política y económica que regulaba la sociedad Calabar. Sus miembros, jefes de las familias más poderosas de Calabar, administraban el comercio de esclavos con los europeos. Tanto su ejercicio esotérico privado como sus mascaradas públicas se integraron como mecanismo de su dinámica económica. Finalmente, sus miembros serían víctimas de ese comercio de esclavos que han ayudado a alimentar y terminarán como sujetos esclavizados en Cuba dando origen a lo Abakuá. A través de la historia comparada intentaremos acercarnos a las dinámicas inversas de la incorporación de blancos para Ekpe (Egbo) y Abakuá y de sujetos negros para la masonería regular.

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Abbreviations

BMRPC: Bárbaro Martínez Ruiz Private Collection.

ELC: Ejército Libertador de Cuba

GADU: Gran Arquitecto Del Universo

GLIC: Gran Logia de la Isla de Cuba

GLC: Gran Logia de Colón
GLUCI: Gran Logia Unida de Colón e Isla de Cuba.

GOCA: Gran Oriente de Cuba y las Antillas.

LCP: Lydia Cabrera Papers, University of Miami Digital Collections.

RWM: Righteous Worshipfull Master
LCAPC: Lydia Cabrera Anonimus
PrivateCollection

PC: Private Collection

UMDC: University of Miami Digital Collections

Introduction

1. Objectives

¿De qué modo un orupá, un esclavo, y aunque el negro fuese libre, era un hombre de condición inferior, podía llegar a ser un muna.ne hermano de un blanco. Entonces un blanco, por ser blanco, era superior a un erenó, a un negro. Por canalla y por ntuje (estúpido) que fuese un blanco, siempre era blanco [...]. Medite un poco. Únicamente por la religión. Bebiendo la Mokuba¹.

My goal is to reveal how similar socio-political processes such as racial integration, devotional practices, rituals, iconography and appropriations of non-African beliefs appear in the different scenarios of Cross River, southern Nigeria and western Cuba. These processes permeate institutions as a priori distant from these practices as Freemasonry.

To achieve this goal, the following questions will be investigated: why did Europeans want to start in African secret societies Ekpe (Egbo)? Why did white Cubans want to start in Abakuá? Or, on the contrary, why did Afro-descendants want to start in associations such as Freemasonry?

We want to identify those poorly defined spaces, where, despite the segregationist laws of black and white colonial society, they shared devotional dynamics or political liturgies. We are especially interested in knowing how these meetings took place, and if it is possible to track them today. Why, despite the contempt on the part of foreign missionaries and agents, why don't the secret brotherhoods of women reproduce in the Caribbean, as is the case with male fraternities?

¹ Cabrera, Lydia. (1970). La sociedad secreta abakuá. p.52.

² Mayer, Brantz. Captain Canot: Twenty Years of an African Slaver. New York: D. Appleton and

First, I will approach the Ekpe Institute (Egbo) on the African stage. We will try to identify the correspondence between the institution and its Cuban imago Abakua. But especially the influence that European missionaries had on Ekpe and other secret societies. Appropriations, transfers and emulations of the Christian gospel and European schools of thought that pierced her secrecy are described. This will allow me to demonstrate that the members of Ekpe who arrived in Cuba in the course of the slave trade already brought incorporations of non-African beliefs into the New World, where similar processes of theological transfer were to be repeated in Abakuá under the leadership of Andrés. Facundo de los Dolores Petit in the 19th century, but also materialized in his own religious creation, the Regla Kimbisa Santo Cristo del Buen Viaje.

Secondly, I will develop a comparison not only of analogies and controversies in the course of racial integration and the incorporation of non-African beliefs in the Ekpe fraternity and its Cuban imago Abakuá, but also some refractions in regular masonry and their racial tendencies with The Afro-descendant community.

Third, I will investigate whether the racial integration of Ekpe (Egbo), Abakua and Afro-Atlantic Masonry helped to permeate the cultural secrecy of these fraternities, not only in terms of colorblindness or class association, but also in terms of other schools of thoughts and beliefs despite His secrecy and secrecy. Despite their differences in purpose and social context, such racial and hermeneutical processes also occurred with other Afroatlantic beliefs such as Osha and Conga Rules, Obeah, Candomblé and also in Vodou.

This thesis project aims to understand and explain these processes of belief transmission, circulation of knowledge, co-optation and integration through a consideration of sociological categories and the use of the critical theory of race and gender. Given the primary role that is said to have played masculinity in these historical processes, I have considered analyzing why missionaries, political-economic agents, and even contemporary scholars paid no attention to the brotherhoods of women in Africa. Ute Röschenthaler has explained how before the colonial meetings, women's secret societies existed as a counterpart to each male fraternity. But the fact of not having been detected

by the colonial powers allowed them to safeguard their secrecy since no missionary or European commercial agent knocked on their doors. Missionary men and women in Africa, but also the few European women established in the African territory continued to reproduce coloniality, as a hierarchy of class, gender and race, especially in the supposed gender spaces.

Ekpe (Egbo), Abakuá and "black" Freemasonry were fraternities of male membership. All these institutions could be considered as a refraction of the European devotional practices of their time, emulation of the Christian liturgy, devotion (eucharistic), imitatio (of Christ), compassion and devotion to a female figure (Mary). They could also be perceived as a mirror of their social context. The initiation / incorporation of Europeans into Ekpe responds to the need to improve the economic relationship between European merchants and collaborating African agents. The leaders of the secret society were able to organize and provide them with slaves first and palm oil later, when the slave trade became illegal. Similar processes can be described in the Abakuá fraternity. The official initiation of the whites in Abakuá (1857) and the foundation of the first white lodge of Abakuá (1863) will be a reaction, according to the historians of Andrés Petit, to the political necessity of a racial integration for Cuba, and Abakuá should be part of the impulse for a non-segregated Cuban society. These facts are an example of how these practices were articulated in society and how a system of loans and transmissions was developed beyond the orthodox framework of religious congregations in both fraternities.

It is interesting how, the use of terms such as Syncretism in the context that circumscribes the Caribbean, has a restricted use for Afro-descendant practices. Not agreeing with its use, there is also no acceptance of possible loans that subvert the normative direction. It does not seem strange then that historians Martin Bernal and Cheik Anta Diop have been in charge of rescuing the elements that Western culture has inscribed under his authority. These fraternities, in addition to masculine ones share an absolute secrecy, or high levels of discretion. Both Ekpe (Egbo) and Abakua give account of a Christianizing substratum that by its analogies seems decisive to accept missionary influence from the African territory. This idea indicates a reception of previous theological treatises, circulating ideas or schools of thought, or a construction of devotions in a spiritual medium, which suggests the existence of an impulse for Ekpe, but also a continuum for Abakuá, although during the 19th century. Both fraternities coexisted simultaneously sharing the timeline.

This research will help to better understand how, in the segregated Cuban society of the 19th century, spaces and environments appeared where race was not a problem. At least there was Andrés Petit's willingness not to make a problem. In spite of the controversies and confrontations between the traditional fraternities of Abakuá and the White members, as well as the integrated factions. In addition, this would explain why for Cross River society it was not a problem of racial segregation, but a matter of class, kinship and economic power, conditions that guaranteed membership in the secret society Ekpe (Egbo). Anyone who had no connection or relationship with Ekpe could be susceptible to capture and be sold as a slave to Europeans. While it is true that very few members of Ekpe were sold as slaves in the early stages of the slave trade, the institution was also finally a victim of the same slave trade. Although we talk about Afro-Cuban beliefs, it is impossible to limit our search to Cuba.

This proposal will analyze some of those hermeneutical incorporations and appropriations from different European schools of thought as part, or imago of the Afro-Atlantic religious practices. Hermeneutical incorporations ought to not only be read as a religious issue but also should be analyzed from both sides as a sociological and anthropological point of view. This happened not only in Cross River but in many African territories of the coast where the African were active collaborators² in the exercise of the slave trade and allowed the installation of *Factorias*³ on their coasts.

This meeting between Africa, Europe and the Caribbean would also generate new forms of religious offerings, relations and symbolic economy. The internal dynamism of

² Mayer, Brantz. *Captain Canot: Twenty Years of an African Slaver*. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1974. See also, Newbury, C.W. *The Western Slave Coast and its Rulers: European trade and administration among the Yoruba and Adja-speaking peoples of South-Western Nigeria southern Dahomey and Togo*. London: Oxford University Press, 1961. Edwards, P., & Walvin, J. (1983). *Black personalities in the era of the slave trade*. Springer. Koger, L. (2014). *Black Slaveowners: Free Black Slave Masters in South Carolina, 1790–1860*. McFarland. Yarak, L. W. (1989). West African coastal slavery in the nineteenth century: the case of the Afro-European slaveowners of Elmina. *Ethnohistory*, 44-60. Wilson, C. (1905). Black Masters: A Side-Light on Slavery. *The North American Review*, 181(588), 685-698. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25105482>.

³ Pérez, G. S. (2014). El África Atlántica: la construcción de la historia atlántica desde la aportación africana/The Atlantic Africa: building the Atlantic history from the African contribution. *Vegueta: Anuario de la Facultad de Geografía e Historia*, (14).

religions and African societies allowed these elements from outside⁴ to be incorporated / adapted to ceremonies, liturgies and rituals. The entry of Europeans – slave traders, economic and political European agents - in Ekpe did not provoke a race war within the fraternity. This has been justified by the economic relations established with the secret society managing the interior slave trade of Cross River, but also controlling and managing relations with European political institutions. In fact, Europeans needed to be initiated in the secret society to be part of the trust circle in order for them to accelerate the business execution time and get more benefit.

As a result, their ships would be filled with slaves or palm oil faster than those belonging to traders who were not initiated into African secretism. Confidence was crucial, and the higher grades of the fraternity were the access to wealth. Accordingly, Ekpe was more than a secret society. Samuel Ajayi Crowther⁵, became in the first bishop of African origin. Crowther brought the English educational system to Niger territories. With his wife they incorporated the schools separated by sexes⁶, building one school for girls and another for boys. Crowther thus collaborated with the English government mission of reproducing the colonial social hierarchy by devaluing the African ancestry knowledge and ways of life. It was Bishop Samuel A. Crowther, however, who in 1876 would raise the most direct complaint against these Europeans. Crowther exposed them telling that in order to improve trade, some Europeans agreed to be initiated into the traditional African religions. The main goals of his Anglican church were to annul the ancestral and pagan rituals and beliefs, and finally illuminate with the word of the Lord help by the Christian gospel.

The missionaries once won the battle to contain the extreme ordeals and rituals of human sacrifice continued to deconstruct African ancestral legacy. So, idols, fetishes and totemic

⁴ Mouser, B. L. (1973). Trade, Coasters, and Conflict in the Rio Pongo from 1790 to 1808. *The Journal of African History*, 14(1), 45-64. See also, Walker, S. A. (1845). *Missions in Western Africa, among the Soosoos, Bulloms, &c: being the first undertaken by the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East*. W. Curry, Jun. Hole, C. (1896). *The Early History of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East to the End of AD, 1814*. Church Missionary Society.

⁵ Samuel Ajayi Crowther was the first Anglican bishop of African origin. Anglican missionaries rescued him when he was a boy and was going to be sold as a slave. From that moment he was educated in the Anglican missions of Niger and completed his theological studies at the doctorate level in England. He returned to Niger and did not simply preach or evangelize, but he incorporated English education into Abeokuta's missions. He was an active defender of evangelization to counteract the ancestral way of life of the territory.

⁶ Oyèwùmí, O. (1997). *The invention of women: Making an African sense of western gender discourses*. U of Minnesota Press, p. 130. See also, See Jean Kopytoff, A Preface to Modern Nigeria: Sierra Leonians in Yoruba 1830-1890 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1965), for a history.

animals were raised as a dangerous threat to the gospel of Christ. Despite the efforts of the missionaries secret societies could have been permeated by the incorporation of European neophytes to their religious practices.

There were not only examples of incorporations but also eliminations⁷ and eradications and religious persecutions. The Anglican missions promoted campaigns of indiscriminate hunting against some of the animals that are considered sacred and had totemic cults. What happened in the Caribbean with the social refractions built by the slave trade and slavery? How will the Masonic institution be built in the midst of an enlightened genesis and with a development that extends throughout the Caribbean through dynamic and colonialist formulas? Despite their secrecy, none of these associations could be shielded to issues of race and over time in some cases also of gender.

2. Methodology

*El mundo africano nacido de la colonia sería un mundo de la pérdida y esa pérdida habría sido organizada por un crimen.*⁸

This text is the result of the tension between our own experience and an approach from the academy to aspects of the religion of which many Afro-descendant Cubans are exercisers. So to a large extent, in this work, I sought to put into words the perceptions of the sacred-everyday life in Cuba.

I guess the tension is explained by living between peripheral distance and an Afro-Cuban practice in which the religious event is not punctual but you live in 'el -imitatio-. Hence, virtuality mechanisms are created to access the event without distance being a problem. Four years ago I discovered in a class of the medievalist Victoria Cirlot, the methodology of Aby Warburg. The fact that a mature white-Judeo-German man left his comfort zone - academic and vital - and went to look for a ritual of the Puebla Indians, I found surprising. It's not that I was going to copy his steps, in Cuba we don't have to go looking

⁷ Iguana was a totemic animal in Cross River, the Iguana Worship was eliminated by 1850, according to missionary Mary Kingsley.

⁸ Mbembe, A. (2016). *Crítica de la razón negra: ensayo sobre el racismo contemporáneo*. Ned ediciones.p, 197.

for anything. We Cubans still put the ancestors to eat and drink. So I, a black, Afro-Cuban, and migrant woman, who has always been surrounded by what Peter Sloterdijk and Pierre Hadot⁹ called Exercising Beings, felt inspired by the controversial Warburg figure to undertake this search path that explained why Blacks decided to incorporate whites into their practices and vice versa, or because blacks entered white/western practices and rituals. This was the reason why I chose two institutions that were a priori archetypal for Africans (Ekpe (Egbo) and for Europeans (Freemasonry).

However, the role-playing game I discovered by Aby Warburg lay in the Sacred Theater, but the Europeans gave up wearing masks and playing. On the contrary, the Pathos among the subordinates was fed as subsistence and vital resistance. And in that exercise of resilience it is because in the colonial cast of the world, black women become forever Hopkinssonian Sucouyants¹⁰s, in the words of Warburg, in maenads.

Since my migration, my search was integrated into a global space that since I left Cuba in 1994 forced me to rethink / question those spaces that, in the face of loss, must be invented virtually. It may not be a history thesis to use. The text is not a perfectly linear story, nor chronologically told. And sometimes they tell me that it is not historical... not at all or not only historical. We talk about art, Renaissance painting, oral literature, and African and Afro-descendant studies

But how can it be? Who lives a linear life today? If we often tie ourselves to traumas of the past (Pathosformels) and remain in them out of fear or enjoyment. And lately, we all have those devices that make us transport ourselves to the future by virtualities. We have not lived a linear life in this society of immediacy. And if you are a black, migrant and feminine subject, it has been divided for centuries. The serious fragmentation of body and memory was the slave trade.

But how to address it? My training is in Historical Studies, and the classical academy is not very receptive to interdisciplinarity. I had no choice, I was born in Cuba in the 70's so the Cuban Ministry of Education did not teach any class related to theology and to access

⁹ Hadot, P. (2006). *Ejercicios espirituales y filosofía antigua* (Vol. 50). Siruela. p, 81.

¹⁰ Hopkinson, N. (2001). *Skin folk*. Aspect.

classical studies had to reach university. So while I had to study all Western theology on my own and biblical studies became essential. Nor was it easy in Barcelona, but by the time he entered the doctorate the secularists were already admitted and he could go to take classes as external students at the Seminar. I had a degree in History and I was lucky to have an Africanist tutor like Ferran Iniesta in the race. The methodological strategy was to build a comparative history of religions. It was about recreating the same relationships that drew the triangular economic trade between Europe, Africa, and the Caribbean and permeating the extent to which trafficking and slavery incorporated, made visible or borrowed objects, rituals, liturgies and dynamics of the religious.

3. Sources

This work due to the nature of its methodology uses different media supports that go beyond the classic written sources. From the manuscripts of the Abakuás institutions that are part of the primary sources whose photographs have been provided by Dr. Ivor Miller. Newspapers, pamphlets, institutional documentation such as the Royal Orders, religious notebooks and diaries of slave ship captains, as well as some memoirs of Efik Chiefs that have been published. Church documentation such as baptismal, brown and brown certificates and guilds of Cuban offices. In this line, internal and exile police reports for both freemasons and ñañigos. Certificates and medical-legal reports on the new discipline of the nineteenth in relation to criminal forensics. We have also been able to access numerous letters, Masonic systems of a broad political spectrum. Interviews with practitioners have been incorporated. We have also been able to access penalties such as Figueras where there were more than 300 ñañigos prisoners since 1878 and freemasons such as Tomás Estrada Palma. Spanish archives like Historic of Madrid, Museo del Prado, de las Américas.

Access to Abakuás sources has not been in any case first-hand, except for interviews with its members. The manuscripts and other sources as well as those of Ekpe (Egbo) have already been published previously. We have tried, however, to establish a new dialogue with them and make them question the Masonic sources that maintain the same racial debate. The Harvard University Widener archives, especially its Latin American Pamphlet Project. Museums in Guanabacoa where the colely houses its collections not exposed to the public and the documentation provided by its photo workers. Cuban artists like I have visited private and public collections, as well as archives of universities.

Artists who have opened the doors to their collections Roberto Diago, the Catalan Antoni Miralda, important curators such as the Basque Julia Murandeira, Dr. in art historian Guillermina in Ramos and the Afro-Cuban dancer Rogelio Lorda More . In that study of the black body, the work of Jerez filmmaker and anthropologist Miguel Angel Rosales. The virtual libraries like of the University of Miami (UMI) with a large number of digitized documentation of the Cuban anthropologist Lydia Cabrera and hundreds of letters from the freemason members of the Cuban Liberating Army. Also virtuals, the University of Florida Digital Collections (ufdc.ufl.edu), Slave Voyages (<https://www.slavevoyages.org>), Digital Aponte (<http://aponte.hosting.nyu.edu>), the

library of University San Francisco, Biblioteca José Martí, Ministerio de Ciencia y Educación -PARES. Besides, Library of Congress Digital Collections (loc.gov/library/libarch-digital.html), and the Masonic archives de la Biblioteca Arús (<http://www.bpa.es>) y la biblioteca esotérica Ritman (<https://www.ritmanlibrary.com>). Finally to the informants, practitioners and exercising beings who trusted me and who do not want to be named. Thank you.

4. Estructura de la tesis.

The dissertation is divided into three parts: that attend the African Stage, the entanglements of black subjects with Freemasonry and the third part is a hermeneutic. The Introduction: Collect the premises and objectives and the questions generated by this research. It also incorporates the proposal to address the issue and a methodology that has tried to reproduce that scheme of the Triangular Transatlantic Trade (Europe-Africa-America/Caribbean) in the key of Religious Phenomenology and in their respective ritual emulations. relevance, importance, usefulness and difficulties presented by the topic, and the methodological proposal to investigate it.

The first part brings us closer to the dynamics of the African territory. The choice to start in Africa has been due to lack of knowledge about this scenario subject to absences and contempt in the curricula of universities. From the first chapter we enter the history compared between the two institutions Ekpe (Egbo) of Calabar and Abakuá Cubano as imago of the first, which are going to be the collective subjects of this research. However, in Chapter 2 we were also interested in getting closer to how the Feminine has been built in both associations since both Ekpe (Egbo) and Abakuá have male membership exclusively. Chapter 3 deals with other forms of otherness in Ekpe (Egbo) and as in his Cuban refraction, those othernesses were incorporated into the dramaturgy of the founding myth.

The second part deals with the contacts of the Masonic institution with the Afro-descendant identity. Chapter 4, "*Emulating Freemasonry ?, Afro-identity [...] Hermeutiqueando The Black Atlantic*", emphasizes the examples of interactions of the Afro-descendant subject with Western Masonry as an exponent of the Western ritualic outside the Catholic church. In chapter 4 the tour is made from the Sokoto Caliphate to Austria with the figure of Mmadi Make / Soliman, passing in chapter 5 through the black masonry Prince Hall in North American lands and its permanence between its claim of official recognition and its dilemma discriminatory by white lodges. The trip and connections continue in chapters 6 through 9 for racial-Masonic connections in Saint Domingue / Haiti and as the problem passes to Santiago de Cuba. Next, Chapter 7 is responsible for pointing out the entanglements between Freemasonry in relation to

emulations, loans and liturgical and linguistic incorporations in similar African and Afro-descendant societies.

In this study a strict chronological order is not followed. The ordering of the text is related to the thematic, the spatial or the conceptual. The reason why we have not followed a chronology to use is because the main subjects of this thesis are Afro-descendants. And it is impossible to build the history of the African and / or Afro-descendant subject with a continuity and respect for life that was not granted by the slave trade, nor by slavery, much less by the white subjects who perpetrated the oppressions or by The collaborationist Africans. Fragmentation is present in body, soul and memory. And to that we respond. These stories of the Afro-descendant subject in their quality of Homo Religiosus in their different qualities of herophonia.

Part.03, contains chapter 9 and addresses directly the symbology, iconology and comparative science of religions. We propose to approach the iconography used as a tool / artifact / device for the practice of ritual. From the analogies and emulations in the Cuban Abakuá to the loans of the Kimbisa Rule by Andrés Petit. The chapter ends with an approach to the Conga heritage that being the most African element for many Cuban religious practitioners, and in that purity see how it blends with an emblematic Rosicrucian figure of the XVII.

With the Conclusions we have summarized the issues addressed in this investigation. He realizes the answers to the questions posed in the approach of objectives and premises, but also those that have not been answered and the new questions that have arisen as a result of the research are incorporated. It is in this section that the findings or discoveries that shed new light / information on the subject are revealed. Some recommendations are added around Afro-descendant studies in general and religious studies in particular. The Bibliography, incorporates documentation / secondary texts that served as a source of information.

5. State of the art

We find it difficult to establish a State of Arts for this work. Not only because we address at least three collective-institutional subjects in their religious-ritual and political-racial dimension. But also because the three are limited to different geographical spaces, Ekpe (Egbo) -Calabar / Africa, Abakuá-Cuba / Caribbean and Freemasonry-Imperial Metropolis (England, USA, Spain). Compiling the different texts used or that have served as a reference to approach these subjects of study and their religious and political context, seems somewhat titanic because surely many texts and specific and transcendental documentation will be beyond my restricted ingenuity and linguistic expertise. No text in Nsibidi, the Cross River religious language was analyzed. Only a few texts in German, of which there was no translation into English, Spanish, Portuguese or French like those of the German symbolist Katharina Comoth (Rekonstruktionen zum delphischen E [Epsilon] und gnostischen G [Gamma]. Winter, 1995).

Thus, this state of Art will focus on the methodology that has been addressed in the investigation. We will emphasize not only the classic bibliographic genealogies of these topics, but we are interested in highlighting an approach to a genealogy that corrects the academy's tendency to specify excellence in male, white and European or North American authors. So we have tried, not without abandoning the necessary readings, to approach other literatures, other origins and other voices that move away from the Eurocentric norms. Special attention to the work of Nigerian historian Shubi Ishemo on the roots of the Abakuá (Ishemo, S. L. (2002). From Africa to Cuba: an historical analysis of the sociedad secreta Abakuá (Ñañiguismo). *Review of African Political Economy*, 29(92), 253-272.).

Among Cuban bibliographic genealogy that has dealt with the Abakuá are, the classics of Lydia Cabrera (El Monte -consider as a mystical book-, *La sociedad secreta Abakuá: Narrada por viejos adeptos*. Havana: Ediciones C. R., 1958; *Anaforuana: Ritual y símbolos de la iniciación en la sociedad secreta Abakuá*. Madrid: Ediciones Madrid, 1975; *La Regla Kimbisa del Santo Cristo del Buen Viaje*. Miami: Colección del Chicherekú en el exilio, 1977.) and Fernando Ortiz. But at this same time, Nicolás Guillén should be incorporated from literature ("La canción del bongo /The Song of the Bongo), Lino Novás Calvo (La Luna Nona, Cayó Canas) y Carlos Montenegro (

Hombres sin Mujer) o la ópera prima de Alejo Carpentier, Ekué Yamba O (1927). Fourth to the performance of the body in the Abakuá some of the works used by dance theorists Bárbara Balbuena (Balbuena Gutiérrez, B. (1996). *El íreme abakuá*. Editorial Pueblo y Educación. Balbuena Gutiérrez, B. (2003). *Las celebraciones rituales festivas en la Regla de Ocha*. Centro de Investigación y Desarrollo de la Cultura Cubana Juan Marinello.), y Rogelio Martínez Furé (Martínez Furé, R. (1979). *Tambor. Diálogos imaginarios. La Habana, Ed. Arte y Literatura.*). Abakuá can also be approached from the musical point of view with the VanVan (Apapas del Calabar, 1996), Chano Pozo as a practitioner and musician gave tips of the Abakuá percussion to the band of Dizzi Gillespi with the theme “Manteca, 1947”. There is also Amadeo Roldán who worked with Alejo Carpentier in some of the operas of his first works. Lo Abakuá is also in the Plastic in the case of the works of Belkis Ayón (Nlloro, 1991) and Ana Mendieta (Ñáñigo burial, 1976). There is also a medical-criminal bibliography by Fernando Ortiz (Ortiz, F. (1993). *La " tragedia" de los ñáñigos*. Publicigraf.), Trujillo Moragas (Trujillo y Monagas, J. (1882). *Los Ñáñigos: Su historia, sus prácticas, su lenguaje. Los criminales de Cuba y Don José Trujillo*, 363-374.), Israel Castellanos (Castellanos, I. (1937). *Medicina legal y criminología afro-cubanas [sic]*. Molina y Cia., impresores.), also extensible to experiences abroad with Rafael Salillas and his experience in Ceuta (), in Equatorial Guinea with the ethnographic works of the Spanish researcher Isabella Aranzadi (de Aranzadi, I. (2012). *El legado cubano en África. Ñáñigos deportados a Fernando Poo. Memoria viva y archivo escrito. Afro-Hispanic Review*, 29-60). Or the diaries of Cuban prisoners in exile that account for the ñáñigos like Estrada Palma's newspaper in the Castle of Figueras or that of Manuel Sentís and Carlos Echegaray in Fernando Poo. Of the controversial and interesting investigations about the Abakuá and its researchers is the article by the Cuban researcher María Rosario Díaz (Díaz, M. D. R. (2008). *The tragedy of the Ñáñigos: genesis of an unpublished book*.

On religious studies in the Cross River area, you were the lotacars of the anthropologists Amanda Carlson and Ute Röschenhaler. Both have focused on the study of women's associations and their manifestations in public space and private rituals. In its correspondence there is an endless number of pre-colonial and contemporary documentation that has been used almost exclusively for male subjects and spaces. Among them are, Daryll Forde, (*The Eik Traders of Old Calabar*. London: Oxford University Press, 1956) and the missionary Huhg Goldie (*Calabar and Its Mission*.

Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1890. Also, Latham, Anthony J. H. (“Witchcraft Accusations and Economic Tension in Pre-colonial Old Calabar,” *Journal of African History*, 13 (1972): 249–260. *Old Calabar 1600–1891: The Impact of the International Economy upon a Traditional Society* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973.) and the precise ethnographic work of Percy and Amaury Talbot (*In the Shadow of the Bush*. London: William Heinemann, 1912). You can also find texts and diaries of missionaries like Mary Kinsley. Paul Lovejoy and David Richardson have made an impact on the field of economic history or the economy of the slave trade. (“Trust, Pawnship, and Atlantic History: the Institutional Foundations of the Old Calabar Slave Trade,” *the American Historical Review*, 104, 2. 1999) En la línea de la historia política y tradicional, Kannan K. Nair, (“King and Missionary in Eik Politics, 1846–1858,” *Journal of African Studies*, 4, 3, 1977).

On the investigations since the Abakuá In addition to the contemporary Cuban historians such as Luciano Franco, Enrique Sosa (Sosa, E. (1984). *Los Ñañigos y El carabalí*. Editorial Letras Cubanas., 1982), Jesús Guanche (Guanche, J. (2007). El itón Abakuá y su universalidad simbólica. *Catauro*, 15, 67-81.), Ramón Torres Zayas (Zayas, R. T. (2010). *Relación barrio-juego abakuá en la ciudad de La Habana*. Fundación Fernando Ortiz.), all of them cultural historians with important monographs on the subject. Some foreign researchers who have approached the Abakuá phenomenon in the post-revolutionary period are David Brown (*The Light Inside: Abakuá Society Arts*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2003.), Eugenio Matibag (*Afro-Cuban Religious Experience: Cultural Reflections in Narrative*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996.), Ivor Miller (“A Secret Society Goes Public: The Relationship Between Abakuá and Cuban Popular Culture.” *African Studies Review* 43, no. 1 (April 2000): 161–188.; *The Voice of the Leopard: African Secret Societies and Cuba*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2009) , also, Robert Farris Thompson(*Flash of the Spirit: African and Afro-American Art and Philosophy*. New York: Vintage, 1983.). Especially accurate is the work of the German anthropologist Stephan Palmié with works on the Abakua phenomenology (Palmié, S. (2007). Ecué's Atlantic: An essay in methodology. *Journal of religion in Africa*, 37(2), 275-315.; Palmié, S. (2010). Ekpe/Abakuá in middle passage: time, space and units of analysis in African American historical anthropology. *Activating the Past: History and Memory in the Black Atlantic World*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 1-44.). Other

investigations to highlight have been the looks from the point of view of Masculinities, in this field there are very few works yet, both comes from the hand of the Swiss anthropologist Geraldine Morel (Morel, G. (2013). Masculinité et relations de genre dans la société secrète abakuá. *Ateliers d'anthropologie. Revue éditée par le Laboratoire d'ethnologie et de sociologie comparative*, 38) and the Cuban ethnologist Joviana Valiente (Valiente, J. D. L. C. C. (2016). El hombre esotérico: expresiones de masculinidad en hombres iniciados en la Sociedad Abakuá en La Habana. *Revista Sexología y Sociedad*, 21(2).).

Finally, and aware that there are many more referenced works, I would like to point out in the Masonic theme three groups of fundamental sources. The first is the founding documentation of the speculative Freemasonry inaugurated by the Masonic Constitutions written by Reverend Anderson (Anderson, J. (1923). *The Constitutions of the Freemasons, 1723*. B. Quaritch.). In the second group, the documentation generated by the Prince Hall lodges strongly linked to the critical theory of race (Hayden, L. (1866). *Caste Among Masons: Address Before Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of the State of Massachusetts at the Festival of St. John the Evangelist, December 27, 1865*. Edward S. Coombs.), together with the documentation of the Cuban lodges of the manigua regarding instruction manifests. And finally, the new contributions of the Masonic implications in the case of the independence revolutions of the Black Atlantic, especially for Saint Domingue/Haiti and Cuba.

PART. 01

1. Refracting African Scenario

Otán Otara fiana Ubane —u Obane— es el sitio en que el río divide la tierra de Efí de la de Efó. «Le llaman el río de la Cruz, porque forma con sus afluentes una cruz». ¹¹

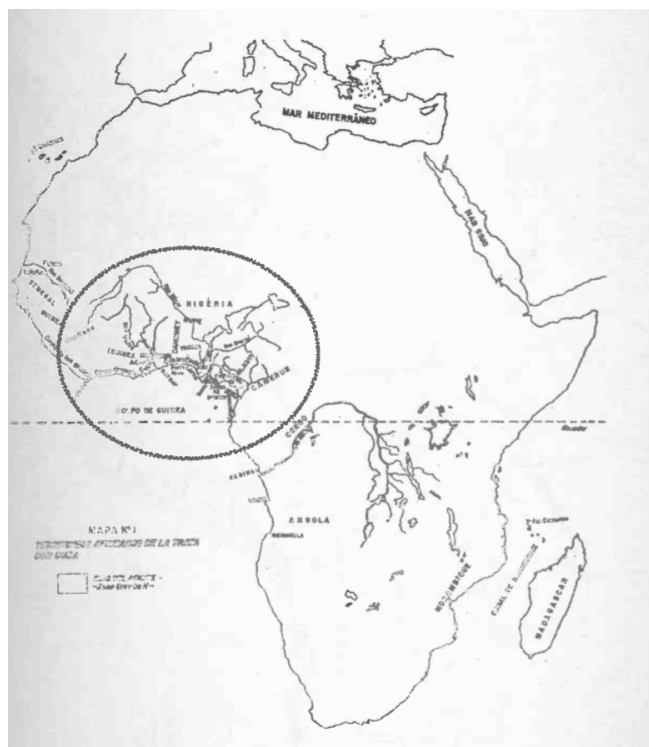


Fig.01 Map of Africa and Cross River territories¹².

The territory of the Calabar unfolds and divides between the network of branches of the Cross River. There the Efik and Ekoi Efor peoples were established between the Southeastern area of Nigeria and the southwestern part of Cameroon, respectively. The mouth enters the Atlantic coast as part of the Bay of Biafra, a connection that would serve the Efiks in particular, to enroll in the global market for slave trade and slavery led by European whites. The Efiks had part of the coastline along which trade with Europe

¹¹ There seems to be a controversy between the informant of Lydia Cabrera and the map of the sacred geography of the ñañiga notebook reproduced by Enrique Sosa (Fig.01). Cabrera, Lydia. *El Monte*. Linkgua, 2015.p, 307.

Translation:

Otán Otara fiana Ubane - or Obane - is the place where the river divides the land of Efí from that of Efó. «They call it the river of the Cross, because it forms a cross with its tributaries».

¹² Sosa Rodríguez, E. (1982). *Los ñañigos: ensayo*. p, 452-3.

intensified. And they also had an extensive territory very fertile inland where numerous slave plantations¹³ were established.

Meanwhile, the economic center was established in the towns closest to the coast. The English language and pidgin¹⁴, foreign currencies such as the pound sterling and European custom goods made to order, circulated through this type of port area as spaces for the slave trade. The Efik managed large agricultural regions in the north and east where a large number of crops were produced that guaranteed their internal trade and with neighboring territories. But, at the same time, they procured the supply of British slave ships with captured food, food, and Africans that would be sold as slaves.

Slavery was already established in the territory when white-European slave traders arrived on the coast of Africa. The Arab-Muslim caravans that crossed the African region since S.VII diversified the products of commercial exchange. The sale or trade of enslaved subjects at that time cannot be compared with the global and intensive nature of trafficking and transatlantic slavery. While the Arab caravans trafficked with Slavic, Arab or black-African subjects; Transatlantic trafficking limited the enslaved subject to a particular origin and rationalized his racialization to justify his slavery.

Lo que sitúa al esclavo al margen de todas las demás formas de trabajo forzado, es que es, en el sentido más estricto del término, un extranjero. Es llevado por una violencia traumatizante a una sociedad nueva: es separado de toda relación humana tradicional de parentesco o de nacionalidad e incluso de su propia religión; le es también prohibido, en la medida de lo posible, contraer nuevos lazos, excepto con su amo, de la manera que sus descendientes son tanto como él extranjeros y están tan desarraigados como él lo fue¹⁵.

¹³ Akpabuyo, for example, is one of the areas east of the Calabar with the greatest plantation establishment and where there was a greater concentration of the enslaved. See, Juang, R. M., & Morrissette, N. (Eds.). (2008). *Africa and the Americas: Culture, Politics, and History* [3 volumes]: Culture, Politics, and History. ABC-CLIO, p. 221. Also, Uya, O. (2001). *Slave Routes of the Lower Cross River Region*. Old Residency Museum, Calabar, 18. Imbua, D. (2013). *Slavery and slave trade remembered: A study of the Slave History Museum in Calabar, Nigeria*. *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, 22, 112-136. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24768919>.

¹⁴ Pidgin is the language formed from two or more languages, especially English and some language from Asia or Africa, and that allows communication between speakers of different languages. Núñez, R., Nodal, R., & Alum, R. A. (1982). *The Afro-Hispanic Abakuá: A Study of Linguistic Pidginization*. University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee.

¹⁵ Finley, M. I. (1969). The idea of slavery: Critique of David Brion Davis' The problem of slavery in western culture. *GENOVESE (eds.), Slavery in the New World. A Reader in Comparative History*,

The exploitation and consumption of black subjects as labor had direct implications in increasing the production and profits of the European Empires. Meanwhile, Europe would need to generate scientific arguments and timely biological discourses to justify its racism¹⁶. The first slave trade and slavery later served to finance the expansion of European empires to the detriment of African territories. The ambivalence of the slave trade was manifested both in the populations that remained in the region and in the African subjects who were forced to uproot. In both cases, Africa and its diaspora¹⁷ - the transferred black bodies and their memories - were damaged¹⁸ psychologically forever.

Not even slave and collaborative Africans were able to get rid of trafficking. In the case of Calabar, many Efiks, members of Ekpe (Egbo¹⁹), were also victims of the slave trade they had fed and promoted themselves. Slavery in Africa, however, had various forms²⁰ that could range from temporality, for lack of work, payment of a debt, for life, for the spoils of war, transfer of children by parents who could not take charge. From servitude to domestic or plantation slavery as it was reproduced in the Caribbean.

The Europeans dealing in the Cross River negotiated through the Ekpe (Egbo) organization that functioned as an institution that joined in their high positions the council of heads of the most prominent families of the Calabar. Although this was the most comprehensive institution in the territory of the Cross River, there were others, also earlier, that continued to have the same peculiarity. The Ekpe (Egbo) institution is

Englewood Cliffs, NJ, Prentice Hall, 256-261. Cited in Meillassoux, C. (1990). Antropología de la esclavitud: el vientre de hierro y dinero. Siglo XXI.p, 116 n4.

Translation:

What puts the slave out of all other forms of forced labor is that it is, in the strictest sense of the term, a foreigner. It is carried by traumatic violence to a new society: it is separated from any traditional human relationship of kinship or nationality and even its own religion; he is also forbidden, as far as possible, to contract new ties, except with his master, in the way that his descendants are as much as he is foreigners and are as uprooted as he was.

¹⁶ Holland, S. P. (2012). The erotic life of racism. Duke University Press.32-9, 52, 62-4, 87-8. See also, Faulkner, W. (1993). Absalom, Absalom: The Corrected Text (Vol. 271). Random House Digital, Inc.p, 108-14.

¹⁷ Olwig, K. F. (2004). Place, movement and identity: Processes of inclusion and exclusion in a 'Caribbean' family. In *Diaspora, identity and religion* (pp. 53-71). Routledge.

¹⁸ While historians are taking charge of the traumas of racism, discrimination, trafficking and slavery, we still owe a monograph to the psychological analysis of trauma and loss.

¹⁹ The British called Egbo Ekpe (Egbo) as a phonetic convention. Rodríguez, E. S. (1998). La leyenda ñañiga en Cuba: su valor documental. *Tebeto: Anuario del Archivo Histórico Insular de Fuerteventura*, (11), 307-322.

²⁰ Randy J. Sparks. The Two Princes of Calabar (Posición en Kindle 316-320). Edición de Kindle.

perhaps one of the most representatives of what are called "secret societies of leopard men." And it should be explained that in the territory of the Cross River many other societies responded to other totemic animals, but with similar institutional characteristics. Ekpe (Egbo) is the imago of his neighbor from Cameroon Ngbe. And like this one, it housed in its ranks the elite, the masters of slaves Efiks, local chiefs of the Calabar, for whom the business with the white slave traders guaranteed them access to European firearms, fabrics and manufactures. Access to new technologies of war meant that not only the Efiks could incorporate cannons into their canoe houses²¹.

[...] the canoes were fitted out with cannons affixed to blocks of wood for each canoe, one for the stern, another for the bow.²²

The use of muskets was also extensive and was popularized specifically in razzias and kidnappings to the interior territories. The incorporations were also registered in the public demonstrations of the Play/masquerade Ekpe (Egbo). Popular English items, from top hats to tuxedos²³, began to be part of the props of their Theater of the Sacred. Evaluating this assimilation as exclusively cosmetic would exclude the possibility that the incorporation of these articles could be due to identification and recognition in their significance. But the desire for an emulation of the staging similar to British elitist circles would be ignored. Of all the groups settled in the area, Qwa, Ubane, Ibibio, Efut, Ekoi Efor, Mutanga, it was the Efiks who became the central intermediaries with the Europeans.

Ekpe (Egbo) and Ngbe: Men Leopard Societies as the paradigm origin of Cuban Abakuá
The Abakuá was built as Cuban refraction or imago of the trinitarian composition of the Bildung²⁴ Ngbe / Ekpe (Egbo) / Nka Iyip (Bloodmen) of the territory of the Cross River. We need to approach the African stage. We will try to determine what accommodations,

²¹ Alagoa, E. J. (1971). Nembe: The City Idea in the Eastern Niger Delta. *Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines*, 11(Cahier 42), 327-331.

²² Randy J. Sparks. The Two Princes of Calabar (Posición en Kindle 456-457). Edición de Kindle.

²³ Hackett, R. I. (2013). *Religion in Calabar: the religious life and history of a Nigerian town* (Vol. 27). Walter de Gruyter.p, 73.

²⁴ Palmié, S. (2010). Ekpe/Abakuá in middle passage: time, space and units of analysis in African American historical anthropology. *Activating the Past: History and Memory in the Black Atlantic World*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 1-44.

circumstances and performances/Plays²⁵ of the sacred, social, political, and economic were transplanted to Cuba. In particular, those elements whose genealogies are found not only in the transformations²⁶ that the slave trade and slavery would cause in the Abakuá institution; but in indigenous aspects of the African genesis itself - heterogeneous, if any - that continue to be ignored by some contemporary academics.

The genesis of the Abakuá responds to the geography of the Cross River and to what happened there. Lo Abakuá is traceable from the implementation of Ngbe / Ekpe (Egbo) / Nka Iyip (Bloodmen) - in its different institutional forms - until the arrival, due to the slave trade and slavery, of the first members of these African secret societies to Cuba. This has been the genealogical root used as a narrative from the historiographic, but also the mythological²⁷. The foundational construction has been done from the two predominant secret societies, Ngbe for the territory of southwestern Cameroon and Ekpe (Egbo) for the Southeastern Nigeria area. We claim and propose the influence that the third fraternity Nka Iyip (Bloodmen covenant) could have on the construction of the Abakuá in Cuba. Unlike the first two, representatives of local elites in their respective territories, Nka Iyip had an enslaved membership, and perhaps this is the reason why among academics only a few have considered Abakuá as their continuum.

Most academics have recognized the secret societies of the Cross River Ekpe (Egbo) and Ngbe as the original institutions, the Alma Mater, of the Abakuá in Cuba. The Ngbe associations correspond to the land Ekoi (Efor), the present area of Cameroon. While the fraternities Ekpe (Egbo) to the Efik area in the current territory of Nigeria. Anthropologists Simon Ottenberg and Linda Knudsen²⁸ in their monograph on the dissemination of performances and masquerades of these associations they update the

²⁵ Lovejoy, P. E., Innes, C., Rutherford, A., & Bogar, B. (2013). Transformation of the Ékpè masquerade in the African diaspora. *Carnival: "People's Art" and "Taking Back the Streets"*.

²⁶ Palmié, S. (2010). Ekpe/Abakuá in middle passage: time, space and units of analysis in African American historical anthropology. *Activating the Past: History and Memory in the Black Atlantic World*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 1-44.

²⁷ Palmié, S. (2007). Ecué's Atlantic: An essay in methodology. *Journal of religion in Africa*, 37(2), 275-315.

²⁸ Ottenberg, S., & Knudsen, L. (1985). Leopard society masquerades: symbolism and diffusion. *African Arts*, 18(2), 37-104. Talbot, P. A. (1912). *In the Shadow of the Bush*. Heinemann.

ethnographic studies that Amaury Talbot²⁹ would publish at the beginning of the XX. Both argue that Ngbe could have settled in the Cross River in the early 1600s.

On the other hand, Rosalind IJ Hackett, religious anthropologist, in his study on Religion in Calabar³⁰, locates the creation of Ekpe (Egbo) circa 1750. The genealogy of Ekpe not only is determined by the historical chronology of both on the territory but because it is Ekpe (Egbo) what reproduces the organizational and ritual dynamics of Ngbe. But despite being the institution of the most recent constitution, it is the one that is imposed hierarchically in the territory.

The controversial origin of Ekpe responds to a struggle and control over the territory. Their colonial relations with the Europeans legitimized the early superiority that the Efik established over the different ethnic groups. Its origin continues to be debated. Some consider them as a subgroup of the Ibibio. Meanwhile, more traditionalist³¹ African historians see them as a completely different group, although coming from the same Eastern area.

1.1 Between the Ekpe Myth (Egbo) and its refraction in the Abakuá

The founding myth of the societies of leopard men -Ekpe (Egbo) / Ngbe- was first recorded by Amaury P. Talbot³² and he would give an account of it in 1912. But as Ute Röschenthaler explains, the story

[...] does not explain how the men made the society, and what it looked like at the beginning. It only says that the men took Ekpe from women, and make its growling voice the basis of a powerful association. It was called Ekpe because of the noise of the fish sounded like the growling of a leopard. A hall was built for Ekpe, and the new members were initiated at the power-place in the water. [...] “When there is a fight in town, Ekpe disappears and enters into the river. Then the women have to bring it with their

²⁹ Percy Amaury Talbot (1877 - 1945) fue cónsul y oficial de distrito colonial británico en Nigeria, botánico, antropólogo, africanista.

³⁰ Hackett, R. I. (2013). *Religion in Calabar: the religious life and history of a Nigerian town* (Vol. 27). Walter de Gruyter.p, 182, 375.

³¹ Akak, E. O. (1981). *A Critique of Old Calabar History*. Ikot Offiong Welfare Association.p, 24, 37, 42-43.

³² Talbot, P. A. (1912). *In the Shadow of the Bush*. Heinemann.p, 37-48

fishing net [...]. The women do not see Nyamkpe. They just come and throw it with their net inside the hall. You will hear then the voice from there.”³³

Talbot theorizes about the transterritorial nature of the totemic animal, and how its characteristics were incorporated into these secret male societies in the area. In the Cross River, different villages shared by common origin or by coercive incorporation into the leopard. Among all the great clans Efik, Ekoi, Ejagham and the Qua(Kwa)³⁴ among others, the Ekoi Efor were the oldest of the Cross River nations, heirs and bearers of the Seniority³⁵. Legend has it that upon losing the war, the Ekoi Efor also had to share their "secret." Or in the words of Susan P. Blier, after winning the war Ekpe (Egbo) obtained the secret of Ngbe in the 18th century³⁶.

La esencia del ñañiguismo la expone su mito: la captura y muerte del maravilloso pez que daría un destino de gloria y prosperidad al pueblo que lo poseyese; los infructuosos ensayos iniciales por recuperar su voz; el sacrificio de Sikán; su sustitución por mbori y el éxito final que culmina en la fabricación de ekwé; la posterior expansión de la sociedad secreta³⁷ [...]

³³ Interviews with Chief Musongole Okole from Butu Mbonge at Buea on 16 of april 2001, and the president of the Ndiam meeting at Mamfe on 03 April 2001. Cited in, Röschenhaler, U. (2011). *Purchasing Culture: the dissemination of associations in the Cross River Region of Cameroon and Nigeria*. p, 103 n7.

³⁴ Jones, G. I., & Forde, D. (1956). *Efik Traders of Old Calabar*. p, 136

³⁵ According to the Nigerian anthropologist Oyèrónké Oyèwùmí, [...] The principle that determined social organization was seniority, which was based on chronological age[.]

Cited in, Oyèwùmí, O. (1997). *The invention of women: Making an African sense of western gender discourses*. U of Minnesota Press. p, 13-4, 153. La Senioridad is the internal management system of Yoruba society. Seniority refers to the belonging of a legitimacy by relational seniority, to the ordering of a family relationship, but also ritualistic. Obichere, B. I. (2005). *Political History of the City States of Old Calabar, 1820–60*. In *Studies in Southern Nigerian History* (pp. 47-78). Routledge. To understand how Seniority was exercised in the Caribbean and the effects of the slave trade see, Bueno Sarduy, A. E. *El ocaso del liderazgo sacerdotal femenino en el Xangô de Recife: la ciudad de las mujeres que no será* (Doctoral dissertation, Universidad Complutense de Madrid). p, 145-8, 152-3.

³⁶ Blier, S. P. (1980). *Africa's Cross River: Art of the Nigerian Cameroon Border Redefined*. p, 3. Also in, Latham, A. J. H. (1973). *Old Calabar, 1600-1891*. p, 36-37.

³⁷ Rodríguez, E. S. (1982). *Los ñañigos*. Casa de las Américas.p, 191.

Translation:

The essence of the ñañiguismo is exposed by its myth: the capture and death of the wonderful fish that would give a destiny of glory and prosperity to the people who possessed it; the fruitless initial rehearsals for recovering his voice; the sacrifice of Sikan; its replacement by mbori and the final success that culminates in the manufacture of ekwé; the subsequent expansion of the secret society [...].

Ekpe (Egbo) was established³⁸ throughout the Cross River with its particularities, but incorporating a control methodology and ways of functioning that responded to the incorporation of the institution into the transatlantic slave trade system. Ekpe (Egbo³⁹), when implanted as a coercive system in the Cross River, served to unify ways of functioning in the political, social and economical, but also the cultural-religious. Altars, traditional places of rituals and offerings, as well as other practices of beliefs that had nothing to do with Ekpe (Egbo) were displaced both by the institution and by the European Protestant missions established in the area. As we can suppose, the European churches, set in the Cross River since 1846, saw this favorable segregation for their purpose because at first glance it simplified their evangelizing task. However, the reality is that although Ekpe (Egbo) was omnipresent in the territory, the rest of the practices and beliefs continued in exercise outside the media focus.

The abakuá myth also includes this war⁴⁰ between territories, the victory of the Efiks and an excellent peace pact between dignitaries or Obones for which everything initiated in the secret Abakuá goes from being a neophyte / “Indíseme” to an Obonekue - son of Ekué/ekwe -. It was the institutions and masqueraded Ekpe (Egbo) that spread throughout the southeastern area describing the same route as the economic control exercised by the institution over the Cross River. First, it was produced towards the inland incorporating other bordering territories through razzias to capture subjects to enslave. But with the arrival of European slave traders they spread throughout the Cross River as political forms of social control.

Cross River population groups share the leopard as a totemic animal of this type of secret society. The linguistic variants of the area recognize the animal under its different denominations Ekpe, Egbo, Ekpo, Ngbe. How the leopard took coercive preeminence as a representative animal of masculinities and manhood against female deities and manifestations related to aquatic myths, is a pending investigation that we still have to do academics. And although this transformation was already materialized with the

³⁸ Nair, K. K. (1972). *Politics and society in South Eastern Nigeria, 1841-1906: a study of power, diplomacy and commerce in Old Calabar* (Vol. 128). Routledge. p, 19.

³⁹ Jones, G. I., & Forde, D. (1956). Efik Traders of Old Calabar.p, 140-2. Also in, Northrup, D. (1978). *Trade without rulers: pre-colonial economic development in south-eastern Nigeria*. Oxford University Press, USA. p, 107.

⁴⁰ Sosa Rodríguez, E. (1982). Los ñañigos: ensayo. p, 300.

establishment of Abakuá in Cuba, it is possible to trace in the Cuban myth the progressive elements of the change in leadership from the feminine to the masculine⁴¹.

We propose in this case a trace on how that feminine foundational ancestor that the Abakuás myths collected and fixed in the figure⁴² of Sikán is maintained as “Madre de lo Abakuá,” despite the patriarchal nature of the Cuban institution. It is also a trace on how in the Calabar the representation of the sacred takes on a normative character represented by the controlling nature of Ekpe (Egbo). The two ways of maintaining the myth in each case can respond to the fact that the foundation of the Cuban institution has an original membership of enslaved men. While in Ekpe (Egbo), its members are part of the Calabar elite. In both cases, there is only gender coincidence in the membership, its class, and therefore, its mobility and access to media are contrasted. This differentiation will be inscribed in the way in which the myth was represented, and the iconography was fixed in both scenarios after the slave trade. Abakuá attached the image of the woman who carried the container on her head since the sacred Tanzé fish resided that only communicates with her.

In contrast, it seems that any trace of the foundational feminine was erased from the iconography in Ekpe (Egbo). Perhaps because some of these female secret societies,

⁴¹Isichei, E. (2008). Mami Wata, Water Spirits, and Returners in and near the Igbo Culture Area. *Sacred Waters: The Many Faces of Mami Wata/Mami Wata, and Other Water Spirits in Africa and the Afro-Atlantic World*, 229-43.

⁴² On the use of the term Figure,

[...] figura allude allora ad un vuoto che deve essere riempito, infuso di un soffio vitale, come Adam e come il Golem, animato come la maschera tragica. Materia grezza altrimenti inerte. Quello di Anagor è un teatro figurativo. Anche in questo caso, però, una tensione a doppia direzione si scatena tra scena e platea. Alla figura deve essere data vita da parte di chi ha l'onere di portarla in scena, ma rimane materia inerte senza la partecipazione attiva ed intelligente dello spettatore. Si tratta di far circolare lo spirito e di considerare esattamente lo spazio vuoto di questa circolazione, quell'assenza di cui la figura è rappresentazione. Ora questo atto di figurare è atto proibito in tutte quelle culture che ne ravvisano il tentativo di imitare l'atto creativo divino, principio della vita. Ma nella cultura greca antica è al centro stesso del teatro tragico. La tragedia, in una catena, forse, di figure sostitutive (l'animale a sostituzione del sacrificio umano, la maschera a sostituzione dell'animale), rimette accanto all'ara una figura fantoccio, una finzione che protegge il principio di vita e svela quello della morte e della violenza. Un salvataggio per mezzo dell'inganno, della simulazione: dimostrando ad arte ciò che non è o nascondendo ad arte ciò che è[.].

Cited in, Gasparotto, L. (2015). La lingua di Atlante. *Abbecedario del teatro di Anagor*. Un'intervista a Simone Derai. Titolo. (n.d.). Retrieved from http://www.egramma.it/eOS/index.php?id_articolo=2689.

despite their loss of leadership, were still active in the territory and were visible. In Cuba, no female secret society like Abakuá, was reproduced. Both men and women of Calabar were victims of trafficking and slavery, so the reason remains pending investigation.

The general explanation that has been sent to us is inscribed between the lines within the Abakuá myth that both Lydia Cabrera and Enrique Sosa reproduce. Both account for an ancient matriarchal/feminine cult with roots in the Ndem cults - according to Efik tales - or Nasakolas - depending on the version of the Abakuá myth - whose secret was stolen⁴³ by a man. In any case, these female Ndem cults mostly related to water, as a metaphor for the miracle of the creation of life, and were finally rearranged as Ekpe's engenders. As Rosalinda Hackett points out in the increasing minority practice of the Ndem Cults / Water Spirits, these have been incorporated⁴⁴ into the Pantheon Efik.

1.2 Remembering the Sacred Geography

The sacred Abakuá geography can be mapped on the ground in the Cross River. As in the African territory through the Nsibidi spelling, in Cuba, the representation itself has been transported to the Abakuá myth as an ideogram⁴⁵ (signature / gando / erenyó / anafourana) that Enrique Sosa brings us, in the reproduction of a ñáñiga notebook. In the same text Sosa argues why the Oddam River of Usagaré, divisor of the territories of Efik and Efor is renamed the Jordan or Oldam for the Catholic accommodations incorporated by Andrés Petit to the Abakuá.

[...] ñáñigos escriben y pronuncian Jordán, o Joldán [...] el río donde se bautizó Jesús. ¿Fue idea de Petit llamarle al río Oddan, —Od'dan que pronuncian los viejos—, Jordán?⁴⁶[.](sic).

⁴³ To see how the change of magical leadership from the feminine to the masculine was integrated into the Abakuá myth, see the Oru version of the myth in Sosa Rodríguez, E. (1982). *Los ñáñigos: ensayo*.p, 212-214.

⁴⁴ Hackett, R. I. (2013). *Religion in Calabar: the religious life and history of a Nigerian town* (Vol. 27). Walter de Gruyter.p, 179-181.

⁴⁵ Pérez, J.J. (1995). *Los signos cubanos de los ritos abakuá*.

⁴⁶ Sosa Rodríguez, E. (1982). *Los ñáñigos: ensayo*. p, 56.

Translation:

[...] ñáñigos write and pronounce Jordan, or Joldán [...] the river where Jesus was baptized. Was it Petit's idea to call the river Oddan, —Od'dan the old men pronounce—, Jordan? [.](Sic).

Remembrance as a migrated⁴⁷ and accommodated memory in the form of Aby Warburg Pathosformel⁴⁸ of the double recognition between both messiahs - Jesus and John the Baptist - in a double baptism serves as an analogy of the encounter between Tanzé and Sikán. The myth does not tell us if, as with Jesus Christ and John the Baptist, there were any previous meetings - the Visitation⁴⁹-. But we do know that all the versions portray that it was usual for the young Sikán to go to the river for water. So even though she had never seen Tanzé, the omnipresent creature had seen her before since the river was her habitat. His capture was not accidental. He had already chosen Sikán. In both cases, this baptism as a presentation between signifiers gives meaning to the immolated sacrifice of both as high significance.

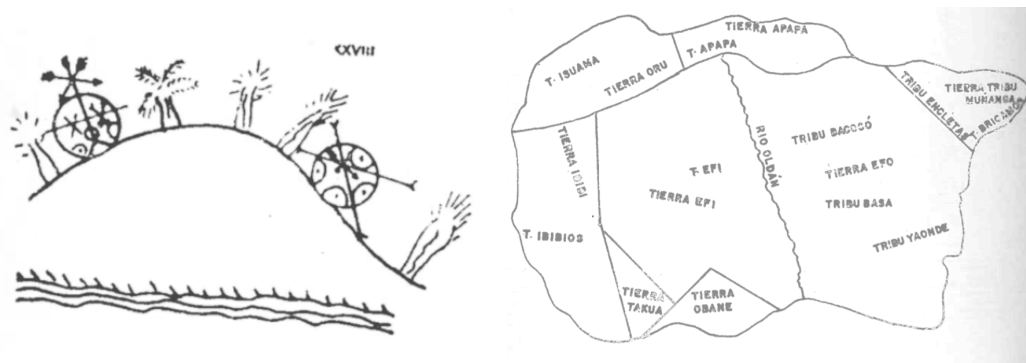


Fig. 02 Firma “criolla” de la Geografía Sagrada Abakuá.⁵⁰ Fig.03 Map “Geografía del Recuerdo Sagrado”⁵¹.

⁴⁷ Semon, R. W., Duffy, B., & Lee, V. (2018). *Revival: Mnemic Psychology (1923)*. Routledge. p, 153-8.

⁴⁸ Pathosformel or Pathos Formulae is the way in which Art Historian Aby Warburg analyzes different images that can be related through a survival of common affections. C As the medievalist Victoria Cirlot argues, Aby Warburg never put the concept in writing, Pathosformel would become a methodological exercise for Warburg, and although he did not define it, he did put it into practice. Cirlot, V. (2019). The pathos formulae and their survival. *Comparative Cinema*, 7(12), 7-21.

⁴⁹ Ghirlandaio, D. (1486-1490). *The Visitation* [Fresco]. Florence, Santa Maria Novella.

Luke:1: 39-44,

39 And Mary arose in those days, and went into the hill country with haste, into a city of Juda;

40 And entered into the house of Zacharias, and saluted Elisabeth.

41 And it came to pass, that, when Elisabeth heard the salutation of Mary, the babe leaped in her womb; and Elisabeth was filled with the Holy Ghost:

42 And she spake out with a loud voice, and said, Blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb.

43 And whence is this to me, that the mother of my Lord should come to me?

44 For, lo, as soon as the voice of thy salutation sounded in mine ears, the babe leaped in my womb for joy.

⁵⁰ Sosa Rodríguez, E. (1982). *Los ñañigos: ensayo*. p, 452 (XXVIII).

⁵¹ Mapa N°4. Geografía del Recuerdo Sagrado. Libreta Ñañiga in Sosa Rodríguez, E. (1982). *Los ñañigos: ensayo*.p, 452.

It is significant how the liminal in the sacred geography of the Cross River drawn for the Abakuá myth is a construction that combines the slave / historical society of the Cross River and its Obones leaders with the sacred spaces of Ekpe (Egbo). In communion all these spaces, by way of conjunction, form the Abakuá Sacred Geography Space. And all will be reproduced in the Abakuá ritual. In contrast, the areas that are considered sacred in Ekpe (Egbo) are well defined even in their intermittency/alternation. In addition to the forest and the Ekpe lodge (Egbo), the territory marked by their performative tours in the ritual and those that travel in their coercive function of the exercise of slave or behavioral violence involving force and destined to harm is added. Thus the Sacred spaces for the Abakuás - while *imagos* - coincide with the general geography. The Calabar becomes the Abakuá ritual in a heterotopic⁵² Foucaultian topography, a counter-space, where utopia exists.

Sosa in his ñañigo monograph includes two signatures that reproduce that geography. Sosa calls the first map (Fig.02) as a “creole signature⁵³.” The author himself comments that in this case, it is a product, and therefore made with a purpose and for consumption. The Creole as a term applied to Afro-Cuban⁵⁴ religions has been less theorized than “the Jewish⁵⁵.” To consecrate in Abakuá as in the rest of Afro-Cuban beliefs, the neophyte is required to be baptized so as not to enter the new religion “Jewish.”

[...] ¿Qué negro renunciaría a bautizar a sus hijos? Quedarse "judío", no ser cristiano, supone no ser persona del todo, tener cierto parentesco con el diablo. Judía llaman a toda fuerza maléfica, a todo “espíritu malo”.⁵⁶

⁵² Foucault, M., & Defert, D. (2010). *El cuerpo utópico: las heterotopías*. Buenos Aires: Nueva visión. p, 21.

⁵³ Palmié, S. (2016). The “C-Word” again: From colonial to postcolonial semantics. In *Creolization* (pp. 74-91). Routledge. Also, Sosa Rodríguez, E. (1982). *Los ñañigos: ensayo*.p, 447.

⁵⁴ The term "Afro-Cuban" determines a racial identity of the individual but at the same time it can determine a set of practices of African and Afro-descendant origin but that can be exercised by white population. For a discussion on this topic see, Palmié, S. (2006). A view from itia ororó kande. *Social Anthropology*, 14(1), 99-118.

⁵⁵ The Jewish must be interpreted in its ambivalence. It is considered negative by practitioners of Afro-Cuban religions who have incorporated elements of the Catholic into practice. In contrast to the more traditionalist practitioners who see in the Jewish artifact the strength of the purity it gives by not accepting the western magical and esoteric elements. They articulate their strength in an exercise of legitimization of the African ancestral.

⁵⁶ On the definition of the "Jew" in Afro-Cuban religious practice see, Cabrera, L. (1997). *El sincretismo religioso en Cuba. Guaraguao*, 1(3), 58-76. Also, in Fhunsu, D. (2017). " The Kongo Rule: The Palo Monte Mayombe Wisdom Society"(" Reglas De Congo: Palo Monte Mayombe"): A Book by Lydia Cabrera. An English Translation from the Spanish (Doctoral dissertation, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill). p, 20, 114.

Both terms occupy the space of religious practice, and it is not very common to find them in the academic debate. What our informants/practitioners tell us is that the use of the term refers to a practice modified/adapted to the Cuban environment or to a religious exercise that responds to a Cuban need /genesis/invention⁵⁷. These accommodations of the Afro-Cuban religious Creole attend to a trans/cross-cultural⁵⁸ miscegenation not without internal tensions, and with limits discussed with more traditionalist practices. The controversy between the Abakuá because of its Cuban genesis can be considered in its entirety as Creole is part of the different debates. Both practitioners and academics recognize the figure of Andrés Facundo de los Dolores Petit as the axis of the controversy and his foundational fact of initiating whites in the institution. However, perhaps this debate is very recent. In the 19th century, the debate was being fought in the streets, and it was between modernity and the traditional. Alternatively, they would agree to open the brotherhood to white brothers or, maintain the "purity" of the institution made by and for blacks.

Some denominations of the Cross River acquis have passed to the Abakuá helping us to understand the hierarchies and liminal spaces between the political, social, and the sacred with continuity in Cuba. Two of the most representative examples in the use of the terms are "Iyamba⁵⁹" and "Obong (Obon)." Iyamba is the titleholder who acts as the chief of the Ekpe (Egbo) society, and this can be considered as the spiritual leader. Although

Translation:

[...] What black would give up baptizing his children? Staying "Jewish", not being a Christian, means not being a person at all, having a certain relationship with the devil. Beans call every evil force, every "evil spirit."

⁵⁷ At present, the use of the term has been strengthened by the emergence of other religions of African origin on the island that have been introduced under the premise that these new practices reflect an African authenticity, which has not been weakened by European influences. Anthropologists Kali Argyriadis and Stefania Capone report the establishment since 2002 of Egungun cults in Cuba. Argyriadis, K., & Capone, S. (2004). *Cubanía et santería. Les enjeux politiques de la transnationalisation religieuse* (La Havane-Miami). *Civilisations. Revue internationale d'anthropologie et de sciences humaines*, (51), 81-137.

⁵⁸ Although the term transculturation is usually granted to the authorship of Fernando Ortiz, he himself confirmed how it was the Herskovits text about acculturation that made him rethink, as others had been doing since the end of the nineteenth century, in which acculturation did not explain the nor the loss of the previous culture that the subject had before being acculturated by the new culture, nor the complex displacement and negotiation of the individual in relation to what is decided to abandon the old and incorporate the new. It is that journey of cultural intertexts in which transculturation makes full sense. Ortiz, F. (1978). *Contrapunteo cubano del tabaco y del azúcar* (Caracas: Biblioteca Ayacucho). *Human Understanding and (Latin) American Interests*.p, 93. Also, Herskovits, M. J. (1958). *Acculturation: The study of culture contact*. P. Smith. p, 3.

⁵⁹ Röschenhaler, U. (2011). *Purchasing Culture: the dissemination of associations in the Cross River Region of Cameroon and Nigeria*. p, 105.

sometimes there are displacements in the importance of a specific position (plaza) to the detriment of another.

For example, in the second half of the 19th century, the prominence and hierarchy of the Abakuá power was placed in the title Isué⁶⁰, and not in that of Iyamba. In this way, we find that one of the most representative figures of the Abakuá, Andrés Cristo Facundo de los Dolores Petit, was the Isué of his power Baroko Efor. Andrés Petit is owed the initiation of whites in Abakuá in 1857 and the creation of the Quimbisa Rule of the Santo Cristo del Buen Viaje.

On the other hand, the denomination of Obong (Obón) in the Calabar determined the head of the family, dignitary or member of the local elite. In the Abakuá, the denominations maintained their primary meanings, but they adapted to their new situation of a primitive membership that was enslaved. The significant thing is that both denominations that respond to a social or profane title -Obón- and another that acknowledge to the sacred -Iyamba and /or Isue- were incorporated into the Abakuá. Both denominations are articulated simultaneously in the Abakuá space. Obon is the generalist denomination of the high dignitaries Abakuá. Obonekués are the initiates, the children of the sacred drum Ekué / Ekwe. So if Abakuá starts its members as Obonekués to eventually start them again in their Abakuá squares, it places Abakua as an initiatory practice. The difference with the Cross River is that Obon was not a position within Ekpe (Egbo), but that in its ambivalence, the main charges of Ekpe (Egbo) were dignitaries Obones.

During the second half of the 19th, there was an increase in police raids⁶¹ at the Abakuás ceremonies. The call of attention and the police interest in the institution, initially a secret one, was exposed by the brawls that occupied the confrontations between the Abakuás white societies of recent formation in 1863 and the black traditionalists. This would be influenced by the outbreak of the Ten Years' War of Independence in 1868, where the

⁶⁰ Andres Petit, top dignitary of Abakuá Baroko Efor held the position of Isué. For an extend description of Abakuás titles and positions with their respective functions see, Cabrera, L. (1970). *La sociedad secreta Abakuá*. Ed CR. p, 145-292. Also in, Balbuena, B. (1996). *El íreme Abakuá*. Editorial Pueblo y Educación. p, 20-40.

⁶¹ Roche Monteagudo, R. (1908). Los ñañigos. *La policía y sus misterios en Cuba*, 14-58. Also see, Aranzadi, I. D. (2015). Los tambores ñañigos en el Museo Nacional (Madrid). *La sociedad cubana secreta Abakuá y las trayectorias en el Atlántico negro*. In *Anales del Museo Nacional de Antropología*. Ministerio de Educación Cultura y Deporte (España).

networks of ñañigo secrecy helped the conspiracy. On the repression of the ñañigos, Aline Helg pointed out that,

El compromiso hecho por todos los ñañigos de vengar a sus hermanos que hubiesen sido maltratados o asesinados estimuló a los delincuentes a buscar protección dentro de un juego. Como resultado de ello, las autoridades españolas identificaron a las sociedades abakuá con la delincuencia de las clases bajas, el delito, el homicidio, la brujería dañina y la “barbarie”. A partir de los años 1880, el ñañiguismo fue percibido como una amenaza africana contra la sociedad y la cultura cubanas, y cualquiera que fuera su raza, el ñañigo devino objeto de la represión española.⁶²

The house-temple or lodge, where the private ceremonies of Ekpe (Egbo) were exercised and where its members met, also served to protect objects of worship, costumes, and paraphernalia. This separation from the building, as a space designated exclusively for ritual practice, was not always possible in his Cuban imago Abakuá. In Cuba, unlike Cross River, membership did not correspond to the political or economic elite. On the contrary, in Cuba, Abakuá found its first settlement among the enslaved, racialized and humble population. So during its early stage of installation and implementation, the plantes/ceremonies/initiations and other private ceremonies were rented a house,

[...] que reúna todas las condiciones que hemos indicado, basta con que esta posea un salón suficientemente grande para instalar el Butame o Fambá, y un patio. Como no siempre se hallará una ceiba o una palmera en su patio, los signos bastarán, con su mágico poder, para suplir su ausencia⁶³.

⁶² Helg, A. (2000). *Lo que nos corresponde: La lucha de los negros y mulatos por la igualdad en Cuba, 1886-1912*. Imagen Contemporánea. p, 39-40.

Translation:

The commitment made by all the ñañigos to avenge their brothers who had been mistreated or killed encouraged criminals to seek protection within a game. As a result, the Spanish authorities identified Abakuá societies with low-class crime, crime, homicide, harmful witchcraft and "barbarism." From the 1880s, the ñañiguismo was perceived as an African threat against Cuban society and culture, and whatever its race, the ñañigo became the object of Spanish repression.

⁶³ Cabrera, L. (1969). Ritual y símbolos de la iniciación en la sociedad secreta Abakuá. *Journal de la Société des Américanistes*, 58, 139-171.

Translation:

[...] that it meets all the conditions that we have indicated, it is enough that it has a room large enough to install the Butame or Fambá, and a patio. As a ceiba tree or a palm tree will not always be found in your yard, the signs will suffice, with its magical power, to replace your absence.

If the powers were prosperous, they could rent entire houses. But if not, we had to settle for more austere spaces such as rooms / "cuartos." This is reported by the numbers of police reports⁶⁴ in which the owner of the house where the Abakuá ceremony has taken place is frequently cited.

Like every secret society, it was composed of degrees. The initiation rates increased progressively as one advanced to higher levels. Each degree granted access to a more sophisticated knowledge of the esoteric and required a more significant commitment on the part of the initiate to follow his learning in the theoretical, but also the performance and ritual. What for Ekpe (Egbo) was nsibidi as a spelling system, the Abakuás did the same with their signatures / gandos / anafouranas / eneriyó?

1.3 The two Masks on body and Sound

The research that Amaury Talbot would publish at the beginning of the 20th century would give an account of another characteristic that is traceable to the Cuban Abakuá. The performance of the masked figure, or as Talbot comments the masked dancer/runner Egbo is the analogy of Ireme⁶⁵ in the Cuba of the nineteenth. This figure would become Abakuá identification. It was related to criminality, and in many cases, it was described as atavistic, "dragged." The roots of this behavior are found in the 1912 Amaury Talbot chronicle, "In the Shadow of the Bush." It is described as masked who exercises an excited and erratic performance that would simulate a leopard on the hunt/ambush its prey. Robert Farris Thompson narrates that there was a whole process of loss of the leading figure that headed the Ekpe (Egbo) ritual in favor of the protagonist of the masked figures who arrived in Cuba under the popular name of "Diablitos Abakuás" / Irems.

En el territorio del Níger las sociedades parcialmente religiosas se conocen por Egbo o Igbo, derivando su título del país de ese

⁶⁴ On the repressive experience about the Abakuás / Ñañigos see, Salillas, R. (1901). Los ñañigos en Ceuta. *Revista general de legislación y jurisprudencia*, 49(98), 337-360. Camacho, J. (2008). The Death and Resurrection of Ñañigos. *Islas Afro-Cuban Quarterly Magazine*, 6, 32-40. Díaz, M. D. R. (2008). The tragedy of the Ñañigos: genesis of an unpublished book. *New West Indian Guide/Nieuwe West-Indische Gids*, 79(3-4), 229-237.

⁶⁵ Gutiérrez, B. B. (1996). *El ireme abakuá*. Editorial Pueblo y Educación. For an exclusively aesthetic description of Ireme Abakuá ver, Castellanos, I. (1928). El 'diablito' ñañigo. *Archivos del Folklore Cubano*, 3(4), 27-37.

nombre, cuyo significado original es “leopardo”, implicando que esta parte del país estuvo infectada por dichos animales, o puede referirse a una familia cuyo nombre derivara del mismo. La más importante sociedad Egbo es la del Viejo Calabar, donde fundamenta el gobierno nativo, siendo miembros el rey [sic.] y jefes. Su cabeza es el Abaw-Efik, una especie de sumo sacerdote que recibe su autoridad de los jefes de Egbo y mientras lo sustenta nadie e[s]tá libre de su poder a no ser que le pague bien⁶⁶.

The leadership of the performance/masquerades concentrated around these mask dancers with the body covered in a raffia suit. The transfer of prominence should not attract our attention as it reflects the situation of Calabar. In a way, they, old messengers, became doers of punishments and corrections to the uninitiated and the rest of the population that was on public roads. It is here perhaps where the will of the highest and oldest positions within Ekpe (Egbo) to imitate this energy - young and powerful - to be visualized on public roads is also explained. The masked aesthetics of Ekpe (Egbo) was also transplanted to Cuba. Talbot portrays an aesthetic, and a way of moving that resembled the totemic animal, the Leopard. And in addition to a full-body suit, there is a tail that accentuates its feline character.

[The] net body mask is mainly for display and enjoyment, and there have been some modifications since its appears at times with the loss of the disk-like structure at its back, the occasional appearance of a tail, and the presence of eyeholes.⁶⁷

This type of suit with a tail was still used in the Abakuá of the Cuba of the XIX. The costume that is conserved in the Museum of America of Madrid has been dated between

⁶⁶ Marriott, H. F. (1899). The secret societies of West Africa. *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, 21-27. Cited also in, Sosa Rodríguez, E. (1982). *Los ñañigos: ensayo*.p, 86.

Translation:

In the territory of Niger partially religious societies are known by Egbo or Igbo, deriving their title from the country of that name, whose original meaning is “leopard”, implying that this part of the country was infected by these animals, or may refer to a family whose name will derive from it. The most important society Egbo is that of Old Calabar, where the native government is based, being members the king [sic.] And chiefs. His head is the Abaw-Efik, a kind of high priest who receives his authority from the chiefs of Egbo and while supporting him no one is free from his power unless he pays him well.

⁶⁷ Ottenberg, S., & Knudsen, L. (1985). Leopard society masquerades: symbolism and diffusion. *African Arts*, 18(2), 37-8.

Translation:

[The] net body mask is mainly for display and enjoyment, and there have been some modifications since its appears at times with the loss of the disk-like structure at its back, the occasional appearance of a tail, and the presence of eyeholes.

1851-1900. Most of the attributes of the masked dancer costume remained in Abakuá. The accommodations, incorporations and small aesthetic losses seem not to have affected their significance in the field of the Sacred for the institution. At present, the tail as an attribute has disappeared from Ireme⁶⁸/diablito's costumes. José Alberto Ge Nueva, the curator of the Guanabacoa Museum, was required as a temporary curator for the Museum of America in Madrid in 2015. Ge Nueva would certify the unique character of this costume that no longer exists in Cuba. In the vortex of the capirote he carries a horn from which art historian Robert FarrisThompson argues that probably symbolizes the tail of the primordial fish, Tanae (sic). Thompson also certifies that the suit was donated to the Museum by Mr. José Emilio Santos, a former governor of the island of Cuba.⁶⁹

Robert Farris Thompson⁷⁰ and his informants echo the same iconographic significance of the cloth disc - in the form of a halo - that some have on their backs, at the neck of the neck, some masked dancer costumes. Anthropologists Ottenberg and Knudsen suggest that this disc can be interpreted as an attribute that emulates Janus' classical preeminence⁷¹. It evokes the double side of the deity and the possibility of looking in all directions. The divinity that by its omnipotent nature, perceives everything, sees everything.

⁶⁸ Balbuena, B. (1996). *El íreme Abakuá*. Editorial Pueblo y Educación.

⁶⁹ Thompson, R. F. (1998). Tres flechas desde el monte: La influencia ejagham en el arte mundial. In *Anales del Museo de América* (No. 6, pp. 71-83). Subdirección General de Documentación y Publicaciones.

⁷⁰ Thompson, R. F. (1974). *African art in motion: Icon and act in the collection of Katherine Coryton White* (Vol. 11). Univ of California Press. p, 181-2.

⁷¹ Ottenberg, S., & Knudsen, L. (1985). Leopard society masquerades: symbolism and diffusion. *African Arts*, 18(2), 37-104.



Fig.04 Ireme Abakuá costume or “*diablito ñāñigo*” (data 1851-1900). Tail detail. Museum of the Americas, Madrid. Spain. N° Invent. 15.301.

Both figures, the masked dancer of Ekpe (Egbo), as well as Ireme Abakuá, use a rod / “iton” or a whip to scare or threaten to hit the spectators of the masquerade, particularly the uninitiated. They incorporate a bouquet of green leaves, which in the case of Cuba can be basil⁷², used in ceremonies and greetings for its cleansing qualities, “herbs that refresh and purify.”

The masked dancer, as a forest ghost lacks a mouth, speaks for its mimicry-performance. And as in Cuba, the roar of the leopard is reproduced through the sacred drum Ekué / Ekwe. These masked men are not allowed to articulate words. Even today, in both scenarios, it is the Sacred and Secret drum that roars and speaks for them. In the same analog line that Ottenberg & Knudsen grant about the Janus aspect of the halo or disk, the

⁷² Cabrera, L. (1986). *La Regla Kimbisa del Santo Cristo del Buen Viaje*. Miami, FL: Ediciones Universal. p, 20-3, 64. Brandon, G. (1991). The uses of plants in healing in an Afro-Cuban religion, Santería. *Journal of Black Studies*, 22(1), 55-76. Moret, E. S. (2013). Trans-Atlantic Diaspora Ethnobotany: Legacies of West African and Iberian Mediterranean Migration in Central Cuba. In *African Ethnobotany in the Americas* (pp. 217-245). Springer, New York, NY. Amores, G. P., & Canarias, T. I. (2017). “Cariño, lo que tú tienes es un daño” Sanación y religiosidad en Cuba. *Batey: una revista cubana de Antropología Social*, 10(10), 72-98. Torres Zayas, R. (2011). La sociedad Abakuá y su influencia en el arte. *La Habana: Aurelia*. p, 45.

hood/mask of the masked dancer can be theorized in contrast to the Greek mask Persona⁷³. In 1914, at the dawn of World War I and from Sierra Leone, D. Burrows, a member of the West African Medical staff in his report to the Royal African Society, noted how [...] *The Leopard is a very real "personality" in the folklore of West Coast natives*⁷⁴[.]. With the use of the term "personality", Burrows refers not only to the act of incarnation that is exercised with the masked subject but to the cross-reference with the Person / Prosopon Mask⁷⁵ as the tool in charge of socializing with an audience of Greek theater. The mask of Ekpe (Ego) / Abakuá in its lack of mouth, not only reminds us of the importance of the Secret and as George Simmel points out, to the value it generates around everything that it involves.

Secrecy gives the person enshrouded by it an exceptional position; it works as a stimulus of purely social derivation, which is in principle quite independent of its casual content, but is naturally heightened in the degree in which the exclusively possessed secret is significant and comprehensive. There is also in this connection an inverse phenomenon, analogous with the one just mentioned. Every superior personality, and every superior performance, has, for the average of mankind, something mysterious⁷⁶.

Ekpe's voice (Egbo) is linked to a "virtual acoustic mask"⁷⁷ generated by the sacred drum Ekué / ekwe, perceived by all who hear it, although only high grades have access to it, and whose sound⁷⁸ is what activates the performance / Play. While the Greek mask was characterized in incorporating an amplifying artifact of the sound of the voice to the artifact itself, facilitating the acoustic projection of the actor who carries it. The Persona mask is a perse acoustic mask. Ekpe (Egbo) and his performance imago Abakuá, on the

⁷³ On the influence of the Voice in the Ekpe (Egbo) and Abakuás ritual / sacred theater see , the Persona mask of the classical greek theater see, Vovolis, T., & Zamboulakis, G. (2007). The acoustical mask of Greek tragedy. *Didaskalia*, 7(1), 1-7. Also, Clay, D. (1998). The theory of the Literary Persona in Antiquity. *Materiali e discussioni per l'analisi dei testi classici*, 9-40.

⁷⁴ Burrows, D. (1914). The Human Leopard Society of Sierra Leone. *Journal of the Royal African Society*, 13(50), 143-151. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/716184>.

⁷⁵ Hadot, P. (2006). *Ejercicios espirituales y filosofia antigua* (Vol. 50). Siruela. p, 81.

⁷⁶ Simmel, G. (1906). The Sociology of Secrecy and of Secret Societies. *American Journal of Sociology*, 11(4), 441-498. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2762562>

⁷⁷ On the acoustic mask see, Palmié, S. (2014). The Ejamba of North Fairmount Avenue, the Wizard of Menlo Park, and the Dialectics of Ensoniment: An Episode in the History of an Acoustic Mask. *Spirited Things: The Work of "Possession" in Afro-Atlantic Religions*, 47-78. Also, de Aranzadi, I. El sonido del espíritu en las sociedades secretas de África Central/The sound of the spirit in the secret societies of Central Africa.

⁷⁸ Isichei, E. (1988). On masks and audible ghosts: some secret male cults in Central Nigeria. *Journal of religion in Africa*, 42-70.

other hand, are activated in the virtuality of a sound with which they do not necessarily have to share the stage at that time. The sound is not and is not reproduced through masked subjects, but the sound activates in the form of a switch-on performance. A performance that has to do with the repetition of a narrative similar to the ritualistic exercise, with which sometimes as in the case of Ekpe (Egbo) and Abakuá coincide. The Theater of the Sacred, as in the rite, the magic is given by the transformation experienced by everyone involved, both in his position of the masked dancer or "Persona Greek mask" to a receiver or witness at least of the public part of the Rite / Sacred Theater.

The majority of sources seem to agree that Ekpe Society was originally an essentially religious cult. "Ekpe"[...] have a mysterious and invisible being inhabiting the forest, and which could not be seen by the uninitiated. The ekpe was occasionally "captured" and brought to town for traditional ceremonies, on which occasions its fearful roar could be heard by everyone, while only the initiates knew exact source of the sound.⁷⁹

The mask in both cases is the part that relates to the rest of the initiates and the public space, exercising as a socializing tool. That is what D. Burrows refers to with "personality", since it is our personality what we let him relate, deal with and negotiate with society. What the other knows about us is our personality. Personality acts as a tool for individual and collective social mediation. And if the mask of Ekpe (Egbo) is read as a social mediator of the Cross River, this "personality" would account for the terror situation with which the territory was managed.

The analogy between both masks, the Greek Persona and those of Ekpe (Egbo) - and by extension that of Ireme Abakuá - would be in its implementation in the context of a theater of the sacred⁸⁰. A ritual-theatrical performance that aims to transform the viewer for whom the mask is the relational intermediary. Perhaps because of this conception of the theatrical and dramatic that the actions of Ekpe (Egbo) were known as "Play" in the British protectorates of Nigeria and Cameroon. Little has been theorized which of the "Play" accessions is implemented for Ekpe (Egbo) refractions in diasporic territories. Interpreted as theatrical composition, reproduction of a rituality or as a form of

⁷⁹ Hackett, R. I. (2013). *Religion in Calabar: the religious life and history of a Nigerian town* (Vol. 27). Walter de Gruyter. p, 35.

⁸⁰ Sosa, R. E. (1995). The Mythical Drama in "Nanigo" Societies, and Their Social Projection in Cuba. *Artes populares*, (16-17), 739.

recreational or competitive activity that is exercised according to the rules and decided by skill, strength or luck. And it is in this game of meanings that the terms of " Juego Abakuá" or "Jogo de Capoeira," respectively, reach us in Cuba and Brazil.

This transition from the sacred to the profane is detrimental to the exercise of the Sacred Theater. The loss for the individual of being susceptible to internal transformation of improvement and improvement to which the Theater of the Sacred aspires is diminished/subverted with the desecration or secularization of society. The simplification of the term Exercise as a recreational or sports activity is analyzed by Peter Sloterdijk, Pierre Hadot, and Michel Foucault as part of historical genealogy that both perform on the Cura Sui / Self-care⁸¹. What would have happened if Hadot had extended his proposal for spiritual exercise outside the territories of the West? The works of the three authors debated putting a chronological limit on the idea of philosophical exercise / aksesí. However, they always drew it between the boundaries of the geographies of normative western cultures.

Anthropologists Paul Christopher Johnson and Stephan Palmié⁸² have pointed out how unlike the rest of Afro-Cuban beliefs and beliefs, Abakuá does not exercise magical cures, nor does it deal with the individual resolution of its members' conflicts. Nor, as both academics point out, the initiation of the neophytes comes through a superior divine entity, nor their intermediaries - media, priests of Santería, etc. - nor by their divinatory instruments -diloggun, ekuele, etc-. Similarly to Freemasonry⁸³, the selection of a layman to become "Indiseme" is the will of the individual who makes the decision. The next step is for the Abakuá member group to support that candidacy to be initiated. Abakuá, a priori, lacks healing dynamics, understood as a therapeutic or reparative practice that helps the well-being of the individual. However, Ekpe (Egbo) did use the institution to "fix/resolver" the problems of his membership. Can this be considered as a form of

⁸¹ On the definition of spiritual exercise as aksesí and as philosophy see, Hadot, P. (2006). *Ejercicios espirituales y filosofía antigua* (Vol. 50). Siruela. p. 59-61, 305. Also see, Foucault, M. (1982). Cuidado de uno mismo y conocimiento de uno mismo. *Lección del, 6*, 40-41. Sloterdijk, P. (2014). *You must change your life*. John Wiley & Sons.

⁸² Johnson, P., & Palmié, S. (2018). Afro-Latin American Religions. In A. De la Fuente & G. Andrews (Eds.), *Afro-Latin American Studies: An Introduction* (Afro-Latin America, pp. 438-485). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/9781316822883.012

⁸³ Morel-Baró, G. (2010). Enjeux de pouvoir, pouvoir en jeu et institutionnalisation de la société secrète abakuá à La Havane. *EchoGéo*, (12).

mutual help? The anthropologist Geraldine Morel, about the fieldwork carried out in several Abakuás powers in Cuba pointed out in her doctoral thesis that the,

[...] corps social de l'Abakuá menace l'intégrité de l'individu, risquant de l'entraîner sur la pente savonneuse de la délinquance et de la violence. Le concept de solidarité est une menace aux yeux des non-initiés puisqu'il implique un soutien sans faille à un ecobio en danger. « Sans rien demander, tu peux te sentir obligé d'épauler un ecobio lors d'une rixe et te retrouver en prison pour un coup de couteau inopportun alors que l'affaire ne te concernait pas [...]»⁸⁴.

For example, the fraternity was the direct intervener in debt⁸⁵ collection, and to some extent, this form of problem-solving - sometimes with the exercise of violence - can also be understood as the guarantee of the well-being of its members. In the same line is the Cuban Abakuá.

Believing that the complicated ritual and paraphernalia correspond to a mere cultural repetition in which the secrecy that endorses the Mystery, the metaphysical and the transformative does not intervene - or the conviction that it would lead to the Sacred Theater / Play in a profane representation of a social club. We do not know with certainty the commitments acquired by the initiate in Ekpe (Egbo) during the slave trade of the nineteenth century, but we do know the obligations acquired by an “Indísème” Abakuá. As a Masonic emulation, the search for perfection as a metaphor is the goal of becoming a true "Man." This manhood⁸⁶ elevated to a superior status refers to [...] former popular adage "to be a man you don't have to be abakuá, but to be abakuá you have to be a

⁸⁴ Morel, G. (2012). *Etre abakuá à La Havane: pouvoir en jeu, enjeux de pouvoir et mise en scène de soi*. p, 116 n99.

Translation:

[...] Abakuá's social body threatens the integrity of the individual, risking to drag him onto the soapy slope of delinquency and violence. The concept of solidarity is a threat to the uninitiated as it implies unfailing support for an ecobio in danger. "Without asking anything, you can feel obliged to support an ecobio during a fight and find yourself in jail for an inappropriate stab when the case does not concern you [...].

⁸⁵ Lovejoy, P. E., & Richardson, D. (1997). *'Pawns will live when slaves is apt to dye': slaving and pawnship at Old Calabar in the era of the slave trade* (No. 22407). London School of Economics and Political Science, Department of Economic History.

⁸⁶ Valiente, J. D. L. C. C. (2016). El hombre esotérico: expresiones de masculinidad en hombres iniciados en la Sociedad Abakuá en La Habana. *Revista Sexología y Sociedad*, 21(2). Morel, G. (2013). Masculinité et relations de genre dans la société secrète abakuá. *Ateliers d'anthropologie. Revue éditée par le Laboratoire d'ethnologie et de sociologie comparative*, (38).

man"⁸⁷. The phrase as a motto for fraternity summarizes, even today, the preeminence of the masculine-Abakuá as a superior stage to be achieved as a conquest by any profane man.

There is a belief in the evolution towards perfection and its materialization in achieving a higher degree in the fraternity. But for that, in the case of Ekpe (Egbo), with the exception that the fees have been paid, which is nothing more than the purchase of the degree of the secret society that is desired, the evidence relating to each grade and have achieved transformative experience of the interior that improves you. These processes are not exclusive to the Abakuá. They can be found in other socialization institutions such as Freemasons. As tests and grades are passed, there is a metaphor that the individual is polishing to become the cubic stone - in the case of Freemasonry - or the Abakuá in the approach to the Abakuá conception of Man. According to Lydia Cabrera, the oath comes in the form of a warning,

[...] Mokongo le advierte [...] « — Aquí hay que respetar a los Cuatro Jefes principales que son las Grandes Plazas : Mokongo, Iyamba, Isué, Isunekue. Y a las secundarias : Mpegó, Ekueñón, Nkrikamo, Mosongo, Abasonga, Nkóboro, Eribangandó, Mbákara, y hay que respetar hasta el ultimo hijo de Ekue, pues todos los abanekues somos hermanos y usted tiene que ser fiel hasta que muera. En la Potencia sera un hijo más y la sociedad no puede consentir que dentro de ella tenga agravios con otro hermano. Si deja usted de contribuir con lo fijado, si pasa el tiempo y no paga sus cuotas, nos veremos en la obligación de despedirlo por medio de un oficio que le niega el derecho a ser Abakuáy no podrá usted poner los pies en este ni en ningun otro Partido. Si no esusted buen hijo, si no atiende a su madre, que es lo más grande que tiene un hombre, y si abandona a sus hijos y a su mujer, no merecerá tampoco el aprecio de sus hermanos. « Sepa que no queremos guapos, ni cobardes, porque el ñáñigo no puede dejarse maltratar. Si usted se entera que un hermano esta enfermo, no podrá dejar de socorrerlo. Tendra que respetar a la Pieza de Orden, el tambor Mpegó. Respeto, unión, formalidad,

⁸⁷ Zayas, R. A. T. (2016). *La sociedad Abakuá desde un enfoque transdisciplinar: hermenéutica de su supervivencia, desarrollo y función comunicativa pública en la sociedad cubana actual*. Editorial Universitaria. p, 40.

Translation:

[...] former popular adage "to be a man you don't have to be abakuá, but to be abakuá you have to be a man".

palabra y valor es lo que aquí se le exige. Piénselo bien, le repito⁸⁸.

Both Ekpe (Egbo) and Abakuá have internal learning and promotion systems of their members that allow them to achieve that ideal of being human and materialize in them - as individuals that transformation - of an ascension either as the masked dancer of Ekpe or as an Ireme from Abakuá. In the case of Cross River, Ekpe (Egbo) stands as the regulatory institution of a society marked by the pace of the international market fueled by the slave trade of which they were suppliers. While in Cuba, Abakuá and the first membership of men, enslaved and racialized had to survive by embodying some categories that were susceptible to prosecution by the colonial authority. So one of the main prerogatives the institution in the nineteenth century towards its members would respond to the circumstance of not being overwhelmed by the white master and create a community that responds to it, even when the judgment of the actions is questionable. This is the mutual help that anthropologist Geraldine Morel refers to in the unconditional character of fraternity.

Even considering that no figure within Ekpe or Abakuá corresponds to healers or healers, the close relationship of both institutions with the magical spaces in their respective territories is genuine. Either by incorporations or suitable accommodations in their rituals or on the contrary, the rejection towards others that even being external to both institutions are repudiated and become part of persecution dynamics that helped

⁸⁸ Cabrera, L. (1969). Ritual y símbolos de la iniciación en la sociedad secreta Abakuá. *Journal de la Société des Américanistes*, 58, 139-171.

Translation:

[...] Mokongo warns him [...] «- Here we must respect the Four Chief Chiefs who are the Great Squares: Mokongo, Iyamba, Isué, Isunekue. And to the secondary ones: Mpegó, Ekueñón, Nkrikamo, Mosongo, Abasonga, Nkóboro, Eribangandó, Mbákara, and you have to respect until the last son of Ekue, because all the abanekues are brothers and you have to be faithful until you die. In the Power will be one more child and society can not consent that within it have grievances with another brother. If you stop contributing with what is set, if time passes and you do not pay your fees, we will be obliged to fire you through an office that denies you the right to be Abakuáy and you will not be able to set foot in this or any other another game. If you are not a good son, if you do not attend to his mother, who is the greatest thing a man has, and if he abandons his children and his wife, he will not deserve the appreciation of his brothers. «Know that we do not want handsome, or cowardly, because the ñáñigo can not be mistreated. If you find out that a brother is sick, you will not be able to help him. You will have to respect the Order Piece, the Mpegó drum. Respect, union, formality, word and value is what is required here. Think about it, I repeat.

legitimize both Ekpe (Egbo) and his imago. An example is how Ekpe (Egbo) articulates as an executor on mothers who give birth to twin creatures, albinism or ordeals. And although Ekpe, marked its institutional legitimacy by establishing its difference with the magical exercise considering it as witchcraft and circumscribing itself in circles of the feminine - understood as weakness -, or in the circles that were outside the masculinities/patriarchalism of Ekpe.

In these spaces of exclusion women and the enslaved were enrolled. It is no accident that these are the sacrificial subjects in the ordeals and that the sacrifices of Sikán and the slave congo persist in the Orú⁸⁹ version of the Ekpe (Egbo) myth transferred to Cuba.

Some of the masked dancers of Ekpe (Egbo) were also known as Nyankpe⁹⁰ or “Egbo runners⁹¹.” Ottenberg & Knudsen also point out that if an elderly member was in possession of a position or position whose performance at the time of the ritual required physical demands, the member could seek a substitute prior payment or use one of his enslaved Can this be understood as a betrayal of the Seniority that African traditions had always shown? For the young members, it was an honor to agree to a high degree of embodiment, and it could frequently happen because as they rose in grades, the performance complexity and the acquisition of esoteric knowledge of each grade increased. There is in this recognition of young⁹² strength and vigor that gives youth as a type of energy associated with the creation of the new, the sacred and that moves away from old age and fatigue. Perhaps because the energy of creation is always compelling, unique, as a matter of the ancient future.

⁸⁹ The founding myth of Ekpe emigrated to Cuba, according to Enrique Sosa, came in three fundamental versions - Efik, Ekoi Efor and Orú- each with their respective alternative variants. The Orú version can be considered as the one that most emphasizes the feminine origin for the theft of the secret of the Nasakola priests by a member of Ekpe who passes by posing as a woman and being initiated into her secret and then stealing it and incorporating it into Ekpe. Sosa Rodríguez, E. (1982). Los ñañigos: ensayo. p, 289-99. Also in, Cabrera, L. (1970). *La sociedad secreta Abakuá*. Ed CR. p, 151.

⁹⁰ They are also known as Nyankpe in Equatorial Guinea where they arrived through exile to which hundreds of Abakuás were subjected during the 30 years of the Cuban War of Independence (1868-1898). See, de Aranzadi, I. (2014). Cuban heritage in Africa: Deported Ñañigos to Fernando Po in the 19th century. *African Sociological Review/Revue Africaine de Sociologie*, 18(2), 2-41.

⁹¹ Ottenberg, S., & Knudsen, L. (1985). Leopard society masquerades: symbolism and diffusion. *African Arts*, 18(2), 37-104.

⁹² Iniesta, F. (2010). *El pensamiento tradicional africano: regreso al planeta negro*. Libros de la Catarata. p, 90-9. A feminist analysis can be found in Oyěwùmí, O. (1997). *The invention of women: Making an African sense of western gender discourses*. U of Minnesota Press. Also, Bueno Sarduy, A. E. *El ocaso del liderazgo sacerdotal femenino en el Xangô de Recife: la ciudad de las mujeres que no será*(Doctoral dissertation, Universidad Complutense de Madrid).

The Africanist Ferràn Iniesta uses the term "*Fanga*" - strengthens in his physical and energetic sense of the Sacred - to explain the emergence of coercive powers from masculinity.

However, although Iniesta does not incorporate a gender-based⁹³ analysis, it does so from the loss of respect for experience and seniority. Iniesta historicizes the use of this embodied energy in the young force of destruction. The decline of female leadership in favor of the male and the young strength to the detriment of the Seniority is an analogous argument that we find in the Nigerian sociologist Oyèrónké Oyèwùmi and in the Afro-Cuban religious anthropologist Aida Bueno Sarduy for refraction in the Brazilian Candomblé. The *Fanga* emerges as a thoughtless and violent young force. The Efiks chiefs claim this energy as necessary for slave dynamics, but also in the creation even of the Sacred in their ancestral rites. Thus we understand that the request of young bodies that substitute, for the physical demands of performance, the seniors of Ekpe (Egbo) of higher age.

⁹³ Patterson, O. (1995). The crisis of gender relations among African Americans. *Race, gender, and power in America: The legacy of the Hill-Thomas Hearings*, 56-104. Ottenberg, S. (1988). Oedipus, gender and social solidarity: A case study of male childhood and initiation. *Ethos*, 16(3), 326-352.

2 The Feminine and Ekpe

2.1 Sacred Feminine and Gender bias in Abakuá refraction

Women, whites European and enslaved Africans were also part of Ekpe (Egbo). Such memberships could be classified as non-regular due to the lack of studies in this regard. There are a few monographs and scattered data that do not make it possible to systematize any of the three subjects within Ekpe (Egbo). But what we can do is make an understanding of the three as categories of subjects that can be protected under the umbrella of the sacrificial, although with the case of the whites an inversion/subversion of the signifier occurs since the permanence of the whites in Ekpe(Egbo) under any concept makes everything else sacrificable.

Although we know of the male membership of Ekpe (Egbo), somewhat extrapolated to Abakuá, it is notorious how exceptional initiations of some daughters of dignitaries of Ekpe (Egbo) could occur in the Cross River⁹⁴. The admissions of women in Ekpe (Egbo) seem to be admitted exclusively in the field of kinship, a privilege that could be used only by the highest positions, Ivor Miller⁹⁵ and Ute Röschenthaler realize this.

In the northern part of the Cross River, older women who have gone through menopause⁹⁶, who were not already having sex could be started in Ekpe. Although this last prerogative has been discussed by anthropologists and Nigerian sociologists explaining that successful interdiction would be the end of the reproductive cycle. It is interesting than, the perception of this interdiction between the vision of the West and from Africa, where menopause would enter as part of the cycle, but little say the African gender specialists of the loss of sexual desire or the prohibition to have sex. In any case, the incorporation of older women leaders of the community into male secret cults could have been a custom that could have been exercised throughout the territory. Such restrictions on the feminine cannot be attributed exclusively to Ekpe (Egbo).

⁹⁴ Talbot, D. A. (1915). *Woman's mysteries of a primitive people: The Ibibios of southern Nigeria*. London: Cassell. p, 193.

⁹⁵ Miller, I., & Ojong, M. (2013). Ékpè 'leopard' society in Africa and the Americas: influence and values of an ancient tradition. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 36(2), 266-281.

⁹⁶ Röschenthaler, U. (2011). *Purchasing Culture: the dissemination of associations in the Cross River Region of Cameroon and Nigeria*. p, 216.

These actions can be traced in the Yoruba beliefs that share the Nigerian territory, and that more openly were also installed in the Caribbean. Some characteristics of gender bias in Ekpe that by sharing area and membership with the Yorubas cults of the region, and by suffering the processes of trafficking and slavery, share some interdictions that are traceable in their installation in the Caribbean. We should point out that unlike Ekpe (Egbo), Yoruba cults did not incorporate the dynamics of trafficking into their social and political dynamics as master of slaves, managers, and collaborators of the slave trade in African territory. Yoruba religious worships / worships exercised in Africa and transplanted in Cuba were not organized as a slave institution.

—"Y es que la gente de Efik hasta se han dejado decir que Sikán traicionó el Secreto. Claro que no pudo hablar, porque Nasakó la escondió en el monte y no volvió a ver a nadie, durante meses .— pues pasó bastante tiempo entre el Hallazgo y el Sacrificio,— tiempo que empleó Nasakó en la Transmisión de la Voz Divina, para organizar el culto y la sociedad.⁹⁷

As we have explained, some Ekpe ceremonies require the intervention of an older woman who has no sexual activity. Traces of this ceremony can be traced to the mythological female figure of Sikán, first initiated, represented in some processions of the Cuban Abakuá (Fig. 06) The incorporation of this older female figure, as the spiritual mother of its members, accounts for the origin Ekpe (Egbo) and Abakuá within a female priestly cult. Ndem⁹⁸ of Cross River like the Sikán of the Cuban Abakuá, are possible origin and imago of the feminine creator.

2.2 Levitical Menstruation

On how menstruation interrupts as a justification for the decline of the female priesthood

⁹⁷ Cabrera, L. (1970). *La sociedad secreta Abakuá narrada por viejos adeptos*. Ediciones CR.p, 97.

Translation:

- "And it is that the people of Efik have even been allowed to say that Sikan betrayed the Secret. Of course he could not speak, because Nasakó hid it in the mountain and did not see anyone again, for months,. — Well enough time passed between the Finding and the Sacrifice, - time spent by Nasakó in the Transmission of the Divine Voice, to organize the cult and society.

⁹⁸ Cabrera, L. (1970). *La sociedad secreta Abakuá*. Ed CR. p, 96. Also, Ivor L. Miller. *Voice of the Leopard: African Secret Societies and Cuba* (Caribbean Studies Series) (Posición en Kindle 3138-3139). Edición de Kindle.

and its refraction in the Caribbean, the works of Bueno Sarduy and Oyèrónké Oyěwùmí⁹⁹. It is significant as in the case of Afro-Caribbean religions, the prohibitions on the religious exercise of women limited by menstrual cycles found new Levitical¹⁰⁰ arguments with Christian incorporations and mainly Catholic for Cuba. Christian elements were gradually incorporated into Afro-descendant religions and practices. The interdictions of Christian genesis that contrasted with African traditions managed to be imposed whenever they responded to a hierarchy of masculinity over.

And if a woman have an issue, *and* her issue in her flesh be blood, she shall be put apart seven days: and whosoever toucheth her shall be unclean until the even¹⁰¹.

Concerning the identification of menstruation with impurity and taboo can also be found in other (Bible) books (Isaiah 30:22, Ezekiel 36). According to the biblical texts during the menstrual period, it was necessary to avoid that the woman could approach any identification or signifier of the sacred including her partner. The thesis of the cultural anthropologist Dorothea Erbele-Küster puts us on the trail of the Menstruation as a Separation hypothesis¹⁰². Erbele-Küster, a student of gender bias in biblical studies, develops the ambivalence of the Hebrew term "niddah" that is used in the denomination of the meanings of menstruation in the Old Testament. The anthropologist establishes a

⁹⁹ Bueno Sarduy, A. E.(2014). *El ocaso del liderazgo sacerdotal femenino en el Xangô de Recife: la ciudad de las mujeres que no será*(Doctoral dissertation, Universidad Complutense de Madrid).

¹⁰⁰ The book of Leviticus is the third book of the Torah and the Old Testament. The text incorporates the guides, teachings and prohibitions that God will legislate for men. The instructions that will organize the life of a nomadic people in search of settlement, and in the face of this constant mobility is perhaps the reason why God's instructions are so strict. In the midst of a dynamic and volatile social environment and context, a hard Law is established by which the problems of the community will be governed, especially their morality. Punishments, atonements and reparations are established, all through a ritual that is articulated for the individual and his community. Some examples of the use of menstruation as gender bias see, Leviticus 12:1-5, Leviticus 15:25-30.

¹⁰¹ Leviticus 15:19-23,

19 When a woman has her regular flow of blood, the impurity of her monthly period will last seven days, and anyone who touches her will be unclean till evening.

20 Anything she lies on during her period will be unclean, and anything she sits on will be unclean.

21 Anyone who touches her bed will be unclean; they must wash their clothes and bathe with water, and they will be unclean till evening.

22 Anyone who touches anything she sits on will be unclean; they must wash their clothes and bathe with water, and they will be unclean till evening.

23 Whether it is the bed or anything she was sitting on, when anyone touches it, they will be unclean till evening.

¹⁰² Erbele-Küster, D. (2017). *Body, Gender and Purity in Leviticus 12 and 15*. Bloomsbury Publishing USA. p, 117-23.

dialogue between the niddah as a signifier and its significance in the different biblical texts limited to Leviticus.

The metaphor of how the woman who menstruates is to be separated by impure (Lev. 15.26, 15.33) is easily counterbalanced with the conception of unity required of the Hebrew diaspora in the Bible and especially with male leadership. In a situation of continuous diaspora, quintessentially classical, required union /settlement/permanence. But also of identification and recognition of the circumstances that can diminish this union from the social, political, and religious practice. As Erbele-Küster points out, the “niddah” (menstruation) is conceived in the Leviticus as an impurity in two etymological meanings. First, the impurity/separation/ contamination of female bleeding is appealed and second, the impurity in general. Thus, the woman who menstruates must be separated from the sacred / the pure. We appropriate the same question of the anthropologist, what kind of separation do we mean, bodily, social, or cultural? The influence of the Judeo-Christian has achieved the implementation of all simultaneously in the African and Afro-descendant communities.

Significant as rejection, distancing, and separation represent the physical process towards menstruation that extends to the female subject who menstruates. Concerning the socio-religious, it is to consider the woman who was menstruating as an insubordinate/problematic subject. The menstruation will be the otherness that is outside the conventions / social order and will be set aside / rejected for seven days, but must be punished/delegitimize, (Lev. 18.3) or generator of new ethical questions as subject to an exclusion (temporary) of the entire community. The Leviticus inscribes the laws, the legal-ethical corpus by which the Temple / the Sanctuary / the Sacred is protected. And concerning the control over the woman who menstruates, the power becomes periodic, a monthly penance. So for at least seven days a month, the woman will be separated from the sacred.

The simile of menstruation extends its exegesis towards any of the woman's flows, towards the female body as an independent and extensible physiological regulator/creator towards the female in general. How the Nigerian sociologist, Oyèrónké Oyèwùmí the complements,

[...] observation that female leaders of cults are advanced in years is always read backward to mean younger females are restricted because of menstruation. This assumption has not been tested and is not supported by any kind of data. It has not been demonstrated that there are menstrual taboos in indigenous Yoruba cults, [...], it would be worthwhile to investigate the influence of world religions (Islam and Christianity) that have such restrictions¹⁰³.

So perhaps the influence of missionaries in Africa first and the incorporation of the Catholic in Cuba later was much more than mere cosmetic but without being considered a syncretic process. Oyèrónké Oyěwùmí does not suggest that the establishments of the order of interdictions and restrictions towards women in African and Afro-descendant religious practice have come hand in hand with the patriarchal normative discourse of the Judeo-Christian. The political subjects that govern colonialism, with the help of the indigenous collaborators, helped to incorporate theoretical arguments to justify the displacement of women from functions of the African female priesthood. With the transplantation of Ekpe (Egbo) to the Cuban Abakuá, the Christian root of society would be interpreted as a part of the Creole-Cuban; this is why it is often talked about syncretism. But for institutions as tight as Abakuá, it may not be the most appropriate term. And despite its secrecy, Abakuá and its members incorporated many Catholic and Western esoteric symbols.

In an action that could be understood as complementary, or that perhaps accounted for that past of matriarchy and matrilineality as the genesis of that Sacred Theater, in the Ekpa¹⁰⁴ women's associations, some degrees of the highest hierarchy were kept to be occupied by men¹⁰⁵ of the Ekpe elite. Female secret societies were analogous to male organizations in the Calabar. It was the European missionaries in their reports, the captains of slave ships in their account and logbook diaries who reflected their relations with this type of association. Ministers complained about repressive actions and the control they exercised over the right of the population to evangelize. Especially the incidents about participation in religious services and evangelizations about the enslaved population. The European slave masters guaranteed their good relations with the Efik

¹⁰³ Oyěwùmí, O. (1997). *The invention of women: Making an African sense of western gender discourses*. U of Minnesota Press. p, 169.

¹⁰⁴ Röschenhaler, U. (2011). *Purchasing Culture: the dissemination of associations in the Cross River Region of Cameroon and Nigeria*. p, 216-20.

¹⁰⁵ Röschenhaler, U. (2011). *Purchasing Culture: the dissemination of associations in the Cross River Region of Cameroon and Nigeria*. p, 421.

bosses by buying their ticket to Ekpe (Egbo). But that women's associations were not part of this documentation cannot be affirmed emphatically. Neither missionaries nor captains of European ships, much less the British consular agents established in Calabar, saw the Gender Agency in women's associations and much less in their masks / Play considered as forms of festivities¹⁰⁶ exclusively.



Fig.05 Ekpe(Egbo) Play ¹⁰⁷. Old Calabar.

¹⁰⁶ Carr, F. (1923) Supplementary report on the Ngolo. Buea National Archives, file n°. 774/1922, Ae 39. Cited in, Röschenhaler, U. (2011). *Purchasing Culture: the dissemination of associations in the Cross River Region of Cameroon and Nigeria*. p, 266 n1.

¹⁰⁷ Calabar, 1915. Ekpe(Egbo) Ceremony or Play. Holly Ross Postcard Collection. We cannot certify that as in Cuba, Efik men incorporated the figure of the female ancestor into the public manifestation of Ekpe rituals. However, it is possible that the female representation with a sacred vessel embodied in a male body / Sikán was not a Cuban construction but inherited from the Ekpe(Egbo) Sacred Theater.



Fig.06 Baroko, procession Abakuá Juego/Play.¹⁰⁸XIXth.

The figure of the feminine represented (Fig.06) could be embodied by an elder / postmenopausal woman or a cross-dressing man¹⁰⁹. The identification with Princess Sikán does not lead to misunderstandings because it is she who carries a recipient/caldron/ calabash¹¹⁰ on her head. A member that emulates the figure of Sikán, first initiate of Ekué (Ekwe) and therefore first Abakuá. The figure is part of the second group of the public path of a "Procession of an Abakuá Plant" that heads the cross/ position of Abasí. Abakuá's Abasí is the refraction of supreme figure Efik Obasí. In both scenarios, there is a resilience of the signifier as Supreme Efik Deity. In the case of Cuba, Abasi can acquire a natural position and is embodied in some processions in public

¹⁰⁸ Sosa Rodríguez, E. (1982). Los ñañigos: ensayo. p, 452-3. Also in, Brown, *The Light Inside*, 28.

¹⁰⁹ Röschenhaler, U. (2011). *Purchasing Culture: the dissemination of associations in the Cross River Region of Cameroon and Nigeria*. p, 271 n.32, As a counterpart to women's secret societies, these have some funeral ceremonies in which they deal with men exclusively before the death of a high position. Partridge, C. (1905). *Cross River natives: being some notes on the primitive pagans of Obubura Hill district, southern Nigeria, including a description of the circles of upright sculptured stones on the left bank of the Aweyong River*. Hutchinson. p, 260-5.

¹¹⁰ Missionary Hope M. Waddell witnessing an Efik procession in the Calabar saw that women paraded with a kind of bowl or pot on their heads,

[...] the procession moved slowly from the town, headed by an ensign[...] the lady was gift by her size at least, to command admiration. On her head was a profusion of mock hair, falling over her neck and shoulders in long ringlets, and above was a highly polished brass like a coronet.

Waddell, H. M. (1970). *Twenty-Nine Years in the West Indies and Central Africa: A review of missionary work and adventure, 1829-1858* (No. 11). Psychology Press. Cited also in Röschenhaler, U. (2011). *Purchasing Culture: the dissemination of associations in the Cross River Region of Cameroon and Nigeria*. p, 272 n.35.

spaces. It is also incorporated with a crucifix, in its Christianized conjunction included by Andrés Petit¹¹¹ for Abakuá.

2.2.1 Obasi and the Feminine

Before the arrival of the missionary, according to ethnographic studies, the Efiks had two Obasis divinities divided by gender. A male Obasi Osaw that inhabited the sky and a Female Obasi Nsi that took care of the earth. Rösenthaler argues that Obasi's election was not arbitrary by missionaries¹¹². Both Obasis are figures with a protection agency that bless worships, attributes that also characterize the Christian God as Father-Protector. So it was easy to make a transfer of signifier and significance between Obasi and the Christian God. However, the election of the supreme Feminine deity -Obasi Nsi- and who was in charge of the land, entered into some contradictions with the gender of divine leadership, as well as with the missionary evangelizing management space. The Christian God legislates for everything and everyone, but the ministers - and the church as an institution - administer the land, so there was no possibility of negotiating with a female Efik deity who could discuss neither spiritual leadership, nor space, much less give up the vertical order and hierarchy of the social before a cult linked to the feminine and the reproduction and power of the creation of life. In this way, the Female Obasi Nsi was not legitimized by European missionaries. There was no intention of syncretizing it with figures of the Christian Feminine. The Obasi Nsi Agency, as of the masquerades and any manifestation of the feminine religious-political was ignored, desecrated and excoriated.

2.3 Ekpa, emulating Ekpe?

Members first elaborated their performances with objects and trophies from forest, later they acquired them from traders, and finally from international markets in town.¹¹³

In the 19th century some female masquerades begin to have to ask Ekpe (Egbo) for permission to occupy the public sphere. Which was not an extraordinary measure for

¹¹¹ del Carmen Muzio, M. (2001). *Andrés Quimbisa*. Ediciones Unión. p, 18, 113.

¹¹² Rösenthaler, U. (2011). *Purchasing Culture: the dissemination of associations in the Cross River Region of Cameroon and Nigeria*. p, 185-6.

¹¹³ Rösenthaler, U. (2011). *Purchasing Culture: the dissemination of associations in the Cross River Region of Cameroon and Nigeria*. p, 216.

female masquerades, the institution continued to be the armed arm of the power of the Efiks male bosses, and it was necessary to ask permission and negotiate with Ekpe (Egbo) for everything. However, the fact that women's associations did not have such a relationship with European merchants and slave traders, they cared for them and maintained them in some purist way of traditions. Being less vulnerable to possible incorporations / intoxications of the west as it did with Ekpe (Egbo). This gender discrimination on the masquerades and the representations of the Feminine on the one hand, but at the same time moving to the background next to the masculine societies became more explicit with the arrival of the missionaries.

In other words, while the Calabar is "internationalized," foreign / European objects are incorporated into the ritual. From elements of clothing to the change in the use of palm wine to gin¹¹⁴. We cannot say those female secret societies were beyond the reach of these aesthetic interventions. But there was indeed no female association comparable to Ekpe (Egbo) around the monopoly of the slave trade. Although there were women in the territory of the Cross River that provided slaves to the slave ships, there was no systematization around any female secret society concerning the slave trade. Although Europeans' discrimination may have taken them away from being incorporated into the economic records of trafficking. There is also no record of initiation of European women in Ekpa or another women's association of the Cross River. White women settled in the Cross River came under the category of missionaries¹¹⁵, and as individual missionaries or consorts, they did not depart from the evangelistic and educational field.

There were, as far as we know, European women on the territory, Like the other members of the church, they openly criticized slavery but not the slave trade. While simultaneously opposing slavery in the area and had particular consternation over human sacrifices and rituals persecution about the mothers of twin¹¹⁶ and albino¹¹⁷ babies. As well as for

¹¹⁴ Korieh, C. J. (2003). Alcohol and empire: "Illicit" gin prohibition and control in colonial Eastern Nigeria. *African Economic History*, (31), 111-134.

¹¹⁵ Some of the bibliographies on missionary women in the Calabar are, Livingstone, W. P. (1917). *Mary Slessor of Calabar: Pioneer Missionary*. Hodder and Stoughton.

¹¹⁶ Hackett, R. I. (2013). *Religion in Calabar: the religious life and history of a Nigerian town* (Vol. 27). Walter de Gruyter. p, 65-6. Also, Marroquín, A., & Haight, C. (2017). Twin-killing in some traditional societies: an economic perspective. *Journal of Bioeconomics*, 19(3), 261-279.

¹¹⁷ Cabrera, L. (1959). *La Sociedad Secreta Abakuá: narrada por viejos adeptos*. Ediciones CR. p, 127-8. For albinos in Calabar, Goldie, H. Calabar and Its Mission (Edinburgh, Oliphant Anderson & Ferricr, 1890, pp. 328). *By a pioneer of the mission, and so in large part from first hand knowledge*. p, 43. Cited in, Ivor

everyday issues such as criticism of the dress of women who had to cover their pudenda, reduce the time of mourning of widows or repudiation of polygamy. To be welcomed in the mission house, they must accept its rules. Missionaries compromise to save them from prosecutions for crime or ritual. However, the ministers received opposition from Ekpe (Egbo) and the widows who did not want the missionaries or their women to interfere in the management of their affairs or their freedom. The former believed that the costumes of the wives of Ekpe (Egbo) members determined the degree to which the husband belonged. So a wardrobe that emulated the European could give the appearance of a higher degree that the husband did not have. Significant is that from the institution itself it was already assumed that the more European aestheticism more power in Ekpe (Egbo) would realize that Western intervention in the institution was directly proportional to the hierarchical level within it.

The attention¹¹⁸ of British missionaries and commercial agents towards the dynamics of the religious-performative of women was never taken seriously. And it is not true that women's secret societies were not involved in the economic flow of the slave trade business. In other territories of the Cross River, female secret societies acquired control over the sale of women to European white deniers. So this could also be reproduced in Calabar. Possible that it was not a specific event in the area. Perhaps there could be a dynamic of management of the slave trade by female secret societies, but for the moment we lack documentation that supports it probably because of the contempt of the European authorities in the area for whom women were not legitimate intermediaries to negotiate. Nor do we have to track it in the settlement in the Caribbean since there was no replica of Ekpe in the Caribbean.

2.4 Tracing Ekpe (Egbo) Gender bias in the Pathosformel of the Abakuá myth

No female secret societies of the Calabar were transplanted to Cuba. However, it is possible to trace the foundations of the Ekpe (Egbo) myth, and its context in the

L. Miller. *Voice of the Leopard: African Secret Societies and Cuba* (Caribbean Studies Series) (Posición en Kindle 2746-2747). Edición de Kindle. Also, Hackett, R. I. (2013). *Religion in Calabar: the religious life and history of a Nigerian town* (Vol. 27). Walter de Gruyter, p. 29.

¹¹⁸ Röschenhaler, U. (2011). *Purchasing Culture: the dissemination of associations in the Cross River Region of Cameroon and Nigeria*. p, 217.

mythological story emigrated to the Cuban Abakuá. The story tells how after the death of King Obón Tanze, the vast territory of his kingdom was divided into four nations; Efik, Efó, Orú, and Efori. King Obón –Tanze tired of wars and disputes wanted his old country to reunite and achieve peace. He sent a sacred creature incarnating the Abasi deity in the form of a fish and whose roar could be heard throughout the territory. Obón Tanzé warned the wizard Nasakó through his '*Prenda*¹¹⁹’/magical artifact. Princess Sikan, daughter of King Iyamba of Efó, returned from the river carrying a pumpkin filled with water on her head. Sikán hears a bellow that ends everything, the pumpkin falls and the supernatural creature Tanzé knows his chosen one. Sikán tells what happened to his father and he asked his daughter Sikán to keep the secret of the incident with Tanzé, the nations were about to sign the peace with the marriage of Sikán with a prince Efik. The princess told her fiancé about her encounter with the sacred creature, and her destiny broke loose. When the rest of the nations found out that the Efor were in Tanzé’s possession, the war was about to explode again. The creature stopped communicating, and the sacrifices of Sikán, Tanzé, the slave Congo and the Mbori¹²⁰ followed each other until finally, his voice was found again.

Enrique Sosa in his monograph "Los ñañigos" tells of three versions of the myth with their respective variants. It also affects the mythology (s) ñañiga (s) should not be considered as a version [...] *coherentes y unificadas*¹²¹/[.]*consistent and unified* because each enslaved ethnic group in Cuba accommodated their respective versions of the myth. Sosa refers to uprooting¹²² as a justification for the creation of Abakuá. The author proposes that the institution emerges as a materialization of the mnemonic memory -the myth- of a past that although it will not be shared for its all members if it acts as a legitimator and communion among all, inscribing a collective mythical history and a place of virtual reference -Calabar- as Geography of the Sacred. However, it seems significant to us that Sosa no longer insists on the change of the condition of Africans, from free men to enslaved men and the influence of this change of status on the exegesis of the myth he proposes.

¹¹⁹ Palmié, S. (2006). Thinking with Ngangas: Reflections on embodiment and the limits of “objectively necessary appearances”. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 48(4), 852-886.

¹²⁰ Ortiz, F. [(1950)1993]. La “tragedia” de los ñañigos. Publicigraf. p, 42-3.

¹²¹ Sosa Rodríguez, E. (1982). Los ñañigos: ensayo. p, 191.

¹²² Meillassoux, C. (1990). *Antropología de la esclavitud: El vientre de hierro y dinero*. Siglo Veintiuno Editores.p, 114-115.

Is it possible to track kidnappings, razzias to hinterland and collaboration with European¹²³ traffickers in the foundational account of the Abakuá in Cuba? The African members of Ekpe (Egbo) arriving in Cuba shared in this new condition of enslaved with the same Africans that they kidnapped in the Calabar to be sold to the European Europeans. Could this unique situation of being victims of the slave trade that they had driven in the Calabar have influenced the Abakuá foundation as an institution and its metaphysical extension in myth and ritual? In the construction of the Abakuá myth, there is a willingness to intervene in Christian theology. Well as part of the historical evangelization that enslaved Africans have been subjected in Cuba, or due to figures like Andrés Petit who is pointed out as the great artifice of this accommodation.

Discussions between academics and practitioners are part of ambivalence. While there is widespread acceptance by the Syncretism in Afro-Cuban religious practices, some take sides for accommodation and loans. They are also debated between the conception of voluntary assimilation and beneficial for survival. Or on the contrary, the more traditionalists perceive it as an imposition of a Christian dogma that walks hand in hand with oppression and oppressors.

Of the three generalist versions Efik, Efor and Orú, it is the latter that has best preserved the possible relationship with that cult of the female Ndem aquatic deities that the earliest ethnography in the area realized. The Orú version maintains the scheme of the Abakuá myth; however, it has a certain tendency for the survival of a story of the feminine foundational in Ekpe (Egbo). Sikán's character not only registers as the first initiated woman in Ekué in an institution whose membership is exclusively male. Sikán was also chosen by the deity to get in touch. She was the only intercom with the divine figure of the Tanzé fish, and the divine logos materialized. She is the founder since it is because of her "indiscretion of telling her future encounter with the divinity to her future husband of an opposing tribe" that she will be punished with death. After the execution of Sikán, the

¹²³ Jones, G. I. (1963). *The Trading States of the Oil Rivers: a study of political development in eastern Nigeria*. London: Oxford University Press. p 33-5, 89-95. See also Forde, C. D. (Ed.). (1956). *Efik traders of Old Calabar: containing The diary of Antera Duke, an Efik slave-trading chief of the eighteenth century, together with An ethnographic sketch and notes*. Published for the International African Institute by Oxford University Press. p. 27-65.

divine fish would also die, and two bodies were used to create an instrument that simulated the voice of the roaring fish.

Some aspects of the myth seem to be part of a foundational theological structure of Catholicism. In the words of Michelle Vazquez Reid¹²⁴, starting from the mythological and historical, it is necessary to examine - as systematic theology and through theological anthropology - the relationship between local and universal ecclesiologies. In other words, the understanding of the institution emerges from our position in/with it. Perhaps Abakuá wanted so veiled, or unconscious of settling emulating the ecclesiastical institution. Both the messianic construction of Sikán and the fact that its sacrifice, as payment for the offense, its choice as the only intermediary with the divine logos, or its sacrificed body as the origin of a new worship/cult/ institution¹²⁵, make Sikán -Virgen, and witch¹²⁶ according to the Efik¹²⁷ version - a cryptic / Christic figure. In both cases, the Christ and Sikan, blood and body - respectively - have to be systematically redeemed by the ritual.

The sacrifice is the Sumun end, as a dynamic that draws the eschatological structure in which Sikán's destiny is death because Abakuá is born/founded on it. The moment when the deity the Tanze fish spoke with Sikan was perhaps an invitation / a Pentecost to be part of that Holy Communion. It is significant how there is a correspondence between the biblical narrative of the contacts of the Holy Spirit and Tanzé with the apostles and Sikan respectively,

Hechos 2:1-3

1 Cuando llegó el día de Pentecostés,
estaban todos unánimes juntos.

2 Y de repente vino del cielo un estruendo

Versión Efik encuentro de Sikán con Tanzé

Todos los días iba con su güiro a buscar agua del río.
[...] cuando ya se disponía a regresar a su aldea
con el güiro lleno de agua sobre la cabeza,

sintió como si el agua hirviera y el sonido

¹²⁴ González, M. A. (2006). Afro-Cuban Theology: Religion. *Race, Culture, and Identity*. p, 114-5.

¹²⁵ Mateo 16:18. Yo también te digo que tú eres Pedro, y sobre esta roca edificaré mi iglesia[...].

¹²⁶ Witches and witchcraft were subjects and signifiers on which Ekpe (Egbo) was imposed by exercising violence on female bodies, creatures and altars of other deities that served to legitimize the social-political power of the Efiks Obones over women and on alternative therapeutic practices. Jeffreys, M. D. W. (1966). Witchcraft in the Calabar province. *African Studies*, 25(2), 95-100.

¹²⁷ Sosa Rodríguez, E. (1982). Los ñañigos: ensayo. p, 206.

como de un viento recio que soplabá, el cual de una voz terrible hirió sus oídos:
llenó toda la casa donde estaban sentados[...] ¹²⁸ -jekwé!-dijo. ¹²⁹

The Allegoriae Christi¹³⁰ of the fish can extend to Tanzé. The sacred fish as Abasi divine incarnation, the supreme deity Cross River was used by missionaries to assist in the evangelization of the population. Christic correspondence is established in Abakuá, we do not know whether materializing by the hand of Andrés Petit or perhaps the symbolic connection was seen by the missionaries when they came to know the ancestral origin in the aquatic myths of the institution.

Sikán acquires with death the attribute of virtual motherhood. She will become the mother of the institution, and Ekpe will bear all initiates. How the female figure joins the Abakuá myth can be traced in the loss of the feminine-masculine dynamics that accelerates with the arrival of the missionaries. In Abakuá, only one of the halves of the Obasi figure was collected. Ute Rösenthaller was aware of that ambivalence given by his double existence in the plane of the feminine-masculine and the metaphysical and topographic liminal of sky-earth.

In the same way it is extensible for the ritual we have already mentioned¹³¹ in the one prior to the departure of Ekpe (Egbo) in which the sacred object had to be thrown into the water by a woman and picked up by a fishing net and taken back without no one saw the bearer at the temple of Ekpe (Egbo) so that she could begin to roar. Enrique Sosa Rodríguez offers us three versions - Efor, Efik and Oru - of the Abakuá myth. It is perhaps the Oru version that makes the most incision on the subject of gender,

[...] ORU version:

Como hubo un tiempo en que los animales hablaban como nosotros, hubo otro en que las mujeres mandaban en el mundo, o por lo menos, que yo sepa, en África. En una tierra carabalí había una nasakola que era «la mayor», «la cabeza» de otras masakolas

¹²⁸ Hechos 2:1-2.

¹²⁹ Sosa Rodríguez, E. (1982). Los ñañigos: ensayo. p, 206.

¹³⁰ Jung, C. G. (2014). Aion: Researches into the Phenomenology of the Self. Routledge. p,72,88.

¹³¹ Rösenthaller, U. (2011). Purchasing Culture: the dissemination of associations in the Cross River Region of Cameroon and Nigeria. p, 185-6.

que «jugaban» y tenían su Secreto aparte de los hombres. Era Akuaramina, la Sikaneka de los oru, la verdadera dueña del sese de los oru-bibí. La mujer de oru presentó el sese a la luna: -la luna es misese -dijo. Isué de orú akoirión parecía y pasaba por mujer. En tierra muñanga se vestía como una mujer. Fue raptado por las mujeres, rayado por ellas para comprobar su valor y jurado en el río, bajo los rayos del sol: su «madrina» le dio el título de Isué, entregándole su Secreto su Poder, en una cueva, antes de hundirse en el río. Mujer enamorada, mujer confiada. Los hombres lograron robar el Secreto, mataron a las viejas y esclavizaron al resto. Akuaramina de oru corrió la misma suerte de Sikán. Entonces, bajo las tinieblas frías de la noche se reunieron los hombres y al romper la aurora presentaron el gallo, el primer Maestro del Butame, el primer derecho, 'al sol, el conjunto de todo lo más sagrado que es Abasi. Tomaron por un camino que conducía a tierras efor y aterrizados por un eclipse expresaron: -nosotros tenemos valor, profesamos y consagramos de corazón, por eso somos cristianos [sic]. Se arrodillaron y pidieron clemencia al silencio.¹³²

Sikan was the first to swear Abakuá. He did not keep the secret about his encounter with Tanzé - the incarnation of the Abbasid supreme being and was punished for telling it. As chosen by the deity as an interlocutor, could we trace the construction of a proto-Messianism in the figure of Sikan? Lydia Cabrera¹³³ and Enrique Sosa¹³⁴ have already

¹³² Sosa Rodríguez, E. (1982). Los ñañigos: ensayo. p, 212-3.

Translation:

[...] version: ORU

As there was a time when animals talked like us, there was another time when women ruled in the world, or at least, as far as I know, in Africa. In a carabalí land there was a nasakola that was "the greatest", "the head" of other Masakolas who "played" and had their Secret apart from men. It was Akuaramina, the Sikaneka of the oru, the true owner of the sese of the oru-bibí. The woman from Oru presented the sese to the moon: "The moon is misese," he said. Isué de orú akoirión looked and passed by a woman. On earth, he dressed like a woman. He was abducted by the women, scratched by them to prove his courage and sworn in the river, under the sun's rays: his "godmother" gave him the title of Isué, giving his Secret his Power, in a cave, before sinking into the river. Woman in love, confident woman. The men managed to steal the Secret, killed the old women and enslaved the rest. Akuaramine of Oru ran the same fate as Sikan. Then, under the cold darkness of the night the men gathered and when the dawn broke they presented the rooster, the first Master of Butame, the first right, 'to the sun, the whole of all the most sacred that is Abasi. They took a path that led to efor lands and terrified by un eclipse expressed: -We have courage, we profess and consecrate from the heart, that's why we are Christians [sic].

They knelt and asked for mercy to silence.

¹³³ Cabrera, L. (1970). La sociedad secreta Abakuá. Ed CR. p, 56.

[...] las libretas viejas —afoñipán— que constituyen la biblia contradictoria y fragmentaria de los Abakuá, nos hemos encontrado con frases como estas, de las que bastará con citar, para dar idea, unos ejemplos: Temió awana lianza

made some of these approaches between the figure and the Christic significance of Sikán, concerning shared narrative regarding the necessary sacrifice.

2.4.1 Sikán, Aby Warburg and the women who carry the Sacred

The cross-reading of the different versions of the Abakuá myth is where the Aby Warburg Pathosformel articulated in the nymph-ménade binomial intersects with the representation of Sikán. The pathos/pain formula through inherited memory of trauma/gestures/pose/movement inscribe a sacrificial end/mission. Aby Warburg's methodology and epistemology test the experience, knowledge, and memory through the Pathos/trauma/ pain that is fixed. Warburg would put his reflection in writing in the 1920s¹³⁵. Thirty years later in 1950, the Cuban anthropologist Fernando Ortiz uses the same concept, Pathos, for his exegesis of the Abakuá myth. Although Ortiz does not use the compound form, he does argue that there is a systematization in the way in which Pathos is built/exercised in different spatial geographies - from the Greek mysteries to the Yoruba - and temporal - from Ancient Greece to the pre-colonial Calabar until contemporary Cuba.

Pathosformel, [...] es una palabra «explosiva» que contiene tanto la rigidez de la fórmula como el ímpetu del pathos [...] ¹³⁶.

apokefión Abasí. San Juan bautizó a Jesús y Jesús lo bautizó a él. Oddan Efi Nankuko Efión Nikere Efión: cuando la vida prisión y muerte de nuestro Señor Jesucristo corrió la sangre. Esta traducción, embozadamente, ¿se refiere a algún hecho sangriento de los muchos ocurridos entre los ñañigos, o a la historia del codiciado hallazgo del Pez por Sikán[...].

Translation:

[...] the old notebooks -afoñipán- that constitute the contradictory and fragmentary bible of the Abakuá, we have found phrases such as these, which will suffice to cite, to give an idea, some examples: He feared awana lianza apokefión Abbasí. Saint John baptized Jesus and Jesus baptized him. Oddan Efi Nankuko Efión Nikere Efión: when the life prison and death of our Lord Jesus Christ ran the blood. This translation, embarrassingly, does it refer to some bloody fact of the many that occurred among the ñañigos, or to the story of the coveted discovery of the Fish by Sikán [...].

¹³⁴ Sosa Rodríguez, E. (1982). Los ñañigos: ensayo. p, 35.

¹³⁵ Forewords of Victoria Cirlot Cited in, Ghelardi, M. & Warburg, A. (2018). *Aby Warburg. Recuerdos del viaje al territorio de los indios pueblo en Norteamérica*. Ediciones Siruela.p, 10.

[...] la construcción de una obra que en el decir de sus actuales exégetas supuso la creación de una nueva disciplina todavía probablemente carente de nombre.

Translation:

[...] the construction of a work that, in the words of its current exegetes, meant the creation of a new discipline still probably without a name.

¹³⁶ See correspondence between Warburg and Dilthey in, Wedepohl, C. (2014). *Dalla Pathosformel all'Atlante del linguaggio dei gesti. La morte di Orfeo di Dürer e il lavoro di Warburg sulla storia della*

After his investigations of the Pathos formulas through classical western culture, Warburg decides to seek and witness survival, ultimately becoming a participating anthropologist. So in the absence of these survivals of the Pathos in the European society of the early twentieth century, Aby Warburg will go in search of the Hopi / Pueblo Indians in the United States to recover the memory of the Pathos of the priest Laocoön devoured by the Python in the ceremony of the Ritual of the Snake of the Hopi Indians. Warburg visited the Hopi but finally could not witness the ritual that continues to be connected to agrarian cycles. Perhaps Warburg visited them outside the ceremony season. However, he collected a lot of complementary information, and colleagues who could witness the ritual sent him first-hand knowledge.

What is significant in any case is first, that Warburg realizes that myths are no longer exercised in Europe and that there are societies in which the exercise of the Sacred Theater is still in force. The second is that Warburg goes out to personally look for that recreation of myth / in search of living myth. And although we don't know if she just wanted to be a witness and attest to or be part of it, in both cases, there would be a recognition of a therapeutic validity that Warburg may consider her personal / an individual cure¹³⁷. Presenting himself in the space for the exercise of myth and wanting to be part of it would make him an anthropotechnical exerciser of a collective *Cura Sui*¹³⁸ since the entire Hopi community participates in the ritual. We assume that for Warburg was critical to the possibility of being part of that Theater of the Sacred in a context where it still made sense.

cultura basata su una teoria dell'espressione. Engramma, 119. Recovered from: http://www.gramma.it/eOS/index.php?id_articolo=1619. Cited in, Cirlot, V. (2019). The pathos formulae and their survival. *Comparative Cinema*, 7(12), 7-21.

Translation:

Pathosformel, [...] is an "explosive" word that contains both the stiffness of the formula and the impetus of pathos [...]

¹³⁷ Aby Warburg finished his text "The Serpent Ritual" in 1923 while he was in a Swiss psychiatric clinic (1918-1923).

¹³⁸ The proposal of the Anthropometric by Peter Sloterdijk as a set of methodologies, exercises or practices that,

[...] los hombres de las culturas más dispares han intentado optimizar su estado inmunológico frente a los vagos riesgos de la vida y las agudas certezas de la muerte[.].

Translation:

[...] the men of the most disparate cultures have tried to optimize their immune status against the vague risks of life and the acute certainties of death [.].

Cited in, Sloterdijk, P. (2012). *Has de cambiar tu vida. Valencia: Pre-Textos*. p, 24.

Was Warburg's veiled criticism of Europe or its intellectuals? Did he refer to the future of the European root culture or to what his interlocutors transmitted from it? It could be interpreted as being that the West was only interested in the representation/aestheticism of the Sacred but not the presentation / becoming present / living in the Sacred. What would have happened if Warburg, had selected the living search for the nymph-maenad binomial instead of choosing as a reference to the Trojan priest Laocoön? Would it have been possible for the historian to have looked towards the cosmogony of Africa and the Caribbean where we continued to exercise/embody the Pathos/pain/ trauma formula of the enslaved Afro-Feminine experience? Perhaps the psychological/metaphysical and gender identification with the figure of Laocoön should have all the existential meaning for Warburg. In spite of the scarce ten days that he appeared in the Hopi village - from April 21 to May 3, 1896, the reflection on the room and on a ritual he finally did not see, could help the historian in his labyrinthine psychological diatribe.

How are centuries of trauma, trafficking, slavery, torture, and discrimination incorporated into the black female body? The closeness and resemblance of Sikán with the Warburg binomial Nymph-Maenad makes us wonder, why is it not possible to trace in the figure/signifier of Sikán the problems of the black female body during the slave trade and yes in its transfiguration -Ekwe-? And finally, Why does Sikán seem to have much more in common with the Christian experience than with the enslaved Afro-Female experience?

Warburg regresa de su experiencia americana convencido que es necesario dilatar al máximo el ámbito de la investigación artística, hasta abarcar la etnología y la antropología, disciplinas estas que nos permiten entablar un diálogo inconcebible para la filosofía de la historia tradicional o para la idea lineal de progreso [...].¹³⁹.

¹³⁹ Ghelardi, M. & Warburg, A. (2018). *Aby Warburg. Recuerdos del viaje al territorio de los indios pueblo en Norteamérica*. Ediciones Siruela. p. 25.

Translation:

Warburg returns from his American experience convinced that it is necessary to expand the field of artistic research to the fullest, to encompass ethnology and anthropology, these disciplines that allow us to establish an inconceivable dialogue for the philosophy of traditional history or for the linear idea of progress [...].

The art historian Maurizio Ghelardi explains that in one of the pages of the original manuscript of Aby Warburg's reflections on his trip, in a note written in pencil the phrase could be read [...]

Athens and Oriabi, cousins forever and ever/

Atenas y Oriabi, primos para siempre y desde siempre.¹⁴⁰

The note, located on the sidelines, is like those we write to ourselves and not to forget. If Warburg was able to find and connect Laocoön with the Hopi, it was a matter of time that he would reflect on the connection between his Ghilanian nymph-ménade binomial and the *Young of Laguna* - also part of the Hopi people with their sacred vessel on the head (Fig.10) Why does Warburg pick up a picture of her? Warburg perhaps found that his Laocoontian therapeutic cure that does not survive the great snake in its western culture could survive among the Hopis. And if to survive is to defeat death, the Hopis, unlike the priest Laocoön, had survived and learned to use the great serpent as a necessary tool in the ritual¹⁴¹. Does Warburg suggest that only by practicing ritual does modern society survive?



¹⁴⁰ Ghelardi, M. & Warburg, A. (2018). *Aby Warburg. Recuerdos del viaje al territorio de los indios pueblo en Norteamérica*. Ediciones Siruela. p. 11.

¹⁴¹ The sculptural group Laocoön collects the last moments of the Trojan priest Laocoön who with his children who are about to be swallowed by a large snake sent by Apollo. The image that counters, according to Warburg, to Laocoön is the indigenous Hopi who in the ritual has captured with his teeth a snake. The contrast emerges as metaphors of the loss Laocoön and his children) against control (Hopis and his snake ritual). See, of Rhodes. Agesander, Athenodoros and Polydorus, (II a. C.). Laocoön and His Sons. [Marble] Vatican City. Pio-Clementino Museum. Also, Hopi Indian study #28(1924). Hopi Indian with painted face and body and snake in mouth. <https://lcn.loc.gov/90710209>. Cited also in, Ghelardi, M. & Warburg, A. (2018). *Aby Warburg. Recuerdos del viaje al territorio de los indios pueblo en Norteamérica*. Ediciones Siruela. p. 155.

Fig. 07¹⁴²

Fig. 08¹⁴³

Fig. 09¹⁴⁴

Fig. 10¹⁴⁵

Fig. 11¹⁴⁶

Fig. 12¹⁴⁷

Fig. 13¹⁴⁸

These representations (Fig.07-13) are all manifestations of the Warburg pathosformel. Without delving into an exegesis of their respective mythical narratives, there is a similar substrate of signifier/meaning that unifies them. A loss synthesized in a surviving pose and still sustained when the ritual has been articulated. The rite emerges as a catharsis of loss¹⁴⁹. The Pathos is drawn in the choreography where the movement inscribes the drama in the tragedy. Warburg - now we know that by vital therapeutic necessity and by psychosocial survival itself - he created [...] '*its theory of evolution, its theory of time. It is for art history to enter into a time other than habitual chronologies, eternal influence*¹⁵⁰ [...]. These are versions of the same story of the mystery that goes through them. That enduring influence that Huberman refers to is the substratum that makes us recognize. The identification of the same Pathos in a rhizomatic timeline capable of producing the same mythical narratives

[...] de gentes apartadas entre sí por milenios y por océanos¹⁵¹[.]/

[...] of people separated from each other for millennia and oceans

[.].

We propose with this genealogy to approach the case of the Abakuá. We will try to draw the common thread that will help us understand how the Afro-feminine ancestral is lost

¹⁴² Detail Salome. The Beheading of St. John the Baptist. Cited in, Andrew. (1970, January 01). THE BEHEADING OF THE HOLY PROPHET, FORERUNNER AND BAPTIST JOHN. (August 29). Retrieved from <http://eaststaintotheday.blogspot.com/2012/08/the-beheading-of-holy-prophet.html>.

¹⁴³ Detail Nymph-Menade. Ghirlandaio, D.(1486-1490). The Birth of John the Baptist. [Fresco]. Florence. Cappella Tornabuoni, Santa Maria Novella.

¹⁴⁴ Detail Oshun Festival, Nigeria. Cited in, Nigeria: The artistic celebration of Oshun river goddess. (n.d.). Retrieved from <https://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/worldEntertainment/Nigeria-The-artistic-celebration-of-Oshun-river-goddess-386342?gallery=1>.

¹⁴⁵ Laguna youth. See in, Ghelardi, M. & Warburg, A. (2018). *Aby Warburg. Recuerdos del viaje al territorio de los indios pueblo en Norteamérica*. Ediciones Siruela.p, 111.

¹⁴⁶ Detail Sikán. Baroko, procession Abakuá Juego/Play. XIXth. Cited in, Sosa Rodríguez, E. (1982). Los ñañigos: ensayo. p, 452-3. Also in, Brown, *The Light Inside*, 28.

¹⁴⁷ Detail Echi-Abhang at Ogurang of a feminine secret society in Cross River. Cited in, .Rösenthaler, U. (2011). Purchasing Culture: the dissemination of associations in the Cross River Region of Cameroon and Nigeria. p, 253.

¹⁴⁸ Detail obonekue durante la procesión con recipiente en la cabeza representando a Sikán. Cited at Balbuena, B. (1996). *El ireme Abakuá*. Editorial Pueblo y Educación. p, 8.

¹⁴⁹ Settis, S. (2004). Pathos ed Ethos, morfologia e funzione. *Moderna: semestrale di teoria e critica della letteratura*, 6(2), 23-34.

¹⁵⁰ Didi-Huberman, G. (2002). The surviving image: Aby Warburg and Tylorian anthropology. *Oxford Art Journal*, 61-69.

¹⁵¹ Ortiz, F.[(1950)1993]. *La "tragedia" de los ñañigos*. Publicigraf. p, 44.

for the sake of a Westernized reading and of Catholic assimilation in a ritualistic practice that causes the ancestral feminine to be moved to mere aestheticism. Sikan is built from patriarchalism and is punished for knowledge, care, body, voice, and right to resist. Remember that in the myth, Sikan is punished for telling a secret / transmitting knowledge and experience. The skin of his sacrificed body will be part of the new sacred vessel with which to reproduce the voice of the deity. But it is in this process of the search for the holy logos that a sacrificial genealogy is articulated: from Sikán, Tanzé, slave congo and finally the embori (goat)¹⁵².

Donald E. Simmons analyzes the cataloging of the topics dealt with in the Folktales of the Efik. Simmons group examines such issues as religious terminology, sacrifices or plays, and games, influencing social functions rather than metaphysics. According to Simmons, the Folktales have the social purpose of supporting the internal social order, sustaining and justifying it, and the intention of incorporating it into the construction of an Efik imaginary, in short, its cosmogony. As Simmons reflects the issues that transcend Abakuá mythology such as the slavery of slaves and wives are also included in this glossary study of the Efik Folktales,

“The folktales reflect the human sacrifices which formerly accompanied burial of a high-status individual, special inhumation practices for the chief, memorial feasts, disposal of slaves' corpses by simply throwing them into the bush, and ritual wailing of female mourners (undoubtedly alluded to by mention of a woman raising a cry at cockcrow). Unmentioned in the tales are burial of freeborn males in the house, mbukpisi mourning for widows [...]. The role of the chief in enforcing laws and adjudicating disputes before the Leopard Society, his wealth and power, is accurately depicted, as are the various capital punishments employed.¹⁵³

In the version of the myth described by Lydia Cabrera in *El Monte*, we are struck as after the sacrifice of Sikán and the death of Tanzé the confusion occurs. If Tanzé as a

¹⁵² Ortiz, que nos ha explicado que como el chivo se prepara ritualicamente como un “Indiseme” más explica

, [...] la muerte del embori no es sino una sustitución alegórica de la muerte de un ser humano, acaso la de un ekobio o “hermano” iniciado[...].

Translation:

, [...] the death of the embori is but an allegorical substitution of the death of a human being, perhaps that of an ekobio or "brother" initiated [...].

Cited in, Ortiz, F. (1950) 1993]. *La “tragedia” de los ñañigos*. Publicigraf. p. 35.

¹⁵³ Simmons, D. C. (1961, 04). Analysis of Cultural Reflection in Efik Folktales. *The Journal of American Folklore*, 74(292), 126. doi:10.2307/537779

supernatural being had chosen Sikán as an interlocutor, with the loss of both, communication with God is lost. The magical/therapeutic/ immunological process that the Cura (Sui) manages and the logo / Voice voice will begin again. Both the pumpkin with which Sikán collected water in the river and the membranophone drum made with the sacrifices of Sikán, Tanzé, and the congo slave, will be the vessel where the magic is articulated.

“No se explica bien [...] si es el espíritu de la mujer Sikán lo que se intenta en estos momentos «llevar a Ekue», o si es el espíritu de Tánze, o bien el espíritu de Tánze juntamente con el de Sikán, los que Nasacó se empeña en atraer al tambor. A este primer tambor —en efó—, «cuando se hizo la transmisión del pez —que se le puso un parche de piel de pescado—, se le dio el nombre de Ekue-muna-Tánza». Pero «la transmisión del pez», como se ha dicho, fue un fracaso, y se encaminaron a la tierra de Erón Entá —de un rey pastor de carneros—; sacrificaron un carnero —erón—, y tomaron su cuerpo para forrar el «fundamento». No sirvió erón. Era demasiado grasiento. El espíritu no se dejó oír. Y he aquí que Nasacó volvió a «mirar», y dijo que era preciso sacrificar a un congo; según otras fuentes, a un carabalí brícamo o a un bibí: «Que el primer bongó —tambor del fundamento—, que se hizo con el pellejo del pez en Guanabecuramendó, no dio resultado, y la consagración del fundamento que se hizo con el cuerpo del carabalí bibí, se hizo en tierra Ubane, y se llamó al baroco, Baroco Beba». Un congo que iba huyendo, y que al escuchar a lo lejos, en tierra Enchemillá, el ruido del ecón —en Enchemillá existían muchos fabricantes de tambores, «era tierra de tamboleros»—, se encaminó, guiado por el sonido, al lugar donde se hallaban Moruá Engono y Aberiñán, que se apoderaron de él y lo llevaron donde Nasacó trabajaba en la transmisión de la voz. Moruá Engono lo rayó, y Aberiñán lo mató.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵⁴ Cabrera, L. (2015). *El monte*. Linkgua.p, 312.

Translation:

"It is not well explained [...] whether it is the spirit of the Sikán woman that is currently trying to "take Ekue", or if it is the spirit of Tangier, or the spirit of Tangier together with that of Sikan, which Nasacó insists on attracting the drum. This first drum - in epó - "when the fish was transmitted - a patch of fish skin was put on it - was given the name of Ekue-muna-Tanza". But "the transmission of the fish," as has been said, was a failure, and they went to the land of Erón Entá — of a sheep king of rams; they sacrificed a ram - eron - and took his body to line the "foundation." It didn't serve eron. It was too greasy. The spirit was not heard. And behold, Nasacó returned to "look," and said that it was necessary to sacrifice a congo; according to other sources, a brícamo carabalí or a bibí:

«That the first bongo — foundation drum — that was made with the fish's skin in Guanabecuramendó, did not work, and the consecration of the foundation that was made with the body of the bibí carabalí, was made in Ubane land, and was called to the baroco, Baroco Beba ». A congo that was fleeing, and that when listening in the distance, on Enchemillá land, the noise of the econ - in Enchemillá there were many drum makers, "it was land of tamboleros" -, he went, guided by the sound, to the place where were Moruá Engono and

Thanks to the ethnographic works of Ute Rösenthaler¹⁵⁵ and Amanda Carlson¹⁵⁶, we know the dynamics of the women's associations of the Cross River. Both anthropologists have done fieldwork in the territory for years. And their investigations realize how it is possible to track the Agency of these associations in their internal dynamics. Although mission historiography had either ignored them or cataloged them as festive manifestations. Perhaps because of Ekpe (Egbo) 's close relationship with the slave trade, there has been a belated recognition of his original correspondence with male fraternities. Also as for the exercise of an indigenous Theater of the Sacred, which response to its cosmogony and its experience of the feminine racialized and susceptible to immolations, ordeals, and trafficking, oppressions all directed from patriarchal normativity and managed by the chiefs Efiks and by Ekpe (Egbo).

The non-visibility of these associations in the European documentation, except for specific mentions, allowed them to remain in a low profile and outside the missionary radar. And this not calling the attention of the missionaries guaranteed them not to become a direct threat to evangelization. The Presbyterian ministers concentrated on Ekpe (Egbo) for the management of the sacred, political and social on the territory, being the members of this institution with which they had to negotiate from the permits so that the slaves could the masses, until the interruption of a sacrifice or an ordeal until the management of the new missionaries, remember that the Efiks chiefs protested before the European ministers because they did not accept that African-descendant missionaries of Jamaican origin taught the Gospel. Without open threats on them, women's associations exercised their ritual practices with very few foreign interventions in their practices, maintaining a more traditionalist / pure character than their male alterations. Despite the large number of female sororities that remained active in the Cross River, none, not even Ekpa - as a possible logical Ekpe gender alter ego - could have similar social, political, or economic influence in African pre-colonial times.

Aberíñán, who seized him and took him where Nasacó worked on the transmission of the voice. Moruá Engono scratched him, and Aberíñán killed him.

¹⁵⁵ Rösenthaler, U. M. (1998). Women's Masquerade Issue: Reply to Carlson's Commentary. *African Arts*, 31(4), 9-9.

¹⁵⁶ Carlson, A. B. (2019). In the Spirit and in the Flesh: Women, Masquerades, and the Cross River. *african arts*, 52(1), 46-61.

Ships were the living means by which the points within that Atlantic world were joined. They were mobile elements that stood for the shifting spaces in between the fixed places that they connected¹⁵⁷.

Perhaps there was a space before the slave ships where oppression connections began to be forged to materialize in the Caribbean plantations. Could the Ekpe of the Cross River be one of those shifting (pre) spaces that Gilroy alludes to where everything is (re) built? In any case, Ekpe can be understood, in the matter at hand, as a place where contact with Western knowledge shaped the experience and in the case of the members of the Nka Iyip a possible double Afrocentric¹⁵⁸ pre-awareness that answers to his primary confrontation against Ekpe, an institution that kidnapped them, enslaved them and sold them to the Europeans, and another complementary conscience we assume that anti-racist for the incorporation into the struggles for independence in Cuba, but at the same time to the management within Ekpe and his refraction in the Abakuá.

On the influence of the processes of trafficking and slavery on the religious exercise of enslaved Africans says Bueno Sarduy,

“En África, antes de la diáspora provocada por la esclavitud, los cultos [...] formaba[n] parte de la herencia espiritual de la familia en su conjunto; era un bien espiritual, un patrimonio destinado a ser heredado y transmitido [...]. Pero el sistema esclavista de explotación, a través de los procesos de desocialización, despersonalización, dessexualización y descivilización, rompió todos los vínculos esenciales de esos africanos, que una vez capturados y transformados en mercancía, se convirtieron en idóneos para ser reintroducidos como “extranjeros absolutos” en la sociedad esclavista receptora[...]. Bajo este sistema tan cruel de expropiación de todas las disposiciones que, como seres humanos adquirimos y desarrollamos para vivir en sociedad, y que no sólo rompió los lazos del esclavo con su sociedad de origen sino que

¹⁵⁷ Gilroy, P. (1993). *The black Atlantic: Modernity and double consciousness*. Verso. p, 16.

¹⁵⁸ The Abakuá, like Paul Gilroy's Black Atlantic, has to be questioned about the implications of the bias genre. The comparison is given because although Gilroy incorporates the intersections that cross it to look towards the communities descended from trafficking and slavery. Gilroy forgets gender issues. Raising gender as an analytical category to the same extent as race would be a methodology that allows permeating the barriers that oppose its performativity. Unlike Gilroy, I do not believe that they walk exclusively towards hybridism that conceptually emulates that religious syncretism so applied to the Caribbean. Hybridism has to be subverted by embracing the complexity built by a container space - the geopolitical one - in which the degrees of gray interact despite their demands and extremes of the spectrum. Gilroy, P. (1993). *The black Atlantic: Modernity and double consciousness*. Verso. p, 52, 63.

actuó en el sentido de impedir que pudiera volver a reconstruirlos [...] ¹⁵⁹.

Bueno Sarduy, as Rita Segato ¹⁶⁰, did before and before her also the American anthropologist Ruth Landes ¹⁶¹ argues a new genealogy of the family that only makes sense for the gestated by an enslaved Afro-descendant body. The spiritual/religious family that is founded around Afro-descendant religious practices supplies the rupture of blood ties produced by the slave trade and the oppression of slavery. Both in Brazil, which is the geography in which the three anthropologists work and in the populations that received enslaved Africans, the spiritual family as Afro-vital resistance extends a correspondence with Calabar and Cuba. On this spiritual family that has been theorized so much in the environment of the Yoruba traditions in the Franklin Frazier diaspora in his report on The Black family in Brazil, he explains the use of the language that prints this genealogical nomenclature in the religious exercise,

[...] the building has rooms for altars to African gods and Catholic saints and dwelling quarters for the *mae de santo* (woman head of the cult) and her *filhas de santo* (daughters in saintliness). [...] families formed a community of neighbors and friends who sought advice and help from the *mae de santo* in case of need, sickness, or death. Not all of these families were members of the cult. Within the temple or *seita* itself there were three family groups, constituted as follows: a mother with three daughters; three sisters with a brother; the *mae de santo* with two of her own children and an adopted child. ¹⁶²

¹⁵⁹ Esther, B. S., & Buezas, T. C. (2014). *El ocaso del liderazgo sacerdotal femenino en el Xangô de Recife: La ciudad de las mujeres que no será*.p, 243-244.

Translation:

In Africa, before the diaspora caused by slavery, cults [...] formed [n] part of the spiritual heritage of the family as a whole; it was a spiritual good, a heritage destined to be inherited and transmitted [...]. But the slave system of exploitation, through the processes of deocialization, depersonalization, de-sexualization and de-civilization, broke all the essential ties of these Africans, who once captured and transformed into merchandise, became suitable to be reintroduced as “absolute foreigners” In the receiving slave society [...]. Under this cruel system of expropriation of all the provisions that, as human beings we acquire and develop to live in society, and that not only broke the slave's ties with his home society but also acted in the sense of preventing him from returning to rebuild them [...].

¹⁶⁰ Segato, R. L., & Oliveira, M. C. (2005). *Santos e daimones: O politeísmo afro-brasileiro e a tradição arquetipal*. Editora da Universidade de Brasília.

¹⁶¹ Landes, R., & Cole, S. (2005). *The city of women*. Univ. of New Mexico Press.

¹⁶² Frazier, E. F. (1942, 08). The Negro Family in Bahia, Brazil. *American Sociological Review*, 7(4), 465. doi:10.2307/2085040

In the most profane extension of the Ekpe Masquerades (Egbo), many members of Abakuá were part of the groups that enlivened the Havana Carnivals. The significance of the image (Fig. 14) is, in any case, the exclusively male membership of the troupe, in the image and likeness of its homologous masquerade Abakuá. Also here we find a unique figure of a cross-dressing man who reminds us so much of Sikán. The Alacrán troupe arises in the surroundings in the neighborhood of Jesús María, in the surroundings of the white Abakuá chapter called Ecori Efo Taiba. According to Roche Monteagudo's text in 1908, the name implied that it was the second Abakuá Juego¹⁶³ for whites.

We found some analogies in Abakuá performativity that could be transplanted to the comparsa, although perhaps these were exercised in the first years of it. In the case of the comparsa El Alacrán, the performative extends not only to gender but possibly also to race since, as we have pointed out, Ecori Efo Taiba was an Abakuás Juego for White members. If this were the case that the representation in the public space needed it, the members of the troupe could be painted black as a Blackface¹⁶⁴ and cross-dressing (Fig.14) to assume the representation of female characters in their Roman¹⁶⁵.

Cultural historian Argeliers León¹⁶⁶ ditched how from the end of the War in 1898 until the Massacre of the Independent Party of Color was unleashed (1912) there was visibility in public space of many of the members of the Abakua societies. Carnivals and the comparsas served for many Abakua members to move towards these organizations the dynamic and organizational part that they had as a secret society. The qualities of music and dance¹⁶⁷ that were already exercised in the Theater of the Sacred Abakuá was incorporated into a profane, public space and of direct interaction not only with the public but with the other participating groups that did not necessarily have to have Abakuá membership. The troupes fed on expert performers, musicians, singers, and dancers Abakuá. But internal brawls, racialization problems were also transferred, and

¹⁶³ Monteagudo, R. R. (1908). La policía y sus misterios: Adicionada con "La policía judicial", procedimientos, formularios, leyes, reglamentos, ordenanzas, y disposiciones que conciernen a los cuerpos de seguridad pública. Imprenta "La Prueba".p, 56-7.

¹⁶⁴ Lane, J. (2005). *Blackface Cuba*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

¹⁶⁵ León, Argeliers. N.d. La fiesta del carnaval en su proyección folklórica. Havana: Consejo Nacional de Cultura. [MNM] .Cited in, Moore, R. (1997). *Nationalizing blackness: Afro-Cubanismo and artistic revolution in Havana, 1920-1940*. University of Pittsburgh Pre. p, 70.

¹⁶⁶ Lane, J. (2005). *Blackface Cuba*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

¹⁶⁷ Daniel, Y. P. (1994). Race, Gender, and Class Embodied in Cuban Dance. *Contributions in Black Studies*, 12(1), 8.

the jealousy between Abakuá powers extended to the troops. In 1912 the El Gavilán troupe stole the banner from the El Alacrán troupe. Much of the El Alacrán members were from the abakuá Ekerewá power. Despite the legislation on the groups, they openly pointed out the prohibition of African instruments and dances related to the Abakuá. Their members always found a way to act at the carnival. If the African musical instruments were banned, the companions presented themselves with “white¹⁶⁸” drums that were used by the military bands of the authorities.

As a result of the war, more Afrocubans than ever before participated in carnival during the early years of the Republic, and for the first time were able to perform strongly African-influenced music and dance alongside both (white) blackface comparsas such as El Alacrán and the flower-covered model-T Fords and carrozas (parade floats) of the white middle classes. José Franco recounts that in the carnivals of 1899 and 1900 black comparseros dressed in the uniforms of the Cuerpos de Voluntarios and Batallones de Orden Público armed brigades that had harassed the residents of poor barrios in Havana for years inspired laughter from onlookers¹⁶⁹[...].

¹⁶⁸Moore, R. (1997). *Nationalizing blackness: Afrocubanismo and artistic revolution in Havana, 1920-1940*. University of Pittsburgh Pre. p, 71.

Diario de la Marina, 25 January 1913 [...], “In 1913 all comparsas were required to perform accompanied by an official from the police department with a group of vigilantes at his command. In some cases [these individuals] forbade the ensembles from walking along the Paseo de Martí and prohibited them from using African instruments or those of a similar nature such as drums, guiros, and maracas.... [Groups were] also forbidden to "dance or make movements with the body to the rhythm of the music" [...].

¹⁶⁹Moore, R. (1997). *Nationalizing blackness: Afrocubanismo and artistic revolution in Havana, 1920-1940*. University of Pittsburgh Pre. p, 67-8.



Fig.14 La Comparsa "El Alacrán" del Cerro. La Habana (c.1904-8).

In this period the contradanza took only the superficial (epidémico) aspects from the blacks: the obsessive repetition of a single phrase, the marching rhythm of the comparsas (street processions, then performed by the African cabildos or societies on Three Kings Day), a brief and clearly demarcated motif which returns and repeats itself to satiation, creating physical euphoria in those who move to its rhythm¹⁷⁰.

The case of El Alacrán is not exceptional; many of the Havana companies were made up of Abakuas members and their families. There were perhaps in the first years a clear difference between gender between the groups/comparsas. Concerning the connections between Havana troupes and Abakuá secret societies, Torres Zayas in his study of Abakuá in Art tells us,

[...] la evolución de las comparsas tradicionales que la conducen al documental El alacrán, cuyo hilo conductor regodea sobre el

¹⁷⁰ Carpentier, A.(1960). El teatro bufo cubano. Lunes de Revolución. p, 94-6. (N. 87, diciembre 19, 1960). Cited in, Lane, J. (1998). Blackface Nationalism, Cuba 1840-1868. *Theatre Journal*, 50(1), 21-38. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25068481>

fenómeno abakuá, a partir de la historia de Santos Ramírez, fundador de la comitiva y, junto a Julio Blanco Leonard, compositor de su marcha *Tumbando caña*[...].¹⁷¹

Complementing and very close to the Alacrán was the Las Boyeras troupe, where according to testimonies collected by Torres Zayas were many relatives of the Abakwas that belonged to El Alacrán, implying that this troupe was also segregated to female membership. The Las Boyeras troupe, perhaps in a more guild category, welcomed the street vendors of frying made with Caritas beans.

3 The otherness in Ekpe (Egbo)

Some slaves who had stood out for their bravery could also be chosen to join Ekpe (Egbo). Although we do not know if the initiation in Ekpe (Egbo) was as payment in favor of their Efiks masters, others had stood out as managers of the enslaved circles of which they were part. Could there have been a simultaneous or double membership of these slaves within Ekpe (Egbo) and Nka Iyip? If this had happened, could the boundaries of both societies have crossed, contaminated, adapted, or accommodated some religious or ritual exercise or specific practice of the other? It seems that none of the organizations could escape from external incorporations, and their persistence over time implies their good adaptation, flexibility, and dynamism beyond their necessary secrecy.

The enslaved initiations in Ekpe (Egbo) were scarce and exceptional, being able to access the lower levels. Belonging to the institution of their masters did not guarantee their freedom. And although the texts speak of the fact that some enslaved acquired double category of enslaved and at the same time could be the owner of slaves, there is no documentary evidence that these enslaved have been able to manifest themselves / buy their freedom, even though they become prosperous subjects when they join the business of the slave trade and has gained a status that allowed them to marry free people. We can

¹⁷¹ Zayas, R. T. (2011). La sociedad Abakuá y su influencia en el arte. Ediciones Cubanas.p.38, 43. Also see, Sáenz, J. M. (1961). Las comparsas. Su trayectoria histórica. Actas del Folklore, 1(4), 130-140., Ramos, J. (2013, 08). Ramos, J. Um cinema afro-cubano? Conversa com Gloria Rolando/An afro-cuban cinema? Chat with Gloria Rolando. *Revista Contracampo*, 27, 34-48. About the documentaries that the Afro-Cuban filmmaker has made about the Havana comparsas/masquerades, Rolando, G.(2000). *El Alacrán / The Scorpion* & Rolando, G.(2003). *Los Marqueses de Atarés*.

assume that the entry of some slaves,

[...] into Efik society by giving them a share, however small, in the central organ of government. That they had an inferior status in the society was due to the fact that they belonged to freemen¹⁷².

However, we could not continue to aim for Ekpe exceptionalism (Egbo) for admitting enslaved members. Because while the enslaved could not access the most important positions and titles, they could prosper economically. Economic historian Kenneth Dike has discussed the social prosperity of the enslaved subject. The same discussions about the rights of the Afro-Caribbean subject in their different *degrees of freedom* were having their refraction in the Cross River. The debate that those who are born slaves will always be considered slaves can be regarded as technically similar to the struggle for the rights that Afro-descendants were deploying in the revolts, uprisings or independence of the Caribbean.

However, the singular thing is that Ekpe (Egbo) regularly maintained the entry of slaves in the first grades of the institution. A dynamic in appearance a priori rupture could serve to legitimize an established order. The need to maintain a membership in Ekpe that was closely related to the slave trade and that this membership knew firsthand - as long as they were members of enslaved Ekpe (Egbo). Under the promise of prospering, and knowing the business of cake and slavery first hand, it is not difficult to understand how these members who could share membership with their masters within Ekpe, would like and do everything necessary to become one of those slaves masters. With this membership of enslaved who aspired to be free, have sufficient economic solvency to buy the legitimacy of the high positions of Ekpe (Egbo). This social group guaranteed the social regulatory function of Ekpe (Egbo) as they exercised direct and first-hand advice for everything related to trafficking. In this line, it seems that Ekpe (Egbo) needs the perversion of these enslaved subjects so that they have just articulated the betrayal of their own.

3.1 Mukarará / Whites in Ekpe (Egbo)

¹⁷² Latham, A. J. H. (1973). *Old Calabar 1600-1890: The Impact of the International Economy Upon a Traditional Society*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.p. 37.

Ishemo, S. L. (2002). From Africa to Cuba: an historical analysis of the sociedad secreta Abakuá (Ñañiguismo). *Review of African Political Economy*, 29(92), 253-272.

As Shubi L. Ishemo points out¹⁷³, both Ngbe and Ekpe (Egbo) are secret institutions that respond to the interests of elites¹⁷⁴, or political hierarchies with a more than occasional incorporation of European whites, for whom, according to the anthropologist Ivor Miller, a position for whites members, was created / titleholder within Ekpe that would reproduce under the same name, “Mukarara¹⁷⁵” later in Cuba with the creation of the first white Abakuás society under the sponsorship of the Efor society of which Andrés Petit was Isué.

Regarding the white initiations, the evidence has been collected from the complaints of Anglican missionaries like Samuel Ajayi Crowther to the testimonies of the European slave slavers initiated in Ekpe (Egbo). Missionaries criticized Europeans for openly flirting with atavistic beliefs and rituals that could involve human sacrifice¹⁷⁶. Many reports were sent to the Church Intelligencer Mission (MCI) as a complaint of detriment to the evangelizing work that the church was trying to settle in the territory. The European ship captains first and the trading agents of palm oil later saw the initiations in Ekpe (Egbo) as a necessary step to enter those circles of power. Enrique Sosa in his monograph *Los Ñañigos* affirms,

[...] recordemos que en África hubo blancos que, también por conveniencia económica, se afiliaron a Ekpe(Egbo)¹⁷⁷.

Ivor Miller and David Brown allude to the case of Captain Burrell, a trader and trader British trader who obtained rank in the Ekpe (Egbo) society circa 1820. The incorporation of European whites to Ekpe (Egbo) had nothing to do with a conversion of

¹⁷³ Ishemo, S. L. (2002). From Africa to Cuba: an historical analysis of the sociedad secreta Abakuá (Ñañiguismo). *Review of African Political Economy*, 29(92), 253-272.

¹⁷⁴ Cabrera, L. (1970). *La sociedad secreta Abakuá*. Ed CR.p, 142.

¹⁷⁵ Miller, I. L. (2016). The Relationship between Early Forms of Literacy in Old Calabar and Inherited Manuscripts of the Cuban Abakuá Society 1. *Afro-Hispanic Review*, 35(2), 162-218.

¹⁷⁶ Hackett, R. I. (2013). *Religion in Calabar: the religious life and history of a Nigerian town* (Vol. 27). Walter de Gruyter. p, 28-9.

¹⁷⁷ Sosa Rodríguez, E. (1982). *Los ñañigos: ensayo*. p, 311.

Translation:

[...] remember that in Africa there were Whites who, also for economic convenience, joined Ekpe (Egbo).

beliefs. The initiation of Europeans was strongly linked to an economic¹⁷⁸ relationship and that sometimes crossed the social sphere. Despite the secrecy of Ekpe, these exchanges were from the aesthetic¹⁷⁹ infiltrating the performance of the metaphysical-religious.

[...] with the economic and political structures which were essential for the reproduction of the social order and the conduct of the slave trade. Thus it increasingly utilized extra-economic mechanisms to maintain its hegemony. The religious apparatus of the Ekpe(Egbo) came to constitute a powerful instrument for social control.¹⁸⁰

The white European members of Ekpe (Egbo) acquired the title of Mukarara. The designation serves two meanings in the environment of the Cross River, Mukará is the name that receives the white chalk used in the Ekpe (Egbo) ritual practice, but also as the Albinos and the white man are nominated. The charge would possibly arise in an increase in the presence of European slave traders in the Calabar, with the attention of local leaders - leaders of Ekpe (Egbo) - so that their ships were filled with Africans who would be sold as slaves in the New World. We assume that to win the favor of local slave rulers, Europeans paid for their initiation to enter into those circles of trust that would guarantee them membership in the regulatory institution of the slave trade. The Europeans initiated in Ekpe were favored with satisfactory business, and their ships were filled with priority over the rest of the uninitiated slave traders. The institution could also handle any coercive action that its members - even the Europeans - needed, from the collection of a debt to the corrective punishment to any subject designated by the member Ekpe (Egbo).

The existence of this Mukarará titleholder that designates the white members since the Calabar serves to explain the name of Mukaará for the first Cuban association of white Abakuás founded in 1863 thanks to the initiation of whites by Andrés Petit in 1857. European merchants, both slave traders and commercial agents who needed to approach

¹⁷⁸ Miller, I. L. (2009). *Voice of the leopard: African secret societies and Cuba*. University Press of Mississippi.p, 134-5. See also, Brown, D. H. (2003). *The Light Inside: Abakuá Society Arts and Cuban Cultural History*. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Books.p, 11-2.

¹⁷⁹ The elite of Ekpe (Egbo) incorporated pieces of British-patronage/style clothing such as the tuxedo, and countless English terms that went beyond the patronymic and that, as Ivor Miller points out, also reached the Abakuá in Cuba. Miller, I. L. (2016). The Relationship between Early Forms of Literacy in Old Calabar and Inherited Manuscripts of the Cuban Abakuá Society 1. *Afro-Hispanic Review*, 35(2), 162-218.

¹⁸⁰ Ishemo, S. L. (2002, 06). From Africa to Cuba: An historical analysis of the sociedad secreta Abakuá (Ñañiguismo). *Review of African Political Economy*, 29(92), 253-272. doi:10.1080/03056240208704612.

these circles of power managed by Ekpe (Egbo) to ensure that their ships were full of enslaved Africans first and palm oil as a substitute product once the slave trade was abolished, whose initiation cannot be considered a systematic habit, nor was it an isolated or exceptional event:

[...] you spoke of the ill effects of the intercourse between British merchant vessels and the natives, you meant by the bad example set by the crews on shore —Yes know an instance which took place in the Calabar the master of vessel, whose name now forget, belonging to Liverpool, for the sake of getting in cargo, purchased what called " egbo," that making himself partner in the exhibition of some disgusting mummeries which they have have to their deities there. This man dressed himself up, and danced, and all that kind of thing, and went through all this just for the purpose of getting a few puncheons of oil more; it cost him 40£, but he succeeded in getting in a cargo of oil very quickly¹⁸¹.

It is interesting to see how what this commercial agent cost about 40 pounds in 1842, according to the claim of Bishop Ajayi Crowther in 1876, cost about 300 pounds¹⁸²,

Egbo, the great secret society of these people, [...]. Though several Europeans have been admitted to some of the grades, none have ever, to my knowledge, succeeded in being initiated to the higher grades. The uses of this society are manifold, but the abuses more than outweigh any use it may have been to the people. As an example, I may mention the use which a European would make of his having Egbo,[...] if any native owed him money or its equivalent, and was in no hurry to pay, the European would blow Egbo on the debtor, and that man could not leave his house until he had paid up. Egbo could be, and was, used for matters of a much more serious nature than the above, such as the ruin of a man if a working majority could be got together against him. This society could work much more swiftly than the course adopted in other rivers to compass a man's downfall [...]¹⁸³.

British commercial agents such as Comte C. de Cardi in the Mary Kingsley compilation uses the expression "Blow's Egbo" meaning the notice that is given to startup the Egbo machinery, either for initiation or a settling of accounts by one of Egbo's henchmen who

¹⁸¹ Great Britain. Parliament. House of Commons. Select Committee on the West Coast of Africa. (1842). Report: Together with the minutes of evidence, appendix, and index. Ordered, by the House of Commons, to be printed, 5 August 1842. London: [publisher not identified], p.358-359.

¹⁸² The Church Missionary Intelligencer and Record (1876). Vol. Ip, 475.

¹⁸³ Kingsley, M. (2013). *West African Studies*. Routledge.p. 563.

blew the Horn of Egbo. The institution, in short, could be used by any of its members as an armed force or arm.

The installation of Ekpe (Egbo) transcended the territory of the Cross River, and would also exceed the temporal border of the twentieth century with all the consequences. Ekpe (Egbo) - not without sacrifices, losses and esoteric and European profane incorporations - survived the transatlantic slave trade. Thus, outside the area of influence of the Cross River, and after the temporalities of the slave trade ended, the Leopard societies continued in good health in Africa. We also assume that these were made more flexible by incorporating the direct influences of the new typology of white and European members. In a destabilizing context that is incorporated into that identity development and under construction by Ekpe (Egbo). The collaborationist collusion with transatlantic trafficking, despite the fact that its members did not get rid of being victims of the same process they had fed, can be traced in the institution even in their Cuban imago Abakuá.

However, we have had to wait for contemporaneity for current Ekpe members to recognize that,

[...] originally there was no discrimination over who has to buy Ekpe. Ekpe was sold to whoever could provide all the items demanded by the sellers- except for descendants of slaves¹⁸⁴[.].

3.2 Society of Slaves: Nka Iyip/Bloodmen

In 1846, the missionaries of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland had just settled in Calabar. In those early years, they witnessed the riots that the Nka Iyip / Bloodmen society organized against their Efik masters. Pre-Baptist missionaries attest to their reports and references that the fraternity has a membership is of enslaved people, but that free subjects of the Calabar had also been incorporated into the covenant. Like Ekpe (Egbo) and Abakuá, the Nka Iyip were not homogenous in their membership very much despite a birth in context as specific as the plantation barracks / senzalas.

¹⁸⁴ The president of Ekpe Union, according to a letter from Etchu Richard Ayuk, 5 October 2001. Cited in Rösenthaller, U. (2011). Purchasing Culture: the dissemination of associations in the Cross River Region of Cameroon and Nigeria.p, 485.

The Reverend Waddell in his chronicle "Twenty-nine years in the West Indies and Central Africa" recognized that a freeman¹⁸⁵ from the city, who had joined the "blood men," saw one of his wives subjected to the order, without trying to save it. The Reverend Waddell not only gave an account of the dynamism of Nka Iyip(Bloodmen), but he also made it clear that these men lacked mercy even with their wives, although perhaps he only referred to the revolt because we can not give an account of it. The fact that Rev. Waddell could have proof of this belonging. In the words of Waddell himself, [...] *tables were turned, the slaves blew's Egbo in their own way*¹⁸⁶[...]. So despite the contemporaneity, these works reproduce and legitimize the vision of the missionaries and criticize those enslaved for rebelling.

It is not until the arrival of the works of Ute Röschenthaler, who analyzes the written literature of the XIXth and XXth and the African historian Shubi L. Ishemo that we approach an objective look at the subjects and related events. These first works of literature also account for the controversial attitude of the ecclesiastics towards the native subjects. While the missionaries preached passages of freedom led by the Messiah Jesus Christ, the enslaved who decided to openly communicate to their master Efik their new Faith were sacrificed. And while the missionaries criticized the elite members of Ekpe (Egbo) for not promoting the Christian faith even with their slaves, the missionaries themselves turned their backs on the Nka Iyip / Bloodmen when they had to take sides in the 1851 revolt to the Efiks masters.

Shubi L. Ishemo points to the origin of the Bloodmen covenant towards the 18th century, which would place the foundation with relative proximity to the Ekpe spread. We assume from the late location of Nka Iyip that Rosalind Hackett does respond to the visibility and testimony given to them both by missionaries and British commercial agents in the area following the revolt of which the slave covenant was the protagonist.

¹⁸⁵ Waddell, H. M. (1970). *Twenty-Nine Years in the West Indies and Central Africa: A review of missionary work and adventure, 1829-1858* (No. 11). Psychology Press. p, 497.

¹⁸⁶ Waddell, H. M. (1970). *Twenty-Nine Years in the West Indies and Central Africa: A review of missionary work and adventure, 1829-1858* (No. 11). Psychology Press. p, 617.

One might ask if, could there have been enslaved subjects who shared membership in opposing and opposing secret societies? Nka Iyip is a fraternity that emerged a breeding ground that responded to the increase in plantations and especially transatlantic trade. The increase in the demand for slaves in the international market would cause more incursions and Razzies inside the territory in search of subjects.

The riots that have occurred since the 1850s rise amid tensions between enslaved and their African masters for ritual reasons. The funeral ceremonies of some chief or member of the elite entailed the human sacrifice of their respective slaves and their women. The sacrifices could be extended to other family members. Whether it was due to old age or accidental or provoked death, the ritual acts would have to be fulfilled. If the deceased had died accidentally or unexpectedly, the funeral acts have added a kind of investigative purge to find out who had been the cause of the misfortune. This investigation was done through the Ordeal that was done, forcing possible culprits to ingest the Éseré / Calabar Bean¹⁸⁷.

The controversy, however, was in the strategic management of the missionaries with the political agents of the British Foreign Affairs and the chiefs of the Calabar. How Ute Röschenhaler contributes¹⁸⁸, Not only that these references written within a religious corpus are ultimately from where all subsequent historical analyzes have been made, but the academics to whom the Nka Iyip has drawn attention seem to have also been educated in missionary schools. It will not be until the end of the twentieth century that the Nka Iyip have been approached since microhistory, comparative history, global history, leaving aside the paternalistic use of history so well cultivated in missionary academic environments and in which there is no glimpse the slightest criticism of the institution and yes much atavism when not paternalism towards the Nka Iyip covenants.

On the texts that refer to the rebels, they appear in the daily diaries of Hugh Goldie and William Anderson between 1850-1852. Both missionaries wrote individually about the

¹⁸⁷ Simmons, D. C. (1956). Efik divination, ordeals, and omens. *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, 12(2), 223-228.

¹⁸⁸ Röschenhaler, U. (n.d.). The Blood Men of Old Calabar – a Slave Revolt of the Nineteenth Century? *African Voices on Slavery and the Slave Trade*, 445-465. doi:10.1017/cbo9781139022552

interventions of the Nka Iyip¹⁸⁹ but also exchanged letters regarding the severe incident after the death of King Archibong and the sacrifice for orders of more than twenty persons¹⁹⁰ .

They were subjected to the ordeal of the poison bean, and all died. Mr. Goldie and I having got a hint about the ordeal, [...]. On the same night the king's mother caused several of the wives to take *esére*. The greater part of those who took the poison died under its influence. It is reported that Mrs. Archibong broke the Egbo law two years ago, by killing several slaves; but there are so many conflicting statements that we hardly know what to believe and what to disbelieve. If she has broken said law, I feel convinced that she has some powerful enemies among the Egbo gentlemen, who would rejoice to see her brought down, and that if they can convict her of the crime laid to her charge by common report, she will not escape Egbo's vengeance.¹⁹¹

The missionaries had a clear interest in both maintaining the confidence of the enslaved, working because they accepted their subalternity and guaranteeing a favorable scenario for their evangelizations. At the same time, they criticized human sacrifices for ordeals, rituals, and death sentences for behavior. The Nigerian historian Kenneth Dike gives another look at the enslaved revolts of the 1850s. Unlike the rest of the investigations, Dike proposes that the reason why the Nka Iyip decide to confront their slave masters Efiks members of Ekpe (Egbo) was that the enslaved were not allowed to ascend within this organization. What seems to us perhaps too resounding is its central hypothesis of a confrontation between the Nka Iyip against Ekpe (Egbo) in these keys of ascent to the Ekpe privilege and that it does not pose at least in equal order of importance a confrontation for freedom. What Dike affirms is that the secret society of slaves instead of fighting for the privilege of its members or improvements in their living conditions fought for the right to be initiated into the high offices of Ekpe (Egbo). In short, that Nka

¹⁸⁹ Missionary Hugh Goldie tells us as a logbook day by day the events of the Nka Iyip / Bloodmen uprising. See, "Old Calabar. Negotiations between the slaves in the plantations and the chiefs of Duke Town," in *Missionary Record of the United Presbyterian Church* (August 1851). p, 117–120.

¹⁹⁰ See, "The death of King Archibong: More than twenty persons killed by the poison nut" in Waddell, H. M. (2009). *Twenty-Nine Years in the West Indies and Central Africa*. doi:10.1017/cbo9780511711473; Goldie, H. (1890). *Calabar and its mission, by Hugh Goldie*, O. Anderson and Ferrier. Also in, Röschenhaler, U. (n.d.). *The Blood Men of Old Calabar – a Slave Revolt of the Nineteenth Century? African Voices on Slavery and the Slave Trade*, 445-465. doi:10.1017/cbo9781139022552.

¹⁹¹ *Missionary Record of United Presbyterian Church*(1852). p, 134-7.

Iyip, according to Dike, struggled to share the same privilege of the terror of Ekpe (Egbo) becoming one of them¹⁹² .

Although for historians close to missionary circles Nka Iyip seems perverse because of his horrible behavior that is so far from its original genesis, the analysis of economic historian Kenneth Dike is not so misleading. Is Dike proposing that Nka Iyip wanted to have the same prerogatives as Ekpe (Egbo)? It was with that intention that the Nka Iyip incorporated King Archibong into their ranks? Did they want to emulate Ekpe or admit them as equals at least under the same brotherhood?

Nothing says Dike of the most revolutionary reasons for a slave uprising like Nka Iyip. He only mentions that the missionaries warned the Efiks chiefs in their sermons¹⁹³ to treat their slaves better. But as we have pointed out, Kenneth Dike is an economic historian, and his vision responds to a classic analysis of resources, wealth creation, and production. However, are they not enslaved, as of merchandise, supplies, labor, and means of production at the same time? Why then Dike only sees in the enslaved the Agency to claim their access to the high grades of Ekpe (Egbo)? Is this not a very superficial claim - cosmic - for the slavery situation of the Nka Iyip members?

Human sacrifices¹⁹⁴ had been abolished¹⁹⁵ in 1850, but they had to wait until 1878 for death to be eliminated by the Ordeal del Éseré. The document was signed by British commercial agents and Efiks chiefs who almost entirely combined membership and title in Ekpe. But this strategy has to be read not only as a step in favor by the missionaries, but the document was signed with the local Efiks chiefs, not with the Ekpe (Egbo) institution. And both the accusations of witchcraft and the sacrifices the Ordeal Éseré were a perfect mechanism of control over the slave and female population, but they also functioned as a handy political tool with which Efik elite families could resolve their

¹⁹² Dike, K. O. (1956). *Trade and politics in the Niger Delta, 1830-1885: an introduction to the economic and political history of Nigeria*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. p, 156-8.

¹⁹³ Since 1848 Reverend Hope Waddell preached the need for Efiks bosses to treat their enslaved people better. Cited in, Dike, K. O. (1956). *Trade and politics in the Niger Delta, 1830-1885: an introduction to the economic and political history of Nigeria*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. p, 155.

¹⁹⁴ Röschenhaler, U. (n.d.). The Blood Men of Old Calabar – a Slave Revolt of the Nineteenth Century? *African Voices on Slavery and the Slave Trade*, 445-465. doi:10.1017/cbo9781139022552

¹⁹⁵ Robin Law es uno de los académicos que defiende que tanto los esclavos como las mujeres tenían la voluntad de seguir a sus amos y esposos a la tumba. Law, R. (1985). Human sacrifice in pre-colonial West Africa. *African Affairs*, 84(334), 53-87.

clashes. So, as we can imagine, the practice did not disappear.

In the missionary texts of the nineteenth century, but also those of his disciples, African historians Efik, Chief Ekei Essien Oku¹⁹⁶, and Noah Monday Eiong¹⁹⁷, there is an apparent takeover by pointing to consensual relationships between masters and enslaved. Both authors continue to refer to the uprising of enslaved Nka Iyip mainly from a missionary perspective and a hagiographic methodology when it comes to underlining the work of the missionaries involved. As the missionaries did, the academics did not question the slave system with excessive violence. Not even for granted the right of the enslaved to fight for their freedom, while they had been kidnapped from their villages inside, alienated and subjected to slavery. So from contemporary, both historians adopted that controversial way of justifying and giving reasons for the good advent between enslaved and Efik masters by accepting their enslaved condition. The critical look may have had to go to the aspirations of the struggle of those enslaved for freedom and to question why Nka Iyip / Bloodmen sometimes has a random and controversial appearance.

Academic optimism comes from the episode narrated by the missionary Waddell¹⁹⁸ in which Nka Iyip appears in the town to get under the command of King Archibong and as Waddell points out, "save his life." In gratitude, the King (Obong, chief) is a promulgated member of the Nka Iyip / Bloodmen. The King's commitment to being accepted as Nka Iyip came from an appointment, but nothing is known if the King was initiated into the ritual as blood brothers of the enslaved. Waddell does not realize that other members of the Efik elite's families could belong to Nka Iyip. However, he does recognize that subjects free of more discrete strata were initiated. The political strategy of King Archibong to seal a commitment of belonging with a fraternity of enslaved, guaranteed to stop the revolts, or at least that the Nka Iyip considered him as one of them. Leaders Efik, in apparent contradiction, was there belonging to Ekpe (Egbo) and the local elite of the

¹⁹⁶ Oku, E. E. (1989). *The kings & chiefs of Old Calabar (1795-1825)*. Glad Tidings Press.

¹⁹⁷ Noah, Monday Eiong. "The Bloodmen of Old Calabar: A Reassessment." *A Current Bibliography on African Affairs*, vol. 9, no. 1, 1976, pp. 25–31., doi:10.1177/001132557700900104. Also see, Noah, M. E. (1980). *Old Calabar: The city states and the Europeans, 1800-1885*. Scholars Press.

¹⁹⁸ Waddell, H. M. (1970). *Twenty-Nine Years in the West Indies and Central Africa: A review of missionary work and adventure, 1829-1858* (No. 11). Psychology Press. p, 476. Cited also in, Rösenthaller, U. (n.d.). *The Blood Men of Old Calabar – a Slave Revolt of the Nineteenth Century?* African Voices on Slavery and the Slave Trade, p, 445-65.

Calabar, both enemy groups of the Nka Iyip for being their slave masters and especially from whom the military orders of the ordeal *Éséré* on enslaved and wives of the deceased came.

But here one might ask, why does a group of enslaved slaves save the life of the same king as the subjugates and whose actions have precisely revolted? Nka Iyip saves the king's life because his death would have meant the sacrifice of all his slaves and those enslaved to other local leaders who wanted to pay homage to the monarch. So saving his life meant saving that of hundreds of enslaved people. As Röschenhaler points out, both the Waddell and Goldie missionaries explained that the rise of the Nka Iyip / Bloodmen was in February 1852 after the death of King Archibong I. The justification of both missionaries gave to the uprising was that the enslaved felt angry and eager to “*avenge the death of their father*”¹⁹⁹.” Both Waddell and Goldie assumed and gave a paternalistic justification where the enslaved is conceived with the same psychological abilities as a child to be guided, corrected for his dysfunctionality. The events in the missionary key seemed to be part of Shakespeare's script of “*The Tempest*”²⁰⁰.” The Nka Iyip uprising was perceived as childish behavior -Caliban²⁰¹- in front of the bewilderment after having lost his progenitor/protector such as a Shakesperian Prospero. Or as Susan Buck-Morss²⁰² points out on the reception that is made from Friday²⁰³ from Europe, Rousseau's "*Bon Sauvage*." Or in the same vein, the coloniality of love in the “*Sab*” of Avellaneda²⁰⁴ for the Cuba of the 19th century.

¹⁹⁹ Waddell, H. M. (1970). *Twenty-Nine Years in the West Indies and Central Africa: A review of missionary work and adventure, 1829-1858* (No. 11). Psychology Press, p, 496-7. Cited also in, Röschenhaler, U. (n.d.). *The Blood Men of Old Calabar – a Slave Revolt of the Nineteenth Century?* African Voices on Slavery and the Slave Trade, p, 445-65.

²⁰⁰ Shakespeare, W. (2001). *The tempest* (Vol. 9). Classic Books Company.

²⁰¹ Caliban is the name of a character in *The Tempest*, by William Shakespeare. It cannot be dismissed that perhaps Shakespeare has used this name as an anagram of the term Cannibal. A pun that the author extends to all the characters. Caliban is a primitive savage who is enslaved by the protagonist. Prospero, his master, has a name that is a metaphor for the modernity from which Europe was at the doors thanks to slavery in the sixteenth century. Prospero has another servant who responds to the name of Ariel, and as we can imagine unlike Caliban, Ariel is polite, pious and spiritual to differentiate as Hegel requested, the justification of the slavery of Africans as opposed to European servitude.

²⁰² Buck-Morss, S. (2009). *Hegel, Haiti, and universal history*. University of Pittsburgh Pre. p, 10-2.

²⁰³ Defoe, D. (1994). *Robinson Crusoe*. 1719. London: Warne, nd.

²⁰⁴ Despite being considered revolutionary, Sab's text by Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda describes the coloniality of intimacy in the 19th century. Like other novels of the time in which he is the protagonist is male and white who has relations with a black woman. Avellaneda is not subversive, nor revolutionary, it only changes the gender of the protagonists but not the race or the roles. See, De Avellaneda, G. G. (2001). *SAB: By Gertrudis Gómez De Avellaneda*. Manchester University Press.

Comte John Harford, a merchant from Bristol who had remained in the area for thirty-four years (1862-1896) -aka Count of Cardi- on this points out that, some slaves,

[...] had few chances of rising in the social scale [...] Cases have occurred of boys from this class rising to as good a position as the more favoured winnaboes; but for this they have had to thank some white trader[...] so as to learn “white man’s mouth,” otherwise English²⁰⁵.

Possibility to talk a foreign language is received as an economic facilitator and is one of the reasons why English²⁰⁶ or, failing that, Pidgin, became the commercial language of Calabar.

Many [...] natives write English; an art first an art first acquired by some of the traders’ son, who had visited England, and which they have had the sagacity to retain up to the present period. They have established schools and schoolmasters, for the purpose of instructing in this art the youths belonging to families of consequence.²⁰⁷

Efiks of any social class could access to English. The chiefs and families of the elite could even send their youngest children to England while the now illegal slave trade was still in full swing also though England had declared the abolition of trafficking in 1807. After the official abolition of the slave trade, African intermediaries and Ekpe in their middle management of the economy had to adapt to a new palm oil economy progressively. British and African slavers hoped that the market²⁰⁸ change would generate as many profits and could sustain a whole credit system as the slave trade had done. Slave traffic continued from illegality feeding the economies of Cuba and Brazil. But it also invested in palm oil that seemed from the legality to travel the new path that Europe proposed. Palm oil was received in Europe at a time of industrial investment

²⁰⁵ Kingsley, M. (1899). *West African Studies*. Routledge.p, 274-5.

²⁰⁶ Robb, A. (1861). *The Gospel to the Africans: A Narrative of the Life and Labours of the Rev. William Jameson in Jamaica and Old Calabar*. A. Elliot. p, 283. Also see, Miller, I. L. (2016). The Relationship between Early Forms of Literacy in Old Calabar and Inherited Manuscripts of the Cuban Abakuá Society I. *Afro-Hispanic Review*, 35(2), 162-218.

²⁰⁷ Adams, J. (1822). Remarks on the Country Extending from Cape Palmas to the River Congo (London, 1823). *Edward Bold, The Merchant’s and Mariner’s African Guide*, 58.p, 143-4. Cited also in, Imbua, D. L., Lovejoy, P. E., & Miller, I. L. (2017). Calabar on the Cross River: Historical and Cultural Studies.p,183. Also see, Shepherd, A. I. (1980). *The Origins and Development of Literacy in English in Old Calabar to C. 1860* (Doctoral dissertation, Aberdeen University).

²⁰⁸ Dike, K. O. (1956). *Trade and politics in the Niger Delta, 1830-1885: an introduction to the economic and political history of Nigeria*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. p, 48-9.

towards well-being and consumption. From the pharmacy and cosmetics market, especially in the preparation of soaps, to fuels and fuels.

The rising of Middle African men as economic class happened at a time when the British industry had established economic monopolies - India, Australia, Caribbean - that had been able to negotiate with abolitionist and colonial rupture processes. And territories of the Cross River like Bonny (New Calabar) would become the "Saint Domingue of the French" but instead of sugar with the production of palm oil. More oil was produced from the port of Bonny than from all other West Africa ports together²⁰⁹. However, the remuneration of the slave economy was tremendously satisfactory, so illegal traffic dragged down until 1886 in Cuba, and two years later, it could be terminated in Brazil. Even so, the territories of the Cross River with officials, merchants and slave traders in the region that had some relationship with the British Empire could still enjoy more than 30 years until the first official agreements to abolish the slave trade were signed. And it took a little longer for them to become effective in the territories where there were no consular representatives unrelated to trafficking businesses.

[...] if any future time Great Britain shall permit the slave trade to be carried on, King Bebble and the Chiefs of Bonny should be at liberty to do the same²¹⁰[.]

In 1841 in the New Calabar area, the "Treaty with Bony to abolish foreign slave trade" was signed. African slave traders who served as intermediaries had exercised this business since before the arrival of the British in the area. With which in spite of the internal dynamism, we could talk about activities of families that already dealt with the Portuguese and some Spaniards arriving in the area. With them, the first infrastructures of the slave business were established. And the Nigerian economic historian Kenneth Dike puts us on the trail of some continuities of these infrastructures that we will find in the

²⁰⁹ Dike, K. O. (1956). *Trade and politics in the Niger Delta, 1830-1885: an introduction to the economic and political history of Nigeria*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. p, 50-1.

²¹⁰ F.O.84/835, vol. III, Bonny River, N°. 49, Tucker to O'Ferral, Adm 22 Aug. 1841 and its enclosures. Cited in, Dike, K. O. (1956). *Trade and politics in the Niger Delta, 1830-1885: an introduction to the economic and political history of Nigeria*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. p, 48.

Caribbean. As in Whydah (Ouidah) -Dahomey (Abomey)-, in the Calabar there was also what the Portuguese slavers who inaugurated them called, Factorías²¹¹.

In these spaces, they were used to accommodate European merchants, but also where the Africans that were to be sold were stored. The slave ship captains arriving at the Cross River used to remain living on their ship when the local chief gathered the amount of Africans that Europeans needed to fill their ship. Hence the relationship between European slave traders and local bosses depended on how quickly the vessels were filled. And this was the main reason why whites wanted to start in Ekpe (Egbo). All Europeans who arrived at the Cross River intending to negotiate had to deal with the local chiefs inevitably. However, those Europeans who in their ability saw Ekpe (Egbo) as a space of exclusive mutual help for their members, did everything possible to be part of the brotherhood and win Ekpe favors.

The enslaved, from their condition, were the perfect connoisseurs of Ekpe (Egbo). And while the institution of their African masters was their greatest scourge, it also offered exceptional occasions to incorporate some of them who had excelled in economic, organizational or learned English. We assume that nobody as an enslaved to know the institution of slavery inside and correct their failures. The enslaved admitted to Ekpe (Egbo) did so through becoming machinery of oppression and punishment against the community to which they continued to belong.

Membership of Ekpe (Egbo) did not guarantee their freedom. For example, the enslaved who worked in the canoe²¹² houses could start being "winnaboes" until becoming entrepreneurs of the slave trade accumulating a lot of capital. On the canoe houses, Enrique Sosa explains how the Efik chiefs agree and create an armed and repressive body

²¹¹ The factories were fortifications that were established in the coastal areas of the main African black ports Whydah, Goree, etc. They were the places where captured Africans were stored through kidnappings and razzias in the interior of Africa. The Europeans arrived on the African coast and picked up the Africans as cargoes that would be delivered in the New World and sold there as slaves. Unlike Whydah in present day Benin, or on the Senegalese island of Goreé, the Calabar factories were buildings made of wood. Perhaps that we do not have the original buildings as with the fortifications of Benin and Senegal, respectively.

²¹² The canoe house as part of the Cross River slave institution see Enrique Sosa's monograph in annex of Sosa Rodríguez, E. (1982). *Los ñáñigos* (No. 305.896072 S6). p, 349-57. Also, Sosa Rodríguez, E. (1998). *La leyenda ñáñiga en Cuba: su valor documental. Tebeto: Anuario del Archivo Histórico Insular de Fuerteventura*, (11), 307-322.

that allowed them to kidnap Africans from the interior lands and transfer them to the “barracoons²¹³” of the coast,

[...] crearon esos singulares organismos llamados “casas-canoas”, cuyo poder efectivo, económico y político, consistió en la posesión de una o varias canoas, equipadas con un cañón y cincuenta mosquetes para «hacer la guerra», es decir, para asaltar poblados indefensos, asesinar, incendiar y adquirir por captura, compra-venta o rapto, a hombres, mujeres y niños de la costa o del interior del país²¹⁴ [...].

And seen with the perspective of the years, it was perhaps in these gestures of subversive social mobility that they realized the great collapse of the health of the traditional African system. Africa was threatening itself and its own, but not in defense of its territory but in the protection of a few who pretended to be like the white European slave traders. Once this was achieved, elitist groups generated ways to perpetuate this perverse system of selling, raping and exterminating their neighbors. That immense advantage granted to European colonists and slavers would cause many of them to end up enslaved in the New World. But better luck did not suffer those who stayed. The psychological consequences of extermination and the unreasonable reason for betrayal of the family, the clan, the gods and ancestors are the African confusion that has reached us today.

The English economic historian, John H. Latham, on the other hand, describes this institution with a marked emergent character, and points to the possibilities that an enslaved one to prosper in that medium had,

[...] the old descent groups had broken up to be replaced by the institution known as the canoe house. This was a warring and

²¹³ The Nigerian economic historian Kenneth Dike comments that it was the Spaniards who set name to this enslaved storage structure. Perhaps rightly by Dike, since the spaces where slaves were stored in plantations were called "barracoons" in the Spanish colonies and "zenzalas" in the Portuguese. Dike, K. O. (1956). *Trade and politics in the Niger Delta, 1830-1885: an introduction to the economic and political history of Nigeria*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. p, 48.

²¹⁴ Sosa Rodríguez, E. (1982). *Los ñañigos: ensayo*.p, 27.

Translation:

[...] created those unique organisms called "canoe houses", whose effective, economic and political power consisted of the possession of one or several canoes, equipped with a cannon and fifty muskets to "make war", that is to say , to assault defenseless villages, kill, burn and acquire by capture, purchase-sale or abduction, men, women and children of the coast or the interior of the country [...].

trading corporation created by the enterprise and wealth of the founder, who often was a slave. In Old Calabar, although wards owed their existence to the wealth and enterprise of their founders, they still acknowledged their connection with the original lineage of their founder, with the possible exception of Eyo ward²¹⁵.

3.2.1 Nka Iyip and the refractions in the Abakuá

Nka Iyip, also known as Bloomen Covenant, would have to be incorporated by historiography to the influences of the formation of Bildung of the Cuban Abakuá. The correspondence between the two seems to extend beyond the emergence and accommodation of the Cuban imago. For the Cuban secret society, the original members were African by birth and slaves, and mutual help between them was the main objective of the fraternity in its evolution towards the incorporation of Creoles, mestizos and finally white, as several scholars pointed out. The purchase of the freedom of its slave members. Perhaps the antecedent of the Nka Iyip and its resistance could help them not to be overcome by the circumstances of the traffic first and after slavery. From this hypothesis arises the need to make a comparative study between the three secret societies, but perhaps adding the hermeneutical element to the historical, anthropological and cultural analysis in its transversality, will help us to study the identification of what factors and ways to approach the internal dynamics society that can be identified in the Cuban Abakua.

The slave trade and subsequent slavery have to be taken and analyzed as transforming factors within the practice of Ekpe (Egbo) moved to the Caribbean, something that perhaps has not been revealed by historians who have pointed out this issue almost exclusively in the mutualistic character of the fraternity. Shubi L. Ishemo²¹⁶ was one of the few historians who dared to express clearly the possible relationship between the so-called Bloodmen Association and the Abakuá. Although numerous studies have made clear the connection between Ekpe (Egbo) / Ngbe and Cuban Abakuá, the little interest in relating the Association of Nya Iyip / Bloodmen with the Cuban imago may have been due to conception or desire for the legitimation of an elitist origin. The Bloodmen are an

²¹⁵ Latham, A. J. H. (1972). Witchcraft accusations and economic tension in pre-colonial Old Calabar. *The Journal of African History*, 13(2), 249-260. Sosa Rodríguez, E. (1982). Los ñañigos: ensayo.p, 349-69.

²¹⁶ Ishemo, S. L. (2002, 06). From Africa to Cuba: An historical analysis of the sociedad secreta Abakuá (Ñañiguismo). *Review of African Political Economy*, 29(92), 253-272. doi:10.1080/03056240208704612

association of slaves that will arise precisely to face the abuses and especially the human sacrifices that leaders of Ekpe (Egbo), their families and indigenous nobility made for reasons of health, sorcery or death of any member of these families influential. In the case of the deaths of leaders, he had to be buried with his wives and servants and slaves. In this way, the Bloodmen are born within the slave community and in rural territories where the plantations were, and their social base does not have a slave exclusivity; also free men and some of the low nobility are incorporated into it. It was also possible to find members of the Bloodmen in some low and middle levels of Ekpe (Egbo), which does not mean that despite his wealth, a man could remain a slave in Calabar. A complicated, flexible situation that accounts for the dynamism within Ekpe (Egbo), but that could open corresponding fields with the Cuban Abakuá.

Ekpe (Egbo) / Mbge as Abakuá have an urban territorial deployment. Much has been written about secret societies that in African territory could serve as a reference in the formation of the secret Abakua society. The Cuban genesis of the latter is indisputable, but also its influences, and among the multiple references in the African and Caribbean historiography of the Calabarian Ekpe (Egbo) and the Cameroonian Ngbe, there is one that moves away from the social base paradigm of those as mentioned above. Nka Iyip or the Association of Bloodmen was born among Africans enslaved by the slave trade that Ekpe (Egbo) organized by supplying European slave ships. Does one wonder that something similar was reproduced among the population enslaved by the Ngbe secret society in Cameroon? Membership of this secret society was exclusively made up of slaves captured in territories near Calabar, so perhaps Nka Iyip could emerge as a force of resistance and as mutual help among slaves. Historiography does not provide data on whether their membership was exclusively male or mixed or if there was a secret society in enslaved women's settings alongside Ekpa²¹⁷ concerning Ekpe (Egbo).

The secret society Ekpe (Egbo) managed the slave trade of Calabarian in this triple function of managing the economic, religious, and political activities of Calabar. Therefore, one might think that if Nka Iyip was a secret society composed of Africans enslaved by the slave trade system led by Ekpe (Egbo), then perhaps they were the first to reach the Caribbean lands as slaves, or among the first. In any case, it seems that their

²¹⁷ Rösenthaler, U. (2011). *Purchasing Culture: the dissemination of associations in the Cross River Region of Cameroon and Nigeria*. p, 221.

presence in the Caribbean would have to be dated or at least synchronized with the members of the secret societies Ekpe (Egbo) and Ngbe since both were in charge of administering the slave trade and the rest of the community. Economic activities with Europeans in African lands. Remarkably even though many were eventually victims of that traffic activity, they had helped manage.

3.3 The Church, between the Efiks chiefs, the British commercial agents and the enslaved population

It would be very naive to imagine that this same church whose origin, England, as well as coexistence and coexistence in space and time with the slave trade, had the mission of freeing slaves who were British merchants and commercial agents. Board slave ships through negotiations with collaborating African institutions. Bishop Samuel Ajayi Crowther,²¹⁸ He explains as if he were a martyr the story of an African slave converted to Christianity and baptized as Joshua,

[...]; he was again punished, and threatened with death if he did not comply. The lad plainly told his persecuting master, "If you give me any hard and difficult work to do, I will do it to the most of my power to serve you; but to do sacrifice to the dead I cannot, it being against the doctrine of the Christian faith." Joshua was then bound with cords, put into a canoe, and taken to the river to be drowned. The master got into the canoe to see the order executed²¹⁹.

Crowther realizes that Africans become enslaved to the Christian faith who, when faced with their masters, can give their lives for it. However, this quasi-hagiographic chronicle with that narrative of heroes that is sacrificed enters into contradiction since the same institution that offers and manages the Christian faith that gives them salvation seems to criticize and opposes only the slavery that teachers Africans do not work for British slavers.

Bishop Crowther's criticism is relevant not only for its African origin, nor for being the one that promotes the installation of a British educational model, inaugurating King

²¹⁸ Page, J. (1892). *Samuel Crowther: The Slave Boy who Became Bishop of the Niger*. Revell. Also, Ayandele, E. A. (1966). *The missionary impact on modern Nigeria, 1842-1914: A political and social analysis*. London Longmans.

²¹⁹ The Church Missionary Intelligencer and Record (1876). Vol. I, p, 474.

College (school for boys) and Queen College (school for girls) in the territory. As a state of mind, Crowther positions himself openly to his faith, which made him an Anglican bishop. His appointment as bishop was undoubtedly a perfect choice for the function of taking charge of what many at that time considered the most ungovernable territory of Africa. Calabar was seen as the place where, despite the advances of the churches in evangelization, it seemed that its inhabitants did not want to leave at all costs. And perhaps it is his process as Saro, his enslaved childhood and his Anglican religious vocation since it was the missionaries of this church who liberated him.

That is why his position as an African in defense of British Anglican religious interests, in short, establishes him as a controversial character. In individual eyes, its position can be understood as a betrayal of its roots, on the one hand, towards its inevitable belonging by birth to African traditions, and at the same time, it is soft towards the institution it represents. In the 1875 Mission report, the African bishop Samuel Ajayi Crowther presents his position for the Church Mission Society *Intelligencer*²²⁰ in the Niger territories:

[...] a change is about to take place from an old constitution to a new state of things, there will ever be a conservative party to defend the retention of old time-honored systems in opposition to those who desire a change from the old, unprofitable, and meaningless customs and superstitions received from the traditions of their fathers [...] the chief ruling power among many superstitious tribes; through them sacrifices, human or animal, are made to propitiate the gods; through them oaths [...] the new and foreign element is introduced alarm is taken ; the aggression must be opposed. Christianity is that silent but powerful aggressor which threatens the downfall of Paganism²²¹ [...].

Not only does Crowther turn his back on his cultural background, but he believes that his church has nothing to do with the slave trade where he is going to evangelize. Not only did churches in the African territory look the other way in terms of traffic and slavery, but apparently, the only criticism of British slave traders was that they did the most indescribable for being the first to fill their ships with enslaved Africans. For example,

²²⁰ The Church Mission Society *Intelligencer* (CMS *Intelligencer*) was a monthly magazine where the Missionary Information reports (1849-1906) were collected. Anglican missionaries arrived in Calabar as part of the Niger Mission in 1846.

²²¹ The Church Missionary *Intelligencer* and Record (1876). Vol. I. p, 472.

not only to make payments and gifts to African governors but also to exercise the African protocol, many considered joining these organizations or fraternities that managed traffic to enter the circles of trust and as twinning Become a frater or members of this religious family. As a consequence, their wishes would be fulfilled before those who do not belong.

The most uncivilized part of Africa I ever was in, was at Old Calabar, where commerce has been going on for the last 300 years. [...] if you wish to civilize Africa, you had better do it in the West Indies than on the coast of Africa ?—I think that while the climate of Africa remains the same, it is impossible to civilize Africa by European agency.²²²

The Presbyterian missionaries were asked²²³ by the Efiks chiefs themselves to the British authorities of the Calabar. The commercial agents established in Old Calabar warned the local leaders that the missionaries would oppose some of the indigenous ritual practices. The English deniers made it clear that the most significant drawback would be that they would come to evangelize with a new belief²²⁴ that forced them to set aside any other. These are received as instruments of learning, promoting in them the teaching of foreign languages and economic management in consideration of the Christian gospel. Simultaneously the missionaries also took the opportunity to translate the Bible into Efi²²⁵k, to accelerate the evangelizations. The translations began in the New Testament and were in charge of the first missionaries, some of those who came directly from Jamaica and brought with them some Jamaican freed students of the mission. The strategic intention of preachers such as William Jameson was that these mission students,

²²² Great Britain. Parliament. House of Commons. Select Committee on the West Coast of Africa. (1842). Report: Together with the minutes of evidence, appendix, and index. Ordered, by the House of Commons, to be printed, 5 August 1842. London: [publisher not identified], p.348.

²²³ Robb, A. (1861). *The Gospel to the Africans: A Narrative of the Life and Labours of the Rev. William Jameson in Jamaica and Old Calabar*. A. Elliot. p, 231.

²²⁴ Waddell, H. M. (1970). *Twenty-Nine Years in the West Indies and Central Africa: A review of missionary work and adventure, 1829-1858* (No. 11). Psychology Press, p, 272. Cited also in, Rösenthaller, U. (n.d.). *The Blood Men of Old Calabar – a Slave Revolt of the Nineteenth Century?* African Voices on Slavery and the Slave Trade, p, 445-65.

²²⁵ In the translation to the Efik of the Bible the different books were translated separately, on different dates, and prioritizing those that the missionaries needed for their evangelizing work in the Calabar. In 1862 New Testament NBSS, Edinburg; 1862 Genesis Dunn & Wright, Glasgow, 1866 Psalms, Proverbs NBSS, Edinburgh *Translated by William Anderson, Hugh Goldie, and Hope M. Waddell, United Presbyterian Mission, assisted by Aye Eyo and others*. En 1868 Old Testament NBSS, Edinburgh *Translated by Alexander Robb, Scottish my., aided by Esien and other African informants*.

as Afro-descendants, would help better dissemination and facilitate the reception by Africans of the Cross River.

Jameson's strategy would fail. Neither the Jamaican²²⁶ missionaries felt identified nor wanted to identify themselves, even though some shared a past of slavery. On the other hand, the elites of the Calabar accepted Sunday's evangelization and masses as part of the political game in which European missionaries were part of the local chiefs and British commercial agents. But at no time did they seriously consider abandoning their rituals and beliefs even though Christianity was permeating them.

So the real space where there was a real possibility where missionaries could instill a will for conversion to Christianity was among those enslaved. But as Claude Meillassoux explains to us, the enslaved does not own himself. Many enslaved who claimed their African masters who wanted to go to Mass on Sundays to pray were sacrificed for converting to Christianity. And especially, because as we can imagine, what attracted the most to the enslaved was the revolutionary part of the Bible. So the missionaries moved in this controversial space in which they promoted a reception of Christianity among the enslaved population that when they echoed it aloud were publicly punished by their masters to serve as a lesson to the rest. This did not cause the chiefs and the elite to stop visiting the churches on Sundays, because although it may seem contradictory, the Efiks chiefs were the ones who had mediated²²⁷ for the ecclesiastical presence in the Calabar. The European religious offices had become a social event, which was imposed on the missionaries' claim for the elimination of ordeals, human sacrifices,²²⁸ and ritual actions against albinos and twins.

In terms of peace, the revolt of the enslaved rebels in 1852 reveals the reason for the attitude of missionaries and commercial agents. Peace is agreed between enslaved and Efik bosses because they did not want more destruction in the material order or more

²²⁶ Robb, A. (1861). *The Gospel to the Africans: A Narrative of the Life and Labours of the Rev. William Jameson in Jamaica and Old Calabar*. A. Elliot. Also see, Bolt, C. (2014). *Reluctant or radical revolutionaries?: Evangelical missionaries and Afro-Jamaican character, 1834-1870*. Wipf and Stock Publishers.

²²⁷ Miller, I., & Ojong, M. (2013). Ékpè 'leopard' society in Africa and the Americas: influence and values of an ancient tradition. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 36(2), 266-281.

²²⁸ Meillassoux, C. (1990). *Antropología de la esclavitud: el vientre de hierro y dinero*. Siglo XXI.p, 243-4.

human losses that would mean less labor in the plantations. British representatives Governor Beecroft²²⁹ and Captain Strange meet with the rebels. Negroes and European commercial agents are very dismayed exclusively by the economic losses that the instability had caused by hundreds of deaths.

Missionary William Jameson was very dismayed by the Ekpe (Egbo) institution, and so he gave an account in his correspondence to the mission and his diary²³⁰. He believed that the Efik institution had sufficient capacity to drive out the Calabar missionaries if they were confronted openly. And simultaneously of being the most significant difficulty for evangelization in the area, while its members the Efiks chiefs were the managers of the economic-social apparatus and Ekpe (Egbo) the armed arm of the political and manager of the sacred, extending their influence especially over those who were not members. Jameson arrived at the Calabar in 1847, and it does not surprise this perception of Ekpe (Egbo) so accused when it is Jameson himself who realizes that due to the little success of his call for religious service, the King puts at his disposal the “Sacred Drum ”From Ekpe (Egbo) to call and gather the population,

[...] this morning to the king's yard according to promise, to meet with the people. Is at there a long time, and saw no movement of any kind that appeared to favor my object. The king had sent out the Egbo drum to summon the people. On its return I was called, and on going down from the king's dining-room to the yard where they were assembled, found the attendance very good. The king commanded silence. Having prayed, I gave them some account of the creation, but directed their attention more particularly to the creation of man²³¹.

Interesting is the approach that the economic historian Nigerian Kenneth Dike that places Nka Iyip / Bloodmen as a counterpart of Ekpe (Egbo). Dike perceives them as an institution of slaves in front of an institution of masters. It also does not homogenize all enslaved revolts, but for Dike, there is a clear difference marked by the economic conditions and the agents involved in the territory. For Dike²³², the uprisings of the

²²⁹ John Beecroft (1790 –1854) was a governor and British Consul of the Bight of Benin and Biafra since 1849.

²³⁰ Robb, A. (1861). *The Gospel to the Africans: A Narrative of the Life and Labours of the Rev. William Jameson in Jamaica and Old Calabar*. A. Elliot. p, 273.

²³¹ Robb, A. (1861). *The Gospel to the Africans: A Narrative of the Life and Labours of the Rev. William Jameson in Jamaica and Old Calabar*. A. Elliot. p, 274.

²³² Dike, K. O. (1956). *Trade and politics in the Niger Delta, 1830-1885: an introduction to the economic and political history of Nigeria*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. p, 154-7.

interior lands would not be the same as those that occurred on the coast and direct action on maritime exports of enslaved and palm oil.

Missionaries criticism of trials for ordination should not only be seen as a way of salvation to the possible faithful of certain death. With a specific membership, the Presbyterian Protestant churches had to deal simultaneously with enslaved, local elite leaders and Europeans. The struggles between ecclesiastical headquarters in Africa, in general, were marked by preeminence over the territory²³³. Sunday services became the visible platform for the accounting of the faithful. Soon the missionaries understood the need to attract ecclesiastical services to the Efiks chiefs and the high nobility of the Calabar. The latter could attend church more as a way of guaranteeing diplomatic relations rather than conversion. The enslaved ones needed permission from their masters to visit the Church. And if they dared to spread the Christian teachings, they could be sacrificed in public as a lesson to the rest. The European slave traders and merchants understood that Ekpe (Egbo) was much more than a religious association, and they were the regulators of economic life whose membership was the heads of essential Efiks families in the Calabar.

Criticisms of the British political and economic exercise in the Carabalian territory can be found both in the House of Commons reports collected in the Parliamentary Papers and those obtained by the Church Missionary Society in its *The Church Missionary Intelligence* organ. In the first case in 1842, officials and commercial agents realize that the Old Calabar is perhaps the most indomitable territory where the British have established a business base. Besides, the behavior of the British in these parts is criticized, not making it clear whether due to their lack of durability due to the impossibility of having absolute control and being forced to negotiate systematically with the Carabalies institutions like Ekpe (Egbo) for the power exercised by the natives.

Scottish Presbyterian missionaries arrived in Calabar, incorporating young Jamaican missionaries with their respective families into their ranks. And although the group of Pre-Christian missionaries who came from Jamaica were accustomed to fighting for their

²³³ Hackett, R. I. (1989). *Religion in Calabar the religious life and history of a Nigerian town*. Mouton. p,61-2.

evangelistic space²³⁴, they could hardly imagine what Ekpe (Ebgo) meant. The pre-Baptist church in Jamaica had managed to be the most important ecclesiastical center of the prophet churches. But he had also managed to manage his space, safeguarding it from the emancipation of the island 12 years ago. The Prebisterian missionaries had achieved a high growth of the faithful and new additions to their ranks. As a former English colony, Jamaica had a range of Protestant churches that made war on the Obeah, the Voodoo and some religious manifestations of the indentured Asians who despite their mobility left traces of their culture. Perhaps the proposal for William Jameson and his Jamaican missionaries to be sent by the Central Mission, to the Calabar, was the assumption that they were dealing in Jamaica with very similar practices / rituals / ceremonies that were of African origin to which they were they would find in the Cross River. What Jameson and his people did not know was that the character of Ekpe (Egbo) the practice of ritual was a small part of all his functions. That while in Jamaica it was an island first colonized by the English, post-emancipation power remained in the same hands. The Jamaican transition has little to do with what happened in Saint Domingue / Haiti. So if in Jamaica the power of the Obeah huganes / priests was restricted to the temple, for Ekpe (Egbo) the temple was Calabar, and the institution of the Cross River managed from which ship was first filled with slaves to how many people went to Mass on Sunday .

The number of European Missionaries should be as far as possible diminished, and the number of Native Pastors be increased : resources should be looked to from within, and not from without. Moreover, the utmost care should be taken that the burden eventually to be imposed upon the Native congregations should not be made heavier than is absolutely necessary. Except in solitary instances, there should be no attempt at Europeanizing Native Pastors. There may be here and there cases like that of Bishop Crowther, where European training is invaluable, and productive of infinite advantage to missionary work among the heathen. It is, we rejoice to know, the rule with the Church Missionary Society that tilia should not be attempted except in isolated instances.²³⁵

²³⁴ Hackett, R. I. (1989). Religion in Calabar the religious life and history of a Nigerian town. Mouton. p, 59.

²³⁵ The Church Missionary Intelligencer (1876).p, 132.

African historians have been very positive about the criticism of the European churches in Calabar. The historians Rosalind I. J. Hackett²³⁶ and Ute Rösenthaler²³⁷ have explained the as Efik historians with an education in missionary schools and their little criticism in relation to events. They are emphasizing the benefits of Christian theology for territories such as Calabar or Jamaica²³⁸.

The social experiment of bringing Afro-descendant missionaries to the Calabar to instill religious empathy in the African population of the Calabar failed. Missionaries like William Jameson were coming to finish their mission on the Caribbean island of Jamaica. Jameson brought with him a group of Jamaican Afro-descendant freedmen educated on the mission who traveled with their families to help him with the “Gospel for the Africans²³⁹.” The missionaries took for granted an empathy between Jamaican free Afro-descendants and the enslaved Africans of the Calabar. Jamaican missionaries once on the ground it seems that they neither felt flattered nor meant a challenge, but quite the opposite. They believed perhaps that they were in a higher stage and that there was little to do with the Efiks and their relations with the indigenous devotional and ritual practices. Nor could they do anything with the enslaved population who did not own themselves, while belonging to their masters. When an enslaved man expressed his "enthusiasm" out loud for having met Jesus Christ, he was often punished with sacrificial death before the entire plantation.

With a different ending, but just as disappointing for the young Jamaican missionaries was their intention to approach the leaders of Efiks families. The Obones directly complained to the white missionaries that they did not want the Afro-descendant version of the White God interlocutors, who loved the originals. It was the way to say that they did not wish to Afro-descendant missionaries but wanted to deal with the white missionaries. The Jamaicans might have felt useless with the enslaved, but not without an Agency that could be read as a feeling of superiority vis-à-vis the population of the

²³⁶ Hackett, R. I. (1989). *Religion in Calabar the religious life and history of a Nigerian town*. Mouton.p,71.

²³⁷ Rösenthaler, U. (n.d.). The Blood Men of Old Calabar – a Slave Revolt of the Nineteenth Century? *African Voices on Slavery and the Slave Trade*, 445-465. doi:10.1017/cbo9781139022552.048

²³⁸ Akak, E. O. (1982). *Efiks of old Calabar*. Akaks & Sons. p, 348.

²³⁹ Robb, A. (1861). *The Gospel to the Africans: A Narrative of the Life and Labours of the Rev. William Jameson in Jamaica and Old Calabar*. A. Elliot.

Calabar. When Jamaican missionaries arrived at the Calabar in 1846, Jamaica²⁴⁰ had been emancipated for 12 years. And on the other hand, they felt despised by the Efiks leaders, who treated them as second-rate missionaries. Some remained to do tasks related to education, but European missionaries had to deal directly with evangelization.

The contempt, however, did not occur in only one direction. A priori, Jamaican missionaries had been enthusiastic about the strategy of missionary William Jameson. They saw it feasible that being black they could establish greater engagement with the native population. However, and on the ground, many of these Jamaican missionaries felt much more distant from the inhabitants of the Calabar than the Europeans felt. The reflection of one of the European missionaries is that Jamaicans perhaps as a reflex act or defensive attitude, were considered superior and from the beginning made it clear. Criticism appeared within the church about the impossibility of an agency of the Protestant church in the Calabar. However, the mission of Anglican Bishop Samuel Ajayi Crowther, of Saro origin seemed to question the criticism. Ajayi Crowther was an African, a Yoruba of the Saró ethnic group, and had been saving slavery in his childhood by Anglican missionaries. His coronation in Oxford as the first African Bishop granted the definitive point in favor of the mission of the Anglican Church in Africa.

3.4 Ésééré, sacrifices, ordeals and violence against women

Subversive episodes such as the Ordeal Trials served to (re)adjust and correct the political-economic power of Ekpe and the elites of the Calabar. Faced with the loss of one of these male²⁴¹ leaders - and that Ekpe (Egbo) could understand as an insult not only to the leader but to the institution itself. Wives and slaves of the deceased would be subjected to trials by Ordeal through the ingestion of Calabar Bean, a poisonous legume that would be purged of guilt before the accusations that after the death of Chief Ekpe were immediately poured over their wives and slaves. In the case of Calabar, the Ésééré

²⁴⁰ Hackett, R. I. (2013). *Religion in Calabar: the religious life and history of a Nigerian town* (Vol. 27). Walter de Gruyter.p, 71, 375

²⁴¹ Simmons, D. C. (1961, 04). Analysis of Cultural Reflection in Efik Folktales. *The Journal of American Folklore*, 74(292), 126. doi:10.2307/537779

bean, known by the natives as Eseri²⁴² 'serves as a politic control mechanism in the form of Ordeal. After the death of a dignitary, the culprit was sought among his closest circle, and his wives and servants/servants/ slaves were subjected to tests and ordeals. The defendants had to self-immolate themselves by ingesting the ordeal bean²⁴³. No doubt reprehensible was guilty and only if the ingestion of the poisonous bean left you alive was it proven that you were innocent. The trail could be found in the Egyptian empire itself wherein the case of the first dynasty the royal wives and wives, slaves and servants were buried with the pharaoh after his death so that they could also serve him in the next life²⁴⁴ by replicating the Isis-Osiris marriage in its extension in its afterlife.

It is often forgotten that Egypt is part of Africa. The West has been responsible for extracting Egypt from the African continent for alleged exceptionalism in which it is only comparable with the classical cultures of Greece-Rome. So, as Cheikh anta Diop²⁴⁵ and Martin Bernal²⁴⁶ argued, the European Eurocentric reason could not assimilate that Egypt was black. The roots of that traditional culture cannot be limited to the land surrounding the Nile basin, nor to the historical kingdoms of Lower and Upper Egypt, nor the political boundaries implanted by modernity. The great Nile, the axis of African culture and subversive by nature, runs from South to North with all the metaphor of modernity that this can mean. The West forgets that Egypt is born in the southern Nubian territories - High Egypt. And that the Egyptian essence is African persé. It is then logical to find analogies of the continuum between the figure of the pharaoh/priest-king -the binary category of a dignitary of the community and manager of the Sacred²⁴⁷.

²⁴² 'Éséré' is transcribed by the texts of the English missionaries and naturalists scientists as 'Eseri or Esere' [sic]. See also, Christison. (1857). 1. On the Properties of the Ordeal Bean of Old Calabar, Western Africa. Proceedings of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, 3, 280-282. doi: 10.1017/s0370164600028157.

²⁴³ Baillie Z. Letter to JH Balfour. In: The John Hutton Balfour Correspondence. Edinburgh: Royal Botanic Garden, 1860, B160. Also see, Spinney, L. (2003). The killer bean of Calabar. *New Scientist*, 178(2401), 48-9.

²⁴⁴ Smith, M. (2017). *Following Osiris: Perspectives on the Osirian afterlife from four millennia*. Oxford University Press. p, 82.

²⁴⁵ Diop, C. A. (2012). *Naciones negras y cultura: de la antigüedad negroegipcia a los problemas culturales del África negra de hoy*. Casa África. p, 329-52.

²⁴⁶ Bernal, M. (1993). *Atenea negra: las raíces afroasiáticas de la civilización clásica: la invención de la antigua Grecia, 1785-1985*. Crítica. p, 196-9, 227-32.

²⁴⁷ The Africanista Ferràn Iniesta describes the function of the institution of the Egyptian pharaoh as, [...] . El Faraón está indisolublemente unido a la Maat, el equilibrio, la armonía social y universal[.]/ [...]. The Pharaoh is inextricably linked to the Maat, balance, social and universal harmony. Cited in Iniesta, F. (1998). *Kuma: historia del África negra* (Vol. 3). Edicions Bellaterra. p, 59.

The Obones del Calabar, in its double belonging to Ekpe (Egbo), managed the funeral rituals, and the Éseré can be considered one of them, as well as the afterlife. The women and slaves immolated in the ordinary ceremony of the Éseré were buried in the same grave with their husband/master. And although in the 1850s the missionaries had managed to get the Efiks chiefs to sign the treaty to stop human sacrifices. The contradictory thing was that these Efiks bosses, members of Ekpe (Egbo) in their ambivalence, being the same ones that exercised the Ordeal Éseré were in charge of monitoring compliance with official treaties against sacrifices. And as we can imagine, the Obones used Ekpe (Egbo) to apply and execute the respective sanctions against the murderers.

The missionaries left testimony that the slaves did not want to be sacrificed as part of this afterlife ritual of their masters, and this was one of the leading causes of the rise of the Nka Iyip. Röschenhaler in one of his notes gives an account of the Robin Law²⁴⁸ article where it is hypothesized that slaves and wives of a dignitary or chief Efik will voluntarily immolate themselves as if such sacrifice were received as a sign of honor for the sacrificed. Röschenhaler responds to Law by clarifying that slaves and wives were part of the dignitary ritual, but that for each of their deaths there would be no ritual or ceremony. Slaves and women were sacrificial subjects.

Egyptologist Mark Smith²⁴⁹ explains how before the death of Pharaoh, the family - wives, concubines, slaves included - were sacrificed and buried with Pharaoh. How from the four millennia, the radical ritual became more flexible and stopped sacrificing simultaneously to the family at the death of the pharaoh. Outside the royalty, multiple burials are established that involve several members of the same family, although each by an individual. A set of individual graves with a single site to share offerings. What Smith asks is whether this collective funeral construction incorporating individual burials was a way to continue with the classic cohesion of the family unit in the afterlife governed by the Isis-Osiris myth. We can indeed trace the Isis-osiriaco in the Éseré ritual.

European scientists named the Éseré bean as *Physostigma venenosum*, a member of the

²⁴⁸ Law, R. (1985). Human sacrifice in pre-colonial West Africa. *African Affairs*, 84(334), 53-87.

²⁴⁹ Smith, M. (2017). *Following Osiris: Perspectives on the Osirian afterlife from four millennia*. Oxford University Press. p, 273-4.

pea family that contains a potent poison, the physostigmine²⁵⁰. The lethal dose seems to be about a quarter of a bean, but in West Africa, a test of the truth was to eat half a bean and survive. It was intended [...] *to determine whether individuals were innocent or guilty of some serious misdemeanor*²⁵¹.

According to toxicologist Robert Christison, the surgeon Williams Daniell in his proximity to the king (Obong, chief) and the circles of power around the strong men of Calabar, remember that these circles of trust were associated with the degrees of Ekpe (Egbo). We do not know if Dr. Williams Daniel could have been initiated in Ekpe (Egbo). Daniell himself as the missionaries realized that Dr. Daniell went to places and attended ceremonies where neither the missionaries nor other captains of slave ships were accepted,

[...] Dr. Daniell, who reside for some time in Calabar, and, by his influence with Eyamba, the king of the country, was allowed to witness scenes which are usually forbidden to Europeans²⁵².

In 1848, the report that scientist William Freeman Daniell writes for the Journal of the Ethnological Society of London explaining to the scientific community the use of Ésééré in the Calabar. In an article on applied clinical socio-pharmacology of African plants investigated in Europe, naturalist Andrew Murray wrote for *The Edinburgh new philosophical Journal* in 1859,

The bean was used as an ordeal by the natives, and it was undoubted that some escaped, while to others it was fatal. It had been suggested that this might arise from the fetish men or priests who administered the poison, causing those whom they had destined to death to take a smaller dose than those who were to escape, because when taken in a large dose it occasioned

²⁵⁰ Physostigmine known as esteéré, the West African name for the Calabar bean. Highly toxic Used in the Ordeals as punishment, especially used in women and enslaved population of Calabar.

²⁵¹ Proudfoot, A. (2006). The Early Toxicology of Physostigmine. *Toxicological Reviews*, 25(2), 99-138. doi:10.2165/00139709-200625020-00004. To see its sociological influence of the Ordeal Trials in Old Calabar see also, Waddell, H. M. (1970). Twenty-nine years in the West Indies and Central Africa: a review of missionary work and adventure, 1829-1858 (No. 11). Psychology Press. Daniell, W. F., & Latham, R. G. (1848). On the Natives of Old Calabar, West Coast of Africa. *Journal of the Ethnological Society of London* (1848-1856), 1, 210-227.

²⁵² Christison. (1857). 1. On the Properties of the Ordeal Bean of Old Calabar, Western Africa. *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*, 3, 280-282. doi:10.1017/s0370164600028157.

vomiting, which might relieve the stomach of its perilous inmate²⁵³.

Murray calls into question the arbitrariness with which the eséré / 'Eseri' was supplied — generally related to accusations of witchcraft for unexpected deaths. We can intuit that many private, economic and Ekpe (Egbo) interests could be behind these punishments²⁵⁴. The relationship between Ekpe (Egbo) and the administration of the ordeal has been demonstrated since very early reports and documentation.

In a letter from 1860, Zerub Baillie gives an account of one of the inhabitants of the Calabar, [...] *the Essere over with the gall of the leopard*²⁵⁵ [...]. In the letter, he realizes that the ordeal bean was primarily used as a public weapon exercised by the Ekpe (Egbo) institution. The death of one of its members should be charged with the mortal sacrifice of all the relatives (relatives and slaves) of the deceased Ekpe (Egbo) member. Eséré / 'Eseri' not only served as an application of justice but also as a legitimation of male circles of power. We have not been able to find any example in which the death of a woman of essential rings of power of the feminine associations generated the application of eséré / 'Eseri' in the form of the social purge. In any case, this topic has to be investigated, perhaps in a format of comparative studies and Gender Studies very in line with the research that Ute Rösenthaler²⁵⁶ has developed.

Proudfoot tells us that, [...] *a native said Zerub Baillie who passed the information on to Balfour*²⁵⁷. It seems that a low amount or very high amounts could in both cases, although contradictory, save the life of the condemned. In the first case because it is an

²⁵³ *The Edinburgh new philosophical journal*. (1859). Edinburgh: A. and C. Black. New Series. Vol X.p. 160.

²⁵⁴ Although the institutionalization of the Protestant Churches in the Calabar is in 1846, some Anglican missionaries had already rotated their permanence and established contact with the Chiefs, writing reports of the area for the Mission in England. No wonder then that William Freeman Daniell (1817–1865) since 1840 has witnessed the supply of the Eseri for the ordiliac trials. Christison, R. (1855). On the Properties of the Ordeal-Bean of Old Calabar, Western Africa. *Monthly journal of medicine* (Edinburgh, Scotland), 20(3), 193. See also, Dragstedt, C. A. (1945). Trial by ordeal. *Quarterly Bulletin of the Northwestern University Medical School*, 19(2), 137. And also, United Presbyterian Church. Report of the missionary operations of the United Secession Church for 1846-7. Foreign operations. Old Calabar – West Africa. *Missionary Record of the United Presbyterian Church* 1847; 2: 91

²⁵⁵ Letter from Baillie Z. to JH Balfour. In: *The John Hutton Balfour Correspondence* [letter]. Edinburgh: Royal Botanic Garden, 1860, Code: B160.

²⁵⁶ Rösenthaler, U. (2015). Introduction: united in dress: negotiating gender and hierarchy with festival uniforms. *Africa*, 85(4), 628-634. Idem. (2006). *New Gender Studies from Cameroon and the Caribbean*.

²⁵⁷ Proudfoot, A. (2006). The Early Toxicology of Physostigmine. *Toxicological Reviews*, 25(2), 99-138. doi:10.2165/00139709-200625020-00004.

insignificant dose and in the second case, because it is such a high dose (without being fatally catatonic) that it will react in the damned person and he will vomit the contents of his stomach. Perhaps standard treatments that did not reach this reaction or that because of their minimal intake were not harmless were undoubtedly the real problem without reversing because of its fatal outcome.

Part 02

4 Emulating Freemasonry?, Afro-identity [...] Hermenutiqueando The Black Atlantic

This text aims to make some historical approaches to the interactions between Afro-descendant fraternalisms and Freemasonry. We propose a genealogy, which, while recognizing that it is divided, aspires to account for the religious, political and social implications of Afro and / or Black / racially as a transversal category in its peripheral connections and inscriptions of rituals, liturgies, and methodologies. We will question policies of the sacred that has been transferred, borrowed, incorporated or emulated on both sides of the Western institutions that produce or support these racializations and Afro-descendant associations in colonial times. We will approach with a global look at these encounters, not restricting the gaze to the Abakuá Secret Society but extending the spectrum to the black subject's encounters and their most significant fraternalisms with their whiteness alterations.

Abakuás or Ñáñigos cofradic societies and the Masonic Lodges share a period of spatial and temporal coexistence in colonial Cuba. But these events are juxtaposed to others and evolve, giving an account of the relationship of the black subject with one of the most institutionalized forms of white Western religiosity such as Masonry. We will address some transformations of the Afro-descendant subjects within the framework of their legality and their social networks linked to the practice of the sacred. The diversification of Afro-descendant subjects presented will account for a variety of experiences of black and / or Afro that help complement aspects of fraternalism that are not enough with the Abakuá experience.

It is not intended in any way to discover or inquire about the so-called sacred secrets of the Abakuás societies or the Masonic workshops during the previous years or of the Cuban independence process itself. Nor is the objective to reveal or speculate on rituals or liturgies specific to the practice of both societies. The sources and documentation used have been published previously. What is proposed then is a new look, a rereading of resemblances, imagos, and refractions of written, oral and pictorial images. The intention is to delve into the origin, character, reasons for permanence, transformation, and

adaptation of the aforementioned fraternities in relation to the detachment of their parent companies located in the African and European continent; and how both societies established internal dynamics of sociability, gradual growth, greater public visibility, increased hierarchy of power and relations of mutual help or beneficence towards their members.

These processes of transformation and adaptation are the result of experiencing periods of evolution and internal development, in which the increasing hostility of the environment towards them caused the discrete habits of both towards secrecy, or absolute confidentiality, to be radicalized. We will try, above all, to establish those few moments in which both societies, due to their specific and common characteristics, shared prominence and members in Cuban historical settings during the thirty years of the independence process without losing their own life stories as institutions of the island as a reference.

4.1 Entanglements of Freemasonry with Black Subject and Coloniality

In colonial times, both race and gender categories traversed all societies managed by imperial geographies and their colonial products. So Masonry with its European genesis was no less. The Masonic influence in the revolutionary processes in the American continent and in the Caribbean islands has been well documented, although the prism is usually placed on the elites assuming that Masonry as an organization capable of joining hierarchies of the highest political and economic levels, did not allow the interference of subaltern and/or racialized subjects²⁵⁸. Freemasonry is perceived in its ambivalence as an elitist and connected system but at the same time decentralized. The organization with an evident global character that reaches us to this day could be reproduced in image and likeness in European territories, but not without virtual subversions both in centers and in symbolic peripheries.

Masonry or Freemasonry defines itself as a discrete institution of an initiatory, non-religious, philanthropic, symbolic and philosophical character, founded on a feeling of

²⁵⁸ The term subaltern comes from Antonio Gramsci's. Gramsci, A. (1971). Notes on Italian history. *Selections from the prison notebooks*, 52-120. About the Agency of the subaltern as not normative group of race, class and consciousness, see, Chakravorty, G. (1999). *Spivak! Can the subaltern speak?!*. Harvard University Press.p, 258, 288-9. Also see, Beverley, J. (1999). *Subalternity and representation: Arguments in cultural theory*. Duke University Press. p, 30.

fraternity. In its two operational and speculative aspects, the first one comes from the guilds of medieval cathedral builders in Medieval Europe, while the second is officially started with the founding of the Grand Lodge of England in 1717 after the union of four small lodges in the city and the metaphysical interpretation of the construction of man in harmony with the world around him.

The evolution of communities and work from an operative and guild type to a speculative and intellectual one took place while retaining part of its ancient rites and symbols that went from architectural to metaphysical context. The objective was the search for truth and promoted the intellectual and moral development of the human being, as well as social progress. They are organized in basic structures called lodges, and in its beginnings, it was a mostly male society, although there is speculation that there were royalty women who were part of it. There are currently male, female and mixed lodges. They are very hierarchical organizations, and they consist of 33° (degrees) in the English Rite and 7° for the French.

Sometimes we will refer to Masonries as fraternal institutions of men in the plural because many accommodative formulas and variants were generated from the British model inscribed by Reverend James Anderson²⁵⁹. Within their creation narrative, they take as a foundational operational reference the guilds and associations of artisanal workers of stonemasons of the Middle Ages in Europe.

Through an oath, the neophyte candidates become Freemason brothers. And from that moment they are recognized as apprentices²⁶⁰, the first of the 33 grades that will have to progressively overcome by learning and complying with laws, rules, customs, and uses of the institution. The learning proposal for all grades is always made under the metaphor of the construction of the Temple of Solomon²⁶¹, around which its founding myth is established. The objective is the interior construction of man, in the form of becoming a perfection, transiting the allegory of the *'the path from the rough stone to the polished*

²⁵⁹ Reverend James Anderson (1678-1739) was a Scottish and Mason Presbyterian pastor. He wrote the Constitutions of Anderson that were published in 1723 and that served as the founding manifesto of the so-called Speculative Masonry in 1717.

²⁶⁰ Poulet, C. (2010). Recognising and revealing knowers: an enhanced Bernsteinian analysis of masonic recruitment and apprenticeship. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 31(6), 793-812.

²⁶¹ Horne, A. (1972). *King Solomon's Temple in the Masonic tradition*. Aquarian Press. Also in biblical references, Kings 2: 6-7; Chronicles 2:3-4.

stone.' Freemasons are obliged to assist each other and use secret methods of recognition such as passwords and greetings. This methodology is not exclusive to Freemasonry, not even from Western societies. These associative and inbred identification formulas are found in many discrete and secret societies that have been formed under their refraction, but also in previous groups or fraternities located outside the European normative geopolitical prism.

The philomasonic and fraternal networks that would emerge in subaltern imperial geographies would simulate the Masonic dynamics that functioned globally. Grade initiation rituals, hierarchies would be replicated, and even the freethinker (Masonic) ideology would be applied. Although, besides, marked differences were also incorporated. Outside the British borders and galas, in its overseas colonial extensions, alternative processes and institutional accommodation were also managed within its freemasonry. The latter was able to respond to the idiosyncrasies and specific situations of the new places of settlement and the new typology of members among which Creoles descendants of Europeans, Africans, Afro-descendants, practitioners of other religions of non-Christian roots, female subjects, could be found indentured servants and enslaved.

Meanwhile, controversially in Europe, subaltern subjects were incorporated into Masonic work, although not regularly, but without stridency. The Masonic exercise would become plastic and flexible with the incorporation of new gender²⁶² subjects, race and non-Christian²⁶³. A new membership that in the lodges and regular obediences²⁶⁴, or those

²⁶² Dioux, Christophe (1810). Réception d'une femme dans une loge d'adoption française sous le Premier Empire. On the incorporation of women into freemasonry for adoption, in Masonic or other exclusively feminine sororities as bodies parallel to their male counterparts see, Pike, JAM (2011). *Initiating Women in Freemasonry: The Adoption Rite*. Brill. Heyer, RJ (Ed.). (1974). *Women and Orders*. Paulist Press. Clawson, MA (1986). Nineteenth-Century Women's Auxiliaries and Fraternal Orders. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 12(1), 40-61.

²⁶³ Aguiar Bobet, V. (2017). La seducción del esoterismo: masones y teósofos en el protectorado español de Marruecos.

²⁶⁴ The Masonic institutions have a hierarchical organization whose links respond to organic links but also to jurisdictional ones. Freemasonry is divided into two large groups that respond to the Grand Lodge of England and the Grand Orient of France. The so-called Regular Masonry circumscribes the spaces of the institutions in British territory, the United States, and its extensions in Europe and Latin America. The Grand Orient of France is also known as adogmatic, and is exercised in Africa especially in territories colonized by France and to a lesser extent in Europe. Both believe in the figure of the Great Architect of the Universe. However, while the regulars swear on the sacred books - the Bible, the Talmud, the Koran, or the Bhagavad-gītā, among others. They prohibit female initiation and discussions about politics and religion. On the contrary, the obediences of the French Rite are much more flexible in their membership by incorporating or sponsoring the emergence of mixed and exclusively female institutions. Very influenced by the Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme et du citoyen, votada el 23 de junio 1793. Absolute

found under the umbrella of conservative jurisdictions in colonial territories had been continually rejected. It seemed that the elitist European Freemasonry sometimes incorporated some subjects whose candidacy could be discarded a priori by the letter of creation of speculative Freemasonry in Europe, the Anderson Constitutions²⁶⁵. This letter is the founding document of European Freemasonry and was initially written by the British pastor James Anderson in 1723 for the Grand Lodge of England that had been founded in 1717. It ended up being the guiding document for the practice of freemasonry at the global level. His liturgy and theology were imitated and also transplanted by other forms of less conservative alternative fraternalisms where subordinate subjects of the new world had been incorporated²⁶⁶.

From the same century of its speculative foundation, European Freemasonry would give some examples of its accommodative plasticity. The heirs of the Freemasons overseas strictly adhered to their laws created a priori exclusively for the British Masonic context. Meanwhile, paraphrasing the French esoteric thinker René Guénon, in Europe they were exercising [...] *apperceptions of initiations*²⁶⁷ that would make sense of the consequences of that submission to Modernity²⁶⁸ in CLR James²⁶⁹ sense, which realm of quantity to the detriment of quality, [...] or substance rather than essence²⁷⁰.

freedom of conscience and creed, and discussions about religion and politics are not prohibited in the works of the lodge. Both cases share the first three beginner degrees of Entered apprentice, Fellowcraft and Master Mason.

²⁶⁵ Anderson, J. (1923). *The Constitutions of Freemasons, 1723*. B. Quaritch.

²⁶⁶ Some of the fraternal organizations that, unlike the white lodges, accepted candidacies of Afro-descendants are, Old Fellows, Mechanics, Rotars, Lions, Pias Lodges, etc., and the same for female subjects. On Afro-Cubans who rejected by the regular Masonic obediences that had to be initiated in other forms of fraternalisms such as the Old Fellows or in lodges for blacks in the South of the United States see, Helg, A. (2000). *Lo que nos corresponde: La lucha de los negros y mulatos por la igualdad en Cuba, 1886-1912*. Imagen Contemporánea.p, 86. Scott, R. J. (2009). *Degrees of freedom: Louisiana and Cuba after slavery*. Harvard University Press.p, 76, 292.

²⁶⁷ René Guénon does not refer to the slave trade or slavery as the great cause of the subversion of that corrupt illuminism. Very in the line of Susan Buck-Morss towards Hegel in his *Hegel and Haiti*, as someone so academically prepared, a member of multiple secret societies, religious and fraternal groups of which he has theorized and written, he could be blind to the social and economic causes of those metaphysical changes that he criticized? Guenon only expressed his disagreement by criticizing modernity from the perspective of defending the ancient esoteric traditions.

²⁶⁸ C. L. R. James in his book *Black Jacobins* points to the Haitian Revolution as a controversial paradigm of the Modernity event since at the same time this event should be read as the beginning of its end. James, C. L. R. (2001). *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution*. Penguin UK. Also, Mignolo, W. (2012). *Local histories/global designs: Coloniality, subaltern knowledges, and border thinking*. Princeton University Press.p, 188.

²⁶⁹ Cyril Lionel Robert James (1901-1989), well known as CLR James was an Afro-Caribbean Marxist historian and thinker from Trinidad and Tobago.

²⁷⁰ Guénon, R. (1990). The crisis of the modern world. *Mexican Journal of Political and Social Sciences*, 36(140), 121-124.

4.2 Mmadi Make/Angelo Soliman, black, muslim and freemason

Contemporary to this, in the eighteenth century, is the case of former enslaved Angelo Soliman, born as Mmadi Make (ca. 1721-1796)²⁷¹, possibly of the Kanuri ethnic group in West African territories. During his adolescence, Soliman was kidnapped and sold in several slave networks arriving in Europe as a property of white masters in Marseille. He was later resold in Sicily where he would request to be baptized²⁷² until his definitive arrival in Vienna. Soliman (Mmadi Make) was perhaps the first Afro-descendant to be initiated into regular European Freemasonry, was born in the Sokoto Caliphate²⁷³ region - now Nigeria -, under the Muslim religion²⁷⁴ with the respective animist incorporations of the area. He was witness and victim of the slave trade promoted by white Europeans with the collaboration of local indigenous leaders. Already in Austria, he showed an exceptional ability for languages and instruction. His intellectual preparation should not be surprising, considering that he had been educated within the elite class of an Islam society²⁷⁵, with the Koranic schools²⁷⁶ as transversal quarries and managers of

²⁷¹ Martin, P. (1993). *Schwarze Teufel, edle Mohren*. Hamburg: Junius.p, 232-40

²⁷² Howards, A. (2014). Beyond the glockenspiel: Teaching race and gender in mozart's zauberflöte. *Die Unterrichtspraxis/Teaching German*, 47(1), 1-13.

²⁷³ The Sokoto Caliphate was an empire in the northern part of Nigeria. Founded after the conquest of the Hausa people by Islamic scholar Fulani Usman dan Fodio. He advocated a return to a more purist exercise of Islam, correcting the animist and Christian practices installed in the region. From 1903 the territory was divided between the British, French and German powers. Although the caliphate was abolished, the British kept honorary titles as the sultanate. See, Lovejoy, P. E. (1978). Plantations in the Economy of the Sokoto Caliphate. *The Journal of African History*, 19(3), 341-368. Stilwell, S. A. (2004). *Paradoxes of power: the Kano' mamluks' and male royal slavery in the Sokoto Caliphate, 1804-1903* (p. 109). Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann. Tambo, D. C. (1976). The Sokoto Caliphate slave trade in the nineteenth century. *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 9(2), 187-217.

²⁷⁴ Mohammedans or Mohammedan religion is how European documentation of the time refers to the enslaved who practiced the religion of Allah, Islam.

²⁷⁵ On the importance of the leadership of the enslaved Muslims there are two examples that accompany Soliman, on the one hand there are the figures of Boukman and Fatima during the Spell of Bois Caiman began the uprising of Saint Domingue in 1791. On the Muslim origin or background of both leaders in which there is no debate regarding the manbo (Voodoo priestess) Fatiman or Fatima, but regarding Boukman despite a possible origin in a British plantation in Jamaica there is debate about the origin of Saint Domigue leader's Islamization. Researchers Susan Buck-Morss and Aisha Khan agree that Boukman can be translated as 'the man in the book' and that book is the Quoran . Ver, Khan, A. (2012). Islam, Voodoo, and the Making of the Afro-Atlantic. *New West Indian Guide/Nieuwe West-Indische Gids*, 86(1-2), 29-54. Buck-Morss, S. (2009). *Hegel, Haiti, and universal history*. University of Pittsburgh Pre. p, 141. Interesting, however, is how the term Boukman also resembles that of 'Boukor' or Voodoo sorcerer. Also

knowledge. Such education would guarantee him a living as a youth tutor of the Viennese high society by the time Soliman bought his freedom.

After his conversion²⁷⁷ to Catholicism, Soliman married in 1768 Magdalena Christiani, a general's widow, which helped him penetrate the elitist Austrian society of the time. Between 1781-1783, Angelo Solimán was initiated into the Masonic lodge 'Zur Wahren Eintracht' (To True Harmony), of which he eventually became Venerable Grand Master²⁷⁸. There he could meet the musical geniuses Franz Joseph Haydn²⁷⁹ and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart²⁸⁰ at the time the latter composed the *Magic Flute*²⁸¹. Since there is no systematization in the incorporation of racialized subjects in European Masonic lodges, attempts have been made to ignore or banalize their affiliation into

'Bocú' was the term with which the anthropologist Fernando Ortiz would classify his 'black sorcerers' in his Lombroso forensic investigation into the crime of the black subject in Cuba in the 19th century. This term is seen in the historiography of Saint Domingue as nominative of the leadership of the uprising on the one hand and with justified influence as the denomination of the Voodoo male priesthood. However, the discriminatory and segregationist use of Ortiz and Lombroso more directly and of third parties such as Castellanos, Mestre and other specialists in criminalizing through the so-called medical-legal sciences the racialized subject practicing Afro-Cuban religions. Ortiz, F., & Lombroso, C. (1906). *Afro-Cuban Hampa (notes for a study of criminal ethnology)*. F.F e. bookstore. As Pavel Ojeda states, many of the photographs taken to the so-called Cuban 'Bocu' were sent to the Italian criminal anthropologist César Lombroso. Pavez Ojeda, J. (2009). The Portrait of the 'Black Witches': The Visual Archives of Afro-Cuban Anthropology (1900-1920). *Aisthesis*, (46), 83-110. The other example is the uprisings of the enslaved evils in Brazil in 1835, where material culture of the Koranic Schools that were part of slave plantations in Bahia were found. For an analysis on the evils see, Journey, JJ (1986). *Slave rebellion in Brazil: The history of the uprising of Evils, 1835*. Brasiliense.p, 263. Barcia, M. (2013). 'An Islamic Atlantic Revolution.' Dan Fodio's Jihād and Slave Rebellion in Bahia and Cuba, 1804-1844. *Journal of African Diaspora Archaeology and Heritage*, 2(1), 6-17.

²⁷⁶ On the discussion, transmission and knowledge agency in the Sokoto Caliphate see, Lofkrantz, J. (2012). Intellectual discourse in the Sokoto Caliphate: the triumvirate's opinions on the issue of ransoming, ca. 1810. *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 45(3), 385-401. Gutelius, D. (2004). Sufi networks and the social contexts for scholarship in Morocco and the Northern Sahara, 1660-1830. *The transmission of learning in Islamic africa*, 15-38. For a discussion on oral versus written libraries/knowledge in the Sokoto Caliphate, see Last, M. (2010). The Book And The Nature Of Knowledge In Muslim Northern Nigeria, 1457-2007. In *The Trans-Saharan Book Trade* (pp. 175-211). BRILL.

²⁷⁷ A few words have been written about Soliman's conversion to Catholicism or whether his Apostasy of Islam was circumstantial or definitive. Nor if Soliman had meetings with other Muslims in Europe. Sahlieh, S. A. A. A. (1979). *L'impact de la religion sur l'ordre juridique. Cas de l'Egypte. Non-musulmans en pays d'Islam*. Éditions Universitaires Fribourg.p, 47-63. Sobre el término kufr o incredulidad, Versículos coránicos 2: 217 y 47: 25-27. Sobre el término *riddah* o dar marcha atrás de su religión. Versículos coránicos 2: 208; 3: 86-90, 177; 4: 137; 9: 66, 74; 16: 106-109.

²⁷⁸ Steele, Tom (2007). Knowledge Is Power! The Rise and Fall of European Popular Educational Movements, 1848-1939. Peter Lang. p. 315.

²⁷⁹ McVeigh, S. (2017). Freemasonry and Musical Life in London in the late eighteenth century. In *Music in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (pp. 72-100). Routledge.

²⁸⁰ Mozart was initiated in masonry in December 1784 at the Viennese lodge Zur Wohltätigkeit (Beneficence). See, Maynard, S. (1995). Mozart: A Life.p, 321.

²⁸¹ Macpherson, J. (2007). The Magic Flute and Freemasonry. *University of Toronto Quarterly*, 76(4), 1072-1084. Also, Istel, E., & Baker, T. (1927). Mozart's 'Magic Flute' and Freemasonry. *The Musical Quarterly*, 13(4), 510-527.

regular Freemasonry²⁸², categorizing it as an example of exoticism, childishizing the racialized subject or showing it under a paternalistic exceptionality.

A century earlier, in 1650, Diego Velázquez was in the city of the Vatican when he paints the portrait of his enslaved, the also painter Juan de Pareja, who eventually became able to show off. How can the portrait of a racialized subject speak of the relationship master-slave /servant/apprentice²⁸³ without the white master even being represented in work? How does Velázquez translate the condition of the enslavement of Juan de Pareja beyond the broken tear of his shirt on the right elbow? Is it possible to resolve the Stoichitian²⁸⁴ tension in the significance of the individuality represented by a portrait and the collective alienation²⁸⁵ of the enslaved signifier? Would it have been possible to represent²⁸⁶ Soliman without the turban? Does Soliman's headgear have the same significance as Juan de Pareja's white lace collar? Or in the words of Eugenio Surí[n]²⁸⁷ (sic), one of the leaders of the Partido Independiente de Color (PIC)²⁸⁸ of Cuba, [...] *el cuello de la camisa, por ser blanco, le asfixiaba*²⁸⁹/the collar of his shirt, being white, asphyxiated him.

²⁸² Freemasons call themselves regular, liberal and clandestine depending on the officiality of the lodge. These designations correspond to the great lodges circumscribed on the British Rites, the French Rite and the clandestine ones are those of both rites that have a marginal or unauthorised functioning by any of the official Masonic obediences.

²⁸³ Lugo-Ortiz, A. (2012). Between Violence and Redemption: Slave Portraiture in Early Plantation Cuba. *Slave Portraiture in the Atlantic World*.p, 221.

²⁸⁴ Stoichita, V. I. (2002). La imagen del hombre de raza negra en el arte y la literatura españolas del Siglo de Oro. In *Herencias indígenas, tradiciones europeas y mirada europea. Indigenes Erbe, europäische Traditionen und der europäische Blick*. Helga von Kügelgen. p, 259-290.

²⁸⁵ The anthropologist Claude Meillassoux suggests four methods of action of the slave trade and slavery on the enslaved black body. Meillassoux nominates them as Desocialization, Depersonalization, Deexualization and De-Civilization to explain the processes to which white slave masters exercise enslaved Africans to submit bodies and mentalities. See, Meillassoux, C. (1990). *Antropología de la esclavitud: el vientre de hierro y dinero*. Siglo XXI. p, 122-3.

²⁸⁶ Lugo-Ortiz, A., & Rosenthal, A. (Eds.). (2013). *Slave portraiture in the atlantic world*. Cambridge University Press.p, 82.

²⁸⁷ We found the surname Surí[n] with or without the letter 'n' at the end. As we have not been able to access primary sources on the Independent Color Party, the use of the surname in each case responds to the use in this or other particular document.

²⁸⁸ ANC, Audiencia de La Habana, leg. 228–1, exp. 7, fols. 1229–1400. Also, León, D., Cárdenas, L. R., Véliz, D. G., & Maya, I. D. V. (2012). Apuntes cronológicos sobre el Partido Independiente de Color. Santiago de Cuba, Ediciones Santiago. Pappademos, M. (2011). *Black Political Activism and the Cuban Republic*. Univ of North Carolina Press.p, 54-58, 66. On the repression of the media and the massacre of the republican government against the Independent Party of Color see, De la Fuente, A. (2001). A nation for all: Race, inequality, and politics in twentieth-century Cuba. Univ of North Carolina Press.p, 61-88.

²⁸⁹ Joseph M. Capmany; Rafael Conte. Race War (Black vs. Whites in Cuba) (Kindle Locations 137-138).

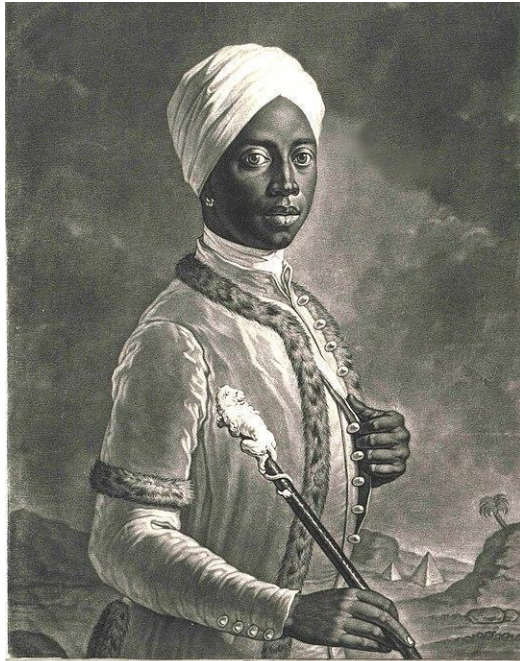


Fig.15 Johann Nepomuk Steiner
Angelo Soliman, Mezzotint.
 (c. 1750)
 Wien Museum (Vienna Museum).



Fig .16 Diego Velázquez, Oil.
Juan de Pareja portrait.
 (1650)
 Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

As art historian David Bindman points out, Soliman's portrait is, [...] *a fascinating mélange of conflicting signifiers*.²⁹⁰ The extraordinary thing is that both works show racialized subjects whose solo representation appropriates a history of slavery, often told but rarely in that hierarchical subversion. In both paintings, the racialized subject is the sole and absolute protagonist. The significance of the portrait and the look of both of them is towards the outside of the painting, and it questions its receiver. It challenges us.

In contrast, the usual thing in these types of paintings made during XVI-XVIII was to highlight and exaggerate the most prominent Afro-descendant features - mouths, noses, eyes - to contrast with the whiteness of their masters as central figures of the artwork. The black subjects were represented as if they were children, and their size was shortened. Besides, they could incorporate details such as turbans, feathers, costumes and clothing of larger size or strident colors or somewhat outdated. They were accompanied by an exotic prop that not only served to differentiate them. They could also be identified with pearl and silver necklaces or bracelets. Other options were to place plates in their

²⁹⁰ Bindman, D. (2013). Subjectivity and Slavery in Portraiture: From Courtly to Commercial Societies. *Agnes Lugo-Ortiz and Angela Rosenthal, in Slave Portraiture in the Atlantic World*, p. 83.

necks that resembled the old shackles²⁹¹ of punishment but that in some paintings were represented in a fashionable luxury key in the form of jewels or elegant shirt collars that served to highlight the wealth of the white master who in his condition enslaved the represented. These elements accounted for their otherness. They were the other, and although sometimes it was not clear that they belonged –as property- to the central figure/the white master, they were their opposite.

There was no middle ground; they were either property, like fashionables pets²⁹². Hence their looks of admiration/devotion/ quasi-erotic passion/submission on the one hand; or they were represented as the enemy to beat, and their eyes or gestures, in this case, were 'lit' with hatred/euphoria/neurosis/madness/ irrationality. Are not these the same psychological consequences of alienation caused by the slave trade and the oppressions of coloniality referred to by anthropologist Claude Meillassoux²⁹³, writer Saidiya Hartman²⁹⁴, psychiatrist, and philosopher Frantz Fanon²⁹⁵ and playwright Ishmael Reed²⁹⁶? The states of alteration were normalized in the representation of racialized subjects. And continues to explain art historian David Bindman:

The genre of master / mistress accompanied by an adoring servant / slave was essentially invented by the great Venetian artist Titian, and the first identifiable example is the portrait of Laura Dianti, Duke Alfonso of Ferrara's mistress, painted in the 1520s²⁹⁷

²⁹¹ 'The *LONDON ADVISER* of 1756 carried a notice by Matthew Dyer informing the public that he made 'silver padlocks for Blacks or Dogs; collars, etc.'. English ladies posed for their portraits either with their pet lamb, their pet lapdog or their pet black' (David Dabydeen, *Hogarth. S. Blacks: Images of Blacks in Eighteenth-Century English Art* [1985; Athens, Ga., 1987], pp. 21-23). Cited in Buck-Morss, S. (2000). Hegel and Haiti. *Critical inquiry*, 26(4), 821-865.n.21.

²⁹² Dabydeen, D. (1987). *Hogarth's blacks: images of blacks in eighteenth century English art*. Manchester University Press.p, 21-23. Cited also in Buck-Morss, S. (2000). Hegel and Haiti. *Critical inquiry*, 26(4), 821-865.

²⁹³ Meillassoux, C. (1990). *Antropología de la esclavitud: el vientre de hierro y dinero*. Siglo XXI. p, 60, 130, 268-9.

²⁹⁴ Hartman, S. (2008). Venus in Two Acts. *Small Axe*, 12(2), 1-14.

²⁹⁵ Frantz, F. (1963). Los condenados de la tierra. *México: FCE*. p, 192.

Para un colonizado en un contexto de opresión como el de Argelia, vivir no es encarnar valores, inscribirse en el desarrollo coherente y fecundo de un mundo. Vivir es no morir. Existir es mantener la vida. Cada dátil es una victoria.

Translation:

For a colonized person in a context of oppression such as that of Algeria, living is not putting values, enrolling in the coherent and fruitful development of a world. To live is not to die. To exist is to maintain life. Each date is a victory.

²⁹⁶ Reed, I. (1998). *Flight to Canada*. Penguin. p, 11.

²⁹⁷ Lugo-Ortiz, AI, & Rosenthal, A. (2013). *Slave portraiture in the Atlantic world*. Cambridge University Press. p, 71.

Does Soliman's representation depart from the normalization of the racialized subject of the pictorial tradition that Europe had begun in the XVI? Does the turban headdress identify Soliman as a servant? Is the turban an identifying memory of the past, or does it merely recognize it by naturalizing its 18th-century European context as a foreigner?

The painter, Johann Nepomuk Steiner, resignifies the figure of Soliman and places a rod²⁹⁸ in his hands as an *axis Mundi* or spine that governs the world, like a Biblical Moses²⁹⁹ (Exodus: 4: 2-4), alluding to his leadership. The jacket with leather trims identifies him as the possessor of sufficient material goods to be a member of the elite or of the European code hierarchy, perhaps an influential person or a guide as he was for the Viennese lodge of which he was Righteous Worship Gran Master.

Aware or not of this, Johann Nepomuk Steiner converts the portrait of Soliman into what, in the words of the German ethnologist and musicologist Marius Schneider and Juan Eduardo Cirlot in his Dictionary of Symbols, describe as the use of symbolic syntax. The portrait can then be interpreted as construction of several objects. Forms with their respective meanings that being part of the same composition emerge as an interactive emblem that will lead to a new narrative,

Los símbolos, [...] no suelen presentarse aislados, sino que se unen entre sí dando lugar a composiciones simbólicas, [...] relatos[...].³⁰⁰

²⁹⁸ On the importance of the rod in African and Afro-Atlantic religiosities see, Guanche, J. (2007). The Abakuá Heon and its symbolic universality. *Catauro*, 15, 67-81.

²⁹⁹ On the identification of Moses as an Afro-descendant leader see, Smith, TH (1995). *Conjuring culture: Biblical formations of black America*. Oxford University Press on Demand, p. 32-35., Hurston, ZN, & Gates, HL (1939). *Moses, man of the mountain*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press., BiblAnd, KJ (1996). *King James Bible*. Proquest LLC.

Exodus:4:1-4.

1 And Moses answered and said, 'But, behold, they will not believe me, nor hearken unto my voice; for they will say, 'The Lord hath not appeared unto thee.'

2 And the Lord said unto him, 'What is that in thine hand?' And he said, 'A rod.'

3 And He said, 'Cast it on the ground.' And he cast it on the ground, and it became a serpent; and Moses fled from before it.

4 And the Lord said unto Moses, 'Put forth thine hand and take it by the tail.' And he put forth his hand and caught it, and it became a rod in his hand—.

³⁰⁰ Juan Eduardo Cirlot dedicates his Dictionary of Symbols to Marius Schneider. Cirlot, JE (1992). *Dictionary of Symbols* (1969). *Barcelona: Labor editions*. p.46, 182.

Translation:

Symbols, [...] usually do not appear isolated, but that join together giving rise to symbolic compositions, stories [...].

Despite the exceptionality, the incorporation of orientalist aesthetics or the physiognomic exaggeration and deformation that stood out can be traced in the many works that respond to the cataloging of Master-Slaves portraits³⁰¹ within the State of Arts in the 18th century. Orientalist details were placed to underline exoticism, class and foreign origin in racialized subjects represented. In the background of the portrait of Soliman, some pyramids evoke Egypt³⁰². In the illustrated³⁰³ imaginary, Egyptian geography is seen as primitive/classical Africa, very much in line with the images of the Napoleon campaigns (1798-1801) in the ancient land of the Pharaohs. But Egypt is also considered by the Freemasons to be the classical school of the pyramid building masters. The Masonic institution developed in one of its branches the Memphis-Misraim rite that emulates the Egyptian origin of Freemasonry. So although the turban is reminiscent of an enslaved past, it is impossible to deny that its pose is elegant and determined and extraordinarily decisive for a representation of an Afro-diasporic subject in 18th-century Europe.

The importance of the initiation of Soliman in a Viennese lodge of the time demonstrates that the European lodges had more flexibility than the lodges under their umbrellas overseas in applying the Anderson Constitutions and the Mackey Landmarks³⁰⁴; despite the fact that the latter influenced the ratification of the segregationist and discriminatory aspects regarding the purity of blood of their candidates.

³⁰¹ Some of the most remarkable portraits that respond to this catalogizations are: Franz Hals, *Portrait of a Dutch Family* (1648). Museo Thyssen Bornemisza, Madrid., Peter Lely, *Elizabeth Countess of Qsart* (c. 1650). Ham House, Surrey.

³⁰² Steiner, R. (2007). *Freemasonry and Ritual Work: The Misraim Service*. SteinerBooks.

³⁰³ Hulme, P., & Jordanova, L. J. (Eds.). (1990). *The Enlightenment and its shadows*. Taylor & Francis.p, 23-24.

³⁰⁴ Albert G. Mackey (1807 – 1881) was an American physician, mason and author of important books about freemasonry. See, Mackey, AG (1859). *The Principles of Masonic Law: A Treatise on the Constitutional Laws, Usages and Landmarks of Freemasonry*. Jonathan R. Neall.

5 Sealed!

5.1 Discrimination in Freemasonry

Ceux qui sont admis à être membres d'une Loge doivent être des gens d'une bonne réputation, plein d'honneur et de droiture, nés libres & d'un âge mûr & discret. Ils ne doivent être ni esclaves, ni femmes, ni des hommes qui vivent sans morale, ou d'une manière scandaleuse[...].³⁰⁵

Louis François de La Tierce, French freemason - known as 'Brother of La Tierce' - exiled in England, was responsible for translating the Constitutions of Anderson (1717) into the French language. In 1742 he wrote this *'Histoire, obligations et statuts de la très vénérable confraternité des Francs-Maçons,'* and reproduces the internal doctrines of the fraternity. The text and its translation into French, as in the original, made clear in the decalogue who should and should not be a freemason.

We have referred to the translation of the Anderson Constitutions into French for the direct and unambiguous use of the term *'esclaves.'* Nomination whose purpose seems to free the imperial institution, not without the help of the theoretical justification illustrated, either from its colonial burden by enslaving free subjects or determining that their offspring³⁰⁶ would also be enslaved. Using the term slave instead of enslaved frees the one who exercises oppression and enslaves those who are set apart, 'othered.' Or in the words of Claude Meillassoux, the loss of significance and simplification of the use of the term slavery is located in the construction of Western rhetoric,

³⁰⁵ La Tierce, LF (1742). *History, obligations and statutes of the venerable brotherhood of the Freemasons, draw from their archives...* (by La Tierce). At François Varrentrapp.p, 149.

Translation:

Those who are allowed to be members of a Lodge must be people of good reputation, full of honor and righteousness, born free & of a mature & discreet age. They must be neither slaves, nor women, nor men who live morally, or in a scandalous way.

³⁰⁶ Law and regulation of the Abolition of Slavery in Cuba. See The Law of Free Believers promoted by Segismundo Moret served to end slavery by birth. In Cuba it would be effective in 1870. In general terms, the enslaved who fulfilled the premise would be released under the category of emancipated and their owners duly rewarded. See Sources, MDL. M., & Diaz, AP (2008). The slave mother and the senses of freedom. *Cuba 1870-1880. Unisinos history*, 12(1), 49-59. Also, Scott, R. (1985). Spain Responds: The Moret Law. In *Slave Emancipation In Cuba: The Transition to Free Labor, 1860-1899*(pp. 63-83). Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. doi:10.2307/j.ctt6wrcxx.10. Tomich, DW (Ed.). (2016). *New Frontiers of Slavery*. Suny Press. p, 146-9.

[...] parecería que se percibe a la esclavitud menos como sistema social que a través de la definición de esclavo. Si la conjunción de la semántica y el derecho contribuye a la puntualización del fenómeno, no permite en cambio caracterizar a la esclavitud como institución.³⁰⁷

I agree with Meillassoux that this oppression displaced if an artifact or non-nominative entity of individualization- the same alienating and '*extrañidad*'³⁰⁸, process is desired inverse that coloniality applied to the slave trade. However, Meillassoux forgets to incorporate what Susan Buck-Morss points out concerning the Enlightenment in which philosophical debates about Law and Slavery are shared. This is the moment to which Buck-Morss alludes to be the beginning of an exercised legislative oxymoron³⁰⁹ before the impossibility that exists between speaking of Law - as Law - and Slavery because these terms are mutually annulled. Buck-Morss cites the Catalan philosopher Sala-Molins who analyzed the Social Contract of Rousseau, at the time he wrote about liberties and servitudes but with self-provoked absolute blindness of the French enlightened towards the slave trade, the black subject enslaved in the colonies French and the *Code Noir*³¹⁰ produced and exercised in France and Spain,

In the Social Contract, Rousseau argues:

'The right of slavery is null, not simply because it is illegitimate, but because it is absurd and meaningless. These words, slavery and right [droit,... law], are contradictory. They are mutually

³⁰⁷ Meillassoux, C. (1990). Antropología de la esclavitud: el vientre de hierro y dinero. Siglo XXI. p, 11.

Translation:

[...] it would seem that slavery is perceived less as a social system than through the definition of a slave. If the conjunction of semantics and law contributes to the punctualization of the phenomenon, it does not allow instead to characterize slavery as an institution.

³⁰⁸ Meillassoux, C. (1990). Antropología de la esclavitud: el vientre de hierro y dinero. Siglo XXI. p, 77-89.

³⁰⁹ The oxymoron is a rhetorical figure in which two concepts of opposite meaning are used and that generates a third conceptual meaning.

³¹⁰ For analyses Slavery legislations of the Code Noir and other regulations, see Lucena Salmoral, M. (1996). The black codes of Spanish America. University of Alcalá-1996 pg. 75. Related to the application of Catholic Doctrine in slaves populations in Cuba see, Duke of Estrada, N. (1989). Doctrine for Blacks: Explanation of Christian doctrine accommodating to the capacity of the black muzzles. Also 'Real Cédula to the officers of the Island of Cuba who have a lot of account of black people living Christianly,' in Konetzke, R. (1962). Collection of documents for the history of social formation of Latin America (Vol. 3, No. 1). Higher council of scientific research. p, 572. Barcia, Manuel. The Great African Slave Revolt of 1825: Cuba and the Fight for Freedom in Matanzas (p. 185). LSU Press. Edición de Kindle.

exclusive.³¹¹ ' Sala-Molins makes us see the consequences of this statement.' The Code Noir, the most perfect example of this kind of convention in the time of Rousseau, is not a legal code. The right of which it speaks is not a right, as it claims to make legal that which cannot be legalize the slavery³¹²[...] Rousseau never in his writings mentions the Code Noir [...]³¹³

What we find in the original document of the Anderson Constitutions of 1717 is the use of the term 'bond-men.' According to Cécile Révauger, the translation of La Tierce seems to be a departure from tone due to its exile situation in England to counteract the Jacobin principles and uses of Freedom, Equality, and Fraternity³¹⁴. Can we assume that the incidence of the English abolitionist movement, which was rapidly internationalized since the middle of the 18th century, had perhaps something to do with it or was it merely a mere formality of language?

It is remarkable the difference with the French translation, where he uses the term 'slaves' without leaving any doubt about what he means. Perhaps the interpretation and the British text is more flexible in this regard, or at least gives room for more significant speculation on the subject. The English referred to, or so have attempted to explain philomasonic historians, men who had ties to something, to someone, or to find themselves in a condition of being bound/linked to / without independence — for example, being unemployed. No person without work or economic freedom would be accepted within Freemasonry because it meant being dependent on someone else, which would restrict their freedom³¹⁵.

But not only this debate would attract attention during colonialism in the Masonic context, and the great discussion would be placed in the nineteenth century in the term

³¹¹ Rousseau, JJ (2012). *Rousseau: The Basic Political Writings: Discourse on the Sciences and the Arts, Discourse on the Origin of Inequality, Discourse on Political Economy, On the Social Contract, The State of War*. Hackett Publishing.p, 146. Cited also in Buck-Morss, S. (2009). *Hegel, Haiti, and universal history*. University of Pittsburgh Pre.p, 33.

³¹² Louis, SM (1987). The Black Code or Canaan's ordeal. *Paris, University Press of France*.p, 238. Cited also in Buck-Morss, S. (2009). *Hegel, Haiti, and universal history*. University of Pittsburgh Pre.p, 33.

³¹³ Buck-Morss, S. (2009). *Hegel, Haiti, and universal history*. University of Pittsburgh Pre.p, 33.

³¹⁴ Bogdan, H., & Pike, JAM (2014). *Handbook of Freemasonry*. Brill.p, 422.

³¹⁵ De la Fuente, A. (2007). Slaves and the creation of legal rights in Cuba: coartación and papel. *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 87(4), 652. Also see, Madden, RR (1849). *The Island of Cuba: its resources, progress, and prospects, considered in relation especially to the influence of its prosperity on the interests of the British West India Colonies*. C. Gilpin.p, 133-44. Varella, C. (2010). *Slaves for hire. Cuban coartation in the 19th century* (Doctoral dissertation, Universitat Jaume I).

'free-born' that in 1847 was replaced by 'free-man,' with the warmly favorable implications for Afro-descendant Masonic communities in the colonies trying to be regularized. However, Albert Mackey, even ten years after the change of term, ratified his support for the exclusion of Afro-descendants from Freemasonry,

Certain qualifications of candidates for initiation are derived from a Landmark of the Order. These qualifications are that he shall be a man, unmutilated, free born, and of mature age. That is to say, a woman, a cripple, or a slave or one born in slavery, is disqualified for the initiation into the Rites of Freemasonry.³¹⁶

In the United States and already in the 19th century, the lodges of the whites continued to identify the Prince Hall lodges for Afro-descendants as '*clandestine*.' The denomination with this term made clear the delegitimization or official orphanhood of black masonry, whose practice was segregated and not accepted within the great American Masonic family. Although they were aware that British obediences had provided them with the founding letter under their umbrella-like mother lodges - the white lodges of the United States in the north and supported by Jim Crow Laws³¹⁷ in the south, continued to accuse the Prince Hall lodges of Blacks of being physically in a territory outside its Masonic jurisdiction and of not complying with one of the main commandments that concerned the freedom of birth and act of its members. The opinion of Albert Pike³¹⁸, Sovereign Grand Commander of the 33rd Supreme Council for the Southern Jurisdiction, was,

[...] I took my obligations to white men, not to Negroes. When I have to accept Negroes as brothers or leave Masonry, I shall leave it. I am interested to keep the Ancient and Accepted Rite uncontaminated, in our country at least, by the leprosy of Negro

³¹⁶ Mackey, AG (1966 [1946]). Mackey's Revised Encyclopedia of Freemasonry. *The Masonic History Company*, 2, p, 561. Cited in, Bogdan, H., & Pike, JAM (2014). *Handbook of Freemasonry*. Brill, p, 427.

³¹⁷ For relation between freemasonry and Jim Crow Laws see, Lanois, D. (2014). *Fatherhood of God; Brotherhood of Man: Prince Hall Affiliated Freemasonry, Manhood, and Community Building in the Jim Crow South*. Trotter, J. W. (2004). African American fraternal associations in American history: An introduction. *Social Science History*, 28(3), 355-366. Arroyo, J. (2013). *Writing Secrecy in Caribbean Freemasonry*. Springer, p, 34.

³¹⁸ Albert Pike (December 29, 1809, Boston - April 2, 1891, Washington) was an American lawyer, military, writer and prominent activist and freemason member in 1859 was elected Sovereign Grand Commander of the 33rd Supreme Council for the Southern Jurisdiction, one of the two organic divisions of the Old and Accepted Scottish Rite in the US. that he exercised until his death. Pike was during the XIX was an important and active member of the Scottish Rite's Regular Freemasonry and since 1859 elected Sovereign Grand Commander. His views on the non-incorporation of Afro-descendants into the white lodges are consistent with his military career as a member of the Confederate States Army. He wrote and theorized about Masonic rituals and liturgies in the United States. Pike, A. (2016). *Morals and Dogma of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of Freemasonry*. Lulu. With.

association. Our Supreme Council can defend its jurisdiction, and it is the law-maker. There can not be a lawful body of that Rite in our jurisdiction unless it is created by us.³¹⁹

The opinion and positioning of Albert Pike on the incorporation of Afro-descendants into Freemasonry is unequivocal. But his racism and contempt for Afro-descendants also extended him to Afro-Cubans, whom he did not even recognize as Cubans. For Pike, when talking about Cubans, it is understood that they were exclusively white Cubans.

The first publication as a hard copy and public access copy of the Anderson Constitutions was printed in 1723. The text focuses on the problem of discrimination, alluding to the categories race, ethnicity, birth, and/or blood purity. In short, the defense of Whiteness as a sign of regular Freemasonry is revealed in the following paragraph,

³¹⁹ Letter from General and Mason Albert Pike (1875), collected in Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of the Ancient and Honorable Fraternity of Free & Accepted Masons of the State of Ohio at its Sixty-eighth Annual Grand Communication begun and held at Columbus, October AL 5875. p, 49–50.

Anderson's Constitutions

(1723)

The Persons admitted Members
of a Lodge must be good

and of mature and discreet Age,
no **Bondmen**, no Women,
no immoral or scandalous Men,
but of good Report³²⁰.

Histoire, obligations et statuts de[...] Maçons

(1742)

Ceux qui sont admis à être
membres d'une Loge doivent
être des gens d'une bonne réputation,
nés libres & d'un âge mûr & discret.
Ils ne doivent être ni **esclaves**, ni femmes,
ni des hommes qui vivent sans morale,
ou d'une manière scandaleuse³²¹

The Anderson Constitutions not only referred to the veto of the incorporation of free unborn subjects to Freemasonry, but also extended to subjects with some physical defect or mutilation that made it impossible to exercise all their skills in liturgical and / or ritualistic practice of Freemasonry. As we can imagine in eighteenth-century Europe, the same French and English enlightened thoughts in their intrinsic controversy justified the colonialisms, were the ones that secured guarantors and leaders of the entire socioeconomic system that defended private property and those enslaved.

The political and moral ideas of the age are to be examined in the very closest relation to the economic development [...]. The ideas built on these interests continue long after the interests have been destroyed and work their old mischief, which is all the more mischievous because the interests to which they correspond no longer exist [...].³²²

Edward Said retrieves William Appleman Williams, to argue how knowledge is built around colonial structures to justify them - in their ideologies - and sustain them - in their antinomy.

[...] so that during the nineteenth century 'imperial outreach made it necessary to develop an appropriate ideology' in alliance with

³²⁰ Anderson, J. (1723). *The Constitutions Of The Free-Masons: Containing The History, Charges, Regulation... For the Use of the Lodges*. William Hunter.p, 49.

³²¹ de La Tierce, L. F. (1742). *Histoire, obligations et statuts de la très vénérable confraternité des Francs-Maçons, tirez de leurs archives...(par La Tierce)*. Chez François Varrentrapp.p, 149.

³²² Williams, E. (2014). *Capitalism and slavery*. UNC Press Books.p, 211. Williams, E. (1970). *From Columbus to Castro; the history of the caribbean 1492-1969*. p,177-254. Also cited in, Said, EW (1999). *Cultura e imperialismo*, trad. Nora Catelli, Barcelona, Anagrama.p, 162.

military, economic, and political methods. These made it possible to 'preserve and extend the empire without wasting its psychic or cultural or economic substance. (*sic*)³²³

The illustrated reason, while defending human freedom, owed its exercise of survival to an oppressive context that justified as necessary in colonial territories or blamed their existence on those who suffered it. He put under the magnifying glass of the new Hegelian Eurocentric reason³²⁴ everything that was not within a corpus of knowledge that sustained his white supremacism. And as Susan Buck-Morss³²⁵ points out, not even Marxism could argue coherently that slavery was the great metaphor where all this took place, and it was largely the great sustenance of white privilege and its Eurocentrism.

5.2 Prince Hall Freemasonry dilemma.

This same dilemma³²⁶ about the terms of the candidacies that would define Afro-descendants for their entry or not into regular Freemasonry is still being discussed within the Prince Hall Black Masonry 81 years after its foundation in the United States. Either because they were born enslaved or put by force or deception in slavery, or because even being free subjects, their skin or physiognomy was constructed and submitted within a framework of Western knowledge and interpreted as a physical defect.

At the dawn of the war of the thirteen colonies, Prince Hall, former enslaved, and fourteen other African-Americans born free³²⁷ requested the Saint John Lodge of Massachusetts to be initiated. The request was rejected. And after several attempts with British Masonic obediences, the request would finally be accepted by military lodge No. 441 of the Grand Lodge of Ireland on March 6, 1775. On September 29, 1784, the first Masonic African Lodge in the United States was founded, renamed as African Lodge No.

³²³ Said, EW (1999). *Culture and imperialism*. Vintage Books. p, 64-5.

³²⁴ Buck-Morss, S. (2009). *Hegel, Haiti, and universal history*. University of Pittsburgh Pre.p, 101.

³²⁵ Buck-Morss, S. (2009). *Hegel, Haiti, and universal history*. University of Pittsburgh Pre.p, 73. Also, see Williams, E. (2014). *Capitalism and slavery*. UNC Press Books.p, 430.

³²⁶ Hayden, L. (1866). *Caste Among Masons: Address Before Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of the State of Massachusetts at the Festival of St. John the Evangelist, December 27, 1865*. Edward S. Coombs.p,10-12.

³²⁷ In the historiographic documentation it is generally clarified that the 15 founding members of the Prince Hall Masonic obedience were free-born African Americans. There is a clear intent to defend the right to initiation by people of African descent.

459. Following the mediation of the Grand Master of the British Lodge HRH The Duke of Cumberland, the charter granting the foundation permit would be issued. The lodges of Afro-descendants continued asking for their regularity before the white lodges. In 1796, the RWG Lodge of Nova Scotia in Philadelphia published its resolution before a new petition in terms of expulsion to the member of the regular lodge that maintained contact with the Afro-descendant Masonic groups. We will find this same type of resolution a century later on the island of Cuba. So although it is not written as a Masonic norm or rule, it seems that from the white lodges this methodology of action towards the Afro-descendant lodges and towards the white masons who were tempted to fraternize became a use,

[...] Bro. Israel Israel communicated that a Lodge was said to be held in this city by a number of people of black color, that in consequence of an invitation, he, together with several other Brethren, went to visit them last week at an house in Front street , where they were then holding a Lodge as they called it, but that he found they were not acquainted with the mysteries of the Craft. On motion made and seconded, ordered that the Masters of the different Lodges under this jurisdiction be informed that it is the order of this Grd Lodge that none of the members of our Lodges visit the said pretended Masons of Black Colour, on pain of expulsion ³²⁸.

The English abolitionist movement meanwhile, towards the end of the 18th century, began to occupy the space of opinion on both sides of the Atlantic under two images whose reproductions were printed in pamphlets and newsletters that jumped from private meeting places to public roads. *The Brooks* slave ship diagram³²⁹(1789) helped abolitionist awareness in British territory by making visible how African bodies were distributed and transported into slavery.

The detailed diagram of the slave ship made visible not only the transport of black bodies as work tools but also the space logistics used in the vessel to make the space more profitable. As a result, how the vision of these attached bodies without mobility for more than three months in the holds of the slave vessels was printed in the English imaginary

³²⁸ Collecting in Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania. Free and Accepted masons. (1877). Sherman & co. Printers. p, 184-5.

³²⁹ Wood, M. (2000) *Blind Memory: visual representations of slavery in England and America, 1780-1865*. Manchester. Manchester University Press.p.16.

was the instrument to guarantee the imperial dynamics that defended the British welfare system. The enslaved Africans so-called '*piezas*³³⁰ o '*cargo*³³¹', were for the first time embodied by the subversion that the abolitionist movement made of this image. This energized public opinion in favor of abolishing slavery that England would proclaim in 1807.

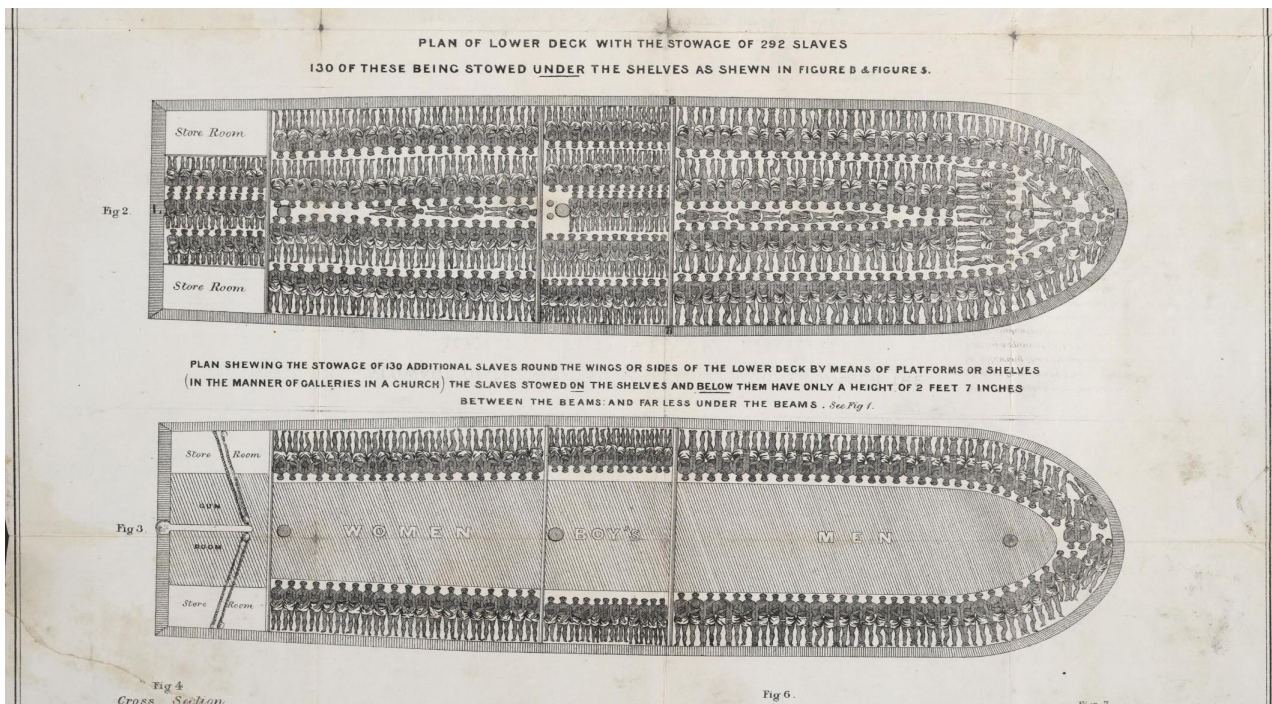


Fig. 17 Diagram of the position of enslaved Africans in the Brooks slave ship. (1789).

The other, two years before the popularization of Brooks' famous image was the representation of an enslaved man kneeling with shackles on his hands whose relief lay on a jasper jewel medallion³³² with a motto at the top that said: *Am I not a man and a brother?*'.

³³⁰ Sosa Rodríguez, E. (1982). *Los ñañigos: ensayo*. P, 350.

³³¹ Set of Africans that are taken in the slave ships to be sold in the Caribbean and American lands.

³³² *Am I Not a Man and a Brother?*, 1787. Black and yellow jasper medallion. Wedgwood Museum, Barlaston, Staffordshire, UK. On 28 June 1835 the Treaty was signed between The Queen of Spain and H.M. the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland for the abolition of the slave trade, concluded and signed in Madrid Havana: Government Printing and Captaincy General, 1858. On the English campaign to abolish the slave trade in the Atlantic, see, Coupland, R. (2017). *The British anti-slavery movement*. Pickle Partners Publishing.; Drescher, S., & Bolt, C. (1987). *Capitalism and antislavery*: 124



Fig. 18 *Am I Not a Man and a Brother?* 1787.

The purpose of every jewel was its fashionable, aesthetic, and vindictive use in this case. The intention was to be seen and admired by certain classes; in short, they could agree to buy it, question it, read it, and comment on its approval or detriment. And that such a controversial political motto be printed on an article of everyday use and fashion, places the abolitionist issue in environments outside the most conservative political circuits. And beyond the Thames..., what was the aesthetic and therefore legislative reception³³³ among the Afro-descendant Masonic communities of the United States so connected to these English abolitionist spaces? Could this image and especially its message serve as an influence to the demands that would be made public from the black Prince Hall lodges in the United States?

In January 1791 the Grand Lodge of England granted the African-American mason Prince Hall the Provincial position of Grand Master. From what we see in conferences and public sermons issued since then in the Prince Hall lodges -or from the allied black

British mobilization in comparative perspective. Oxford University Press. More recent works that have expanded the subject are Jennings, J. (2013). *The business of abolishing the British slave trade, 1783-1807.* Routledge.; and Oldfield, J. R. (2012). *Popular Politics and British Anti-Slavery: The mobilisation of public opinion against the slave trade 1787-1807.* Routledge.

³³³ Robert Jauss points out that the four senses of the Biblical text are, the literal or historical, the allegorical, the tropological or moral and the analogical or eschatological. If, as Jauss says, all the texts considered sacred have it, why not consider the Anderson Constitutions as one of them at least for Masonic membership? However, if, as Jauss and Estrella de Diego says, the history of Don Quixote has a different interpretation whether it is by voice of Don Quixote or by Pierre Benar; what could be the interpretation of the Black Prince Hall lodges with respect to the Masonic founding text and therefore the reception of the English abolitionist motto *Am I Not a Man and a Brother?*, See , Jauss, H-R. (1991) *Teoría de la recepció literària*.p, 18.(trad. Victoria Cirlot).

churches³³⁴ - it seems that the text of this second image was integrated into the speeches and used as an interpellation claim towards their, now and yes, brothers of the American white lodges.

On December 27, 1865, in a speech at the celebratory event of the St. John Evangelist Festival in Boston, Lewis Hayden, a member of the city's Prince Hall lodges, took advantage of the celebration to demand official recognition that Prince Hall had been claiming for over 80 years. Hayden demanded legitimacy from his brothers of white lodges, with whom he shared all the rules and norms except one: the question of slavery and in its extension to oppressions in the form of racial segregation. And it must be raised in this order because it is the issue of freedom, one of the Masonic premises, or rather the fact of not having it as referred to in the founding document of the Anderson Constitutions. If the *conditio sine qua non* for a Mason was to have been born in freedom, the colonialist context served so that the use of the Masonic text, supported by the Mackey Landmarks, was interpreted in this context in a single meaningful direction. It was ratified that racial discrimination was the social manifestation of biological³³⁵, scientific policies irradiated by enlightened voices of the colonies in the image and likeness of those that were once issued from their empires.

Hayden began by making a comparative biblical allegory among the slaves led by Moses,³³⁶ who in Egypt faced Pharaoh with the situation of Afro-descendants in the United States. His speech influenced God's own decision to choose for his liberating mission a

³³⁴ Hayden, L. (1866). *Caste Among Masons: Address Before Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of the State of Massachusetts at the Festival of St. John the Evangelist, December 27, 1865*. Edward S. Coombs.p, 61.

³³⁵ On the anthropological, medical and biopolitical discussions and debates about construction of Cuban racism through and in social science in Cuba see, De la Cruz Ochoa, R. (1995). Brief historical outline of criminology in Cuba. *Special Edition*, 23. Bronfman, A. (2005). *Measures of equality: social science, citizenship, and race in Cuba, 1902-1940*. Univ of North Carolina Press., p. 127-8. Also, Francisco Barrera and Domingo, Natural Physical Historical Reflections Surgical Surgical: Practical and Speculative Entertainments About Life, Uses, Customs, Food, Dresses, Color and Diseases To Which Blacks From Africa, Come to Americas (Havana: CR Editions, 1953). See also Bernardo Honorato de Chateausalins, *El vademecum de los scuba ranchers* (Havana: Manuel Soler's Press, 1854); Henri Dumont, 'Anthropology and comparative pathology of black slaves: Unpublished report concerning Cuba,' *Bimestre Cubana Magazine* 10, no. 3 (1915): 161–71, 263–74, 407–20, and 11, no. 2 (1916): 15–30, 78–90; and Manuel Pérez Beato, 'Data for the History of Medicine in Cuba,' *The Curious American* 3–4 (May–August 1910): 90–93.

³³⁶ On the figure of Moses for Afro-descendant religious identity see, Smith, T. H. (1995). *Conjuring culture: Biblical formations of black America*. Oxford University Press on Demand.p, 33-8, 45. Also, Hurston, Z. N., & Gates, H. L. (1939). *Moses, man of the mountain*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

people - now nomadic, diasporic - who had been enslaved by the Egyptians. And he made it clear that, how despite being aware of this event in the context of the sacred, the lodges of the whites dared to question God preventing the enslaved and free African descendants in the United States from being part of their freemasonry when God himself had chosen a group of enslaved to lead their first quest of the biblical text? Hayden dares these words with subtle intellectual and theological acuity in the same year that President Abraham Lincoln had signed the 13th Amendment³³⁷ in February abolishing forms of slavery. Prince Hall member Lewis Hayden's criticism is based on the providential dilemma that the white lodges have dared to do something that not even God had dared. Quite the contrary, God -Y (A) W (E) H- had made them leaders of the uprising. Hayden's necessary irreverence is that his criticism under the biblical metaphor attacks the core of the incoherence of slavery for American society in general and the Masonic one in particular, being those white men who deny them to be the members of the lobbies the same ones that enslave them. Freemasonry in the United States had been erected under the exercise of white privilege, which contrasted with numerous European lodges such as France, England, Sweden or Austria, which in the nineteenth century had already initiated racialized people.

If God himself had the Egyptian bondmen thus enlightened, who shall say that the same knowledge ought not to be conferred upon American freemen, or question the wisdom for so doing? [...] Were the children of Israel free when in Egyptian bondage? Or has the Almighty changed[...]? [...] We believe it to be true, that of one blood he has created all nations of men [...] And Masonry teaches this as a lesson [...] it is the internal, and not the external qualifications of a man that secure to him the benefits of the Order. [...] Freemasonry, on the other hand, regards the whole human species as one family. [...] are' they just or unjust ? What say you? Your answer is, Not just, but monstrously unjust. [...] we ask of you, white brother- Masons. Can you deny us?³³⁸

Could white American freemasons continue to deny their black brothers? Aware that many of the white freemasons were owners of slave plantations or had profited from the

³³⁷ On February 1, 1865, North American President Abraham Lincoln signed Amendment 13 for the abolition of Slavery. To see the contemporary continuity of the causes see the film, DuVernay, A.(2016). 13th.

³³⁸ Hayden, L. (1866). *Caste Among Masons: Address Before Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of the State of Massachusetts at the Festival of St. John the Evangelist, December 27, 1865*. Edward S. Coombs.p, 10-16.

slave trade, Prince Hall continued to claim their right to regularity, to the legitimacy that could well be translated in the profane world to the struggle for Universal Suffrage by Afro-descendants. Was it possible to continue denying someone because of their status as enslaved when some of those same white American freemasons were the causes, creators, and executors of that category for Afro-descendants in the United States?

The Prince Hall black masonic movement served to make visible and embody inter-institutional tensions that had not only been revealed in the North American continental geography, but that will accompany the development of the Masonic exercise of other communities³³⁹ and minorities in that territory, receiving within it Afro-descendant members of the Caribbean political movements³⁴⁰.

In the same way that the Prince Hall black lodges defended a normative integration in regular lodges in the North American territory, it should also be remembered that their claim was exclusively for reasons of race, not gender. The Prince Hall lodges blend in with the gender dynamics of the regular US lodges they wanted to call. And over time they accepted sororities or feminine associations called adoption³⁴¹ in parallel theory, but de facto these were placed under an absolute institutional subordination towards the masculine ones. It would be interesting on the other hand to know if as in Ekpe(Egbo) or

³³⁹ On Albert Pike's initiations to Native Americans see, Bogdan, H., & Snoek, J. A. M. (2014). *Handbook of Freemasonry*. Brill, p, 260, 439, 454. Arroyo, J. (2013). *Writing Secrecy in Caribbean Freemasonry*. Springer, p, 182. Parker, A. C. (1919). *American Indian freemasonry*. Buffalo Consistory, p, 25. Perhaps it should be clarified that in relation to other geopolitical spaces where Freemasonry arrived and was implanted in the territory with relative advance as in China or India, colonialism was also the framework where Masonic relations were established. However, the exceptionalism of the European genesis lodges established in the Caribbean responds also to the fact that masonry is an instrument allied to colonialism, trafficking and slavery was also aligned with its manifest colonialist intentions. So unlike China or India, the Black Caribbean is built as a space in which its native subjects are annihilated and to which they are transplanted prior violent abduction, African subjects under the imposition of the whip and the stocks to a life of slavery. For tracing colonialism roots of Freemasonry in Calcutta from XVIII-XIXth see, Karpel, F. (2001). *Freemasonry, Colonialism, and Indigenous Elites. Interactions: Regional Studies, Global Processes, and Historical Analysis. Washington, DC, February*. Harland-Jacobs, J. L. (2001). 'The essential link': Freemasonry and British Imperialism, 1751-1918.

³⁴⁰ In his exile between 1884 and 1885 by the United States, the leaders of the Liberation Army of Cuba, the Afro-Cuban Antonio Maceo and Puerto Rican Máximo Gómez were received and tucked away by the lodges by the Cuban communities of New York, Key West, New Orleans and Mexico. Moving in Masonic circles where the population of color in the case of New Orleans had already been integrated. In the same dynamic, the Haitian 'mulatto' rebel Alexandre Petion was received in allied lodges in United States. See, Scott, R.J. (2009). *Degrees of freedom: Louisiana and Cuba after slavery*. Harvard University Press, p, 75-6.

³⁴¹ The Masonry of Adoption was as it was called the female Masonic emulations in the XVIIIth. In the XIXth appeared to female Masonry and the integrated or mixed.

Abakuá, there was some extraordinary case in which some white, Native American or Asian wanted to be initiated or if it could be in a Prince Hall lodge before the twentieth century. The identification among Afro-descendant Masons in the United States with Judaism became a metaphor. This nexus was reinvented as a founding event of the Prince Hall black masonry and later radiated towards the construction of a pre-Christian past that would grant it legitimacy. The Hebrew myth served not only as an analogy of trafficking and slavery but also granted it membership in the messianic heritage of Moses. He was definitively enrolled in the chosen village community. In this way, trafficking and slavery are relegated to a human error of these white men against the reasonable judgment of providence.

As Sharon B. Oster³⁴² argues in the case of the Hebrew myth and the construction of diasporic and cosmopolitanism explained how as in the case of the Afro-descendant community, racism and discrimination go hand in hand. It is interesting, however, that the same biblical passage is self-identified as a mythological background, identifying both communities separately. It is perhaps here that we could incorporate Audre Lorde's³⁴³ reflection, the house of the master cannot be destroyed with the tools of the master. The claims of Prince Hall were still a request for permission for membership/existence/legality/legitimacy to the institution that had been denying them and whose members are the representation of the coloniality for which they are rejected and even worse by those who were oppressed in the profane world as black and enslaved subjects. Perhaps, the place where race issues have been analyzed and discussed more openly is within the Masonic corpus of the Prince Hall Lodges³⁴⁴.

[...] when there was an African church, and perhaps the largest
Christian church on earth, whether there was no African of that

³⁴² Oster, S. B. (2018). *No Place in Time: The Hebraic Myth in Late-Nineteenth-Century American Literature*. Wayne State University Press, p. 67.

³⁴³ Lorde, A. (2003). The master's tools will never dismantle the master's house. *Feminist postcolonial theory: A reader*, 25, 27. Also in, Lorde, A. (2012). *Sister outsider: Essays and speeches*. Crossing Press, p. 216-23.

³⁴⁴ Prince Hall Lodges: At the time when free blacks joined the religious movements in the United States that were expanding from the South to Canada, in Boston the First Masonic Lodge of Prince Hall was constituted in c.1780 accepting both slaves and Free black men as opposed to the classical doctrine of the Regulars. It does not seem strange then that its founder Prince Hall has been rejected in his membership in the American White Lodges for both reasons of race and origin. Kears, Gregory S. (2012). *Prince Hall's Charge of 1792: An Assertion of African Heritage*. Scottish Rite Research Society. Washington, DC: Heredom. Vol. 20, p. 273–309.

order; or whether, if they were all whites, they would refuse to accept them as their fellow Christians and brother Masons; or whether there were any so weak, or rather so foolish, as to say, because they were Blacks, that would make their lodge or army too common or too cheap? Sure this was not our conduct in the late war; for then they marched shoulder to shoulder, brother soldier and brother soldier, to the field of battle; let who will answer; he that despises a black man for the sake of his colour, reproacheth his Maker, [...]. But to return: In the year 1787 (the year in which we received our charter) there were 489 lodges under charge of his late Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland; whose memory will always be esteemed by every good Mason. And now, my African brethren, you see what a noble order you are members of. My charge to you is, that you make it your study to live up to the precepts of it as you know that they are all good; and let it be known this day to the spectators, that you have not been to a feast of Bacchus, but to a refreshment with Masons; and see to it that you behave as such, as well at home as abroad; always to keep in your minds the obligations you are under, both to God and your fellow men. And more so, you my dear brethren of Providence, who are at a distance from, and cannot attend the Lodge here but seldom; yet I hope you will endeavour to communicate to us by letters of your welfare; and remember your obligations to each.³⁴⁵

The very fact that these lodges have been constituted for a black or African-American membership incorporates into the corpus of the discussion that concerns us the issues of race and freemasonry. What is said in the Masonic texts of the Prince Hall lodges about race issues? Is there a response to the very foundational fact of its creation in the face of the impossibility that Afro-descendants, freedmen and much fewer slaves could be incorporated into the regular white lodges in the United States? Historian Aline Helg extrapolates this problem and argues it in the profane world by comparing the Afro-descendant community in Cuba and the United States in the 19th century. Helg points out an analogy not only between associations and societies of African descent but also among leaders for civil society,

In the US North,[...] black organizations ranged from churches to mutual aid societies and craft guilds. But the highest form of collective mobilization was the Negro conventions, which from the 1830s promoted the legal challenge to official discrimination

³⁴⁵ Hall, P. (1792). A charge delivered to the brethren of the African Lodge on the 25th of June, 1792: At the hall of Brother William Smith, in Charlestown. Printed and sold at the Bible and Heart, Cornhill, Boston.p,11-12.

and campaigned for universal male suffrage and abolition in the South. Though Afro-Cubans never shared US blacks' attachment to churches, those in exile in the United States during the wars for independence observed and admired forms of black organization, especially the Negro conventions, which were later adapted to Cuba. In addition, some major lines of action proposed by black leaders in the United States can be found in Cuba as well. In particular, they include the progressive integrationism first personified by Frederick Douglass (ie, separate black institutions as a transitional stage toward integration into a color-blind but white-dominated society), which dominated mainstream Afro-Cuban thought and was mostly articulated by Juan Gualberto Gómez, and the racial solidarity and protest advocated by WEB DuBois and the [...] accommodationism of Booker T. Washington (ie, blacks should accept their lot and struggle to gain white respect through education, industry, and moral living) found few supporters among Afro-Cubans but was commended by several[...]³⁴⁶

³⁴⁶ Helg, A. (1997). Race and Black Mobilization in Colonial and Early Independent Cuba: A Comparative Perspective. *Ethnohistory*, 44(1), 53. DOI: 10.2307/482901

6 Saint Domingue uprisings

6.1 Between Voodoo and Freemasonry

The spatial chronology of the late 18th century of the foundation and the establishment of the Prince Hall lodges would coincide with the outbreak and development of the Saint Domingue Revolution (1791-1804). Both events activated geopolitical processes, mobilities, and global networks of fraternities around Afro-descendant communities moved to the new world with the slave trade and concentrated in the form of work quotas in these territories through slavery. Trans-Caribbean fraternalisms that would serve to draw the implications of the Gilroy's Black Atlantic³⁴⁷ beyond the boundaries of the Caribbean Sea. And although the Masonic networks around the Saint Domingue Revolution have frequently been studied under the prism under which they are victimized³⁴⁸, Philomasonic scholars obviate that the causes behind the outbreak of the Saint Domingue Revolution are the slave trade, slavery, and abuse of enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants. Jan C. Jansen reproduces a Eurocentric stance in this regard in his study on the Masons of Saint Domingue, especially in his emphasis on defining them as refugees.

German historian Jan C. Jansen faces the narrative with a particular nostalgic, melancholic rhetoric, the memory of loss³⁴⁹, the distress of the abandoned is intuited. In their escape after the uprising of the slaves in the French colony of Saint Domingue, undoubtedly the most prosperous³⁵⁰ of the colonial era, the vast majority of white masters who owned plantations chose not to return to France, settling in the territorial vicinity of the island.

Although from the beginning, Jansen makes clear the heterogeneous social base among the exiles where we can find whites, free of color and enslaved, forget to mention the

³⁴⁷ Gilroy, P. (1993). *The black Atlantic: Modernity and double consciousness*. Verso. p,187-8.

³⁴⁸ Jansen, J. C. (2019). Brothers in exile: Masonic lodges and the refugees of the Haitian Revolution, 1790s–1820. *Atlantic Studies*, 16(3), 341-363.

³⁴⁹ de Paz-Sánchez, M. (2006). Masonería española y emancipación colonial. *Revista de Indias*, 66(238), 737-760. Also see, de Paz-Sánchez, M. (2006). *La masonería y la pérdida de las colonias: estudios*. Idea.

³⁵⁰ Davis, R. (1973). *The rise of the Atlantic economies* (Vol. 143). Cornell University Press. p, 257. Cited in, Buck-Morss, S. (2000). Hegel and Haiti. *Critical inquiry*, 26(4), 821-865. Also see, Mintz, S. W. (1986). *Sweetness and power: The place of sugar in modern history*. Penguin.

relationship between them. Many of these whites and free colored³⁵¹ subjects were slave masters and traveled on the ships with their own enslaved endowments to settle in spaces with greater control over subversive and abolitionist political currents, and where they were allowed to continue exercising slavery. It is also clear that the rest of the exiles could exercise other liberal professions; in any case, they would be supporters of the slave regime.

The white masonic brothers of Saint Domingue far from the jurisdictional area of the French Rite would have to deal with recognizing themselves in the Masonic jurisdictional minority in any of the host societies since the Caribbean was almost entirely under the jurisdiction of the British forces. Jansen also points out that the exiled Masons had different types of accommodations in the lodges of the host societies. Some of these institutions had been previously created by French migrant³⁵² freemasons already installed. In other cases they were able to institutionally transfer³⁵³ the lodges that had already been founded in Saint Domingue by reproducing them again in places like Santiago de Cuba, Baracoa and in Havana, as was the case of the La Réunion des coeurs (c.1790) lodge during the early Saint Domingue conflict, and others like L'Amitié, La Concorde and La Perseverance, which according to the historian Eduardo Torres Cuevas were installed on Cuban soil around 1798³⁵⁴. Finally, new lodges were established in the host territories requesting permission through the Masonic jurisdictional authorities.

Some of the most documented destinations were Martinique, Louisiana and New Orleans, due to possible connections with the French-speaking communities already established in those areas. Others opted for geographical proximity and settled in the British colonization islands such as Jamaica. Some chose to settle in the Spanish part of the

³⁵¹ On the conflict of elites of free men of color and *affranchis* against white elites and slaves in Saint Domingue at the time of the Revolution see , Garrigus, J. D. (1996). Colour, class and identity on the eve of the Haitian revolution: Saint-Domingue's free coloured elite as colons américains. *Slavery and Abolition*, 17(1), 20-43. Also see, Fick, C. E. (1990). *The making of Haiti: The Saint Domingue revolution from below*. Univ. of Tennessee Press.p, 120-127, 154.

³⁵²Yacou, A. (1987). La présence française dans la partie occidentale de l'île de Cuba au lendemain de la révolution de Saint-Domingue. *Outre-Mers. Revue d'histoire*, 74(275), 149-188.; idem, (1991). Esclaves et libres français à Cuba au lendemain de la Révolution de Saint-Domingue. *Jahrbuch für Geschichte Lateinamerikas*, 28(1), 163-198.

³⁵³ Denslow, R. V. (2006). *Freemasonry in the Eastern Hemisphere*. Kessinger Publishing.p, 327-8.

³⁵⁴ Torres-Cuevas, E. (2004). *Historia de la Masonería Cubana: seis ensayos*. Imagen Contemporánea.p, 67.

island, now the territory of Santo Domingo and for which they only had to cross the conflictive border materialized by the Dajabón River, which thanks to the killings ordered by the Dominican dictator Trujillo in 1937 would be renamed the River of the Massacre³⁵⁵. Others would opt for the Spanish colony of the island of Cuba, where Jansen says that in Santiago³⁵⁶ there were at least four lodges since the beginning of the revolts and where French was spoken as the language of Masonic works.³⁵⁷



Fig 19. Map Caribbean.

6.2 Santiago is not Cuba: The Kingdom of This World

³⁵⁵ Like Alejo Carpentier in 'The Kingdom of this World', the novelist Edwidge Danticat brings to fiction other facts of Haitian history, in this case the massacre that took place in the Dajabón River in 1937 ordered by the dictator Rafael Trujillo Molina. On the consequences of what is an island that at the same time is refounded as a double-headed eagle with two irreconcilable nations see, Danticat, E. (1999). *Cosecha de huesos*. Grupo Editorial Norma. Llosa, M. V. (2013). *La fiesta del chivo*. Alfaguara. For academic studies see, Turits, RL (2002). A world destroyed, a nation imposed: The 1937 Haitian massacre in the Dominican Republic. *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 82(3), 589-635. And as a physical boundary and place of frontier or not, Dajabón Anne Eller, the Dajabón River was from the separation of the island a place of passage and limits, of imposed legality and organic illegalities for survival. See, Eller, A. (2016). *We Dream Together: Dominican Independence, Haiti, and the Fight for Caribbean Freedom*. Duke University Press.p, 158.

³⁵⁶ Carpentier, A. (1994). *The Kingdom of This World: The Lost Steps* (Vol. 2). 21st century, 55.

³⁵⁷ Jansen, JC (2019). Brothers in exile: Masonic lodges and the refugees of the Haitian Revolution, 1790s–1820. *Atlantic Studies*, 16(3), 341-363

The closest Cuban provinces to the Haitian side are Guantanamo and Santiago de Cuba, so it was usual for the freemasons fleeing from Saint Domingue to settle there with their enslaved endowments. In the Cuban imaginary, Santiago was always the opposite of Havana. While the former could not avoid being identified as a black territory, the capital was still erected as heiress of the Spanish peninsular culture. These imagined relationships made visible a very high percentage of the population of African and Afro-descendant origin, the limited miscegenation of their elites and their proximity to Caribbean islands such as Saint Domingue and Jamaica with their voluntary or forced migrations that were incorporated into economic, social and cultural life from the city.

Anthropologists Grette Viddal, Joel James Figuerola, and Jose Millet investigated the accommodation of Haitian voodoo³⁵⁸ in Santiago de Cuba, and perhaps we should understand its consolidation through the events of the uprising of Saint Domingue.

The Cuban writer Alejo Carpentier would portray this complicated time in one of his novels. In *The Kingdom of this World* it was first published in 1949 and in 1957 it would be translated into English. The same title is an esoteric allegory in which Carpentier exhorts the construction of that new world of which Santiago de Cuba as Babelic amalgam or Jerusalem terrestre was an example.

Original version (Spanish):

[...], Santiago es Ogún Fai, el Mariscal de las tormentas, a cuyo conjuro se habían alzado los hombres de Bouckman. Por ello, Ti Noel, a modo de oración, le recitaba a menudo un viejo canto oído a Mackandal:

Santiago, soy el hijo de la guerra:
Santiago, ¿no vez que soy hijo de la guerra?³⁵⁹

English version:

[...] , Santiago is Ogún Fai, the storm marshal, whose spell Bouckman's men had risen. Therefore, Ti Noel, as a prayer, often recited an old song heard to Mackandal:

James , I am the son of war:
Santiago, can't you see I'm a son of war?³⁶⁰

³⁵⁸ Thornton, J. K. (1988). On the trail of Voodoo: African Christianity in Africa and the Americas. *The Americas*, 44(3), 261-278.

³⁵⁹ On how other Yoruba and Afro-Cuban religious fraternities converged with the Haitian Vudu parallel to the Freemasonry, Carpentier, A. (1996). *El reino de este mundo*. Colección Letras y Vida. p, 26-7.

Significant is the English translation of Alejo Carpentier's work. As in the previous case of the versions of the Constitutions of Anderson (1723) from English to French, in this case it is necessary to change the double nomination of Santiago in the last two verses. For the English version, Carpentier's intertextuality is run over. The translator is obliged without an explanatory footnote to explain why the Hispanic Santiago becomes James. The outrage is due to the loss of Carpentier's literary glossary. Understanding Santiago as a city in which everything converged: the voodoo, the Yoruba, the French illustration, the Hispanic. But also a city with the name of apostle and saint. The coincidence in the names in Castilian, gives magic to a place that a priori with all those incorporations becomes difficult to build, to live together. And are not these last two verses perhaps an announcement in the biblical sense of the term? Is it not the announcement / communication to all the deities that inhabit the Santiaguero space that we are ready for the transfiguration of becoming Cubans?

Jansen questions the possible incorporation of Afro-descendants into the official Freemasonry before the end of the Saint Domingue uprising. He also states that in 1805, some lodges in Santiago de Cuba had become a controversial place where 'clandestine' Masonic activities were carried out. The use of the term is not accidental, and it is an adjective traceable to the speeches and texts of Albert Pike when he addressed the Prince Hall Black Masons. Recall that during the first hundred years the lodges of the Black Masonry Prince Hall were disparagingly classified as clandestine³⁶¹ to delegitimize them and accuse them of non-legitimate daughters, bastards, of regular and white Freemasonry. The old concept of the question of blood cleansing returned to political significance extrapolating to the symbolic Masonic in Cuban territory. Did Jansen mean that in 1805 Afro-descendants were being initiated in Santiago de Cuba? And if so, would they be initiating free or enslaved Afro-descendant subjects? Were these subjects of Haitian origin or Afro-*Santiagueros*?

On motion made and seconded, Resolved, That the Committee of Correspondence [...].

³⁶⁰ Carpentier, A. (1994). *The Kingdom of This World: The Lost Steps* (Vol. 2). 21st century, 43-4.

³⁶¹ The term was used to point out that they were unauthorized lodges, or that they were free, or that they worked under a jurisdiction without authority in the territory.

Your committee are of opinion that agreeably to ancient usages Lodge No. 14 should have informed the Right Worshipful Grand Lodge of their intention to decline their jurisdiction, by superseding their warrant, and should have settled their dues, indispensably requisite, to enable them to obtain a warrant from any regular Grand Lodge.³⁶²

We analyze the document that includes the original report to see if we can understand the terms used. What can the disabling of the lodges in Santiago correspond to? Jansen has cataloged the facts as 'abuses' and 'clandestine uses,' and the only reference we have within the Masonic historiography that concerns us, circumscribed to colonial geographies, is regarding the cataloging of the Afro-American Prince Hall Lodges. It is not difficult to establish connections here, as it would seem that the issue of racialization emerges again as a foundational problem for the speculative Masonic exercise.

Could the legitimation problem have been reproduced in Santiago de Cuba? These lodges were at that time under the American jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania. So we assume that the use of the term 'clandestine' has the same significance as when it was used for cases in which Afro-descendants were initiated into their lodges but not yet regularized. Or as it may seem the case, which would explain the use of the word 'abuse,' when under the same regularized lodge Afro-descendants were initiated, therefore violating the Masonic system. Whether those Afro-descendants had been 'born free' or had been manumitted 'free men', the report arises because a member who disagrees has raised his complaint to higher levels in Pennsylvania. Accordingly, in the voting ceremony³⁶³ or '*Ballot*' to anonymously vote for the entrance or not of the candidates in the lodge, there were black balls against the initiation.

³⁶² 'Report of Committee of Correspondence to whom were referred sundry communications from the RW Provincial Grand Master of St. Domingo and Cuba, from the lodges no. 88, 98.', 15 September 1806. Archives of the Grand Lodge of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia (hereafter AGLPA), File Y.

³⁶³ The Ballot System is a form of voting ceremony using by means of balls in a secret scrutiny. The use of the method has been reduced to the initiation or affiliation in a Lodge and must be strict and inviolable secret. However, its employment ranged from what concerns the ordinary affairs of the Lodge, but also in the elections of officers and admission of candidates. They are cast in secret so that members may vote freely and independently. This is considered a sacred privilege that every Mason brother enjoys, and making his own use of it, as the best guarantee for the Lodge. Each member is solemnly obligated, by the force of his oaths to vote when the occasion requires it, without paying attention to passions or contemplating personal commitments, but only in attention to the intrinsic merit of the candidate and for the sake of the interests of the Order. All ball scrutiny must be accompanied by a counter-test. During the scrutiny, and it is sufficient that its result be proclaimed, no brother will be allowed to leave the temple.

The other possible option might not be for reasons of race, but political. Could the lodge space have been used for secret meetings regarding the Independence of Cuba from the Spanish metropolis? The island of Cuba was indeed experiencing politically complicated moments since the early nineteenth century and, under the inspiration of Saint Domingue, numerous slave uprisings³⁶⁴ were gestated for almost half a century. The highlight episode was the outbreak of the conspiracy of La Escalera³⁶⁵ in 1844. In the repression of La Escalera, not only the colonial authorities intervened. Slave plantation owners were directly leading their troops. The institutional repression of the government was linked to the slave owners who defended their private property. The disciplinary corrective against the unstoppable movement of Afro-descendants was exercised from both spheres. The plantation owners claimed that the enslaved were property and possible damage to the 'sugar mills,' while the colonial authorities acted repressively against the abolitionist airs that were installed after the victory against the white masters in Saint Domingue. The *Miedo al Negro* justified the conjunction of institutional and private planters. Perhaps in the emulation of one of those scenes that were installed in the Caribbean imaginary after Saint Domingue in which a former enslaved Haitian in full revolt hangs from his stairs to his Master White. The many victims of this repression, both free and enslaved in Cuba, were also hung mostly on the stairs, which gave the conspiracy a name.

We compare the report regarding the decisions taken by the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania concerning the internal operation of lodges n.88 and n.98 of Santiago de Cuba. The terminology in other cases used to address domestic problems and the Masonic service of the lodges is always the same. The globalization of the institution made it to the GLIC (Grand Lodge of the Island of Cuba) in 1879, when it was openly

Voting will not be granted to any brother who was not present at the time. See, Abrines, F. Lorenzo. (1891). *Diccionario enciclopédico de la masonería*. La Propaganda Literaria. Habana. p, 117.

³⁶⁴ After the independence of Haiti, Cuba seemed to be infected with the spirit of revolution of Africans and Afro-descendants on the island, both enslaved and free. The protagonists shared a similar background of alienation and alienation, despite the fact that many of them had already been born in that New World. But their condition as enslaved or the inability to become citizens with all their rights despite their status as free subjects, caused the social base to expand beyond the sugar mills. And that as in Haiti, spells, practices, talismans and all the magical production understood as technological production has been put into operation. For examples see, Finch, A. K. (2015). *Rethinking Slave Rebellion in Cuba: La Escalera and the Insurgencies of 1841-1844*. UNC Press Books.p, 204. 268. Barcia, M. (2008). *Seeds of Insurrection: Domination and Resistance on Western Cuban Plantations, 1808-1848*. LSU Press. p,70.

³⁶⁵ Finch, A. K. (2015). *Rethinking Slave Rebellion in Cuba: La Escalera and the Insurgencies of 1841-1844*. UNC Press Books.p, 132-140.

raised during the Masonic assembly the direct disagreement to continue using the terms of French and English in the works in the lodge. The Great Secretary of GLIC, Aurelio Almeida would publish,

Tal es la fuerza de la costumbre, que a pesar de estar ya todos convencidos de que hasta hace poco nuestro lenguaje masónico fue una ridícula jerga, se nos suelen escapar todavía las palabras mopsa, por mujer; cotización, por cuota; tenida, por sesión; mallete, por mazo o martillo, y otras igualmente inglesas o francesas, pero en ningún modo castellanas. Por eso ponemos este recordatorio, a fin que nos vayamos des acostumbrando de esos resabios cassardescos.(sic)³⁶⁶

Not even the issues of non-payment of lodge fees under the same jurisdiction are not described as clandestine but as delinquency³⁶⁷. So, although it is not clear what the character of the meaning of the terms is, we can accommodate them to the Cuban context of the early nineteenth century in Santiago de Cuba, and to the background that Masonic historiography itself offers us regarding race problems In the institution. And, why not, consider perhaps that as in Cuban society, both issues in fact acted simultaneously,

³⁶⁶ The nineteenth-century Cuban Masonic scene was divided by two figures by Andrés Cassard and Vicente Antonio de Castro. Cassard, of French and Italian descent, was born in Santiago de Cuba in 1823 and sent to exile several times for issues related to politics and Freemasonry. He opposed the country and Masonic vision of Antonio de Castro, the other great white Mason leader in Cuba. Both visions, which can be recognized as progressive and liberal or reformist-independentist, created two types of Masonic spaces associated with the political vision of Cubans - mainly white - of the island.

The classical and Europeanized education that both descendants, Italian and French, gave Cassar a Eurocentric elitism - if one wishes - that he was also transferred to his Freemasonry. Vicente Antonio de Castro, a doctor, was born in the central province of Santi Espíritus and was more related to the independence conspiracy spaces, after the outbreak of the 10-year war in Cuba 1868, many of his lodges moved to accommodations in the new war spaces . See, La Voz de Hiram, La Habana, 15 de junio de 1877, año II, entrega XII, p. 28. Cited also in, Soucy, Dominique. Masonería y nación (Escuadra y Compás) (Spanish Edition) (Kindle Locations 2244-2248). Ediciones Idea. Kindle Edition.

Translation:

Such is the force of custom, that despite being already convinced that until recently our Masonic language was a ridiculous jargon, we often miss the words mopsa, per woman; quotation, by quota; held, per session; mallete, by mallet or hammer, and others equally English or French, but in no way Castilian. That is why we put this reminder, so that we can get used to these Cassardescos. (Sic)

³⁶⁷ Within the Masonic context, a 'delinquent' is one who commits an infraction or omission of Masonic duties. Some minor offenses are not punished, however others may be grounds for expulsion. Some of the offenses that can be penalized depending on the consequences, for example absent from the Masonic service for no legitimate reason; indiscretion; refuse the reports for which he designates the Masonic authority; lie; break inner discipline, etc.

[...] different Lodges under your jurisdiction at St. Domingo, having had the good fortune to escape from the hands of the Blacks, had taken refuge in the Spanish island of Cuba, as well as several other Masons, which gave room to frequent private committees and clandestine makings to scandal and abuses of all kinds. [...] whose officers were then at St. Yago, pleading the absolute necessity to put an end to the said scandals and irregularities, by giving to true Masons a central point to unite themselves in, and establishing a tribunal that might judge and punish the guilty, or at least give them an opportunity to return and follow the paths of wisdom and virtue.³⁶⁸

In the first note of Jansen concerning the two institutions that governed the morality and virtue of these white masons of Saint Domingue, the Catholic Church, and the Masonic institution, could the 'abuses' refer to the Afro-descendant subjects incorporating to the Santiago lodges some element of their 'native virtue and moral'? That is, could they possibly have accommodated aspects of their religion to Freemasonry in which they could be being initiated? Or, vice versa, did these subjects unexpectedly try to extract perhaps, subtract, reproduce or incorporate the liturgy and Masonic rituals into their religious practice of African roots? Could these be the first traceable cases of entanglements between Freemasonry and Afro-Caribbean spiritual practices? Jansen states clearly that there were interactions at least between subjects:

[...] Along with Catholicism, Freemasonry constituted the most important social infrastructure of Saint-Domingue refugees across borders. It allowed them to communicate and move across their places of refuge and provided means of creating social structures and hierarchies within the diaspora;³⁶⁹[...]

We understand that if both institutions in their essence and purity are accompanied in the dogmatic exercise of Freemasonry, then we can speculate of the reasons why Jansen

³⁶⁸ 'Report of Committee of Correspondence to whom were referred sundry communications from the RW Provincial Grand Master of St. Domingo and Cuba, from the lodges no. 88, 98.', 15 September 1806. Archives of the Grand Lodge of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia (hereafter AGLPA), File Y. Cited partially also in, Jansen, JC (2019). Brothers in exile: Masonic lodges and the refugees of the Haitian Revolution, 1790s–1820. *Atlantic Studies*, 16(3), 341-363. Also, the displacement of the 'clandestine' concept towards the political but outside the racial, although in Cuba of the XIXth both things went hand in hand, see , Ferrer Benimeli, J. A. (1988). Révolution française et littérature clandestine à Cuba. La Francmaçonnerie comme élément conspirateur. En : La période révolutionnaire aux Antilles. Coordinate by Roger Roumson and Charles Porset. Martinique : Université des Antilles et de la Guyane.

³⁶⁹ Jansen, JC (2019). Brothers in exile: Masonic lodges and the refugees of the Haitian Revolution, 1790s–1820. *Atlantic Studies*, 16(3), 341-363

catalogs them as 'abuses.' For Catholicism³⁷⁰ and Freemasonry, some of the most significant transgressions to their most fundamental exercise maybe, on the one hand, the Afro-descendant religious practices and, on the other hand, the breaking of the Masonic secret and rules. Afro-descendants in Cuba were very aware of Catholic incorporations into religious practices.

Some prefer to understand this relationship as syncretic³⁷¹, but the weak will of those enslaved by the God of whites, the imposition of the (Catholic) Doctrines for Blacks³⁷², and forced evangelizations, contrasted with the subtle strategy of Afro-descendant religious resilience served to keep alive the necessary ancestors in this New World.

In the case of the Masonic institution, one of the major transgressions would be the ambivalent exercise of Masonry in hiding, since it would mean the emergence of heterodoxies or other fraternalisms that would subvert their genesis. The argumentation of the criticism responds to the non-fulfillment of the Anderson Constitutions prohibiting - in its most literal reading - the initiation of non-free men. Section to be understood as the biopolitical defense of whiteness, and on the other hand, of the violation and dissemination of liturgies and rituals. The permeability of the Masonic lodges in the Caribbean made both the ritual and the liturgy begin to be used partially and entirely in these new clandestine lodges, and in a fragmentary way in the Voodoo, the Palo Monte or in the Abakuá, to name a few of its incorporations in Afro-Caribbean religious practices. Could this knowledge begin to circulate in those sessions or learning workshops of Masonic cosmogony that were carried out in each lodge as training for apprentices? How was it possible that the ordination of the world of the Great Architect of the Universe product of it is Rosicrucian, Alchemical, Kabbalistic and Perennial Philosophy incorporations were transferred to Afro-descendant religious practices in the Caribbean? What was the reception of Masonic rituals and liturgies in Afro-Cuban beliefs? One might wonder if the accommodative flexibility of Afro-Caribbean religious traditions,

³⁷⁰ Catholic Church and Masonry relationship would begin to be criticized and eventually banned by the Catholic Church from the first Papal Bulls (XVIII) to the present. Bogdan, H., & Pike, JAM (2014). *Handbook of Freemasonry*. Brill.p, 141, 159.

³⁷¹ Palmié, S. (1995). *Against Syncretism* (pp. 74-103). New York: Routledge. Also see, Shaw, R., & Stewart, C. (2003). *Syncretism/anti-syncretism: the politics of religious synthesis*. Routledge.

³⁷² Laviña, J. (1989). *Doctrina para negros*. Sendai Ediciones.

even in their more hermetic exercises such as the Abakuás, was received by Western schools of thought as 'cultural capital' in the Pierre Bourdieu's sense.³⁷³

Jansen points out that what happened in the French Rite lodges established in Santiago de Cuba in 1805 was documented as 'abuse.' What were the characteristics of the activities taking place in the Santiago lodges to be registered in the Masonic reports as abuse? As we have pointed out, Jansen only gives the hint of 'secrecy.' Admittedly, the use of the term 'abuse' is since the events were either extremely serious for the Masonic dogma or had been occurring for some time.

In contrast to Jansen and more allied with my point of view on the incorporation of Afro-descendants to Freemasonry in the Caribbean are the theses of John L. Garrigus³⁷⁴ and Susan Buck-Morss, who shift away from the normative Eurocentric view. Garrigus points to the possible existence of lodges under the radar of the officers, or official lodges were able to cover the political conspiracies and uprisings that in the case of Saint Domingue were led by free and enslaved Africans and/or Afro-descendants. Garrigus weaves a relationship between the rise of the philomasonic movement in Saint Domingue and the enslaved uprisings that gave rise to the independent state of Haiti.

On the other hand, Susan Buck-Morss points to the flexibility of admission of some French Masonic lodges at the end of 1790. And although it seems controversial, this Masonic plasticity is also visible in the territory of the French metropolis where the economic markets are governed by the maritime port spaces in connection with the plantation economies of the Caribbean colonies. Perhaps because the port areas can be classified as non-places,³⁷⁵ liminal territories where boundaries confuse, and the subjects

³⁷³ Bourdieu, P., & Passeron, J. C. (1990). *Reproduction in education, society and culture* (Vol. 4). Sage, p. 494, 497.

³⁷⁴ Garrigus, J. (2019). A secret brotherhood? The question of black Freemasonry before and after the Haitian Revolution. *Atlantic Studies*, 16(3), 321-340.

³⁷⁵ Anthropologist Mark Augé describes non-places as a [...] *concepción del espacio [que] se expresa, [...] en los cambios en escala, en la multiplicación de las referencias imaginadas e imaginarias y en la espectacular aceleración de los medios de transporte y conduce concretamente a modificaciones físicas considerables: concentraciones urbanas, traslados de poblaciones y multiplicación de lo que llamaríamos los 'no lugares', por oposición al concepto sociológico de lugar, asociado por Mauss y toda una tradición etnológica con el de cultura localizada[...].*

Translation:

who frequented them, from French landowners, abolitionist politicians, students of the colonies, to enslaved, have in the Masonic lodges a more subversive physical meeting space and extension of their voices. These spaces are registered in border areas, where the limits fade in favor of exchanges and transactions of all kinds. An example is the port of Bordeaux, from where Buck-Morss traces a political-social genealogy of how young mestizos from Saint Domingue, educated in France and future political leaders such as Vincent Ogé³⁷⁶, were able to use these masonic spaces to relate to the elements of the French society pro-Abolitionists. We could also find members of the exclusive - by concise - group of the Amis des Noirs³⁷⁷, which would include the chief of police who would be responsible for announcing the abolition of the slavery of Saint Domingue in France, Léger-Félicité Sonthonax³⁷⁸. As Buck-Morss points out, Bordeaux's lodges welcomed subjects that the most conservative Masonic obediences rejected as [...] blacks, Muslims, Jews, and women³⁷⁹.

If, as Garrigus states, two years after independence, in 1806, Haiti already had its first nation lodges, it means that their new members had already been minimally trained before as apprentices in Masonic work. Where and how could they have been taught if

[...] in the changes in scale, in the multiplication of imagined and imaginary references and in the spectacular acceleration of the means of transport and leads specifically to considerable physical modifications: urban concentrations, population transfers and multiplication of what we would call the 'no places', as opposed to the sociological concept of place, associated by Mauss and an entire ethnological tradition with that of localized culture [...].

See, Augé, M. (1993). *Los no lugares: espacios del anonimato*. Barcelona: Gedisa. p, 21.

³⁷⁶ The mestizo Vincent Ogé of black mother and white French father was sent to study law in Bordeaux. He related to members of local and foreign abolitionist societies. And perhaps because he was related to a French family of the high economic and political hierarchy he was allowed his Masonic admission or that issues such as the independence of Saint Domingue could be discussed alongside French white masons and Amigos de la Société des amis des Noirs under the protection of Masonic lodges of Bordeaux. Carpentier appropriates Ogé and incorporates him as a character in, Carpentier, A. (2008). *El siglo de las luces* (Vol. 178). Ediciones AKAL.

³⁷⁷ Société des amis des Noirs or Amis des noirs It was a group created in 1788 in France. They advocated the abolitionism of the slave trade and slavery in the territories colonized by France. They admitted women and racialized subjects from the colonies in their membership and related closely with other abolitionist movements such as the English. Its members were very well placed in French society, some militated in Masonic lodges and political estates. Also see, Resnick, D. P. (1972). The Société des amis des noirs and the Abolition of Slavery. *French Historical Studies*, 7(4), 558-569.

³⁷⁸ Cauna, J. D. (1997). Polverel et Sonthonax, deux voies pour l'abolition de l'esclavage. *Outre-Mers. Revue d'histoire*, 84(316), 47-53. Cited in, Buck-Morss, S. (2005). *Hegel y Haití: la dialéctica amo-esclavo: una interpretación revolucionaria*. Grupo Editorial Norma. n.110, p, 87.

³⁷⁹ Roberts, J. M. (1972). *The mythology of the secret societies*. Londres: Secker and Warburg. p, 52. Cited in, Buck-Morss, S. (2005). *Hegel y Haití: la dialéctica amo-esclavo: una interpretación revolucionaria*. Grupo Editorial Norma. p, 86-7. About jew initiations in freemasonry, Van Pelt, R. J. (2014). *Freemasonry and Judaism*. Handbook of Freemasonry, 188-232.

Afro-descendants were in theory not allowed to initiate in lodges of white Masons according to the strict application of the Anderson Constitutions? On this point, however, Cécile Révauger argues an unregistered exercise or unwritten use. These customs have to be understood byways of articulating internally in the lodge that does not respond to any legislation and therefore, would not be subject to the norm in the white lodges of Saint Domingue. We assume then that this type of use has been taken under consultation/voting ceremony/ball scrutiny among the members of the lodge. In any case, this use can explain why there could be enough Afro-descendants initiated and masonically prepared to take over the management of these national lodges only two years after the independence of the island.

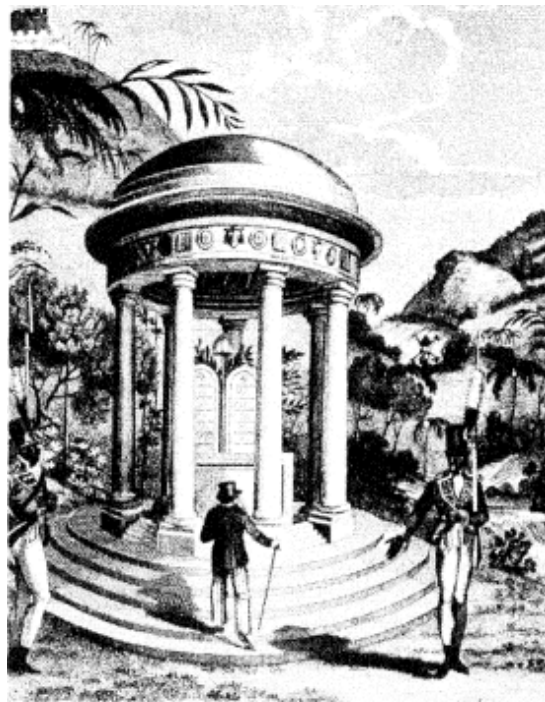


Fig.20 A Temple erected by the Blacks to commemorate their Emancipation.³⁸⁰

³⁸⁰ Illustration for Marcus Rainsford. *An Historical Account of the Black Empire of Hayti* (1805). Line engraving by J. Barlow after the author. On Barlow's work for this book, see Honour, *From the American Revolution to World War I*, 95. Cited in, Buck-Morss, S. (2009). *Hegel, Haiti, and universal history*. University of Pittsburgh Press, p. 66.



Fig.21 French Masonic apron, late eighteenth century³⁸¹

Perhaps there was much more than a lukewarm collaboration between the white lodges in Haiti and the free and enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants who were initiated into them. And perhaps some in their support for the Saint Domingue Revolution ceased to be white lodges to become 'integrated.' In the same sense as the Abakuás institutions. If it had not happened in this way, there would be little explanation for the fact that the year after the triumph of independence (1791-1804) of the Empire of Haiti, in 1805, this temple (Fig2. 01 was erected round in the image and likeness of the Masonic apron (Fig. 21_), which coincidentally, according to Buck-Morss, is a replica of the apron of George Washington, known Mason and first president of the United States. Révauger states that,

[...] the French lodges of planters in Saint Domingue had found a 'compromise': they would accept black brethren, but only at the first and second degrees in order to allow them to attend to their white brethren as 'frères servants' at meals [...].³⁸²

But how is this use/custom to be read? It is undoubtedly the first gesture towards the Masonic candidacies in the Afro-descendant male community. But should it be understood as a way of incorporating Afro-descendants but keeping the initiations in a low profile / colorblind that did not alert Andersonian dogmatics? Could these lodges of white Masons act as possible abolitionist allies? Or were they spaces where more radical

³⁸¹ Cited in, Buck-Morss, S. (2009). *Hegel, Haiti, and universal history*. University of Pittsburgh Press.p, 68.

³⁸² Bogdan, H., & Pike, JAM (2014). *Handbook of Freemasonry*. Brill.p, 422. Garrigus, J. (2006). *Before Haiti: Race and Citizenship in French Saint-Domingue*. Springer.p, 292-6.

political activities, such as conspiracies for enslaved uprisings, could be managed? As the documentation points out, Afro-descendants in Saint Domingue could be initiated in the first two grades as apprentices and partners. The work that these Afro-descendants were designated to perform in the lodge was as servants³⁸³ in the Masonic banquets. It is worth noting that this was not a job exclusively for them, but it is a task usually carried out by initiates in these first two grades. However, what catches our attention is that serving is the only job that was allowed in the lodge. Masonic suppers or banquets³⁸⁴ were very common in Colonial times and were made within the private scope of the lodge, but also in its public civic mission in which they opened their halls to charity balls.

Regardless of whether the initiation of Afro-descendants was designed or not so as not to attract the attention of other lodges of more conservative Whites, it relegated Afro-descendants exclusively to initiations up to the second degree of the thirty-three granted and to work related to the servitude of the white mason brother, which is in *imitatio* the closest connection to slavery of which many of them were or had been protagonists. But let's consider for a moment in those black bodies sharing a liturgy, a ritual made by and for white bodies. This is where affective otherness³⁸⁵ manifests itself not only in the Philo-religious practice of Freemasonry but also in a non-affectivity towards these subjects. An exercise with a narrative of the moral³⁸⁶ that has registered by dogma and norm the discrimination of the former. It is hard to believe that the Africans and Afro-descendants of Saint Domingue, possibly in their different conditions and degrees of freedom³⁸⁷, restricted themselves exclusively to the role of servants in the banquets of the lodges. And even if so, only for this job as waiters they were required to receive the same Masonic instruction that every candidate once initiated should receive to progress.

Donovan Schaefer, in his approach to the theory of affects in religious studies, helps us to rethink these possible relationships that could occur in the lodges of Saint Domingue,

³⁸³ Combes, A. (1986, November). La Franc-maçonnerie aux Antilles et en Guyane française de 1789 à 1848. In *La Période révolutionnaire aux Antilles dans la littérature française (1750–1850) et dans les littératures caribéennes francophone, anglophone et hispanophone. Images et résonances. Actes du colloque international pluridisciplinaire.* p, 26-30.

³⁸⁴ Feasts, M. Banquets and table lodges. *Historic data and rituals of Table Lodges (Revised 1983.)*, 145.

³⁸⁵ Mazzarella, W. (2012). Affect: What is it Good for?. In *Enchantments of modernity* (pp. 309-327). Routledge India.

³⁸⁶ Pike, A. (2016). *Morals and Dogma of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of Freemasonry*. Lulu.com.

³⁸⁷ Scott, R. J. (2009). *Degrees of freedom: Louisiana and Cuba after slavery*. Harvard University Press.

Santiago de Cuba or the transhumant³⁸⁸ of Manigua in Cuba theorizing the relations reproduced between black and white, free and enslaved, coloniality and colonized and the phenomenology of affections in the Masonic liturgy,

[...] maps these concerns out as a series of questions, asking, 'What is the relationship between physiology and culture in the practice of religious ritual? Does physically choreographed ritual engender universal emotional responses? What is the role of culture in the evocation as well as the expression of ritually produced emotion?' [...] These questions can also be phrased using the vocabulary of affect theory: How do material bodies insert themselves into cultural-intellectual landscapes mediated by discourse? How do the thick, quasi-stable shapes of affect circulating heavily within and between bodies condition and drive the phenomenological geography of religion? And how do these phenomenological textures condition encounters between bodies and power?³⁸⁹

The Masonic lodges were perhaps one of those places that served as safe environments, protected by their hermetic dynamics and secrecy, and perfect to house political, social conspiracies and, why not, racialized subjects as well. Freemasonry could be then reinterpreted in these cases as instruments/technologies/frameworks for political intrigue³⁹⁰.

There was also no systematization of the initiations of Afro-descendants before or during the revolutionary process in Saint Domingue, something very similar to what in Cuba during the Wars of Independence was called the Manigua Lodges. The exceptionality of Afro-descendant leaders such as Toussaint Louverture³⁹¹ being initiated into

³⁸⁸ Lodges of Manigua: Masonic meetings took place in the middle of the Cuban mountain or manigua in the camp or traveling settlement of the Liberation Army of Cuba. Guerrero, MAV (1946). *The Cuban War of Independence: 1895-1898* (Vol. 1). Lex.Figueredo Socarrás, F. (1901). Independence militant lodge, in *The Grand Lodge* (Havana) 3. p, 23-25. Also in, Cuevas, ET (2011). Cuevas, E. T. (2011). Masonerías en Cuba durante el siglo XIX. REHMLAC. Revista de Estudios Históricos de la Masonería Latinoamericana y Caribeña, 3(2), 67-105. Gálvez, S. S. (2009). Institucionalización de la masonería en Cienfuegos. REHMLAC. Revista de Estudios Históricos de la Masonería Latinoamericana y Caribeña, 1(1), 191-211.

³⁸⁹ Schaefer, DO (2015). *Religious affects: Animality, evolution, and power*. Duke University Press.p, 37.

³⁹⁰ Harland-Jacobs, JL, Jansen, JC, & Mancke, E. (2019). The fraternal Atlantic: An introduction.p, 283-293.

³⁹¹ Toussaint Louverture was one of the Afro-descendant leaders of the Saint Domingue revolution. His grandfather was kidnapped in Dahomey and enslaved on the island of La Hispaniola, before Spain ceded Saint Domingue to the French. He was born enslaved on a plantation and became governor of Haiti. Masonic Signature of Toussaint Louverture. See, De Cauna, J. (2009). *Haití, l'éternelle révolution: histoire de sa décolonisation (1789-1804)*. PRNG.p, 292. Also, Bell, Madison Smartt. *Toussaint The Opening: A*

Freemasonry in the first years of the enslaved uprisings would have to be seen in this context even though in the case of Saint Domingue everything points to the number of non-white initiates could be significant. On 29 August 1793 Toussaint Louverture made the Declaration of Camp Turel to the blacks of Saint Domingue, and this is the earliest document containing his Masonic signature.

If the Haitian Revolution is to be seen as a great spell in a trans-religious and trans-national key, in its description one can inscribe the words of Zora Neale Hurston on the leadership of Moses that may well accommodate leaders of Saint Domingue independence,

[...] He was seeing visions of a nation he had never heard of where there would be more equality of opportunity and less difference between top and bottom³⁹².

A kind of significant pact between Afro-descendants and Africans of different ethnicities and religions and allies. The voodoo - as the Abakuá was also to be understood - must be interpreted as the technology, the agglutination, as a code. Although voodoo has been restricted exclusively to the religious sphere, in its emergence, it seems to have been constituted as a political pact- religious that helped shape Haitian society in its diversity under a single umbrella. However, this would be without renouncing to the pluri-ethnicity that would serve to inscribe the four paths or types of voodoo³⁹³ that correspond to the main geographies from which enslaved Africans in Saint Domingue originated. In the words of the anthropologist Grete Viddal,

[...] communal sense of distinctiveness, the perception of a shared heritage³⁹⁴.

However, as Susan Buck-Morss Toussaint Louverture points out, voodoo was pursued even before independence. Perhaps from Bois Caiman's own lived experience that only

Biography p,19, 63. Thornton, JK (1991). African soldiers in the Haitian revolution. *The Journal of Caribbean History*, 25(1), 58.

³⁹² Hurston, Zora Neale. *Moses, Man of the Mountain*. (Kindle Location 1125)Harper Collins. Kindle edition.

³⁹³ Rigaud, M. (1985). *Secrets of voodoo*. City Lights Books. p,72.

³⁹⁴ Viddal, Grete Tove. (2014). *Vodú Chic: Cuba's Haitian Heritage, the Folkloric Imaginary, and the State*. Doctoral dissertation, Harvard University.p, 4.

such a pact³⁹⁵ could compete with the new independence. So new enemies appeared for the Voodoo, or at least now they were made visible by the leaders of the uprisings in Saint Domingue. Perhaps because Voodoo as a pact between enslaved and free Afro-descendants with different backgrounds, ancient African slaves traders, Muslims, Christianists, animists had decided to create something new where that multi-diversity had a place, where each Voodoo member will find its place. That spell had marked the original leadership of the uprising. The presence of Masonic symbols in the Voodoo emblem could grant new connections that go beyond the corpus symbolicum.

The political instrumentalism to which Voodoo has been condemned from one end of the political spectrum to the other realizes that it is an indissoluble aspect of any analysis that serves the island. Scarce has been Western scholars in general and Masonry in particular, that even incorporating into their report the transnational and / or global character of the institution, they have not been able to integrate or deal with these subjects of the otherness. To ignore Voodoo as a technology³⁹⁶ of knowledge outside the enlightened European norm and in the best case consider it as a subaltern religious and residual practice; when they have been able to shake, switch and pervert the center-periphery dynamics. Michel-Rolph Trouillot, Caribbean anthropologists in the line of Eric Williams and CLR James, argued in *Silencing the Past*, the responsibility for the production of historical narratives, the silenced pasts and the construction of racialized subjects, subalternized under oppression and privilege³⁹⁷ of the west.

³⁹⁵ Louis Jr, B. M. (2019). Haiti's Pact with the Devil?: Bwa Kayiman, Haitian Protestant Views of Vodou, and the Future of Haiti. *Religions*, 10(8), 464.

³⁹⁶ In general modern terms, the interpretation of some liturgy, rituals, uses and methodologies of the Christian religion as technology in the West is possibly associated with the conceptualization of Deus Ex Macchina. However, for the analysis of religions of African genesis it would be necessary to incorporate the importance that the body - as it embodies God - has in these manifestations. White, L. T. (1978). *Medieval religion and technology: collected essays* (Vol. 13). Univ of California Press. Wills, David. *Dorsality: Thinking Back through Technology and Politics*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008.

³⁹⁷ Trouillot, M. R. (2017). Silenciando el pasado: el poder y la producción de la historia. *Comares*.p, 23-5.

7 Freemasonry Entanglements with Afro-religious practices

7.1 Entanglements among Ekpe & Masonry /Being Ekpe(Egbo) .. Being a mason

The first analogies between the Ekpe (Egbo) and Masonry institutions were made by Europeans both on the ground, from the Cross River territory, and British protectorate. The religious anthropologist, Rosalind IJ Hackett, defines Ekpe (Egbo) as,

[...] as an ‘esoteric philosophical society.’ Some would even describe it as a ‘gentlemen's club,’ along with masonic lines.
(sic)³⁹⁸

The captains of slave ships, missionaries, commercial agents and the British Foreign Office made explicit the name of Ekpe (Egbo) as an institution whose internal organization, structure, disposition and influence, and sometimes described as a paramilitary group that exercised its power against certain subjects, it could be considered as a type of freemasonry. This identification would cause an ambivalent denomination in the use of the term masonry applied to Ekpe (Egbo).

At the beginning of the XX, Charles Partridge was a witness of the dynamics of Ekpe (Egbo) in the territory of the Cross River, describes the fellowship comparing its operation with a European Medieval Guild. Partridge discerns in what he understood by the virtues and defects of the guild society in Europe, and it seemed without apparent connection, to have also reproduced in the Calabar area, not without its particularities,

Their most potent means of acquiring influence and supremacy is, however, through their great secret society called Egbo. There are other secret societies in other parts of the Protectorate, but probably not one of them has so wide a sphere of jurisdiction as the Egbo of the Efiks. Whether it originated at Calabar, or whether it was brought there from the Ibibio country by the Calabrese, is unknown to the writer. Europeans know so little of it — its organisation, its rites and ceremonies, its rules and ordinances, and all the paraphernalia of its different grades, symbols, and costumes — [...] They play an important part in the progress of civilisation, but, in course of time, their power tends to become tyrannical and antagonistic to progress, and then, after causing the progressive administrator a good deal of trouble, they either die a

³⁹⁸ Hackett, RI (2013). Religion in Calabar: the religious life and history of a Nigerian town (Vol. 27). Walter de Gruyter.p, 182.

lingering death — [...] The guilds of medieval England were, like all human institutions, a mixture of good and evil — the good in them helped us forward, and the evil has long since dwindled away, but their organisation and influence still survive in many useful friendly societies, clubs, and institutes now flourishing among us. [...] There can be no doubt that its influence, in some form or another, has permeated far and wide throughout all parts of the two divisions watered by the Cross River and its tributaries, and no Political Officer who has had any experience in dealing with the natives can deny that this secret society is quite the most powerful agency in these parts³⁹⁹.

For Charles Partridge, Ekpe (Egbo) is considered almost as a necessary evil in Cross River society. Highlighting the analogy between Ekpe as an association organized around an identifying label built in the middle of a certain degree of esotericism that makes the author compare it with medieval guilds. And perhaps the writing and spelling Nsibidi⁴⁰⁰ of Calabar could resemble the quarry marks and the stonecutters' signs⁴⁰¹ that each guild used to identify their work from that of the competition and to which an esoteric meaning is also attributed to them as a hermetic language. While noting the political and economic agency of Ekpe in managing economic activities, the Calabar institution is articulated as an armed arm, manager or executor of mortal sentences, definitive slavery or temporary servitude if necessary, both in defense of their interests and in defense of the benefits of its British partners⁴⁰². Perhaps in this monopoly exercise over the control of a particular job or occupation is what Partridge refers to.

The European Medieval Guilds⁴⁰³ have been studied as idealistic models of egalitarian associations, highlighting their excellence for a job well done and finished, and simultaneously their secrecy when transmitting their knowledge. Occasionally, criticisms of internal functioning as discriminatory to apprentice bases or early grades have been neglected. And to the same extent, its inbreeding, in terms of knowledge management or access to work. So without hesitation that we could see some of the successes of the guild

³⁹⁹ Partridge, C. (1905). Cross river natives. Hutchinson & Company.p,35-6.

⁴⁰⁰ Macgregor, J. K. (1909). Some Notes on Nsibidi. *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, 39, 209-219. Slogar, C. (2007). Early ceramics from Calabar, Nigeria: Towards a history of nsibidi. *african arts*, 40(1), 18-29.

⁴⁰¹ Tyson, B. (1994). Identifying and classifying masons' marks. *Vernacular architecture*, 25(1), 4-15. For more information about masonry marks, Coldstream, N. (1991). *Masons and sculptors*. University of Toronto Press.

⁴⁰² Lovejoy, P. E., & Richardson, D. (1999). Trust, pawnship, and Atlantic history: the institutional foundations of the Old Calabar slave trade. *The American Historical Review*, 104(2), 332-355.

⁴⁰³ Coll, S. (2019). Sheilagh Ovilvie: The European guilds: an economic analysis.

production mode in Ekpe (Egbo) and Abakuá, it seems that Partridge could refer to that absolute control over its members, the production of knowledge, access and management over the modes of production, the collection of taxes, credits⁴⁰⁴ and loans, and the enslaved workforce of which they also owned. Another Briton on the territory, The Count of Cardi makes a direct analogy, calling Ekpe (Egbo) a model of freemasonry,

[...] — 'Egbo, the great secret society of these people, is a sort of freemasonry, having, I believe, seven or nine grades. To attempt to describe the minor working of this society would be impossible for me, as I do not belong to it. Though several Europeans have been admitted to some of the grades, none have ever, to my knowledge, succeeded in being initiated to the higher grades. The uses of this society are manifold, but the abuses more than outweigh any use it may have been to the people. As an example, I may mention the use which a European would make of his having Egbo, viz. if any native owed him money or its equivalent, and was in no hurry to pay, the European would blow Egbo on the debtor, and that man could not leave his house until he had paid up. Egbo could be, and was, used for matters of a much more serious nature than the above, such as the ruin of a man if a working majority could be got together against him. This society could work much more swiftly than the course adopted in other rivers to compass a man's downfalls⁴⁰⁵

Count Cardi gives an account of Egbo's conception as what we would classify today as a paramilitary group capable of exerting physical, economic and political pressure on any social basis below its elitist membership. But it also realizes that this institution can establish agreements, favors, or exercise pressures on European individuals to develop relationships, connections or dependencies. This secret society not only blends with other institutions such as the type of management, collection, and credit⁴⁰⁶ of tax items to British commercial agents; but it can establish deals or favors in the private order, as debt collectors. In the same way, Masonry was conceived by the rest of the social and political estates in 19th-century Europe. Behind which, they see a lack of honorability, interested pressures and conspiracies whose imago they see in Ekpe (Egbo). Again Partridge claims criticism that he says the Count of Cardi to Ekpe (Egbo). Partridge justifies the ways of

⁴⁰⁴ Randy J. Sparks. *The Two Princes of Calabar* (Posición en Kindle 431-432). Edición de Kindle.

⁴⁰⁵ Kingsley, M. (2013). *West African Studies*. Routledge.p, 562-3. Cited also in, Partridge, C. (1905). *Cross river natives*. Hutchinson & Company. p,36-7.

⁴⁰⁶ Lovejoy, P. E., & Richardson, D. (1999). Trust, pawnship, and Atlantic history: the institutional foundations of the Old Calabar slave trade. *The American Historical Review*, 104(2), 332-355.

Ekpe (Egbo) as the use of armed force by comparing it with the need to implement this force in the Cross River because of the untamed (religiousness) of the territory.

The singular thing is that the criticism towards the exceptionalism of the Cross River is driven by Ekpe (Egbo) or the perception that Europeans have of the institution, the same ones that have dealt with or started in it to access more favorable economic guarantees in relationship with those who have not been initiated. Is it not controversial that the need for the coercive force of Ekpe (Egbo) is justified when it is used or part of it and in its ambivalence, at the same time it is criticized? Cardi points out the exercise of Ekpe's agency as necessary as far as the Cossacks were for Russia. Beyond strange comparisons, Partridge believes that Ekpe (Egbo) has a crucial social function. And he also realizes how Europeans' support for Ekpe (Egbo) supports the same conservatism that is criticized.

[...] I would beg to differ from the Count as regards his opinion that the abuses of this society ' more than outweigh any use it may have been to the people.' That its abuses are great cannot be denied, but surely its uses in helping the Efiks to establish trading relations with the wild tribes of the upper parts of the Cross River, and thus paving the way for our own intercourse with these peoples, have been infinitely greater . It has helped on civilisation in a sort of Cossack way, and the intelligent Efiks of Calabar will doubtless adapt its highly organised ramifications to the new culture which so many of them are doing their best to acquire. Give them time, for they are intensely conservative, and, though they outwardly adopt Europeanism [sic]⁴⁰⁷

In May 1909, *THE ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS*⁴⁰⁸ published in a graphic report that first recounted the persistence in the analogy between the Ekpe Secret Society (Egbo) and Freemasonry for public opinion in England. And secondly, he also realized that the anti-Masonic⁴⁰⁹ campaign that continued to spread throughout Europe was not only in

⁴⁰⁷ Partridge, C. (1905). Cross river natives. Hutchinson & Company.p,37.

⁴⁰⁸ McKendry, V. (1994). 'THE ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS' and the Invention of Tradition. *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 27(1), 1-24.

⁴⁰⁹ Ratcliffe, DJ (1995). Antimasonry and Partisanship in Greater New England, 1826-1836. *Journal of the Early Republic*, 15(2), 199-239. Also, Péter, R. (2010) Representations of Anti-Masonry in Eighteenth-Century London Newspapers', presented at the Twelfth International Canonbury Conference on the Study of Freemasonry, London.Cited also in Peter, R. (2016).

response to the well-known conflicts between the Catholic Church⁴¹⁰ and Freemasonry, but also its extension to Protestantism in general and the Church of Anglican⁴¹¹ in particular. The ecclesiastical positioning on both sides of Christianity saw Freemasonry as a threat, and the Great Architect of the Universe⁴¹² (G.A.O.T.U.) as the possible opponent to neutralize.

The Pope Bulas issued by the Catholic Church legitimized the criticisms and persecutions that the confessional states not only forbade Freemasonry under the harshest penalty but that Freemasons were persecuted not for political reasons but because Rome exiled them, the crime violated the Catholic religion. Freemasonry was judged as a religious crime, as heresy despite not self-recognizing itself as a religion. Although where there were no territorial inquisition courts, those anti-Freemasonry rulings would not take place until the 18th century⁴¹³.

The anti-Masonic movement generated in Europe was supported and even promoted by the Catholic Church on British territory, especially on Irish land for apparent reasons, Ireland was the great bastion of Catholicism on British territory. Controversially, such debates and encounters would soon spread into Anglican circles inside and outside the Church of England across the Atlantic. But perhaps because of the Protestant world, although it should not be understood as a more open world about the Catholic religion, they did create an economic framework that is easy to understand were used by these philosophical networks related to the colonialisms exercised by the European empires.

⁴¹⁰ From the 18th to the Catholic Church he issued a series of Papal Bulls against Freemasonry. Some of this documentation are: 1738: Clement XII, *In eminent apostolatus*, 1751: Benedict XIV, *Fitted with Romanorum*, 1821: Pius VII, *Ecclesiam a Jesu Christo*, 1825: Leo XII, *Quo graviora*, Pius VIII (1829: *Betrayed humilitarites*, 1830: *Litteris Change*); 1832: Gregory XVI, *Mirari your*; Pius IX (1846: *Who pluribus*, 1849: *Quibus quantisque malis*); Leo XIII (1882: *Etsi Nos*, 1884: *Humanum genus*). See also, GANDOLFI, S. (1826). *Notificazione per le sette occulte e clandestine condannate da Clemente XII., Benedetto XIV., Pio VII. e da Leone XII.*

⁴¹¹ Kirby, D. (2005). Christianity and Freemasonry: The compatibility debate within the Church of England. *Journal of religious history*, 29(1), 43-66.

⁴¹² Great Architect of the Universe or G.A.O.T.U. It is the way in which freemasonry refers to the higher entity that organizes the universe. It is understood by the profane as the God of Freemasonry and although it may be thought that it could be one of the reasons that the Catholic Church could use to ban them, the real threat was the accelerated projection of elite associationism in Freemasonry, already widespread between the Catholic clergy itself.

⁴¹³ Bogdan, H., & Pike, JAM (2014). *Handbook of Freemasonry*. Brill.p, 141-2.

The Catholic Church promoted the paradigm shift in public opinion, the Masonic imaginary and the institution itself moved from benevolence to criticism. The identitarian reconstruction of Freemasonry was in response to a network or circle of a male economic and political elite that stood as a ruler of British society. The shift of discourse towards Freemasonry set fire to public opinion that this was a corrupt, elitist organization and that its secrecy should generate great mistrust. The media, especially the written press, were the main instrument for changing social perceptions and responsible for the progressive demise of the Institution of the England Public Scene. And it is perhaps this conception of the elitist circle of power, with that speculative cosmogonic construction that is recognized with Ekpe(Egbo) as noted by Lovejoy⁴¹⁴ or Dike⁴¹⁵ or as Routon pointed for his imago Abakuá in Cuba,

More than mere repositories of the cultural beliefs and practices of Carabalí slaves, the Abakuá 'lands,' or brotherhoods, as Lydia Cabrera's informant Juan Urrutia suggested, can be compared to *estados en chiquitos*, or 'mini-states ' within the state, because of their own system of laws and protocols of jurisprudence and governance independent of those of the state.⁴¹⁶

⁴¹⁴ Lovejoy, P. E., & Richardson, D. (2003). Anglo-Ekpe Relations and Protection against Illegal Enslavement at Old Calabar, 1740–1807. *Fighting the Slave Trade: West African Strategies*, 38, 101. Lovejoy, P. E., Richardson, D., Carretta, V., & Gould, P. (2001). Letters of the Old Calabar slave trade, 1760-1789. *Genius in Bondage: Literature of the Early Black Atlantic*, 89-115.

⁴¹⁵ Dike, K. O. (1956). JOHN BEECROFT, 1790—1854: Her Britannic Majesty's Consul to the Bights of Benin and Biafra 1849—1854. *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, 1(1), 5-14.

⁴¹⁶ Routon, K. (2005). Unimaginable Homelands?' Africa' and the Abakuá Historical Imagination. *Journal of latin american anthropology*, 10(2), 370-400.



**ARE YOU A MASON? A MEMBER OF THE EGBO,
A NIGERIAN SECRET SOCIETY, IN COSTUME.**

Fig. 22. Member of Ekpe (Egbo). Comparing Ekpe (Egbo) with Freemasonry in a 1909 English newspaper.

The name Freemasonry served not only to explain from Western culture an organization like Ekpe or more specifically its form of internal organization, its esoteric liturgy and its division by degrees⁴¹⁷. Their trusted inner concentric circles correspond to the hierarchical level of their members inside and outside Ekpe. The connections were articulated as communicating vessels between the elite Ekpe(Egbo) and the social elite of the Calabar. In this way, the actions that both associations produced indiscriminately in the public space could be resolved or attributed to Ekpe (Egbo).

⁴¹⁷ Brown, DH (2003). *The Light Inside: Abakuá Society Arts and Cuban Cultural History*. Washington DC: Smithsonian Books.p, 11.

The most important and widespread of the secret societies in Nigeria is the Egbo society, which... may almost be compared to Freemasonry in England. The dress worn by the lowest-grade members is something like a diver's suit. The man has fringes of black and red grass around his ankles, and, covering his face, is a mask of wood painted white.⁴¹⁸

In this first case, these names and comparisons by Europeans reflected in the British reports came not only from theoretical reflections of dispatch. Many of these reports were written from Calabar, and some of their authors were initiated in Ekpe. Captains of slave ships first and European palm oil traders later, but also some that another British trading agent belonged to their membership, as we have already referred, upon payment of the initiation fee.

Strange things are done by some European merchants in Africa, which Christian friends in England could hardly believe were possible. Some three months ago an intelligent, well-educated European (an Englishman) degraded himself so far as to conform to the idolatrous practices of the heathens at Bonny to join their secret club, he performed all the idolatrous rites required on the occasion. This, it was said, cost him about £300 worth of goods. He was agent for a very respectable merchant in England publicly asked the chiefs, individually, whether it was not true. They all answered in the affirmative.⁴¹⁹

In 1876, Saró⁴²⁰ Bishop Ajayi Crowther raised a formal complaint in the report to the Anglican Church about the normalization that had acquired the fact that Europeans who were paying in 'goods' the value equivalent to the figure of 300 pounds to be initiated in the secrecy of Ekpe (Egbo). With this, captains of slave ships guaranteed the favor of local elites well to fill their ships with enslaved people or guarantee shipments of palm oil as quickly as possible. As long as initiated under oath as Ekpe's 'brothers,' 'sworn' Europeans should be assisted after that in any of the matters they might need both inside and outside Ekpe, with the institution being the means to achieve it or facilitate.

⁴¹⁸ At the Sign of St. Paul's.(May 29th, 1909).*THE ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS*, Vol. 134. p. 774.

⁴¹⁹ The Church Missionary Intelligencer and Record (1876). Vol. Ip, 475.

⁴²⁰ Saro ethnic nation. in the West African territories.

According to anthropologist Ute Rösenthaller, we must understand how worth of goods⁴²¹ Efik leaders solicitations introduced comparable to spirits, fabrics or other European gifts. That, as Ivor Miller and Rösenthaller, point out, global commerce added changes in the traditional fashion of the Calabar in Ekpe incorporating pieces of clothing and European consumer goods that served to raise social differences in the acquisition of certain luxury elements. This accommodating or penetration of the costume that goes from the English tuxedo⁴²² as part of the outfit in ceremonies Ekpe(Egbo), to the acquisition of furniture and design of houses made by British carpenters in Fernando Poo or England and that was moved to the Calabar. This fashionable use of European goods for consumption was supported by a fledgling market for export products arriving with some regularity. This use extends to spirits and other alcoholic⁴²³ distillates used in traditional religious ritual practices. In British settlement territories, the consumption and production of native palm wine began to be threatened. Its consumption was displaced by foreign distillates and already in colonial times the output of a local gin of its own that encompassed a consumer market in emerging British colonialism.

The second use of the term Freemasonry is at least curious. We find it in some studies on the botany of the Calabar. Missional and Scientific studies carried out around éseré or Bean of the Calabar. This bean was used in the Judgments by Ordeal⁴²⁴ and since the arrival of the first scientific expeditions of Europeans in the Cross River area began to collect samples and investigate their reaction according to the dose on the human body. The unexpected death of some man, a member of the local Calabar elite, would be the generalist context in which the Ordeal Trials were applied.

Suspicion lay with wives and slaves who were accused of witchcraft and forced to ingest as proof of their innocence, éseré. Accusations of being a sorcerer would be described in the texts by missionaries and scientists as a freemason. Missionary William Anderson

⁴²¹ Rösenthaller, U. (2011). *Purchasing Culture: the dissemination of associations in the Cross River Region of Cameroon and Nigeria*. p, 268 n12.

⁴²² Daly, M. C., Eicher, J. B., & Erekosima, T. V. (1986). Male and female artistry in Kalabari dress. *African Arts*, 19(3), 51. Cited also in, Imbua, D. L., Lovejoy, P. E., & Miller, I. L. (2017). Calabar on the Cross River: Historical and Cultural Studies. p,187.

⁴²³ Heap, S. (2005). 'A Bottle of Gin Is Dangled before the Nose of the Natives': The Economic Uses of Imported Liquor in Southern Nigeria, 1860-1920. *African Economic History*, (33), 69-85. Also see, Korieh, C. J. (2003). Alcohol and empire: 'Illicit' gin prohibition and control in colonial Eastern Nigeria. *African Economic History*, (31), 111-134.

⁴²⁴ Verstegen, R. (1634). *A restitvtion of decayed intelligence:bin antiquities. Concerning the most noble and renowned English nation*. Printed by John Norton, for Joyce Norton, and Richard Whitaker.p. 62-67.

sent a letter to his colleague missionary Hugh Goldie for the significant events that led to the death of King Archibong in January 1851. In the face of the unexpected death of his son the king, his mother Obuma decides to apply the judgment by ordeal with *éséré* and find out who had exercised the witchcraft that caused the king's death,

His mother, Obuma, took four of the family connections—one man and three women—to Mr. Young, and charged them with having killed her son by means of *ifod*, otherwise called freemason; in Jamaica it is called *obeah*; witchcraft is, I suppose, the nearest approach we can make to the meaning of the word in English.⁴²⁵

Röschenthaler explains in a footnote regarding what '*freemasonry or to freemason somebody*' means in this context is to bewitch somebody. Other terms such as 'Ifod,' used by missionary William Anderson is the Efik phonetic translation for 'witchcraft.' And in both cases, these terms refer to the esoteric form of secrecy shared by both witches and Freemasonry. Ironically, Ekpe(Egbo), the same institution that had adopted both terms were selected to delegitimize external esoteric practices, used the same methodology, and was considered simultaneously as 'Ifod' and freemasonry for the missionaries themselves. So, what we found in the texts is that being a sorcerer or practicing any spell or enchantment outside of Ekpe, could be understood as the exercise of evil powers capable of causing unexplained death. And we do not find it casual than that neither women nor slaves a priori could be initiated into Ekpe (Egbo) except precise exceptions. In these cases, the exercise of any unlimited supernatural power or outside the Ekpe umbrella would be described as '(to do) *freemason*' (*sic*).

Perhaps not only because of the British authorities and traders' perception of Ekpe(Egbo) and its contingency - in some cases dependency - to the institution itself, Ekpe(Egbo) is seen as an institution with pretensions of supra-state or elite within of the Local Elite of The Calabar⁴²⁶. Not only for the coercive and religious practices of Ekpe(Egbo) in the exercise of his power; but also by the reception that on Freemasonry as an institution has in the nineteenth century in colonized territories makes Freemasonry in Europe and Ekpe

⁴²⁵ Missionary Record of United Presbyterian Church(1852). p, 134-7.

⁴²⁶ Lovejoy, P. E. (2019, 03). Pawnship, slavery and freedom. *Slavery in the Global Diaspora of Africa*, 67-88. doi:10.4324/9781315163499-6

in Cross River equate as exercises of a witchcraft that envies men by making them abuse their power .

7.2 Entanglements among Abakuá and Freemasonry

While we are now constantly reminded of the need to historicize our understanding of the colonial experience, an examination of what this might mean for the slave, black, or African experiences, which were constitutive of the Iberian colonial experience, has yet to emerge as a subject of inquiry.⁴²⁷

Masonic Lodges and Abakuás Societies are located at opposite ends of the Cuban social spectrum where race and social class were conditions of access to membership, and were clear and in writing, in the case of the requirements of the Masonic Lodges of the island. The Abakuás emerge as a guild of black muzzle slaves for their help and mutual support: from the purchase of freedom of their members to the management of jobs for the wage crews. Although the purity of first and race then did not last long within the Abakuás.

The form of support was similar for both associations, working with the payment of the fee of their members. In the case of Freemasons, they had as a requirement of entry to have been born as a free man, special attention to the name itself including it in the name (Free and Accepted Masons), so a priori the free birth seems to have presented itself as a *conditio sine qua non* to claim membership. However, they soon did not have enough of this requirement or the high fees to be paid to keep out their workshops members of a growing Afro-descendant community on the island of Cuba such as blacks, mulattos or free flocks. This free population of African origin, to which their legal rights acquired because of their status as free – which are not citizens – entered into social contradiction with their race and/or ethnic belonging. Although there were blacks and mulattos free of birth and with the possibility of paying fees of the Masonic workshops, the clear non-black legislation left out any admission. The other case that could be given is that a slave or former slave in possession of his newly obtained Charter of Freedom also could not enter the Masonic Lodges of the island because he was not born free. Outside these two exceptions were the vast majority who were still slavery and was looking for a way to

⁴²⁷ Bennett, Herman L. African Kings and Black Slaves: Sovereignty and Dispossession in the Early Modern Atlantic (The Early Modern Americas)(Kindle position 899-901) . University of Pennsylvania Press. Edición de Kindle.

access her Charter of Freedom, either by buying it, bequeathed in inheritance to the death of the master or becoming a maroon fleeing to the *'palenques.'*⁴²⁸

The discourse of discrimination would be expanded so that racial chromatics would also be incorporated into segregation. Black went from a color to a concept that included a particular type of social behavior⁴²⁹ that was often associated with crime, barbarism, violence, precariousness, inculturation, and evil.

While ingenuity and planting were consolidated as a mode of production, the number of slaves arriving in Cuba by Trafficking as labor increased. Therefore, the mechanisms of physical and ideological submission were rearticulated to support the segregation and invisibility of Afro-descendants. At the same time, forms of resistance were activated, giving rise to the ethnic and racial identities of the minorities subjected: from the *cimarronaje* to the birth of the Abakuá Secret Society, to provide some examples within Cuban society.

The prohibition of the slave trade legally for Spain was activated since 1819. However, the slavery that in Cuba and Brazil, the last two colonized territories to receive the prohibition of slavery had to wait until 1886 and 1888, respectively.⁴³⁰ Neither ban

⁴²⁸ Palenque: community of escaped slaves on the outskirts of the big cities. They were very organized and hierarchical to defend themselves in case of attack. They were difficult to access for owners, foremen and dogs who were looking for the escapees.

⁴²⁹ Cuban and foreign anthropologists and historians begin to carry out works of criminal anthropology justifying in a pseudoscientific way the contempt and barbarism of Afro-descendants. In this stage are the first works of Fernando Ortiz and Cesare Lombroso.

⁴³⁰ Regent Queen María Cristina in 1886 signed a Royal Order ending slavery for the overseas provinces and the end of patronage. The Patronage is a form of management of the Afro-descendant population of enslaved and free people who had joined the Ten Years' War. Neither the prohibition of trafficking nor the new laws against slavery seemed to have an effective application by the owners of affected plantations. Since 1874, Chinese coolies had begun to be introduced to correct part of the loss of the illegality of trafficking with Africans. Lobbyists of the Cuban sugar industry worried about the losses pressed in the Spanish courts on how to make the process of transition from slavery to the freedom of their enslaved workforce. On February 13, 1880, the so-called Patronage/Patronazgo/Patronato Law was issued and its first three articles made its nature very clear:

Art. 1st. The state of slavery on the Island of Cuba ceases in accordance with the requirements of this law.

Art. 2nd. Individuals who, without violation of the law of July 4, 1870, are registered as servants in the census completed in 1871 and continue in servitude to the enactment of this law, will remain for as long as it is determined under the patronage of their holders.

Art. 3rd. The Patronage will retain the right to use the work of its sponsors and to represent them in all civil and judicial acts in accordance with the laws.

The regulation of the patronage of slaves that was not published in the Gazette, nor disseminated in Spain. The sponsor's conditions continued to be essentially like those of a enslaved person with punishments for faults included. See, Salmoral, M. L. (2005). *Regulación de la esclavitud negra en las colonias de América española (1503-1886): documentos para su estudio* (Vol. 6). Editum. P, 381-3

seriously affected the island because the plantation-based economy had been demanding large slave endowments for decades for all its growth cycles, especially for the collection or cutting of sugarcane. As a result, trafficking and the sale of slaves in the Caribbean will continue illegally. Africans who are going to enslave, raise their acquisition prices now from the black market. Both Brazil and Cuba will become the last territories to abandon these old and bad habits despite the illegality legislated.

From operational Freemasonry to speculative in 19th-century Cuba: Itinerant or Provisional English Military Lodges (1762-1763) that Freemasonry, like everything else, is or has been evolutionary. The new Cuban Masonic obediences of the mid-19th century would accommodate Afro-descendants within it. Especially the so-called Lodges (*trashumantes*) of *Manigua*.⁴³¹

If the *Anderson Constitutions*⁴³², the founding act of Speculative Freemasonry in Europe was coined in 1717 with the establishment of a Grand Lodge in London. It is interesting to note that only twenty-two years later, this institution is established on the Caribbean island of Jamaica, a former Spanish colony that became part of the British overseas territory. The first lodge founded in the Caribbean was on the island of Jamaica, in Kingston, on April 14, 1739. In 1806, Américo Carnicelli⁴³³ pointed out, 19 lodges had developed on the small island, under the British jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of Jamaica. Jamaica can be seen in the early nineteenth century a large Masonic center where illustrious and anonymous initiates from all over the American territory would converge. This very moment is shared, as we have already pointed out with Saint Domingue/Haiti. The neighboring island already had its National Lodges constituted by the enslaved uprisings and their independence, made, ultimately by and for Afro-descendants.

⁴³¹ Freemasons in Cuba during the 19th century. *REHMLAC. Journal of Historical Studies of Latin American and Caribbean Freemasonry*, 3(2), 67-105.

⁴³² In 1717 it is the date attributed to the founding of the Grand Lodge of England and the beginning of speculative Freemasonry. The printed copy of the earliest manifesto is from 1723. In 1734 Benjamin Franklin would publish the *Anderson Constitutions* in the United States. This copy was the first Masonic book printed in the United States. Franklin joined Masonry in 1731 and was elected Grand Master of the Masonic Lodge of St. John in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Anderson, J., Franklin, B., & Royster, P. (2008). *The constitutions of the Free-Masons (1734)*. University of Nebraska-Lincoln Libraries, Office of Scholarly Communication.

⁴³³ Carnicelli, A. (1970). *Freemasonry in independence of America: 1810-1830, 1833-1940*. National Cooperative of Graphic Arts. p, 38-9.

However, we will focus on how Freemasonry can not only be seen as an operational practice but also as an exercise of the Metaphysical and the Esoteric Western that has been incorporated into Afro-Caribbean religious practices such as Voodoo, Abakuá or Palo Monte while Masonic studies must continue to travel the path with regard to gender analyses in relation to the incorporation of women into the Masonic lodges and the study of the internal dynamics of female lodges and their relationship with their male counterparts. Much has yet to be investigated concerning Race & Gender theory studies and Masonic lodges. A priori, as with the prohibition or refusal of the incorporation of women into regular lodges, there is an explicit designation of the exclusive initiation of men born in the wild. In the case of Cuba, it is difficult to specify when free black people and slaves or manumitted were incorporated into the Masonic lodges.

The specificity of the English militant lodges in their roaming character during 1762-1763⁴³⁴, Latin American political conspiracies with Masonic leadership and the so-called Campaign Lodges, incorporate into the history of Cuban Freemasonry more aspects of broad-spectrum and global or at least internationalization and diversity that take us away from a linear history authority of the fragmentation and complexity of the institution also in its less normative exercise. Both gender and race served as dynamic controversies sustained by elitism and colonialism implanted in the Caribbean.

This research focuses on possible back-and-forth additions between Freemasonry and Afro-Cuban religions. There were undoubtedly other groups with the similarity of dynamics in Latin America and the Caribbean that opened their doors to many Afro-descendants and openly incorporated some of the practices that The Caribbean's Afro-

⁴³⁴ The process of installing Masonic Lodges and Workshops on the island of Cuba dates back to the second half of the 18th century with the Taking of Havana by English military fleets, and whose occupation was from 1762 to 1763. At this time, the reference that It is not from workshops attached to the Cuban territory but from lodges of the infantry corps of English troops on the island. The documentation found is a Masonic initiation act in the name of Alexander Cockburn. The manuscript was published in the *Ars Quatour Coronaturum Magazine* and says that such initiation was made in Lodge 218 of the Irish Regiment belonging to Infantry Detachment No. 48. Historians such as Cuevas and Soucy agree that, at the moment, there is no documentation to prove that after the departure of English troops, the Masonic works on the island related to these lodges were continued. These Masonic workshops allowed a continuation of the work of its members regardless of their mission or military destiny. These lodges cannot be considered as antecedents of the Cuban freemasonry since neither recruitments nor interactions were made with the Cuban society. Nor is there documentary evidence about the participation of citizens of the island in their work or that they settled in it and could lose their military roaming status. From the departure of the English fleets until 1790 only one document related to Freemasonry will appear, on December 7, 1769, document by which the governor of Cuba asks for the release of the English citizen John Fitz, who had been sent to the prison of Cádiz to prove its belonging to freemasonry.

descendant religious communities had been practicing, a clear example of this is the Pocomías lodges⁴³⁵ of the Limón area in Costa Rica. The *Logias Pocomias* of the XIX, despite their emulative practices of European Freemasonry, was a place where the condition of being black and slave or ex-slave was not reason enough not to be accepted and actively incorporated into the works of the lodge.

7.3 Freemasonry in Vodou, round-trip borrowings

About the influence of freemasonry in Haitian Vodou, Metraux argues

Las numerosas prácticas católicas que se mezclan en las ceremonias de ritual africano han sido desde hace mucho tiempo objeto de comentarios divertidos o indignados [...]Por el contrario no parece que se haya insistido bastante sobre las influencias que han incidido en el ritual vudú [...]¿Ha aportado la francmasonería su cuota al ceremonial vudú? Así se dice. Se asegura también que ciertos hougan están afiliados a las logias. Es verdad que, en determinados dibujos simbólicos de las divinidades, se reconocen ciertos símbolos masónicos. Habrá además algunos loas masones, como Agasú, Agaú y Linglesú. De todos modos, la influencia masónica ha sido escasa y sin duda superficial. La originalidad del Vudú depende tanto de sus funciones como de la disparidad de los elementos que ha sabido armonizar⁴³⁶.

We assume that when Metraux argues about freemason Loas he referred to the incorporation of Masonic symbols to the voices or voodoo spelling of some Loa in particular.

⁴³⁵ The history of the Costa Rican city of Limón was marked by the construction of the railroad and the need to import labor for this company. In this area the high percentage of Jamaican immigration, as it would happen in the Panama Canal (c.1903-1914) meant the accent of a new culture brought by Jamaican immigrants and an enrichment in the religious exercise of the area. The lodges of the so-called Mechanics, Lautaros, Lions, as well as other similar organizations arise to some extent in emulation to the regular Masonic lodges but with and in the future for a membership of Afro-Anglo origins that respond to the type of implanted plantation colonization in Jamaica, but with significant doses of Anglicanism, Obeah and a budding Garveyian philosophy in the 19th. Alvarado Luna, A. (2017). The History of Pocomia in Limon (Costa Rica) and Bocas del Toro (Panama). From Late Nineteenth Century to the Present. *Revista de Estudios Históricos de la Masonería Latinoamericana y Caribeña*, 8(2), 195-221.

⁴³⁶ Metraux, A.(1963) El vudú en Haití. Ed. Sur Buenos Aires. p, 135-136.

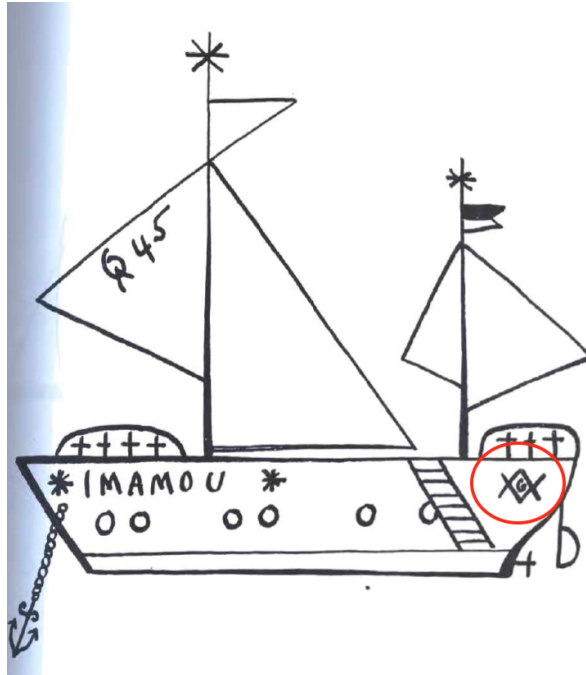


Fig. 18. Invocation for the Loa Agaué⁴³⁷ (Loa Agau that refers Metraux).

It seems Metraux did not believe that Freemasonry's contributions to voodoo had been determinant for its development in Haiti; perhaps the ethnographer did not realize of the borrowed elements from voodoo in Freemasonry.



Fig. 19a.

⁴³⁷ Rigaud, M. (1974). *Ve-Ve Diagrammes Rituels Du Voudou: Ritual Voodoo Diagrams*. French & European Publications, p. 379.



Fig. 19b.

Fig. 19a. & b. Reflection Chamber in Haitian masonic lodge⁴³⁸

What we have been able to find in this case is that the reflection chamber, a space that is protagonist during the initiation of the neophyte, is one of the places where one of the initiation tests takes place. The future Mason must overcome a stay in solitude in this narrow, gloomy and cold place. It is barely decorated with few drawings that usually do not miss the word V.I.T.R.I.O.L.⁴³⁹. The neophyte prepares to accept his death as a profane in order to be reborn as a freemason, usually accompanied by a small table on top of which there is a lit candle, a mirror, sulfur, salt, mercury, a skeleton skull and a chair where he will write his philosophical testament.

In this Haitian lodge, the reflection chamber has become a community space. Understanding the change of dynamics from the private and personal to the public and controlled community, is something that would still be studied by specialists, especially checking if this change in the regulation is exceptional to this lodge, if this change has anything to do with the incorporation of blacks to the Masonic exercise inside Haiti since the beginning of the 20th century, or whether it works for all the lodges in the country. In any case, the opening to the collective of the individual and private reflection spaces of the lodge is something that only here we have been able to observe.

⁴³⁸ Reflection Chamber. Photo of the Interior of the Lodge in Port du Prince (2015?). Courtesy of prof. Joan Gimeno.

⁴³⁹ V.I.T.R.I.O.L.: interpreted as *visita interiora terrae, rectificando que, invenies occultum lapidem*.

The academic community agrees on the dynamism and flexibility of the African and Afro-Caribbean religions, and although there have also been monographic studies on the influence of Western religions and currents of thought within Afro-descendant religious practice in the Caribbean, as for example the great attention that the studies on the influence Kardeciana in the Caribbean and the accommodation of the European Spiritism and the Millenarian movements to the Afro Descendant religious dynamics have provoked. The emergence of Espiritismo Cruzado is perhaps one of the clearest examples on the island of Cuba. We propose a global perspective that will help us to interpret not only what happened in the Caribbean as a result of the slave trade, but also a product of it, what happened in the African territories stripped of the human capital that was kidnapped.

8 Cuba, between Abakua ‘Juegos’ and Masonic Gatherings

The political processes towards the construction of the Cuban Nation will have in the nineteenth century a parallel route to the processes of acculturation of the Abakuás societies and the Masonic obediences of the island of Cuba. In the same way that Cuba was born as a nation, the Cuban identity of both associations with their own identity and independence in Africa and Europe, respectively, will be born. We partially agree with Dominique Soucy when he points out that,

[...] las conspiraciones de negros (la de Aponte de 1812 o la de «La Escalera» de 1844) no las podemos tomar en cuenta para nuestro estudio ya que en su origen, las reivindicaciones raciales de las movilizaciones, no se identificaban con el discurso masónico-liberal que era más propio de la burguesía criolla y urbana⁴⁴⁰.

In contrast to Soucy's view, the figure of Aponte is progressively fulfilling the candidacy so that among all the states of those already participating after his discharge from the Militias of Color - driven primarily in the takeover of Havana by the English from 1762 to 1763- and in his current trade as a carpenter, it is not only his belonging and/or knowledge of Afro-descendant religious symbology found in the documentation that was seized from him, affirmed by the historians Luciano Franco and Enrique Sosa as Abakuá; but also their membership in a Carpenters Guild⁴⁴¹, which could well be speculated as a trade that would form part of those guilds that can be identified as operational Freemasonry (the builders).

Cuban-American Historians Ada Ferrer and Linda M. Rodríguez, the academics who with their interdisciplinary management of the Digital Aponte⁴⁴² project put us on the trail of a possible Aponte Mason. Since the project is a working progress, new research needs to be incorporated. Some of the symbolic images that the documentation gives

⁴⁴⁰ Soucy, Dominique. *Masonería y nación (Escuadra y Compás)* (Spanish Edition) (Kindle Location 640-643). Ediciones Idea. Kindle Edition. Ferrer, A. (2003, April). La société esclavagiste cubaine et la révolution haïtienne. In *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* (Vol. 58, No. 2, pp. 333-356). Cambridge University Press. Also, De la Fuente, A. (1988). *Rebeldía esclava y represión esclavista: Cuba; siglos XVI y XVII*. Alcance a la Revista de la Biblioteca Nacional 'José Martí', 2, 3-33.

⁴⁴¹ 'Legajo 4, Expte. 21. Diligencias para establecer una cofradía de San José el Gremio de carpinteros, 1800,' *Slave Societies Digital Archive*, See Jane Landers, 'Catholic Conspirators? Religious Rebels in Nineteenth-Century Cuba,' *Slavery and Abolition* 36, no. 3 (2015): 495–520.

⁴⁴² Rodríguez, LM, & Ferrer, A. (2019). Collaborating with Aponte: Digital Humanities, Art, and the Archive. *sx archipelagos*, (3).

account can be considered as specifically Masonic. For example, the compass⁴⁴³ on the sheets channeled by the authorities No. 24 and No.25, which although it functions as a tool to measure distances in navigation maps, also as a drawing instrument and in geometry⁴⁴⁴. But even the compass is the attribute that juxtaposed the squad form the Masonic emblem. The note that from the same project is accompanied offers us a little more information,

[...] Symbolic elements like the laurel wreath, palm tree, compass, and circle give way on page 25 to cartographic devices, such as numbers distributed across the image of New Providence to indicate buildings or landmarks, and the depiction of scenes and figures .⁴⁴⁵

The analogies between forms of African-Afro-Descendant Associationism and Freemasonry should not be considered new. They should be understood as plastic identities, which have been known to display a permeable hermeticism. These associations have been able to persevere by staying true to themselves without incorporating, suppressing, or accommodating their mythical narrative, liturgy, and ritual to the times, geographies or membership demanded by temporal contemporaneity if necessary.

By the time the Ten Years Wars came in 1868, white creoles, mestizos, blacks, Abakuás and members of the Masonic lodges would unite in the independence struggle helping to create a Cuban national identity and the construction of the future nation. In the Cuban case, we found texts such as those of Aurelio Miranda⁴⁴⁶ realized the problems of the race in Cuban Freemasonry. However, it is the official resolutions of the Cuban lodges that account for the social, political but also the order of the metaphysical on issues of race.

⁴⁴³ The compass is a measuring instrument. In its Masonic significance it represents that the justice with which the acts of men are measured must be the same, synonymous with equity. It is also related to the letter A (alpha), sign of the beginning of all things. It is associated with the act of creation. As an example of compass as a representation of world ordering see William Blake, 'The Ancient of Days Measuring Time' (1794).

⁴⁴⁴ Geometry is the science that studies the properties of an object/a body and its relational measures in space. It is in this relationship of microcosm and macrocosm that the universe is organized and that Masonry places the letter G in the middle of its identifying emblem.

⁴⁴⁵ Rodriguez, LM, & Ferrer, A. (2019). Collaborating with Aponte: Digital Humanities, Art, and the Archive. *sx archipelagos*, (3).

⁴⁴⁶ On the role of Freemasonry, see J., PD (1954). *La Masonería en la independencia de Cuba*. Editorial Modas Magazine.

Some similarity of the constitutional Masonic we have seen with the internal dynamics in Ekpe (Egbo) and we will see in the Abakuá. The original Abakuá membership was enslaved Africans in Cuba, and due to the time of its social visibility towards the first half of the 1830s, the Abakuá society had to deal with the ambivalence of the status of its members⁴⁴⁷ among free, enslaved, African and Afro-descendants born in Cuba, to which were incorporated, mestizos, white, Asian, and other foreigners. The enslaved were initiated in Abakuá not as a segregated category but of full assumption of their condition with the promise of being freed from it. And although the additions of slaves in Ekpe(Egbo) can be perceived as occasional and extraordinary, it is still an essential part of the mythical foundational dynamics of the Abakuá. The slave trade first, slavery and discrimination that has flowed to this day are processes that are part of the genesis of the fraternity itself.

8.1 Similar strategies for mutual help

Abakuá offered a space of coexistence to those enslaved in equal equality with free members and provided the option of access to paid work on the day off of the enslaved not only so that they could pay their membership fees to the institution but also who could earn enough money to pay for their freedom. Sometimes the institution itself served as an intermediary with the owners of the enslaved. And deep in the Masonic line with its Apprentice Workshops⁴⁴⁸, the instruction of the Abakuás members was not only aimed at learning cosmogony and theophany, but also of giving their members access to literacy⁴⁴⁹. As José Martí shows in the record of his visit to Key West when he meets the old black ñáñigo Tomás Surí, a member - in the words of Martí - of [...] '*esa extraña orden de africanos*' [...].

[...] 'Yo he pasado mi vida sin saber leer, y ya me queda poco de vida; pero como es necesario que para tomar el tercer grado el hombre sepa leer, yo lo voy a hacer, yo voy a aprender y esto al menos servirá de ejemplo a los que tienen menos edad, y les hace más falta'. 'Y desde entonces -dice una carta- está cumpliendo su

⁴⁴⁷ See Ferrer, A., & Garayó, M. F. (1995). Esclavitud, ciudadanía y los límites de la nacionalidad cubana: la guerra de los diez años, 1868-1878. *Historia Social*, 101-125.; Scott, R. J. (2000). Scott, R. (1985). Insurrection and Slavery. In *Slave Emancipation In Cuba: The Transition to Free Labor, 1860-1899*(pp. 45-62). Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. doi:10.2307/j.ctt6wrcxx.9.; Robert, K. (1992). Slavery and freedom in the ten years' war, Cuba, 1868-1878. *Slavery and Abolition*, 13(3), 181-200.

⁴⁴⁸ Gómez, M. (1941). Diario de campaña del mayor general Máximo Gómez.p, 515.

⁴⁴⁹ Martí, J. (1975). Obras completas, vol.V. *La Habana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales*.p, 325.

palabra: ya sabe silabear y con él varios que lo necesitan, y vienen todos los días a acompañarlo en su tarea: así que el ejemplo de Tomás ha sido bueno'. Allí está, con el dedo en las letras, el negro de setenta años. [...] En la escuela son sublimes, pues en ella se recibe a todo el que desee aprender, sin preguntarle quién es. El niño de cualquier color que a ella llega sólo tiene que sentarse en un banco, y encuentra quien lo enseñe. No tiene que hacer otra diligencia para entrar en la escuela', ¡Tomás Suri, de setenta años, aprende las letras!
Patria, 1 de abril de 1893⁴⁵⁰.

In 1865 the custom of incorporating the figure of the reader into tobacco factories was introduced. In the beginning, prominent Havana newspapers such as *EL FÍGARO* would realize this. The reader was interpreted as a hopeful achievement of bringing the 'western culture' closer to the workers. The newspaper itself would mention Voltaire as a reading list proposal. The social base of the tobacco and cigars factories had a high percentage of free and enslaved Afro-descendants⁴⁵¹, who worked alongside white workers. The rest of the factories, among them the successful Partagás⁴⁵², would set in their work itinerary the inclusion of a reader who would liven up the work on January 9, 1866 and was picked up again by the press⁴⁵³.

The custom was exercised for thirteen years. Each reader works three hours a day, resting fifteen minutes between them. His fellow factory workers paid his salary. We assume that as long as they did not produce directly for the factory, the owners did not incorporate it

⁴⁵⁰ Martí, J. (1975). Obras completas, vol.V. *La Habana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales*.p, 324-5.

Translation:

[...] 'I have spent my life without knowing how to read, and I have little life left; but as it is necessary that in order to take the third grade, the man knows how to read, I am going to do it, I am going to learn and this will at least serve as an example to those who are younger, and they need it very much. 'And since then - says a letter - he is keeping his word: he already knows how to syllable and with him several that need it, and they come every day to accompany him in his task: so the example of Thomas has been good'. There he is, with his finger on the letters, the black man of seventy. [...] In school they are sublime, because in it everyone who wants to learn is received, without asking who they are. The child of any color that comes to her just has to sit on a bench, and find who teaches it. You don't have to do another diligence to get into school ', Tomás Suri, seventy, learns the lyrics!

PATRIA, April 1, 1893.

⁴⁵¹ de Gordon y de Acosta, A.M. (1897). *El tabaco en Cuba: apuntes para su historia*. La Propaganda literaria. p, 50-1.

⁴⁵² The Catalan businessman Jaime Partagás, established in 1827 the Partagás tobacco/cigars factory. With an unbeatable location, in front of the Capitol of Cuba, the building is today a tobacco museum.

⁴⁵³ *LA AURORA*, January 16, 1866. Cited also in, Casanovas, J. (1998). *Bread or Bullets: Urban Labor and Spanish Colonialism in Cuba, 1850–1898*. University of Pittsburgh Press. p, 93.

into the payroll as a worker, but the workers saw it as an aid for the labor year. After the beginning of the War of 1895, the figure of the reader would be under suspicion. On June 8, 1896, a circular was issued by José Porrúa, Regional Governor banning readers in the tobacco factories of Cuba. The order based on article 31 of the Law of Public Order of April 23, 1870, did not affect the internal dynamics of the factories located outside the national territory. So Key West and Tampa, where relevant communities of Cubans exiled⁴⁵⁴ well for political and economic issues had been established, were able to continue with the reader's custom.

In that meeting of Tomás Surí and José Martí in Key West, Surí's desire for literacy could also be influenced by his willingness to work as a Reader⁴⁵⁵. Surí, an Afro-descendant of advanced age as José Martí comments, learning to read and write could guarantee an improvement in his job and his hierarchy within that 'strange order of Africans'⁴⁵⁶.

During the Ten Years' War there appear to have been some Masonic institutions that were either symbolically put into practice to the Manigua or were created and adapted specifically⁴⁵⁷ for this context of war. After the debate between the possible dissolution or Fell into Dreams⁴⁵⁸ of the Greater East of Cuba and the Antilles (GOCA, 1862-1868), Carlos Manuel de Céspedes in the context of the Constituent Assembly of Guáimaro in April 1869, founded the Independencia Lodge⁴⁵⁹ that he wouldn't start his work until 1870. Céspedes collects in his Campaign Journal of the years 1873-1874 the dynamics of Masonic practice in the manigua/forest. The journal details how dynamics of Masonic initiations by degrees had already been established. In addition, the notebook collects how the Masonic instruction school also served as a framework for extending the most profane teaching in troop literacy.

⁴⁵⁴ Navarro, M. D. G. R. (1998). La emigración cubana de Cayo Hueso (1855-1896): independencia, tabaco y revolución. *Revista de Indias*, 58(212), 237-254.

⁴⁵⁵ Tinajero, A. (2010). *El Lector: A History of the Cigar Factory Reader*. University of Texas Press, p. 42-3, 78-9.

⁴⁵⁶ Martí, J. (1975). Obras completas, vol.V. *La Habana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales*, p. 325.

⁴⁵⁷ The concept of Symbolic Lodge refers to the physical or virtual artifact and/or space conferred by the first three degrees of Freemasonry: the apprentice degrees, Fellow Craft and Master Mason.

⁴⁵⁸ Entry/Fell into Dream: State in which a Freemason or Lodge is located that has interrupted their regular Masonic work without losing, however, their Masonic rights.

⁴⁵⁹ Figueredo Socarrás, F.(1901). 'Logia Militante Independencia', *La Gran Logia, La Habana*, año tercero, pp. 23 – 25. Guerrero, M. A. V. (1946). *La Guerra de Independencia de Cuba: 1895-1898* (Vol. 1). Lex., p.295.; Denslow, R. V. (2006). *Freemasonry in the Eastern Hemisphere*. Kessinger Publishing, p. 327.

Lunes 16.

[...]. Ayer conferí el gr...de Ap...Mas...[...]a Juan Bautista Matute. Estoy enseñando á leer á varias personas. Por el dia 27 ó 28 del mes pasado di en distintas sesiones los gr... de Com... y Maes... á los hh...[...] Lacrete, Pichardo y Sebreco. Creo q. se ha marchado Ramirez. Llegaron Tanis, Millan y Pichardo, y almorzaron aqui, lo mismo q. Pablito Cancino. Ayer vino el ten[iente] Alfonso Gouté. En estos dias ha estado aqui Ricardo Medina. Dicen q. su herm[ano] el Ten[iente] Cor[onel] dió una gran caida y murió en Cambute M[aria] Queralta. Comunicué el gr...de Comp...á Tanis y Abreu. Con vergüenza veo las mezquindades y raterias q. los jefes y autoridades usan entre si y con los particulares (*sic*)⁴⁶⁰.

Both Abakuá and The Freemasonry (of Manigua) in Cuba incorporate literacy schools for the overcoming of its members. In the case of Abakuá, it is included as an unwritten rule, as we have pointed out according to the testimony of the ñañigo Tomás Surí to José Martí⁴⁶¹ in Key West. Literacy is a shared use by both institutions that helps the level step that must be passed to access higher degrees in the specific context of each one.

⁴⁶⁰ Some of the clarifications to the abbreviations are Apr ...: read Apprentices, Comp...: Fellow Craft, Maes ...: Master Mason and hh...: Brothers. See, Spengler, E. L., & de Céspedes, C. M. (1994). Carlos Manuel de Céspedes: el diario perdido. Editorial de ciencias sociales. Libro Segundo, Date: February 16, 1874. Carlos Manuel Céspedes Diario: Patrias-actos y letras. (n.d.). Retrieved from <https://www.patrias-actosyletras.com/carlos-manuel-cespedes-diario>

Transcription:

Lunes 16.

[...]. Ayer conferí el grado de Aprendiz Masón[...]a Juan Bautista Matute. Estoy enseñando á leer á varias personas. Por el día 27 ó 28 del mes pasado di en distintas sesiones los grado de Compañero y Maestro á los (*sic*) hermanos Lacrete, Pichardo y Sebreco. Creo q. se ha marchado Ramirez. Llegaron Tanis, Millan y Pichardo, y almorzaron aquí, lo mismo que Pablito Cancino. Ayer vino el teniente Alfonso Gouté. En estos días ha estado aquí Ricardo Medina. Dicen que su hermano el Teniente Coronel dió una gran caída y murió en Cambute M[aria] Queralta. Comunicué el grado de Compañeros á Tanis y Abreu. Con vergüenza veo las mezquindades y raterias que los jefes y autoridades usan entre sí y con los particulares (*sic*).

Translation:

Monday 16.

[...]. Yesterday I conferred the degree of Apprentice Mason [...] to Juan Bautista Matute. I am teaching several people to read. On the 27th or 28th of last month I gave in different sessions the degrees of Companion and Teacher to the (*sic*) brothers Lacrete, Pichardo and Sebreco. I think Ramirez has left. Tanis, Millan and Pichardo arrived, and had lunch here, as did Pablito Cancino. Yesterday came Lieutenant Alfonso Gouté. Ricardo Medina has been here these days. They say that his brother Lieutenant Colonel took a great fall and died in Cambute M [aria] Queralta. I communicated the degree of Companions to Tanis and Abreu. With shame I see the meanness and raterias that bosses and authorities use among themselves and with individuals (*sic*).

⁴⁶¹ Tinajero, A. (2018). Las cartas de José Martí y los tabaqueros de Tampa y Cayo Hueso. *CiberLetras: revista de crítica literaria y de cultura*, (40), 6.

We will find a similar practice in the twelfth notebook of the Campaign Journal of Maximo Gómez are included the principles, rules, and Masonic exercises for his practice. If the Ten-Year War lasted from 1868-1878, and Gomez's campaign diary⁴⁶² begun in 1868, places the text in 1871, we must assume that this Masonic regulation and explanation refers to the practice in the campaign, that is, in the manigua and during those years of war. A Masonic tradition then adapted to the characteristics of life outdoors, rural, in the middle of the Cuban forests that would contrast with the urbanity and materiality of the building of the lodge for the Masonic exercise with which it is usually related contextually regular Freemasonry. Máximo Gómez serves as Venerable Maestro of this lodge in the Cuban manigua; hence Manuel Sanguily transferred to Gómez's notebook the liturgical, practical and political methodology, in addition to the norms and dogmas of the Masonic practice of that trashumante lodge. These preliminary notes begin by defining what Freemasonry is,

[...] la verdadera masonería es una escuela.⁴⁶³ / [...] the true Freemasonry is a
school

Interesting how in this context of war basically in rural contexts, with the instability of mobility and constant changes, within the Liberation Army could incorporate a school for learning and specifically that Freemasonry has been chosen as the instructional form and framework.

The language of the text is direct, simple, without rhetorical paraphernalia that usually accompanies the logistical narrative and also the most illustrated Masonic symbolic. The characteristics of the narrative positively respond to Masonic accommodation to the circumstance of the Cuban Mambí Army. It is at the same time an instruction, a manual and a Masonic ritual whose portability gives an account of the awareness of the situation of freemason Cubans raised in the manigua.

On the use of obedience as an organizing instrument of the revolution of 1868 and the parallel commitment of its members to fight for independence is an example of the close

⁴⁶² Gómez, M. (1941). Diario de campaña del mayor general Máximo Gómez.p, 513-24.

⁴⁶³ Gomez, M. (1941). The campaign diary of Major General Máximo Gómez.p, 513.

relationship and purpose⁴⁶⁴. The GOCA Liturgies were drafted by his Righteous Worship Gran Master Vicente Antonio de Castro. The new institution was born in 1862, after the amnesty of Castro's exile who was practicing in the Silent Lodge of New Orleans. The GOCA responds to the Old and Accepted Scottish Rite. Castro accommodates thirty-three degrees to four categories of teaching degrees will be incorporated into the lodges of Manigua, and we understand now why we have found reproduced this liturgy as a curriculum in the Campaign Journal of General Máximo Gómez⁴⁶⁵. From degree 1 to 5: primary, degree 6 to 18: secondary, degree 19 to 29: higher and degree 30 to 33 corresponded to standard education. The groups of degrees grouped in each of the four categories responded to the purpose of the 'new man' that Castro's liturgy perhaps looked at from Masonic metaphysics the normality should be and be in those highest degrees of perfection of man, being and stay in 'polished stone.'

As in all Mystic rite initiations, for both the future Mason or the Abakuá, the neophyte - the indiseme Abakuá or candidate for an apprentice Freemason - had to respond to an interrogation in which it was clear that he exercised his free will to take the oath of life for life, provided that it complies with the institutional rules in conjunction with liturgical accommodations. We can imagine that in the face of the other Masonic obediences of the island, GOCA and the liturgy of Castro as an ideological guide to the insurrection of 68 bordered the irregularity, to which were clung the allegations that since the publication 'EL ESPEJO MASÓNICO'⁴⁶⁶ launched Andres Cassard. Although Cassard and Castro

⁴⁶⁴ The oath of grade 16 illustrates the political commitment to the independence of Cuba, [...] prometo y juro bajo mi fe de patriota y hombre de honor, cumplir todas las obligaciones que he con traído hasta aquí y además sacrificarme por el bien público y sostener la Libertad, la Independencia y la Soberanía de mi nación. Y si algún poderoso o tirano, con la fuerza u otros medios pretendiere destruirlas en todo o en parte, juro morir con las armas en la mano antes que consentirlo [...].

Translation:

[...] I promise and swear under my faith as a patriot and a man of honor, to fulfill all the obligations that I have brought up here and also to sacrifice myself for the public good and to sustain the Freedom, Independence and Sovereignty of my nation. And if some powerful or tyrant, with force or other means intends to destroy them in whole or in part, I swear to die with weapons in my hand rather than consent [...].

Torres-Cuevas, E. (1995). Antonio Maceo, las ideas que sostienen el arma. Editorial de Ciencias Sociales.p, 89-91. Cited in Soucy, Dominique. Masonería y nación (Escuadra y Compás) (Spanish Edition) (Kindle Locations 1169-1183, 1216). Ediciones Idea. Kindle Edition.

⁴⁶⁵ Gómez, M. (1941). Diario de campaña del mayor general Máximo Gómez.p, 513-24. Also in, Soucy, Dominique. Masonería y nación (Escuadra y Compás) (Spanish Edition) (Kindle Locations 1184-1189). Ediciones Idea. Kindle Edition.

⁴⁶⁶ Cassard, A. (1866). EL ESPEJO MASÓNICO.

had lived in the United States and militated in American Freemasonry, both differed in the construction of a Cuban Freemasonry. However, the political, metaphysical and civic differences of both Freemasons should not be read nationally⁴⁶⁷? Castro in his liturgical accommodating and ideological positioning, attempted to keep the GOCA at all costs in the regularity of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite⁴⁶⁸.

Despite the dissolution of the GOCA and the attacks of other obediences, the new manigua lodges emulated, reproduced and radiated their doctrines and teachings also into the civic and political profane world. But let us remember that among the founders of the GOCA who had joined the Cuban independence movement, some of its slave-owner members had liberated - to varying degrees - the enslaved and initiated some into Freemasonry. With these dynamics of the GOCA liturgy anti-slavery and anti-racists,⁴⁶⁹ they openly challenged the founding text of the Anderson Constitutions. But after their disarticulation, from 1869 onward the regular Cuban lodges felt more confident in the Masonic - and political - construction of the nation.

Perhaps written in a revolutionary spirit that does not despise the exegetical experience in which allegory lies. The metaphysical framework of the Manigua Lodges seems to appropriate the analogy of the eternally diasporic situation of the biblical Jewish people at the time of the destruction of the temple and how they are forced to incorporate the mobility of the tabernacle⁴⁷⁰. This is the same framework that appropriates, this time without metaphors, the justifications that the Black Lodges Prince Hall and that they made public in their speeches. Saving the differences between both Freemasons Prince Hall and the so-called Freemasonry of Manigua in Cuba, in both Masonic exercises, there

⁴⁶⁷ Da Cal, E. U. (1997). Cuba y el despertar de los nacionalismos en la España peninsular. *Studia Historica. Historia Contemporánea*, 15. Also see, Ibarra, J. (1981). Nación y cultura nacional. Estrade, P. (1999). El autonomismo criollo y la nación cubana (antes y después del 98). *Imágenes e imaginarios nacionales en el ultramar español*, 155-170. Guerra, R., Cabrera, J. M. P., Remos, J. J., & Santovenia, E. S. (1952). Historia de la Nación Cubana, 10 vols. *La Habana.*, p. 40-2.

⁴⁶⁸ On the defense in the suitability of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite for the cause of an independent Cuba Dominique Soucy discovers for the first time the so-called Soviet Fund. See, «Vardaderas [sic] Institutas Secretas y Fundamentales del Orden de los Antiguos Fracmazones [sic] Libres y Asociados y Grandes Constituciones del Rito Antiguo-Aceptado-Escocés [sic] del Año de 1786», GOdF, Fonds soviétique, AR, 92-1, dossier 244, pièce 15.546. Cited in Soucy, Dominique. *Masonería y nación (Escuadra y Compás)* (Spanish Edition) (Posición en Kindle 4528-4530). EDICIONES IDEA. Edición de Kindle.

⁴⁶⁹ Soucy, Dominique. *Masonería y nación (Escuadra y Compás)* (Spanish Edition) (Kindle Locations 1240-1245). Ediciones Idea. Kindle Edition.

⁴⁷⁰ Cross, FM (1947). *The Tabernacle: A Study from an Archaeological and Historical Approach. The Biblical Archaeologist*, 10(3), 45.

is a widespread disencounterous dispute with the official Lodges. In the face of the immobility and colonial conservatism of the regulars, there is a questioning of the social order of coloniality in terms of race in the case of those of Manigua and Prince Hall. Accommodative tools such as mobility, virtuality and exodus will form part of their practice as they were also of the Hebrew myth from which they are aware of their use or not, incorporate.

This may be why in the five levels of teaching the Masonic Doctrine that would be exercised in the ELC, each is located in a different symbolic locality, space or virtual territory that can be created where its members are located without that their tie-up to the building or lodge is essential to them. The importance of incorporating these conditions of mobility is that these symbolic and virtual spaces will be the only ones in which the Masonic lodges created in the manigua will be able to officiate. We are not aware that any of these clandestine lodges have passed to an official recognition or continuation by regulars.

In the Cuban case, these Masonic institutions were seen as irregular both by the regular lodges with peninsular membership or Spanish pro-authorities as well as by the regular lodges that identified as reformers and fought for the autonomism of the Island. For both, the lodges of Manigua, in their rupture exercise of traditional Freemasonry, with an open political commitment incorporated into the texts and oaths, but also to the actions of the lodge itself, should be considered simultaneously as clandestine, irregular and criminals as they did not comply with any of the standards of the Anderson Constitutions.

Well, known is the story of the mule of charge named 'Masón' that accompanied since 1868, the troops of Carlos Manuel de Céspedes during the Ten Years Wars in the manigua. It is the reports of the Spanish authorities that account edify the capture of the animal which on several occasions fled frightened as soon as he heard gunshots. The donkey Mason carried the artifacts of the game lawn slab, and perhaps also the objects necessary to assemble the lodge for Masonic service in full manigua, and maybe that's what he owes his name. Both Carlos Manuel Céspedes and Máximo Gómez are in charge - as Righteous Worship Gran Masters - for the exercise of virtual and technological mobility of a Manigua Freemasonry for instructional purposes.

8.2 Similar oppressions

The Abakuás institutions and the Freemasonry(s) in Cuba appear to have shared an exercise in crossing-borders sociability, memberships, emulated rituals and perhaps even shared a symbolic corpus and a tense relationship with the authorities government and public space⁴⁷¹. There are similarities in both cases, in the way in which the authorities managed their use of the public sphere by restricting or allowing manifestations of civility. The way the peninsular government on the island decided to punish its practices with jail⁴⁷² terms and exile convictions would extend to the memberships of both institutions. Spanish prisons and peninsular prisons in African geographies held both Freemasons and Abakuás sent into exile. Although many scholars have been engaged in the investigation of these processes of deportation of Cuban prisoners during the thirty years of Cuban wars (1868-1898). But a few monographs have delved into research into the penalties of political imprisonment and exile for religious reasons, let alone freemasonry executed from the island of Cuba during the so-called three wars of Cuban independence are, Ten Years War or Guerra Grande (1868-1878), Guerra Chiquita/Little War (1879-1880) and finally the War of 95 (1895-1898).

Since the arrival of Miguel de Tacón⁴⁷³ (1834-1838) as Governor of the General Captaincy of the island of Cuba, Religious and cultural practices of Afro-descendants, but also any manifestation that could go against the most conservative Western customs in general, and Spanish in particular, were always persecuted. Captain General Tacón clearly expressed his conformism with the old practices of black trafficking and slavery. On the contrary, he expressed his controversy over the freedoms obtained by Afro-

⁴⁷¹ Soucy, Dominique. *Masonería y nación* (Escuadra y Compás) (Spanish Edition) (Kindle Locations 3163-3165). Ediciones Idea. Kindle Edition.

⁴⁷² General record of political deportees from Cuba by governmental measure. Deportación de Joaquín Fabre: AHN/2.3.1.16.4.6.18//ULTRAMAR,4770,Exp.25.

Detención de miembros de logias habaneras: AHN/2.3.1.16.4.6.34//ULTRAMAR,4351,Exp.48.

Remisión de documentación masónica: AHN/2.3.1.16.4.6.34//ULTRAMAR,4442,Exp.8.

[...] 1870, José Andrés Puente y Badell, the Great Master of the Lodge of Colón, was murdered along with several Masonic brothers in the San Juan de Wilson farm near El Cobre, Santiago de Cuba.

Cited in , Soucy, Dominique. *Masonería y nación* (Escuadra y Compás) (Spanish Edition) (Kindle Locations 1245-1253). Ediciones Idea. Kindle Edition. Cassard, *EL ESPEJO MASÓNICO*, IV, 9.

As a result of the repression, 53 Masons were sent to prison. Cited in Arroyo, J. (2013). *Writing Secrecy in Caribbean Freemasonry*. Springer.n78. p, 63, 187.

⁴⁷³ Díaz Martínez, Y. (2014). Delincuencia, represión y castigo en La Habana bajo el gobierno de Miguel Tacón. *Cuadernos de historia (Santiago)*, (40), 7-29. Also, Vilar, M. J. V. G. (2000). Un cartagenero para ultramar: Miguel Tacón y el modelo autoritario de la transición del antiguo régimen al liberalismo en Cuba (1834-1838). In *Anales de historia contemporánea*. Murcia: Cátedra de Historia Contemporánea, Universidad de Murcia.

descendant subjects in the Caribbean and the veiled threat that these claims now won meant to the island of Cuba,

[...] Jamaica y Santo Domingo contienen una numerosa población de africanos, manumitidos en la primera isla, y constituidos ya en República en la segunda. Unos y otros se hallan imbuidos en ideas exageradas de libertad e igualdad, todos las publican y entienden y no pierden jamás de vista la preciosa isla de Cuba, libre hasta ahora de los horrores de una revolución[...] La gente de color de las dos referidas islas no cuentan solamente con las ventajas que le da su posición. Tienen en su apoyo un partido respetable en Europa que difunde principios, disemina obras, acude con recursos pecuniarios, y no deja piedra por mover para que la raza africana triunfe[...] Parece increíble que en cabezas ilustradas quepa semejante prevaricación del buen sentido⁴⁷⁴ [...].

Tacón instigation chasing Afro-descendant religious ceremonies in Cuba led to the first time coming to light the Abakuás secrets in his first year of office, in 1834⁴⁷⁵. But at the same time, as Stephan Palmié states, what does seem to be established in these first 30 years of the XIXth is the change in settlement of mono-ethnic associations as we can understand the Nation Cabildos and whose denomination of ethnicity was added to the

⁴⁷⁴ de Tacón, M., & Tacón, M. (1963). Correspondencia reservada del Capitán General Don Miguel Tacón con el gobierno de Madrid, 1834-1836: el General Tacón y su época, 1834-1838. Consejo Nacional de Cultura, Biblioteca Nacional José Martí, Departamento de Colección Cubana.p, 253. In the same terms and citing the same countries the anthropologist Israel Castellanos would refer, Castellanos (1916) 'Gente no deseable', *Diario de la Marina*, November 23, 1922. Also, De la Fuente, A. (2001). *A nation for all: Race, inequality, and politics in twentieth-century Cuba*. Univ of North Carolina Press.p, 84.

⁴⁷⁵ Although there is a consensus among academics that 1836 was the date of emergence Abakuá, it is true that the documentation indicates that there were police reports that point to it was in 1834. See, Palmié, S. (2010). Ekpe/Abakuá in middle passage: time, space and units of analysis in African American historical anthropology. *Activating the Past: History and Memory in the Black Atlantic World*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 1-44.; Trujillo y Monagas, J. (1882). Los Ñañigos: Su historia, sus prácticas, su lenguaje. *Los criminales de Cuba y Don José Trujillo*, 363-374.; Deschamps Chapeaux, P. (1964). Margarito Blanco el'Ocongo de Ultan'. *Boletín del instituto de historia y del archivo nacional*, 65, 97-109. And others such as Luciano Franco place a possible antecedent of nsibidi sign in the documentation de Aponte captured in his detention in 1812. Nor should we miss as the historians Ada Ferrer and Gloria Garcia Garcia point out that the irradiation of the successful uprising of Saint Domingue would serve as an organizational, leadership and religious-normative example for both black conspirators and mulattos in Cuba as for the Spanish authorities .García, G. G. (2018). La conspiración de Aponte: viejas y nuevas interrogantes. *Revista de la Biblioteca Nacional José Martí*, (1), 20-34. Franco, J. L. La conspiración de Aponte (Havana: Consejo Superior de Cultura, Publicaciones del Archivo Nacional, 1963); Robert L. Paquette. *Sugar is Made with Blood: The Conspiracy of La Escalera and the Conflict between Empires over Slavery in Cuba, 1841-1844*. Barcia, M. D. C. (2014). Imaginando a José Antonio Aponte a través de su libro. *Universidad de La Habana*, (273), 8. Aponte, J. A. (2006). Expediente sobre José Antonio Aponte y el sentido de las pinturas que se hallan en el Libro que se le aprehendió en su casa. 1812. In *Anales de Desclasificación* (pp. 711-752). On the debate around the historiographical debate of Aponte, see Palmié, S. (2002). 'For Reasons of History': José Antonio Aponte and His Libro de Pinturas. *Wizards and Scientists: Explorations in Afro-Cuban Modernity and Tradition*, 79-158.

name, by pan/multi-ethnic⁴⁷⁶ associations, among which Abakuá has a place. Although the deities of other Afro-Cuban religious pantheons are not worshiped, some religious figures such as Yoruba orichas/orishas are incorporated to sponsor the Abakuás institutions.

Government pressure on Afro-descendant demonstrations was something that was taking place in places like Brazil where both Candomblé and Capoeira were persecuted in colonial times that would lead to gender change⁴⁷⁷ in religious leadership of the former and the inscription of some *terreiros* on lists of government, to the desacralization of the second so that they cannot inexorably be able to exercise more outside the profane scope.

Captain-General Tacón also did the same for Freemasonry. The discourses and debates against him must be seen as an extension of those that were taking place in the territory of the Spanish metropolis, and like there, the discussions that took place on the island went in the order of the political on the one hand and religious censorship on the other. So during the nineteenth century in Cuba, Freemasonry was persecuted by the Cuban Catholic Church⁴⁷⁸ and the colonial authorities, while still serving as a framework to harbor some conspiracies against the Spanish authorities. This was made possible by the support of Latin American philosophical networks that had been related to the independence of the former Spanish continental colonies.

Much has been written about freemasonry in Latin America, especially concerning the political networks and processes of nation-states both in initial ignite stadiums, during and after Latin American and construction independences of the great leaderships among which we could mention Simón Bolívar. The systematization of the studies that related these topics almost organically segregated the aphroditic and colonial relations in which Masonic institutions helped to extend using their transnational networks.

⁴⁷⁶ Palmié, S. (2007). Ecué's Atlantic: An essay in methodology. *Journal of religion in Africa*, 37(2), 275-315. Also see, Lovejoy, P. E., & Trotman, D. V. (Eds.). (2003). *Trans-Atlantic dimensions of ethnicity in the African diaspora*. Bloomsbury Publishing.

⁴⁷⁷ On the change of female to male leadership in Brazilian Candomblé XIX-XX see, Bueno Sarduy, A. (2013). *El ocaso del sacerdocio femenino en el xangô de Recife: la 'ciudad de las mujeres' que no será* (Doctoral dissertation, Tesis de Doctorado a ser defendida en el Programa de Antropología de la Universidad Complutense de Madrid)., Landes, R. (1994). *The city of women*. UNM Press., Matory, J. L. (2005). *Black Atlantic religion: tradition, transnationalism, and matriarchy in the Afro-Brazilian Candomblé*. Princeton University Press.

⁴⁷⁸ Millán, J. M. (1993). Juan José Díez de la Espada, Obispo de La Habana: ¿ un prelado masón?. In *Masonería española y americana* (pp. 47-55). Centro de Estudios Históricos de la Masonería Española.

However, these Masonic networks embraced controversy regarding the position that Afro-descendants should take in the political struggle. Not infrequently they made clear their positioning against the abolition of slavery and/or their refusal to participate in these uprisings. The complexity of these Latin American Masonic networks is no stranger to the racial controversy that exists in their home territories⁴⁷⁹. The prerogative of not dealing with the debates or an abolitionist resolution on the issue of slavery can be understood as an extension of the principles of Masonic regularity by which no free man can be initiated. This also gives an account of the elitism of these conspiracies. Primarily run by an upper class of separatist white Creoles, leaders were eager to break free from Spanish rule to have greater political and economic autonomy⁴⁸⁰ over their territories, but renouncing all kinds of radicalisms Haitian-influenced revolutionaries⁴⁸¹.

Carlos Manuel de Céspedes, master Mason, owner of plantation La Demajagua, gave freedom to his enslaved persons and rose as a leader in arms on October 10, 1868. The Demajagua would mean the beginning of the Ten Years' War. The Masonic institutions of the island were affected, although the beginning of the armed insurrection as Soucy⁴⁸² points out, was not the cause of the cessation of the Great East and the Antilles but can be a circumstantial consequence, even if obedience served as space organization for independence conspiracies⁴⁸³. The appearance of these new lodges in the manigua has a trashumante, mobile, virtual character since they accompanied the Mambis troops as we have noted before. But despite his irregularity, his work indissoluble to the revolutionary

⁴⁷⁹ Bastian, J. P. (2018). Las redes filomasónicas y protestantes en el movimiento independentista cubano, 1868-1898. *Historia y Espacio*, (17), 7-30.

⁴⁸⁰ Soucy, D., & Sappez, D. (2009). Autonomismo y masonería en Cuba. *REHMLAC. Revista de Estudios Históricos de la Masonería Latinoamericana y Caribeña*, 1(1), 90-99. Also see, Andrés, Y. P. (2013). Liberalismo, Masonería y Cuestión Nacional en Cuba (1808-1823) de Manuel Hernández González. *REHMLAC. Revista de Estudios Históricos de la Masonería Latinoamericana y Caribeña*, 5(1), 256-265.

⁴⁸¹ A significant example is the relationship between political leaders and freemasons Simón Bolívar and Alexandre Petion of Haiti, despite the help Bolívar received from Petion and under the commitment made with him that he would abolish slavery as it had happened years ago in Haiti, on the agenda of the Latin American revolutions this was not one of the main requirements. Also see, Ferrer, A. (2003). Noticias de Haití en Cuba. *Revista de Indias*, 63(229), 675-694.

⁴⁸² León, E. E. F. (2019). Aportes de la masonería cubana a la formación patriótica de los próceres en las luchas por la independencia (Ensayo). *Roca. Revista científico-educacional de la provincia Granma*, 15(2). Cited also in, Soucy, Dominique. *Masonería y nación (Escuadra y Compás) (Spanish Edition)* (Kindle Locations 1239-1244). Ediciones Idea. Kindle Edition.

⁴⁸³ Torres-Cuevas, E. (1995). Antonio Maceo, las ideas que sostienen el arma. Editorial de Ciencias Sociales.p, 88-91. Cited in, Soucy, Dominique. *Masonería y nación (Escuadra y Compás) (Spanish Edition)* (Kindle Location 1179). Ediciones Idea. Kindle Edition.

and insurgent movement of the ELC was also answered and would join the repression by the Catholic Church in Cuba against the Order.

In 1869, the Provisional Governor of the Archbishop of Cuba, José Orbera and Carrión, published an anti-Masonic circular that prompted a public debate with some of the most relevant members of regular Cuban Freemasonry. However, the anti-Masonic bulletin of the Catholic priest José Orbera and Carrión seemed to foreshadow the creation of new 'clandestine' lodges that were founded by the Cuban mambises this time in the mane during the war of independence. An irregular Masonic service, outside of officiality that unlike the regular lodges or officers of the island, did also initiate Afro-descendants.

We know nothing about how the Freemasons were able to engage those mambises who were not, to Afro-descendants, ex-enslaved and poor white Creoles who perhaps had never heard of the Great Architect of the Universe (G.A.O.T.U). What were the Masonic protocols in the manigua to incorporate candidates? We know that not all mambises were initiated into Freemasonry. Neither were all senior officials in the Liberation Army. So apparently the nominations for initiations were without segregation of classes and colorblind. Although most independence leaders did belong to Freemasonry or at least sign their documents with their Masonic signature, this is possibly indicative of a possible hierarchy bias, and the spectrum goes from the controversial Afro-Cuban general Quintín Banderas⁴⁸⁴, until the no less controversial president of the first Cuban republic Tomás Estrada Palma.

The willingness to understand Cuban Freemasonry not only as,

[...] a harmoniously structured proposal for the transformation of colonial society into a new independent [... or how...] a secret organization that served as a nexus to those who prepared the insurrection [...]⁴⁸⁵

⁴⁸⁴ Carta de Quintín Banderas a Tomás Estrada Palma, c. 1906. Also, Valdés, A. H. P. (2006). *Quintín Bandera: general de tres guerras*. Editorial de Ciencias Sociales.

⁴⁸⁵ Torres-Cuevas, E. (1995). Antonio Maceo, las ideas que sostienen el arma. Editorial de Ciencias Sociales.p, 25, 29. Cited also in López, S., & Manuel, J. (2018). Cuba 1800-1878. Guerra de los 10 años. El asunto del vapor' Virginius'.p, 480.

It should be accompanied by a subversion of the social order because if not attempts like those of Joaquín Infante would stay in a simple extraction of the authorities equation to occupy that space of power and privilege by Cuban white creole leaders.

The crackdown on Freemasonry⁴⁸⁶ continued in and out of Cuban independence circles. In March 1869, José Rosell⁴⁸⁷ was imprisoned and exiled in the African colony of Santa Isabel⁴⁸⁸, the island of Fernando Poo, where large numbers of Abakuás also began to arrive. But from the 1830s some of its members were sentenced to ten years in prison scans such as Ceuta, the same prison that would be received by the Abakuás⁴⁸⁹ that would serve for the Spanish criminologist Rafael Salillas to study⁴⁹⁰ his religious practice of these scavengers in jail.

Exiles, prison sentences or even death from accusations of Masonic practice⁴⁹¹ were beginning to normalize by the Spanish authorities in the 1930s. Same moment when the police reports accounted for the first visualizations of Abakuás ceremonies⁴⁹² in Havana. Cuban Freemasons were almost always persecuted in contexts of political conspiracies within the national territory, in the image of what was happening in the peninsular context, but there were times when Masonic networks in context Latin American

⁴⁸⁶ Domínguez, F. J. P. (1951). El delito de Francmasonería en Cuba: estudio histórico acerca de la alianza del altar y el trono, en persecución de la Francmasonería de Cuba. Editorial Humanidad.

⁴⁸⁷ Denslow, R. V. (2006). *Freemasonry in the Eastern Hemisphere*. Kessinger Publishing, p.324. Guerrero, M. A. V. (1946). *La Guerra de Independencia de Cuba: 1895-1898* (Vol. 1). Lex. p.294.

⁴⁸⁸ In 1855 the capital belongs to Spain again, so the former British name of Port Clarence, was renamed Santa Isabel, in honor of the Queen of Spain.

⁴⁸⁹ de Aranzadi, I. (2012). El legado cubano en África. Ñañigos deportados a Fernando Poo. *Memoria viva y archivo escrito*. *Afro-Hispanic Review*, 29-60. Also see, Anderson, B. R. O. G. (2005). Under three flags: anarchism and the anti-colonial imagination. Verso, p. 56, 67, 155,184. Zequeira, M. D. C. B. (1996). Los deportados de la guerra: Cuba 1895-1898. In *La nación soñada, Cuba, Puerto Rico y Filipinas ante el 98: actas del congreso internacional celebrado en Aranjuez del 2 al 28 de abril de 1995* (pp. 635-646). Ediciones Doce Calles., González-Rodríguez, C. (1993). *Insurrectos Cubanos deportados hacia Canarias y Fernando Poo (1869): Un ejemplo de deportación política.*, Echegaray, C. G. (2003). *Cubanos en Fernando Poo Un capítulo en las memorias de John Holt*. Cuadernos de historia contemporánea, (1), 205-212., Miranda, M. M. (1903). *Memorias de un deportado*. Imprenta La Luz., De Castro Antolín, M. L. (1994). *Fernando Poo y los emancipados de La Habana*. *Estudios Africanos: Revista de la Asociación Española de Africanistas*, 8, 14-15.

⁴⁹⁰ Salillas, R. (1901). Los ñañigos en Ceuta. *Revista general de legislación y jurisprudencia*, 49(98), 337-360.

⁴⁹¹ Denslow, R. V. (2006). *Freemasonry in the Eastern Hemisphere*. Kessinger Publishing, p. 324.

⁴⁹² Deschamps Chapeaux, P. (1964). Margarito Blanco el 'Oongo de Ultan'. *Boletín del instituto de historia y del archivo nacional*, 65, 97-109. Also, Miller, I. (2000). A secret society goes public: The relationship between Abakuá and Cuban popular culture. *African Studies Review*, 43(1), 161-188.

supported them, as was the case with the Conspiracies of the Legión del Águila Negra⁴⁹³ (1823-1830) y de Los Rayos y Soles de Bolívar⁴⁹⁴(1836),

Los negros no tomarán parte en esto pues seguirán siempre en estado de esclavitud en que se hallan hasta extinguir poco a poco la raza pues así lo han pedido sus dueños (*sic*)⁴⁹⁵.

These philomasonic networks around political conspiracies have a controversial discourse defending the independence of the Spanish metropolis while maintaining at the same time the defense and legitimization of slavery from the privilege⁴⁹⁶ of race and class of the white Creole. Dominique Soucy⁴⁹⁷ puts as an example the First Republican Constitution for Cuba written by José Joaquín Infante in 1812. Infante is a white Cuban Freemason, exiled in Caracas after the failure of the Román de la Luz Conspiracy in Cuba. The text of the Constitution of Infante repeatedly refers to the issue of the need to maintain segregation between races and classes while describing a liberal thought project aligned with the Masonic thought of the nineteenth century,

Art. 84. La igualdad será civil o de derecho. Así en el orden político se observará la distinción de clases que queda establecida, llevando los blancos la prelación en cuya posesión se hallan por origen y anterioridad de establecimiento, siguiendo los pardos, y últimamente los morenos.

Art. 85. Se entenderán comprometidos en la clase blanca, procediendo matrimonio o sin él, los indios, mestizos y aquellos que, descendiendo siempre de blancos por línea paterna, no interrumpiéndose por la materna el orden progresivo de color, ni interviniendo esclavitud, se hallen ya en la cuarta generación. Para

⁴⁹³ Soucy, D. (2004). La' gran legión del águila negra': un águila de dos cabezas.(México-Cuba, 1823-1830). In En torno a las Antillas hispánicas: ensayos en homenaje al profesor Paul Estrade (pp. 242-256).

⁴⁹⁴ Zúñiga, O. P. (1994). Esclavitud o independencia: disyuntiva del liberalismo criollo oriental de la isla de Cuba en 1836. Secuencia, (29), 153.

⁴⁹⁵ Acusación del Fiscal contra los individuos comprendidos en la tercera pieza de la causa principal seguida por la conspiración titulada Gran Legión del Águila Negra, ANC, Asuntos Políticos, leg. 8, N ° 1. Una carta de Don Joaquín Lama noticiando el desembarco que iba a efectuarse de cien hombres (20/01/1825), ANC, Asuntos Políticos, leg. 130, N ° 3. Both documents cited also in, Soucy, Dominique. *Masonería y nación (Escuadra y Compás)* (Spanish Edition) (Kindle Locations 4415-4420). Ediciones Idea. Kindle Edition.

Translation:

The blacks will not take part in this because they will always remain in a state of slavery in which they are until they gradually extinguish the race because their owners have requested it.

⁴⁹⁶ Helg, A. (2000). *Lo que nos corresponde: La lucha de los negros y mulatos por la igualdad en Cuba, 1886-1912*. Imagen Contemporánea.,p. 143-4.

⁴⁹⁷ Soucy, Dominique. *Masonería y nación (Escuadra y Compás)* (Spanish Edition) (Kindle Locations 411-419). Ediciones Idea. Kindle Edition.

mayor claridad se explica el modo: el hijo de blanco y negra libre, mulato; hijo de blanco y mulata libre; hijo de blanco y cuarterona libre; hijo de blanco y quinterona libre, blanco. En la clase parda se comprenderán desde el mulato inclusive ascendiendo hasta el quinterón exclusive; en la morena desde mulato exclusive retrogradando hasta negro⁴⁹⁸.

In 1885, although this time in Cuban territory, the same segregationist protocol that we realized in 1797 in Pennsylvania was repeated with the permission that a loggia of Afro-descendants would request for regularization the Great Scotia Lodge of that city. This time, another Masonic Lodge of Afro-descendant members, The Union of Florida, was in contact with the United Grand Lodge of Columbus and the Island of Cuba (GLUCI). But as in the previous example of Pennsylvania that we have pointed out almost eighty years earlier, in this case it was Enrique A. Lecerff who was also in charge of the resolution to be negative⁴⁹⁹. The Florida Union Lodge was not allowed to regularize under the justification that the lodge in question was outside Masonic jurisdiction. However, Lecerff's words were,

Debemos no obstante en justicia hacer presente que en algunos no son admitidos los de raza africana que nacieron en esclavitud ,

⁴⁹⁸ Infante, J. (1959). *Proyecto de Constitución para la Isla de Cuba* (Vol. 15). Academia nacional de la historia. Cited in, Soucy, Dominique. *Masonería y nación (Escuadra y Compás)* (Spanish Edition) (Kindle Locations 450-458). Ediciones Idea. Kindle Edition.

Translation:

Art. 84. Equality will be civil or law. Thus, in the political order, the distinction of classes that will be established will be observed, the whites taking the priority in whose possession they are by origin and prior establishment, following the brown, and lately the brown.

Art. 85. The Indians, mestizos and those who, always descending from whites by paternal line, not being interrupted by the mother the progressive order of color, nor intervening in slavery, shall be understood to be engaged in the white class, whether or not they are married. are already in the fourth generation. For clarity the way is explained: the son of free black and white, mulatto; son of white and free mulatto; son of white and free cuarterona; son of white and free quinterona, white. In the brown class they will be understood from the mulatto even ascending to the exclusive quinterón; in the brunette from exclusive mulatto retrograde to black.

⁴⁹⁹ Soucy, Dominique. *Masonería y nación (Escuadra y Compás)* (Spanish Edition) (Posición en Kindle 2280-2286). EDICIONES IDEA. Edición de Kindle.

Translation:

We must nevertheless, in justice, bear in mind that some of those of the African race who were born in slavery are not admitted, based on what they do in the letter of the old precept that the candidate must be born free [...] For no man before God and before Humanity a slave is born, and if such an argument is valid before the positive law, it is not and cannot be in the light of natural law, the only law that inspires Freemasonry for an issue of this kind

fundándose los que tal hacen en la letra del antiguo precepto que el candidato debe ser nacido libre.[...] Pues ningún hombre ante Dios y ante la Humanidad nace esclavo; y si semejante argumento es válido ante la ley positiva, no lo es ni puede serlo a la luz del derecho natural,⁵⁰⁰ única ley que inspira la masonería para un asunto de este género.

Although the text may be perceived with a shift in favor of the regular candidacy of Afro-descendants by the GLUCI, of a realization of the controversial Masonic rules of free-born first and its change in 1847 to free-men; the truth is that empathy is the only change to the answers that had been given since the 18th century. The final resolution of detrimental to the regularity of Afro-descendant lodges is the same. Perhaps most strikingly, The Florida Black Union Lodge has had to attend a Cuban lodge knowingly that it is outside its territorial and Masonic jurisdiction. So we assume that La Unión, after the negatives of the regular white lodges of the United States, may have decided to go to a Cuban lodge looking on the island for the Masonic refraction of the old GOCA and its non-restriction on the initiation of Afro-descendants. But despite the possible good intention in Lecerff's words, finally, the GLUCI, like the rest of the regular North American white lodges, did not sponsor them for regularization.

The GLUCI new obedience whose founders were a split of the GLIC (Great Lodge of the Island of Cuba,1876-1880) began to question some Dogmas and Masonic norms to accommodate Cuban society in the second half of the nineteenth century. Discussions, while challenging some of the main principles of Freemasonry, were far from revolutionary or subversive. However, in his moderation, GLUCI proposed a reflection that refracted on Cuban society. The lodge subverted this criterion of physical perfection inscribed as the norm in Freemasonry, and that it was so often used by regular Freemasonry for itself the clause on 'freedom of birth' was not sufficient, on which the Afro-descendants were subjected born free and whose only way not to initiate them was to apply this clause of physical perfection alluding to their skin.

Celebramos ver que ya son pocas hoy día las jurisdicciones en que se exige que el candidato tenga perfecto, o mejor dicho completo, su cuerpo, pues que lo primero sería más que difícil. Con todo, se

⁵⁰⁰ Anuario de la Gran Logia Unida de Colón e Isla de Cuba(1884-1885), p. 41. Soucy, Dominique. Masonería y nación (Escuadra y Compás) (Spanish Edition) (Posición en Kindle 4797). EDICIONES IDEA. Edición de Kindle.

verá que en algunas localidades no se admiten miseros tuertos. ¿Los tendrían por cíclopes?[...] no serán rechazados de los Templos los hombres dignos, por el mero hecho de no ser blancos⁵⁰¹[...],

As Dominique Soucy explains, GLUCI subverts and alludes to this perverse allegory of beauty and perfection, not without irony. But it seems that these initiatives did not push the boundaries of theoretical debate, a chimeric desire, or perhaps a political intention of differentiation with their contemporaries at least in the discourse. Either way, the segregation of black Freemasons into regular lodges remained almost non-existent. If the purpose was the integration of the races to the extent that it occurs in Abakuá, the regular Cuban lodges fail in their mission, unless the goal was the construction of a narrative that differentiated them from the other obediences they shared the Masonic space of 19th-century Cuba simultaneously.

Despite the refusal to leave in Cuba, other societies of coloreds⁵⁰² and clubs exclusively for racialized people were developed. They simulated an emulated Philo-Masonic rituals and dynamics, establishing study circles inspired by the freethinking thinking of the time by moving in equal measure - and in theory - away from any mimicry with the practice of the African ancestral beyond the ethnic origin or the racialization of its members and candidates. These clubs and societies, despite fostering membership among the racialized community, strived to displace any ancestral Afrocentrism in their liturgical or ritualistic exercise and were erected in defense of a new Afro-descendant subject defending defender of reason, freethinker and liberal.

These associations served as a host for many Afro-descendant candidates rejected by the Masonic lodges regularized after the ten-year-old feud. And they helped foster a quarry

⁵⁰¹ Anuario de la Gran Logia Unida de Colón e Isla de Cuba, año 1887, p. 147-8. Cited also in, Soucy, Dominique. *Masonería y nación* (Escuadra y Compás) (Spanish Edition) (Kindle Location 2268). Ediciones Idea. Kindle Edition.

Translation:

We welcome to see that nowadays there are few jurisdictions in which the candidate is required to have perfect, or rather complete, his body, since the former would be more than difficult. However, it will be seen that in some localities miser one-eyed people are not allowed. Would they be called cyclops? [...] will not worthy men be rejected from the Temples, simply because they are not white, [...]

⁵⁰² Cuevas, E. T. (1999). El 98, Cuba y la masonería cubana. In *La masonería española y la crisis colonial del 98* (pp. 1089-1113). Centro de Estudios Históricos de la Masonería Española.

of intellectuals of Cuban Afro-descendant men and women. Researchers such as José Luciano Franco, Enrique Sosa have established connections between other social, political and military associations and Abakuá. So despite the non-inclusion of Abakuá, nor to be honest they did not include the Nation Cabildos of the time, in the direct rectories of Cuban Color Societies - managed and directed by figures like Martin Morua - it seemed that many of its members as Lino D'Ou⁵⁰³ -Abakuá and Mason-, not only opted for the illustrated manifesto that they wanted to bring, leaving any manifestation of the order of Afrocentric as an atavism that the new Afro-Cuban in a free-thinking tally should leave behind or for the time being to a Side. However, the Directory of Color Societies had aligned itself with the decision that in 1876 the Spanish authorities would legislate for Cuba,

GACETA DE LA HABANA. Gobierno General de la Isla de Cuba. Secretaría. Negociado de Orden Público.

El Exmo. Sr. Gobernador General, se ha servido dictar el decreto siguiente: « Visto el expediente instruido con motivo de la sorpresa que hizo la policía en 12 de Marzo último, en la casa núm. 3 de la calle de la Fundición. Resultando: que esa reunión la formaban varios individuos que se hallaban congregados, como pertenecientes a la Asociación de ñañigos o arrastrados. Resultando que por las tendencias y prácticas que observan los referidos individuos, debe ser comprendida esa Asociación entre las que la ley señala como secretas. He resuelto:

1ro. Que queden prohibidas completamente las reuniones de ñañigos, y por lo tanto que no se les permita como hasta aquí salir a las calles en ningún día, ni con pretexto alguno

2do. Que los infractores de ese decreto quedan sujetos a la penalidad que la Ley señala y

3ro. Que todas las Autoridades de esta Isla y sus agentes delegados, vigilen el exacto cumplimiento de este decreto.>>

Y se publica en ocho números de la Gaceta Oficial de orden de S. E., para general conocimiento. Habana, 21 de Agosto de 1876.

El Secretario del Gobierno General: R. Ruíz Martínez.

El Secretario del Gobierno Civil

José Hurtado

⁵⁰³ Franco, J. L. (1974). Introducción al proceso de La Escalera. *Boletín del Archivo Nacional de Cuba*, 67, 54-63. Also, Franco, J. L. (1974). La conjura de los negreros. *Ensayos históricos*. Helg, A. (1995). *Our rightful share: the Afro-Cuban struggle for equality, 1886-1912*. UNC Press Books. p,150. De la Fuente, A. (2001). *A nation for all: Race, inequality, and politics in twentieth-century Cuba*. Univ of North Carolina Press. p, 32, 52, 58, 154-55.

(Con un sello que dice: _ Gobierno Civil de la Provincia.
Habana.)⁵⁰⁴

Around these organizations are established significant Afro-Cuban intellectual figures of the time such as Juan Gualberto Gómez⁵⁰⁵, insofar as he defends these spaces as places of learning for the Cuban Afro-descendant community, stressed at the same time the need to get away from any folkloric manifestation or that can be considered an atavistic Afrocentrism that can move the Cuban Afro-descendant away from the excellent path of Western reason.

One of the examples of the civilizing will for the Afro-descendant of Juan Gualberto Gómez is the publication in 1885, Juan Gualberto Gómez wrote, however, a fundamental text for his thought 'An important document, letter to a man of color' (1885) is a text that praises as the illustrated '*mulata*' class and most with higher education in Paris, and the so-called affranchise de Saint Domingue positioned himself in front of the slave uprising,

⁵⁰⁴ Decreto del Exmo. Sr. Gobernador General respecto a la prohibición de «comparsas» ñañigos. (En: Gaceta de La Habana, 21 de agosto de 1876.) Cited in, Enrique, S. R. (1982). Los ñañigos. Casa de las Américas, La Habana., p. 378-9.

Translation:

HAVANA GAZETTE. General Government of the Island of Cuba. Secretary. Public Order Bureau.

The Exmo Mr. Governor General, it has been useful to issue the following decree: «Having seen the file instructed on the occasion of the surprise made by the police on March 12 last, in house no. 3 of the street of the Foundry. Resulting: that this meeting was formed by several individuals who were gathered, as belonging to the Association of ñañigos or dragged. As it turns out, by the tendencies and practices observed by the aforementioned individuals, this Association must be understood among which the law indicates as secret. I have resolved:

1st. That the ñañigos meetings be completely prohibited, and therefore that they are not allowed as far as to go out on the streets on any day, or under any pretext

2nd. That the violators of that decree are subject to the penalty that the Law states and

3rd. That all the Authorities of this Island and their delegated agents, monitor the exact fulfillment of this decree. >>

And it is published in eight issues of the Official Gazette of the order of S. E., for general knowledge. Havana, August 21, 1876.

The Secretary of the General Government: R. Ruíz Martínez.

The Secretary of the Civil Government

José Hurtado

(With a stamp that says: _ Civil Government of the Province. Havana.)

⁵⁰⁵ Juan Gualberto Gómez is an Afro-Cuban Freemason intellectual. I have directed numerous publications including LA IGUALDAD and LA FRATERNIDAD, founded in 1879. I create the Directory of Color Societies. Since current revisionism, she is one of the most controversial Cuban figures of African descent due to her condemnation and cataloging of atavism to representations of her own culture of African origin.

identifying himself with the Haitian mestizos Vincent Ogé⁵⁰⁶ and the abolitionist Jean-Baptiste Chavannes. Juan Gualberto was born free, but the son of slaves studied in Paris and was able to coincide with these mulattos of Saint Domingue that mobilized around Masonic lodges. His criticism and concern for Cuba to pursue an uprising whose central axis is race could place the island of Cuba in the same situation of economic crisis as Saint Domingue, who would forever abandon the productive international ladder after Haiti's independence.

It would seem that neither Juan Gualberto nor his partner Morúa⁵⁰⁷, even more conservative if possible, trusted or believed in the leadership of Afro-Cubans without them having to be guided, guarded or emulated by the example of whites, either intellectually, as well as in the intellectual economically. It was Morúa who in the early twentieth century and presiding over the Senate voted against the legalization of the Color Independents Party. The denial of support for a party representing Cubans of color was justified by the duty to integrate that Afro-Cubans had in existing institutions. The illegalization of the PIC was the political justification for the great massacre⁵⁰⁸ of 1912.

Juan Gualberto seems to insist on his Eurocentrist stance eight years later, in the trilogy of articles called 'Cuba no es Haití' published in 1893. The published articles under the veil of Western reason attempt to establish a controversial difference between Cuban and Haitian Afro-descendants. Juan Gualberto Gómez alludes in them to the stereotypes manufactured by colonialism itself about the origin of the African ethnic group of both countries, compares the relations of races in both wars of independence and ends with the ties that with the whites have the Afro-descendant populations in Cuba and Haiti,

Los portugueses y los españoles reclutaban principalmente sus esclavos cerca de la desembocadura del Congo o en la porción del Golfo de la Guinea habitada por los pueblos más pacíficos del África. Los franceses, en cambio, siempre trataron más con las

⁵⁰⁶ Poumier, M. (Ed.). (2007). *La cuestión tabú: el pensamiento negro cubano de 1840 a 1959*. Ediciones Idea.,(Posición en Kindle 193-195). Cuevas, E. T. (2011). *Masonerías en Cuba durante el siglo XIX*. *REHMLAC. Revista de Estudios Históricos de la Masonería Latinoamericana y Caribeña*, 3(2), 67-105. p, 80.

⁵⁰⁷ Poumier, M. (Ed.). (2007). *La cuestión tabú: el pensamiento negro cubano de 1840 a 1959*. Ediciones Idea.,(Posición en Kindle 203-206). Edición de Kindle.

⁵⁰⁸ Fernández, S. C. (2002). *La masacre de los Independientes de Color en 1912*. Editorial de ciencias sociales. Robaina, T. F. (2008). Hacia el centenario de la fundación del Partido Independiente de Color: aproximación crítica a tres nuevas contribuciones. *Caribbean Studies*, 36(1), 131-140.

belicosas tribus senegalenses, con los mandingas briosos y con los indómitos dahomeyanos. De donde resulta que en tanto que los negros en Cuba en su mayoría, son oriundos de los dulces habitantes de la cuenca del Congo, tan asimilables y sumisos a los europeos, los de Haití, por lo común procedían de las guerreras aglomeraciones que aún hoy ponen resistencia a la civilización europea.⁵⁰⁹

Interesting are the names chosen for these publications such as Minerva, the Fraternity, La Equality, and the respective associations and clubs such as the Athens that emerged around this group of Afro-Cuban intellectuals. Perhaps to differentiate itself from the Abakuás lobbies or institutions that if they incorporated into their denomination words and terms of their membership in African ancestral geography or their religious worship. Afro-Cuban intellectuals after the end of the Ten Years' War wanted to become, at least in the public part of civil society, a new Afro-Cuban it departs from ancestral religious practices of African origin.

The distance that these new associations of intellectuals sought to mark concerning the type of associationism was defined by a sought-after - and achieved - differentiation in relation to the Nation Cabildos. The name of these elite Afro-Cuban clubs responds to mimicry or emulation closer to the reference nomination of Greco-Roman culture and Masonic lodges than to the Cabildos or Afro-descendant institutions on the island. The group of free Afro-descendants defended becoming new individuals through an enlightened and Western education, and ultimately elitist. The new institutions created around them respond to an equalization of forms of civics, liturgy and public visibility as free-thinking institutions that would emulate, in their public aspect between associationism and charity activities, freemasonry.

⁵⁰⁹ 'Cuba no es Haití', LA IGUALDAD, 13.05.1893. Also in Schmieder, U. (2018). Periódicos afrocubanos: la Independencia y el distanciamiento de la élite afrocubana de Haití, África y la esclavitud. Reshaping Global Dynamics of the Caribbean: Relaciones y Desconexiones, Relations et Déconnexions, Relations and Disconnections. p, 429. Between 1878-1879, Juan Gualberto Gomez founded the newspaper LA FRATERNIDAD. Chapeaux, P. D. (2015). El centenario de LA FRATERNIDAD (El periódico de Juan Gualberto Gómez). Revista de la Biblioteca Nacional José Martí, (3).

Translation:

The Portuguese and the Spaniards mainly recruited their slaves near the mouth of the Congo or in the portion of the Gulf of Guinea inhabited by the most peaceful peoples of Africa. The French, on the other hand, always dealt more with the belligerent Senegalese tribes, with the brisk Mandingas and with the untamed Dahomeyan. It turns out that while blacks in Cuba are mostly from the sweet inhabitants of the Congo basin, so similar and submissive to Europeans, those from Haiti, usually came from the warrior agglomerations that still today They put resistance to European civilization.

Faced with the apparent, [...] *naturaleza masculina de gran parte del corpus del pensamiento afrolatinoamericano* [...].⁵¹⁰ / [...] masculine nature of much of the corpus of African-American thought[...].

To correct and correct ourselves as researchers in this possible gap in which beyond the difficulties that women and feminists had to go through, the academy hasn't done enough to bridge the difference either. In this same intellectual circle around the Color Societies, some Afro-Cuban writers gather and publish around *Minerva Magazine* (1888-1889). Although it should be noted that emulating the (white) publications of the time, also the issues of interest to both groups of intellectuals are divided by gender, although some academics have not pointed out without bold, direct interference stakes Writers of 'Minerva' on political matters. But was it that being black and female, in that 'double jeopardy' did not legitimize them as Perse political subjects? In the words of Frances M. Beal,

[...]As blacks they suffer all the burdens of prejudice and mistreatment that fall on anyone with dark skin. As women they bear the additional burden of having to cope with white and black men[...]⁵¹¹.

While Afro-Cuban male intellectuals tried to make clear the difference between the independence struggles of Cuban and Haitian racialized male subjects. For their part, Afro-Cuban women in these intellectual circles were concerned about how to resolve gender differences, the reunification of the family, or parental recognition of illegitimate children outside of marriage⁵¹². It would seem that while Afro-Cuban descendants were engaged in higher education than other Afro-descendant embeds of the Caribbean, female intellectuals were more concerned with the domestic and private order of their status as female subjects racialized. It seemed that both lines of interest walked in parallel and without any intersection,

⁵¹⁰ de la Fuente, A., & Andrews, G. R. (Eds.). (2018). *Afro-Latin American Studies: An Introduction*. Cambridge University Press. p, 225.

⁵¹¹ Beal, FM (1969). Black women's manifesto; double jeopardy: To be Black and female. *New York, NY: Third World Women's Alliance*.

⁵¹² De la Fuente, A. (2001). *A nation for all: Race, inequality, and politics in twentieth-century Cuba*. Univ of North Carolina Press. p, 154-5.

La época[...] de los hijos de padres no conocidos pasó ya. [...] nuestra condición de esclavas cortaba nuestras aspiraciones hacia lo grande y sublime que es el matrimonio.⁵¹³

The Afro-Cuban women's publication *Minerva* was managed by Miguel Gualba, a collaborator of Juan Gualberto Gómez in his publications. Among his principal collaborators were Africa Céspedes, poet, or piano and language teacher Ursula Coimbra, among others. And while it might seem that it was a publication exclusively with gender claims and addressed to women of color, they also made independence claims and in favor of the educational gap between the white and the colored population. But surely perhaps being under a male direction could mark a large number of articles related to issues of Afro-Cuban family construction as an emulation of the Western nuclear family.

These are just two examples of partnerships that impacted the Afro-Cuban intellectual world and were trying to emulate the many that exist for the white Cuban community. Assessing the degree of Africanization in their associative dynamics of these fraternities is a pending academic work. However few were the criticisms that their members of the Directory of Color Societies made of the demonstrations and other associations that extolled African ancestral religious practice.

By criticizing the artistic manifestations of Afro-descendants and their behavior in the public space as with the *Comparsas*⁵¹⁴, he opened a division of opinions among the essential Afro-descendant intellectuals. Many of those who formed such color associations and who under their umbrellas had formed media, aware of them or did not support the division among the Afro-descendant community. It was pursued to leave behind manifestations that were not governed by Western decency and 'white' decorum. We can consider that this elitism among Cuban Afro-descendants after ten years of struggle, among other causes for the abolition of slavery, was unnecessary. It exposed the

⁵¹³ *Minerva*, 15.05.1889. Also in, Barcia, M. D. C. (1998). *Mujeres en torno a Minerva*. In *Rábida* (No. 17, pp. 113-120).; Schmieder, U. (2018). *Periódicos afrocubanos: la Independencia y el distanciamiento de la élite afrocubana de Haití, África y la esclavitud*. *Reshaping Global Dynamics of the Caribbean: Relaciones y Desconexiones, Relations et Déconnexions, Relations and Disconnections*, 423.

Translation:

The time of the children of unknown parents has passed. [...] our condition as slaves cut our aspirations towards how big and sublime marriage is.

⁵¹⁴ Bettelheim, J. (1990). *Carnaval in Cuba: Another Chapter in the Nationalization of Culture*. *Caribbean Quarterly*, 36(3-4), 29-41.

imminent break-up of the community in terms of values that the Afro-descendant community itself has not selected, at least in its entirety. Opposed to decency and decorum would remain The Afro-descendant manifestations in any of their cultural forms to the Abakuás.⁵¹⁵

Could the government authorities in 19th-century Cuba find primitive analogies between Freemasonry and the Abakuá? In what appears to have been an analogy, it was in the punishment protocols for the two practices, both understood as threats to the Catholic Faith.

Among the Cuban Masonic obediences created after the end of the Ten Years' War (1868-1878), debates about the incorporation of Afro-descendants increased. We would know nothing if the manigua lodges were able to regularize their members beyond their races, degrees - Masonic and military - and conditions, after the Zanjón Pact⁵¹⁶ which ended with conflicting in early 1878. The case of which there is constancy is that of General Quintín Banderas, rejected by the regular lodges on more than three occasions. The motives could have been from being Afro-descendant, to find himself unemployed - we know of his random life between wars - his continued warnings for indisciplines on the battlefield. Or in his later years, in the early twentieth century, his unique, lousy relationship with a former companion of the wars of independence, Tomás Estrada Palma, who would become president of the first Cuban Republic.

On the other hand, if there was an accommodative Masonic protocol for the Freemason mambises initiated in the underground of the Manigua during the thirty years of war, was it equally applied to Afro-descendants? We can only assume that while the GOCA had inspired all these campaign lodges⁵¹⁷, could they have taken up regulations, uses, and rules accommodated from the old obedience to the political situation of the new Cuban Republic?

⁵¹⁵ De la Fuente, A. (2001). *A nation for all: Race, inequality, and politics in twentieth-century Cuba*. Univ of North Carolina Press, p, 155.

⁵¹⁶ Helg, A. (2001). La Mejorana Revisited: The Unresolved Debate between Antonio Maceo and José Martí. *Colonial Latin American Historical Review*, 10(1), 61.

⁵¹⁷ Cuevas, E. T. (2011). Masonerías en Cuba durante el siglo XIX. *REHMLAC. Revista de Estudios Históricos de la Masonería Latinoamericana y Caribeña*, 3(2), 67-105. p, 80.

On December 27, 1852, the Supreme Council of Columbus for Cuba and other islands of the West Indies was founded. Until 1868 the GLC would spread throughout the island with 22 lodges and its activity would be regular during the first months, but after the fierce vigilance of the colonial authorities, the meetings became more limited and secret. Despite the connection to Spain, the GLC liturgy was closer to the conservatism of the southern United States due to its social constitution made up of Spanish and creole traders related to the economy of the plantation. In 1865, the regulation on the non-admission of blacks was decreed in writing within this obedience:

Encontrándonos en un país donde no es posible que la gente de color alterne con la clase blanca, hasta el caso de estar muy cerca la línea que las divide en la sociedad, donde no son admitidos con absoluta libertad, se diga a la M.R.G.L (Muy Respetable Gran Logia) que no es dable recibir a ninguno que no sea considerado como blanco, aunque sea del estado llano, para evitar de esta suerte los disgustos que podría proporcionarse y el conflicto en que todos se encontrarían de admitir a un sin número de pardos y morenos a quienes conocemos revestidos de las mejores cualidades⁵¹⁸.

According to the Cuban Historian Eduardo Torres Cuevas even the Masonic oath was affected by the wars of independence. The historian gives an account of a different oath than we can find in the *Diario de Máximo Gómez*, but also that seems to respond to an accommodating political commitment - the swearing as a mamb'i - that emulates the oath of the Masonic 'lodges of transhumance' of Cuban rebel manigua. So the accommodations weren't just one-way. Loans from the Cuban revolutionary context to Masonic practice could be understood as adopting the manigua lodges to the new political and itinerant situation. To the same extent, the Masonic liturgy lends the Cuban Liberation Army (ELC) institution to a particular form of oath that would also extend to the patriotic narrative produced within the timeline of the wars of independence (1868-

⁵¹⁸ Alvarez, A. M. (1933). *Historia documentada de la masonería en Cuba*. Molina y Compañía, impresores. p, 147. Also in, Soucy, D. (2006). *Masonería y nación: redes masónicas y políticas en la construcción identitaria cubana (1811-1902)*. Ediciones Idea.. p, 114.

Translation:

Finding ourselves in a country where it is not possible for people of color to alternate with the white class, even if the line that divides them in society is very close, where they are not admitted with absolute freedom, the VRGL (Very Respectful Grand Lodge) that it is not possible to receive any that is not considered as white, even if it is from the flat state, to avoid in this way the dislikes that could be provided and the conflict in which everyone would find themselves admitting to a number of pardos and brunettes whom we know clad in the best qualities.

1898) and which is evident from the publications such as the documents provide by the Constitutional Assembly of Guáimaro (1869)⁵¹⁹.

The Cuban Masonic tradition at the time of independence also had other accommodations that respond not only to the roaming context of the lodge but to the reason that had generated it. The Lodges of the Manigua⁵²⁰ not only initiated Freemasons within the Cuban Liberator Army but mambises were initiated into the Freemasonry. The oath would have this ambivalence, of being sworn into as Freemason brothers and as members of a revolutionary brotherhood that fought against Spanish authority. In some mambi camps the new incorporated had to take oaths like this:

P.- ¿Soy mambí?

R.- Sí, por la gracia de Cuba y la Revolución.

P.- ¿Qué quiere decir mambí?

R.- Hombre que tiene la fe del cubano y la profesa hasta la muerte.

P.- ¿Cuál es la insignia y la señal del mambí?

R.- La Santa Tea.⁵²¹

These were *virtual* ‘workshops’ whose members were Cuban mambises and whose meetings were held at the site of the ELC battalion to which they belonged. In this case, the Lodge does not refer to the interior of the temple building itself, but to the structure that its symbols and its Freemason members form. For the mambis, the lodge was an allegorical construction where its members were, and the Cuban manigua was in its temple. The Ejército Libertador Cubano’s Masonic Campaign Lodges coexisted with the African-origin practices of Afro-descendant mambises. Such ancestral traditions were

⁵¹⁹ Torres-Cuevas, E. (2019). Las logias masónicas del 68. *Revista de la Biblioteca Nacional José Martí*, (2), 178-192.

⁵²⁰ de Paz Sánchez, M. A. (2004). Masonería e independencia de Cuba en 1878: el caso de la logia Taoro de La Orotava. *Revista de Historia Canaria*, 265-275.

⁵²¹ Torres-Cuevas, E. (2019). Las logias masónicas del 68. *Revista de la Biblioteca Nacional José Martí*, (2), 178-192.

Translation:

Q.- Am I mambí?

R.- Yes, by the grace of Cuba and the Revolution.

Q.- What does mambí mean?

R.- Man who has the faith of the Cuban and professes it until death.

Q.- What is the badge and the sign of the mambí?

R.- The Santa Tea.

never abandoned by Afro-descendants, who were often required to be part of the armed detachment for their knowledge of medicinal herbs and healings, to deal with heal or relieve war wounds. Known are the leaders of the Cuban wars of independence who had affiliation in Freemasonry⁵²²: Carlos Manuel de Céspedes⁵²³, the two brothers Maceo y Grajales –Antonio⁵²⁴ y José⁵²⁵-, José Martí⁵²⁶, Flor Crombet⁵²⁷, Tomás Estrada Palma, Máximo Gómez⁵²⁸, the Masó Márquez brothers –Bartolomé, Isaías y Rafael-, Manuel de Jesús Calvar, Rafael Tornes, Francisco Javier de Céspedes, Salvador Cisneros Betancourt, Quintín Bandera⁵²⁹ y Francisco Vicente Aguilera.

Pro-Independence Cuban leader, Carlos Manuel de Céspedes⁵³⁰, a white Creole landowner, was the Righteous Worship Gran Master of the Respectable Buena Fe Masonic Lodge in Manzanillo, whose tenures continued to take place where the Mambí detachment of Céspedes stopped for the night. On October 10, 1868, Céspedes⁵³¹ gave freedom to the slaves he owed giving them the option of joining the Liberation Army of Cuba/Ejército Libertador de Cuba (ELC) and thus participating in the struggle for the new nation and independence of Cuba in which, as Freemasonry had promoted, race nor social class would be prevented from proving their worth. Other chiefs of the liberating army also owned slaves, but not all of them gave their slaves their freedom, nor all the privileges granted to them were complete. Leaders such as Francisco Vicente Aguilera,

⁵²² It should be pointed out that although all the documentary evidence with the examples of letters and their corresponding Masonic signatures of the above-mentioned independence leaders are not attached at the foot of the page; the truth is that a freemason uses his Masonic signature only in the case of the receiver does also. Freemasonry was erected as an insurrectionary manifestation during its multiple prohibitions and differentiation between members of the Liberating Army (Insurgents) and Cuban Lodges founded by extension to Spanish obediences.

⁵²³ Firma Masónica Carlos Manuel de Céspedes. Carta a su padre, 1871. <http://merrick.library.miami.edu/cdm/singleitem/collection/chc0347/id/6868/rec/8>

⁵²⁴ Firma Masónica Antonio Maceo y Grajales. Carta a Máximo Gómez, 1895. <http://merrick.library.miami.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/chc0347/id/786/rec/43>

⁵²⁵ Firma Masónica José Maceo y Grajales. Carta al General Máximo Gómez, 1895. <http://merrick.library.miami.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/chc0347/id/730/rec/16>

⁵²⁶ Sánchez Gálvez, S. (2007). Martí ciñó el mandil. *Prueba documental de su filiación masónica. La Habana: Casa de Altos Estudios don Fernando Ortiz.*

⁵²⁷ Firma masónica de Flor Crombet. Carta al General Máximo Gómez, 1887. <http://merrick.library.miami.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/chc0347/id/463/rec/46>

⁵²⁸ Firma masónica Máximo Gómez. Carta a Rafael Sorondo. <http://merrick.library.miami.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/chc0347/id/716/rec/61>

⁵²⁹ Firma Masónica de Quintín Bandera. Carta a Tomás Estrada Palma. <http://merrick.library.miami.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/chc0347/id/6698/rec/53>

⁵³⁰ Documentación de esclavos en propiedad de Carlos Manuel de Céspedes, 1866. <http://merrick.library.miami.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/chc0347/id/496/rec/15>.

⁵³¹ Cédula de libertad de esclavos de Carlos Manuel de Céspedes, 1868. <http://merrick.library.miami.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/chc0347/id/534/rec/18>.

years before 1868, had already started freemasonry slaves in his family and had allowed them so-called limited freedom⁵³².

On October 10, 1868, in which the nation rises *en armas* it was decided to dissolve the GOCA by the repression of all obediences in general because Freemasonry had been considered a crime and in particular for the persecution of GOCA members by s or discourse against slavery and race and gender equality. Being a Freemason was a subversive fact, so the Groups of Spanish Volunteers, acting with the same power as the forces of the peninsular order, were responsible for suppressing at any price any Masonic manifestation or association regardless of the ideology behind his liturgy. However, with the dissolution of obedience, in whose ranks were the leaders of the impending war of independence, it is decided to transform the liturgical legacy of Vicente A. de Castro, developed as a philosophical and philanthropic internal work of the GOCA, into a ideological commitment and socio-political thinking to apply it to the new Cuban society that was intended to be built by arms. Castro would die a few years earlier and could not participate in the independence contest, whose ideological gestation is attributed to him.

Unlike other obediences, the GOCA would initiate large numbers of Afro-descendants. Major General Antonio Maceo, a mulatto, was instituted in 1862 in such obedience. His brother Joseph was also initiated into Freemasonry. The remaining brothers, Maceo and Grajales also actively participated in the Revolutionary War in its two stages (1868-1878) and (1895-1898). The Maceo family is one of the cases in which by chance or causality the paths of the Abakuá and Freemasonry intersect. The bugler of the Liberating Army under Antonio Maceo and creator of the musical piece ‘*El ñáñigo*,’ Enrique Peña⁵³³ was Abakuá. When Major General Antonio Maceo returned to the island after his exile was betrayed in Havana, members of the power in the neighborhood of Bethlehem/Belén protected him and escorted him to the manigua until he met his troops; Lino D'ou, the Edecán Abakuá of his brother Joseph, was a member of this ñáñigo society.

Although there is no written testimony about Joseph's membership in the Abakuás, it is known that Joseph had an Edecán Abakuá, Lino D'ou, a member of the Bakoko-Efo. We

⁵³² Soucy, D. (2006). *Masonería y nación: redes masónicas y políticas en la construcción identitaria cubana (1811-1902)*. Ediciones Idea. p, 127.

⁵³³ Miller, I. L. (2010). *Voice of the leopard: African secret societies and Cuba*. Univ. Press of Mississippi. p,154.

also do not know whether Rafael Maceo was initiated into Freemasonry as his brothers; but we do know that, like hundreds of Cuban independentist and Freemasons, large numbers of Abakuás were deported to Spanish and North African prisons on chartered boats to the jails of Figueras, Ceuta, Canary Islands or Fernando Poo, among others. Towards the end of the 19th century, the deportations of Mambis insurgents and anyone considered an enemy of the cause of peninsular Spain. Both José Maceo⁵³⁴ and Rafael Maceo were deported to Ceuta prison, on the Moroccan coast as late as 1899, when photos of Abakuás representations were collected in that prison by the criminological researcher and sociologist Rafael Salillas. The documentary evidence left to us by Salillas on the Abakuás practices in European and North African prisons⁵³⁵ is contained in the *REVISTA GENERAL DE LEGISLACIÓN Y JURISPRUDENCIA* in his 1901 article, 'Los ñañigos en Ceuta'; documentary evidence also echoed by Ivor Miller in his study *The Voice of the Leopard: African Secret Societies and Cuba*, drawing a trail of the Abakuá society from the late 19th century from Cuba to Europe. Many Cuban freedom fighters and ñañigos died in exile prison. Others could be released and continue on their way to the United States by settling there or looking for ways to return to the island to maintain the independence struggle.

Members of Cuban Abakuás were deported to European and North African prisons. Theoretically, they could not get out of Cuba the objects of the sacred practice of the Abakuá. Not only because they went as prisoners and without the ability to design luggage for use since they traveled directly from Cuban prisons, but also because the essence of the Abakuá / its Fundamento cannot leave Cuba. However, sacred objects of the Abakuá left the territory, and their representations outside Cuba were replicated.

Just as Ekpe(Egbo) belongs to African lands, the sacred Abakuá is related to the Cuban territory. And although each Abakuá association has its own sacred objects, as in other religions these are consecrated and their use is restricted to the ritualistic scope. In the case of musical instruments, it is usually complemented by similar but profane ones that can be used on any occasion. We assume that in the case of the sacred objects and artefacts of the Abakuá that left the island both by voluntary migration or due to prison

⁵³⁴ Miller, I. L. (2010). *Voice of the leopard: African secret societies and Cuba*. Univ. Press of Mississippi. p, 123.

⁵³⁵ Miller, I. L. (2010). *Voice of the leopard: African secret societies and Cuba*. Univ. Press of Mississippi. p,124-5

exiles, they were participants in more flexible and lax ritual dynamics. Questioning the practice of the Abakuá outside of Cuba as illegitimate may not make much sense to their practitioners from the prisons in exile that see their spiritual family rebuilt. And although many academics believe that what Rafael Salillas described in Ceuta prison was a scripted staging / representations of the sacred legitimized by belonging, nostalgia and memory. But are not all rituals / Theater always scripted? Perhaps more than the poses that Salillas portrayed, the criminologist had to wonder how a ritual such as the Cuban Abakuá is articulated within a penitentiary compound in the Ceuta of the late nineteenth century? Could some of the demonstrations given in exile, and specifically in prisons on Spanish and African territory, be more than just a performance of Nietzschean theatre⁵³⁶? That an Abakuá lodge was replicated in a prison had its analogies with Freemasonry. In that analogy shared by both institutions, they have also been in their persecutions and non-places where they have inhabited, such as prisons. And, s the secret Abakuás societies there were Masonic Lodges developed in prisons⁵³⁷.

Theoretically, Abakuá cannot exist in exile. However, could any Abakuá brotherhood go into exile with its Foundation? And along the same lines, could a Masonic lodge be established without "sowing" its foundation stone⁵³⁸? To all these questions, whose legitimate answer should be no, we know that it is positive. Both institutions, whether in their virtuality or symbolism categories, have managed to accommodate themselves.

Behind all these deportations was more than a clear political and social purpose that sought to extract or amputate from Cuban society the discordant elements in terms of ethnicity, cultural diversity and political independence against the Spanish peninsula.

⁵³⁶ Roach, J. R. (1996). *Cities of the dead: Circum-Atlantic performance*. Columbia University Press. P,25. Also see, Nietzsche, F. W. (1967). *The Birth of Tragedy: and the case of Wagner* (Vol. 369). Vintage.

⁵³⁷ The Liberté Cherie, Les Frères captifs d'Allach and L'Obstinée lodges were Masonic lodges founded in Nazi concentration camps during World War II. See, Verhas, P. (2004). *Liberté chérie: Une loge maçonnique dans un camp de concentration*. Labor. Erauw, F. (1993). *L'odyssée de Liberté Chérie*. Also, Erauw, F. (2009). *La Respectable Loge Liberté Chérie au camp de concentration d'Esterwegen, Nuit et Brouillard* Éditions du Grand Orient de Belgique.

⁵³⁸ Ekpe (Egbo) Associations of the Cross River has a stone or pillar where sacrifices are made. These artifacts have also been subject to accommodations and, from recent attacks by members of Western churches in the territory or by members of new cults to reuse / re-appropriation by the Yorubas such as the cult of Sango. There is no evidence that these types of stones or terracotta were also transplanted to Cuba. The sacrifices, as the Abakuá myth points out, are made in the palm and ceiba tree. One of the foundational artifacts of Freemasonry is the stone that used to be buried before the erection of a new temple / lodge building. See, Slogar, C. (2005). *Iconography and continuity in West Africa: Calabar terracottas and the arts of the Cross River region of Nigeria/Cameroon* (Doctoral dissertation).p, 57-8.

There was a dark economic matter, which sought the expropriation of goods of those associated with those discordant elements, an issue which has been little clarified and even less documented.

The granting of Abakuás and Masonic Lodges to admit white and Afro-descendant citizens respectively has two readings that coexist together, but which are contradictory to each other. On the one hand, the entry and acquisition of charges at both institutions – Antonio Maceo and the Andrés Facundo Petit are an example – within those organizations that once openly opposed the admission of mestizos and whites in the case of the Abakuás, and Afro-descendants and born slaves in the case of Masonic lodges. And on the other hand, the innate adaptation of both societies to the social, political and cultural context of 19th-century Cuba. This does not mean that the ethnic or racial assimilation of these fraternities has been decisive or generalistic to them. The entry of whites into the Abakuás did not improve the social acceptance of the fraternity or the relations between the black and white brotherhoods. For its part, the entry of Afro-descendants into Cuban Freemasonry failed to open the doors to a general acceptance of them in relation with the white brothers, nor did it make it easier for them to obtain high office within Masonic obediences, nor did it have a significant impact on the Cuban social context. However, all this did mean that the construction of the Cuban Nation as an institution began to admit members of different ethnicities and cultures, although neither the colonial institutions of yesteryear nor those of the future Republic of Cuba after 1902 was representative of the feel of the everyday people, nor of their ethnic diversity, let alone, of their ideological-cultural plurality.

Although Freemasonry is not formally related to religion⁵³⁹ and any discussion about creed or politics is prohibited in the Masonic meetings/sessions, it is in this context that the leaders of the Cuban Independence Army such as Carlos Manuel de Céspedes, José Martí, Antonio Maceo and Máximo Gómez, representatives of the ethnic diversity and ideological plurality of which the Cuban Masonic fraternity GOCA wanted to show up to approach the prototype nation in order to build. Only the discretion (and the necessary secrecy in some occasions) of the tenures gave them the required environment to -

⁵³⁹Anderson, J. 1723. *The Constitutions of the Free-Masons. Containing the History, Charges, Regulations etc. of that most Ancient and Right Worshipful Fraternity.* London: William Hunter, for John Senex and John Hooke. p,8-13.

contrary to the Masonic precepts - speak, discuss, plan, organize and establish the policy and strategy to follow in the wars of Independence.

But this does not mean that all pro-independence leaders were Freemasons or that the island's Freemasonry developed Cuba's independence. However, the adherence of some leaders of Cuba's wars of independence to Freemasonry was possible because the institution and those leaders shared the ideological imaginary of equality, freedom, and fraternity of all free men, which is the struggle for Cuba's independence, the means to achieve long-standing freedom. Similarly, the Abakuá Secret Society with its hermetic secrecy would be part of numerous uprisings and conspiracies of Afro-descendants in pursuit of this long-held equality. If there were still difficulties both societies had been able to accommodate this ethnic-cultural and social-class equality within them, it was a matter of applying this civic teaching on a large scale: to the entire Cuban nation. This internal tolerance, despite the individual brawls, could have occurred because both societies had or shared a common enemy that was the official peninsular-colonial institution. On the other hand, the relations of the Cubans with nations abroad were a decisive and imperative resolution, to become independent from the Spanish metropolis and in parallel avoid possible annexation to the United States. To do this, social groups, slaves, free and citizens of different kinds, races and creeds fought in the wars of independence very much despite having unresolved the differences between themselves.

One might wonder whether the sworn white Abakuás and the subsequent White 'Juegos Abakuás' brought differences or external contributions to the Afro-descendant essence of Abakuá. And to what extent, these associations of an initial/esoteric nature have intervened in the identity formation of Cuba and how has its evolutionary development since the independence processes been?

The extent to which the Wars of Independence helped solve the racial problem in Cuba is to be determined. Or if on the contrary, they served as a gaslight for the correct resolution of the issue. It is possible that both integrative processes of culture, ethnicity, and ideology –Abakuás societies and Cuban Freemasonry– were nothing more than one-off and unrepresentative actions of Cuban society or instead, segregated representation in both fraternities could to have been the very essence of 19th-century Cuban society and its extension to the present day.

Given the low visibility of blacks in public spaces and vice versa, of whites in black scenarios, the ghetto as a place or physical segregational territory could also be extendable to the social and the ideological. Both societies, Freemasons, and Abakuás have developed on the way to being an expression and extension of Cuba's diversity, races, creeds, and ideology. Both institutions register as fraternal associations, whose membership voluntarily seeks to be incorporated not without a selective research process on the still profane. In both cases, when the neophyte became engaged and initiated or 'inídsemes' -*los que van a jurar*⁵⁴⁰- will have made a commitment under oath accepting laws, rules and regulations that affect not only him but also his family circle more intimate⁵⁴¹.

When a candidate wishes to become Abakuá or a Freemason, he usually asks an acquaintance or friend of whom he is aware of his membership in the institution to which he wants to apply. Relevant investigations into the candidacy of the new member begin. The neophyte must clearly understand the obligations it assumes when joining the Order. These obligations are of the most serious and solemn nature and are expected to fulfill them honorably. The candidate undertakes to try to lead a noble and righteous life.

⁵⁴⁰ 'Appapas del Calabar'

Fueron los Appapas del Calabar, negros libertos y esclavos Carabalí, los que se atrevieron a fundar la primera sociedad secreta negra en nuestro país.

Y se dice que fue el Appapa Efó el fundamento del Abakuá en Cuba, él que autorizó al Efik-Butón, al Efik Kondó, al Efik Ñumané, al Efik Acamaró, al Efik Kunakúa, al Efik Efigueremo y al Efik Enyemiyá; que autorizaron al Eforí Isún, al Eforí Kondó, al Eforí Ororó, al Eforí Mukero, al Eforí [...] y al Eforí Araocón, las siete ramas, las siete ramas, de las dos potencias que crearon el Efi y el Efó, dime si no [...].

Y todavía está viva esta tradición en Cuba: **se les llaman indísimes a los que se van a jurar**, que primero antes de entrar al fambá tienen que arrodillarse ante una ceiba, que son los Wawasí, una mata, una mata que son sagrada pa' to' los negros Congo, Lukumí Carabalí y ofrendarle, ofrendarle un embori, que son un chivo que vas a sacrificar el Aberisún, y exclamarle sólo, el solito, el sólo a la mata este rezo que dice así: Asere ukano entomiñón beconsi

¡Sanga Abakuá! Asere itia obón indiobón, eteñe nefón abakuá bakánkubia', esta cosa se dice así

Coro: ¡Ekué, Ekué, Chabiaca Mocongo Ma Chévere! [...].

Cited in Formell, J. (1999). Appapas del calabar. *Llegó Van Van*. [CD]. LA Habana: Caliente Music.

⁵⁴¹ Morel-Baró, G. (2010). Enjeux de pouvoir, pouvoir en jeu et institutionnalisation de la société secrète abakuá à La Havane. *EchoGéo*, (12).

However, the Abakuá Law *-La Ley de la Potencia*⁵⁴²- does not necessarily have to agree with the national laws of the country where they are located. This may explain that at times, the institution for its secrecy served as the protection of problem subjects related to crime. But also the Masonic Lodges exercised their freedom to improve classical Masonic curricula by knowledge more adapted to their roaming situation and breadth to members of the different racial and racial cultural background of the bases. While national laws aimed at non-discrimination based on race, despite the change of terms, the segregation and racial discrimination continued to apply. In both cases, new members are committed to attending regular meetings. Your progress, and thus the improvement of degrees in the institution will depend on the zeal, learning, and assiduousness you show.

Both have exercised the role of mutual aid to their members and charitable to a lesser or greater extent a civic function. And they have established associative networks beyond the geographical boundaries from which academics in charge of investigating the history of Freemasonry have given a good account, and of what Abakuá is in the process of conscious construction since in the 90's anthropologist Ivor Miller promoted a series of meetings between Cuban Abakuás and Ekpe authorities in Nigeria to rebuild ties lost since the time of the Middle Passage.

In both cases, to gain access to the degrees initiated must undergo the step-by-step process of learning the symbolism behind each ritual and the moral qualities associated with the institution. During initiations, new members absorb the legendary history of order through dramatizations of the stories behind each grade or square. Secret passwords are whispered from mouth to ear, alerting the great importance that both institutions offer to orality and identifying greetings.

The controversies of 1880 over the incorporation of Afro-descendants into Freemasonry in Cuba come from the hand of similar debates in Latin American Masonic obediences and which according to Dominique Soucy⁵⁴³ share time and space in questioning with initiations or regularization of female societies whose methodological liturgies emulated male ones. Again, as in the sacrificial controversy in the Abakuá, the genus accompanies

⁵⁴² Cabrera, L. (1970). *La sociedad secreta Abakuá*. Ed CR.p. 52-53.

⁵⁴³ Soucy, D. (2012). La masonería cubana ante la iniciación femenina: entre tradicionalismo y reformismo (1874-1881). *REHMLAC+*. *Revista de Estudios Históricos de la Masonería Latinoamericana y Caribeña*.

the origin or ethnicity of that does not belong. And although we know that the initiation of Afro-descendants into Cuban Freemasonry had already taken place before⁵⁴⁴.

The nomination also extends to the rest of the Masonic terminology. Thus the different associations of Ekpe in Nigeria and Abakuá in Cuba are understood as *lodges*.⁵⁴⁵ This name will also be replicated by non-Cuban scholars when referring to the Cuban institution of Abakuá. Terms such as *lodge* have been used in the description of the Abakuá Play/Juego in Cuba as an institutional unit confined to your neighborhood. The meaning can include not only human, symbolic, and esoteric works that are carried out but also the building. However, the concept of Chapter is dedicated to defining a meeting, a small group of members who do esoteric or ritualistic work. The Chapter seems to be understood as a minimal expression of a particular esoteric institution and not necessarily linked to the membership of a building of its own that takes in its works. Stephan Palmié calls the Abakuá Juegos/Play as Chapters, while other scholars like Ivor Miller prefer to talk about Abakuá lodges.

It is interesting to choose terms in each case. The term 'lodge' claims the Abakuá body with an organization and liturgy similar or in emulation to the Masonic, which is mostly the plot hypothesis of this work. The use of 'lodge' which, as we have argued, is also used for the African secret organizations/societies of the Cross River that originated Abakuá. This, however, does not contradict and does complement the Cuban environment, the use of the term chapter with the consequent western religious implications. Chapters as an association/group/ meeting are not exclusive to Catholic orders; this formation - logistic/organizational - can also be found in Protestant spaces. All these characteristics can be found in the Cuban Abakuá understood as a religious body or assembly organized around divine worship. So by calling Chapters the Abakuás associations, they register them in the ambivalence of subsistence alternative to the institutional. But the incorporations in the order of Catholic significance that were, on the one hand, forced to accept in general with the '*Doctrine for Blacks*'⁵⁴⁶ - obligatory Catholic evangelization - and in particular or in the private sphere of the Abakuá institution since the entrance are

⁵⁴⁴ Afro-descendant Mambises of the Cuban Liberating Army finished their letter with the Masonic signature. Recall that this implied that whoever received it had also been initiated in Freemasonry.

⁵⁴⁵ Moore, W. D. (1995). The Masonic Lodge Room, 1870-1930: A Sacred Space of Masculine Spiritual Hierarchy. *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture*, 5, 26-39.

⁵⁴⁶ Laviña, J. (1989). *Doctrina para negros*. Sendai Ediciones.

also legitimized from whites to Abakuá (1857). Nor would it be far-fetched to think that the term Chapter had been used previously because Andrés Petit artifice of foreign cosmological incorporations into the Abakuá was a Dominican tertiary⁵⁴⁷. Petit could well, as he did with the introduction of the Catholic crucifix into the ritual, incorporate the use of such terminology for Abakwas associations.

To a lesser extent, but with equal esoteric roots in European intellectual historiography, the term Guilds is used to refer to Ekpe(Egbo). We speak of esoteric roots because from Europe a continuum has been built⁵⁴⁸ in the history of Freemasonry whose history are inscribed in the history of the construction of cathedrals and the guilds of builders, very hierarchical, which left a spelling or symbols in the form of relief called stonemason marks, as a signature of their works in order to recognize that some of the built work should be paid to them. On the speculation around these crews of cathedral builders and their stoneware marks, there is numerous historiography. But what we are referring to here is the possible analogies that the Europeans first and the Cuban scholars could later find between Ekpe(Egbo) and Abakuá, respectively.

As in Freemasonry, the monthly payment of the fees was implemented in Abakuá as a form of financing. The purchase of freedom for those members who need it could be managed by helping to collect quotas from their members or by managing jobs for both free members and serving as intermediaries between the enslaved and their Spanish masters or white Creoles.

In Cuba, the association with the concept of Guild with the Abakuá was strengthened by the presence of society as a contingent workforce in trades that a large number of rigorously organized male workers were needed. The Abakuá institutions had a strong presence in the cigars factories⁵⁴⁹, the construction, firefighters, foremen⁵⁵⁰ or as stevedores⁵⁵¹ on the docks of the capital. All these spaces in which they could be

⁵⁴⁷ del Carmen Muzio, M. (2001). *Andrés Quimbisa*. Ediciones Unión.p, 27.

⁵⁴⁸ Yates, F. (1972). *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment* (London, 1972). p,215. Also see, Bogdan, H. (2012). *Western esotericism and rituals of initiation*. SUNY Press.7, 49.

⁵⁴⁹ Ortiz, F., & Fernández, F. O. (1995). *Cuban counterpoint, tobacco and sugar*. Duke University Press. Also see, Cosner, C. (2015). *The golden leaf: How tobacco shaped Cuba and the Atlantic world*. Vanderbilt University Press.

⁵⁵⁰ Brown, D. H. (2003). *The Light Inside: Abakuá Society Arts and Cuban Cultural History*. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Books.p, 24.

⁵⁵¹ López Valdés, R. (1966). La sociedad secreta 'Abakuá' en un grupo de obreros portuarios. *Etnología y Folklore*, 2(July–December), 5-26.

considered with some openness towards the incorporation of Afro-descendant employees continued to mark their distance in terms of gender. The control of the Abakuás associations - with their exclusively male membership - of these production spaces⁵⁵², as the guilds in medieval Europe, would have done before, made it difficult and/or excluded from these labor markets women in general and black women in particular - double jeopardy-.

Every gang was always vigilant to barefoot whoever belonged to the rival gang. In the sugar warehouses [...] of the port where there were as many wildebeest as today, the vengeances were appalling. From an early age the stevedores, all the workers of the port, were wildebeest,—Efikes—[...].⁵⁵³

As Joan Codina points out, in 1873, the newspaper *EL TRABAJO*, published that in the Partagás cigar factory, the workers had made a collection of money to buy the freedom of some "enslaved workers." The newspaper *LA UNION* also publishes the case by putting the title of '*Esclavos*'⁵⁵⁴ to the article. Labor historian Joan Codina⁵⁵⁵ follows articles published on the subject in various written media for a few days. But what his analysis does not say is that surely these workers of the cigar factory were members of Abakuá because only this association exercised the dynamics of aid in collecting money to buy the freedom⁵⁵⁶ of their enslaved members.

•—Recapacita negro, Quieres ser libres, ¿Por qué?
—Porque de un tiempo acá me están dando muchos golpes.
•—Pues con las 30 onzas de los blancos te voy a libertar.
Cumplió su promesa. Se coartaron once o doce hombres, y cuatro o cinco mujeres de ñañigos, después del juramento.
Cuando Andrés les decía que iban a ser hermanos de los blanquitos, los bozales contestaban:
•—¿Cómo va sé máno bráncó, si tá afé, tá prieto yo?
¡Tá jugá!

⁵⁵² Jean Stubbs, 'Gender Issues in Tobacco Farming' in *Cuba's Socialist Economy Towards the 1990's*, Andrew Zimbalist, ed. (1987),61-67.

⁵⁵³ Cabrera, L. (1970). *La Sociedad Secreta Abakuá: narrada por viejos adeptos*. Ediciones CR. p,39.

⁵⁵⁴ J. de J. Márquez: 'Esclavos', *La Unión*, 11, La Habana, 10 de agosto de 1873, págs. 2-3. Cited in, Codina, J. C. (1998, 06). El movimiento obrero cubano durante la Guerra de los Diez Años (1868-1878). *Anuario De Estudios Americanos*, 55(1), 243-266. doi:10.3989/aeamer.1998.v55.i1.37

⁵⁵⁵ *El Trabajo*, 10, La Habana, 9 de noviembre de 1873, p, 78; 8, de 26 de octubre del mismo año, p, 64. Cited in, Codina, J. C. (1998, 06). El movimiento obrero cubano durante la Guerra de los Diez Años (1868-1878). *Anuario De Estudios Americanos*, 55(1), 243-266. doi:10.3989/aeamer.1998.v55.i1.37

⁵⁵⁶ Sosa Rodríguez, E. (1982). Los ñañigos: ensayo. Casa de las Américas, La Habana.p, 308-9.

—Por el cuero del chivo, todos los hombres pueden ser hermanos.⁵⁵⁷

Although Joan Codina points out that this was a strategy of the Cuban anti-racist and anti-slavery labor movement, it could be specified that only Cuban workers belonging to the Abakuá institution exercised such a strategy for the purchase of freedom of its Abakuá members enslaved in the practice of mutually fraternal aid.

And it is in this *Imitatio* game that both Masonry and Abakuá meet again in both their sociological, psychological as well as occult/esoteric/ mysteric conceptions. The reproduction of sacred geographies is a representation shared by the two institutions. There is no historiographical record that Abakuás practices or that the Fambá - its tabernacle space for secret ceremonies/quarter of mysteries - could have bespoke as it seems to have been the case with Masonic practice. Both institutions recreate a narrative of the past, a founding myth that must be embodied by those who are members of their social base. They share a highly hierarchical distribution and internal organization that safeguards secrecy in concentric circles of power. But it is in this performance that performance and theatricality take shape. The myth will be represented and repeated at its different levels, from the profane and public of a ñañiga procession (Baroko) or a 'Tenida Blanca/open gathering' to the privacy and secrecy of initiation for both Abakuá and the Masonic institution. This tension between the private and the public, the profane and the sacred accompanies both associations. Both can then be considered a theater of the sacred. Nietzsche⁵⁵⁸ in his 'death of God' and its consequences perhaps forgot to include the perception that to avoid any death the gods must be embodied, fed, represent their narrative of the past but from the contemporaneity.

⁵⁵⁷ Cabrera, L. (1970). *La Sociedad Secreta Abakuá: narrada por viejos adeptos*. Ediciones CR.p, 54.

Translation:

• —Think it twice black, you want to be free, why ?.

—Because of a time here they are giving me many blows.

• —Well, with the 30 ounces of the whites, I will free you.

He fulfilled his promise. Eleven or twelve men were restrained, and four or five women of ñañigos, after the oath.

When Andres told them that they were going to be brothers of the blanquitos, the muzzles answered:

• —How is it going to be brother *bránco*, if you are so, I am tight?

Tá play!

"Because of the goat's leather, all men can be brothers."

⁵⁵⁸ Conway, DW (2002). 'The Great Play and Fight of Forces': Nietzsche on Race. *Philosophers on Race: Critical Essays*, 167-94.

The relationship between Abakuá as a supplier of organized labour to the labour market ensured the improvement of the living conditions of its members. Close economic relations and controversial social tensions were established between society and employers. Abakuá increased its membership, either because of the employment advantage of belonging or because of the old method of wanting to belong to an esoteric society. Thus the Abakuás societies of each neighborhood became associated with a specific and specific trade or employment that again had to do with their relationship with the territory. Even in its most controversial demonstration when Abakuá membership workers' contingents were part of brawls and riots demanding better conditions of employment that could be understood as a trade union⁵⁵⁹ or in this case a union.

The internal ties of the secret Abakuá society have to be understood as brotherhood among its members and its more than argued function of mutual society from the purchase of brothers under the condition of slavery to its internal structure in the form of a work contingent for which they consider as a kind of unions serving as suppliers of workers to sectors as docks and cigar factories demonstrate⁵⁶⁰.

Since the abolition of slavery in 1886, Cuban blacks had organized fraternal mutual aid societies to extend literacy among ex-slaves and promote their rights. In time, these institutions regrouped and became social clubs, known as Sociedades de Color, Colored Societies, divided into light-skinned and dark-skinned branches. The logic behind the split was that light skin conferred privileges that made it easier to climb the social ladder. Added to this was the fact that the whites had their own exclusive club. Therefore, as a child I had known three social clubs in

⁵⁵⁹ Casanovas, J. (1998). *Bread or Bullets: Urban Labor and Spanish Colonialism in Cuba, 1850–1898*. University of Pittsburgh Press. p.48.

⁵⁶⁰

Desde 1763 había cuadrillas compuestas de mulatos y negros de ascendencia carabalí, tanto esclavos como libres, que laboraban en los muelles, lo cual al parecer favoreció la creación de estas sociedades, aunque posteriormente también se consti- tuyeron en otros sectores como los tabaqueros y choferes de ómnibus urbanos [..].

Translation:

Since 1763 there were crews composed of mulattos and blacks of Carabali descent, both slaves and free, who worked on the docks, which apparently favored the creation of these societies, although later they were also constituted in other sectors such as tobacco and drivers of urban buses [..].

Cited in, Esquenazi Pérez, M. (2001). *Del areito y otros sonos*. Letras cubanas/CIDCC Juan Marinello., p. 119.

Central Lugareño: one for whites, another for brown-skinned people with straight or wavy hair, and a third for prietos, blacks with kinky hair. My mother, a prieta, was denied entrance to the mulatto club⁵⁶¹ [...].

As Cuban historian Enrique Sosa points out, the Abakuá institutions were seduced by politics. Politicians, especially in Republican times after 1898, saw that they could take advantage of that contingency, organized subjects, and redirect them to get their vote. In this way, political propaganda was printed whose target was aimed at Abakuá membership and their families.

PART.03

9. HERMENEUTIQUEANDO THE AFRO-ATLANTIC

9.1 Ritual Emulations?

Dutch anthropologist Johan Huizinga's *Homo Ludens*⁵⁶² takes its whole sense here. The Play as the exclusive activity of the man with the responsibility that he conveys, taking the awareness that only with the specific recipe that is never the same because he must always take care of achieving the same result. Again the tension between rules and itinerant accommodations that depend on everything that is outside the founding myth, the narrative, the different versions. Itinerant narrative accommodation is what adapts, the personal, the circumstantial, it is what sets the myth to Cuba in this case and not to Equatorial Guinea where there is also Ñankué⁵⁶³. Or in the case of the Brazilian capoeira in which the name of 'Jogo'⁵⁶⁴ continued but only in its exoteric representation, in its public staging, disappearing after the *Ley Aurea*⁵⁶⁵, the subsequent desacralization of the practice and finally the secularization perhaps as a means of resistance. The internal esoteric work of its members was abolished. And although as in Freemasonry and in the

⁵⁶¹ Moore, C. (2008). *Pichón*. Independent Publishing Group.p, 26.

⁵⁶² Huizinga, J. (2014). *Homo Ludens* IIs 86. Routledge. Also see, Anchor, R. (1978). History and play: Johan Huizinga and his critics.

⁵⁶³ Pérez, I. A. (2015). Presencia de la Sociedad Abakuá en Fernando Poo a finales del siglo XIX. Deportados ñáñigos cubanos en la prensa española. *Batey. Revista Cubana de Antropología Sociocultural (ISSN 2225-529X)*, 5(5), 38-58.

⁵⁶⁴ The so-called '*Lei Aurea*' of May 13, 1888 was the law by which slavery was abolished in Brazil. Rector, M. (2008). Capoeira: El lenguaje silencioso de los gestos. *Signo y Pensamiento*, 27(52), 186.

⁵⁶⁵ The penal code of 1890, came from six months to two years of cell prison, the practitioners of the exercises, agility and body skills known by the denomination of capoeiragem '. With Decree Law 487, Capoeira briefly braced, many teachers and practitioners remained inside São Paulo, engaging in forged works. Serna Luna, E. (2018). Mandinga é fundamento. La sociogénesis intercultural e interreligiosa de la Capoeira. *INTERdisciplina*, 6(16), 207-225.

Abakuá they still maintain a structure hierarchical by degrees, an initiation where the neophyte is baptized with a nickname or word that will define it. This same liturgical dynamic of spiritual death, rebirth, initiation and autism where the neophyte will acquire a new name, we will also find it within Freemasonry and Afro-Cuban religions.

[...] capoeira was, above all, a recreational activity. Participants referred to it as a game (*jogo* or *brincadeira*), or even as vagrancy, idleness (*vadição*). Playing capoeira was also called *vadiar*, meaning to roam or to hang around in the streets, or to be idle. Identifying capoeira with what elites condemned as antisocial behaviour reveals to what extent capoeira was [...].⁵⁶⁶

There seem to be many analogies in the reception of the Abakuá in Cuba and the capoeira in the Brazilian capital. Even in the derogatory way of calling the *ñãñigos* as 'dragged' and their cultural practice that we saw in the police texts and in the first works of the Cuban anthropologist and sociologist Fernando Ortiz⁵⁶⁷. We saw it in the efforts of the authorities to legislate, criminalize and compare the Abakuá with the antisocial, vagrancy and danger. Perhaps it was Abakuá secrecy, the maintenance of the primary in terms of improving its esoteric exercise, maintaining hermetism around the infrastructure of practice by guarding the exercise in the private space with great suspicion and exposing to public space the part of exoteric practice that does not jeopardize the secret liturgy of the inner exercise of the Abakuá. And this is where perhaps the *Jogo de Capoeira* preferred to take the path of integration and secularize⁵⁶⁸.

Tracing the connections of the capoeira in religious areas, we can find it in the Revolt of the Evils, uprising of enslaved and free connected by the exercise of the Muslim religion

⁵⁶⁶ Assunção, MR (2005). *Capoeira: The history of the Afro-Brazilian martial art*. Routledge.p, 104.

Translation:

[...] capoeira was, above all, a recreational activity. Participants referred to it as a game (*jogo* or *brincadeira*), or even as vagrancy, idleness (*vadição*). Playing capoeira was also called *vadiar*, meaning to roam or to hang around in the streets, or to be idle. Identifying capoeira with what elites condemned as antisocial behavior reveals to what extent capoeira was [...].

⁵⁶⁷ Ortiz, F., & Lombroso, C. (1906). *Hampa afro-cubana: Los negros brujos (apuntes para un estudio de etnología criminal)*. Librería de F. F e.p, 6.

⁵⁶⁸ At present Abada Capoeira is a capoeira group founded by Mestre Camisa in 1988. Abada practices both the most contemporary, known and regional styles, as well as the Angola, Bengal, etc. Reis, J. J. (1986). *Rebelião escrava no Brasil: a historia do levante dos males, 1835*. Brasiliense.p, 243. On the Arabian Peninsula there is a piece of clothing in the shape of a traditional cape very loose to put on top of the clothes called 'abaya' that can bring us closer to the denomination of the capoeira group Abadá.

in Bahia. The rebels wore an Abadá, a kind of long white 'djellaba'⁵⁶⁹ white camisole. At this very complicated moment in the middle of the nineteenth century also for Brazil, when Brazilian society was bent on clearing racial barriers based on academic constructions⁵⁷⁰. The Abakuá institutions in Cuba continued to 'play' behind the doors of each Fambá.

Was there any kind of arrangement or social pact of the Brazilian capoeira to displace all the sacralization to spaces of other religious institutions already installed in Brazil?. While groups of capoeira de mestizos named their associations with names of Catholic churches, others of Africans and Afro-descendants defined and christened a style with the name of Angola and related a priori with spaces of the Candomblé. This transfer and abandonment of the exercise of the sacred, this displacement to the space of the profane in favor of the religious institutions that already existed in Bahia could be a consequence. The Capoeira is behind the Abolition Act and the fierce persecution to which its members abdicated the practice of sacred theatre to survive in the unholy, as a culture or sport or martial art exclusively. Itinerant accommodations have occupied the privileged space in representation, which is understood by the loss of that sacralization in the Jogo. The analogy with the development of Afro-Cuban religions is evident but in Cuba, the Jogo de lo Abakuá followed and remains basically private.

The Dutch anthropologist Huizinga⁵⁷¹ in his *Homo Ludens* says, Huizinga explains how Civilization continues to emerge since ancient times in and as a Play, both in representation and in exercise. Huizinga leaves in writing this monograph as the statement of the exercise of a theatricality that leaves aside the profane of the game by mere enjoyment, of the athletic of the sport or the immediate overcoming of an obstacle because of the immediate overcoming of an obstacle because of the immediate overcoming of an obstacle because this exercise of the sacred only works if it is transformative and is the repetition or emulation that responds to an almost lost mythical narrative. An abandonment of the exercises that the trio of academics Peter Sloterdijk, Michel Foucault and Pierre Hadot explain with the example of how the abandonment of the spiritual and the exercise exercises favored the sport.

⁵⁶⁹ The djellaba is a long, loose-fitting unisex outer robe with full sleeves that is worn in the North Africa.

⁵⁷⁰ Nina Rodrigues, R. M. (1899). Dégénérescence et crime. *Lyon. Storck e Cia*, p. 3-4.

⁵⁷¹ Huizinga, J. (1950). *Homo Ludens* (English translation). p.173.

[...] Al igual que un niño imita a los adultos en sus juegos, nosotros imitamos en el juego del arte a esas fuerzas que han creado y siguen creando el mundo. La natura naturans le importa más al pintor que la natura naturata⁵⁷².

Philosopher and historian Pierre Hadot gives as an example the abandonment of the Greek Palestra, where the exercises of the mind accompanied the body. Little then had to do with the ancient body-mind dynamics with what we understand today by gym as we understand it today, where intellectual exercise, that personal care of Foucault (Cura Sui) has been left out of the circumscribed space,

Parto de un problema en los términos en que se plantea actualmente e intento hacer su genealogía. Genealogía quiere decir que yo mismo lo analizo a partir de una cuestión presente⁵⁷³.

And yet none of these men, white and European, extended or for the moment has extended their gaze to geographies and forms of fellowship outside European borders where self-care continues to be exercised since ancient times, and not without incorporating accommodations, to the contemporaneity. Foucault in his last stage would review Greco-Latin culture, but on that return to the origins, always Greco-Latin and/or Christian, it never occurred to him to look towards Africa.

Running into the ambivalence of Play/Game/Jogo we refer to transformative learning, to the knowledge that sublimates us because we improve. And that requires us as participating subjects a change of role, a put in place, an emulation that challenges us, a divertiment, but above all to rewrite a literature that needs to be embodied. And it is this connection with theatre and especially with the sacred theater and the Aby Warburg Pathosformel⁵⁷⁴ as a dramatic conflict, perhaps because we only learn from loss, pain and

⁵⁷² Hadot, P. (2006). *Ejercicios espirituales y filosofía antigua* (Vol. 50). Siruela. p,289.

Translation:

[...] Like a child imitates adults in their games, we imitate in the art game those forces that have created and continue to create the world. Natural nature matters more to the painter than natural nature.

⁵⁷³ Foucault, M. (1999). *El Cuidado de la Verdad, Estética, ética y hermenéutica*.p, 17, 23.

Translation:

From a problem in the terms in which it is currently raised and I try to do its genealogy. Genealogy, means that I analyze it from a present issue.

⁵⁷⁴ Michaud, P. A. (2004). *Aby Warburg and the image in motion*. Zone Books (NY).

personal transformation, which Foucault calls using a Christian formula transfiguration, comes from the hand of overcoming or accepting.

Taking care of yourself, not forgetting yourself and taking care of yourself is something different from a knowledge. It is in this sense that the occupation becomes both incitement and incorporation, because what is at stake is what really can be, what we want to be, what we are willing to do, and this enhances any form of characterization of the truth. And that is only possible with a transformation of the subject, a task, a task that calls into question the being of the subject himself and that, without fear of the word, can be said to transfigure it.⁵⁷⁵

Charles Partridge⁵⁷⁶, an English anthropologist and former administrator of Nigeria in early XXth refers to the masks, festivals, dances and public space performances of Cross River associations such as plays. Perhaps because for a 19th-century European the depiction of it could only be a staging, a quasi-organic theatricality that is exercised both in the private and public spaces of the Cross River. While the West had created enclosed enclosures where they segregated the practice and the actors exercised and embodying the practice as a repetition as long as there is an audience received it. Societies such as Ekpe and Abakuá incorporate in their practice transcendence as a bodily experience, in short, of sacred theater. A staging that in addition to reproducing the sacred geography of the Calabar in the private of the Fambá and in the public space with the processions. We also find a similarity in ritual and the performance of the Abakuá and Masonic initiation. Perhaps because in both fraternities there is a marked Christian influence that reminds us of the ancient rituals of chivalry with the similar aesthetics they represent.

⁵⁷⁵ Foucault, M., Ewald, F., Fontana, A., Fat, F. (2002). The hermeneutics of the subject. Courses at the Collège de France 1981-1982, et al. 'High Studies'.p, 3-42, 20. Cited in, Foucault, M., Pujol, AG, 'Megas, FF(2004). *Speech and truth in ancient Greece*. Barcelona: Paidós.p, 28.

⁵⁷⁶ Partridge, C. (1973). *Cross River natives*. Kraus Reprint.p, 260-2, 271.



Fig. 23a Initiation of a Mason Entered Apprentice⁵⁷⁷

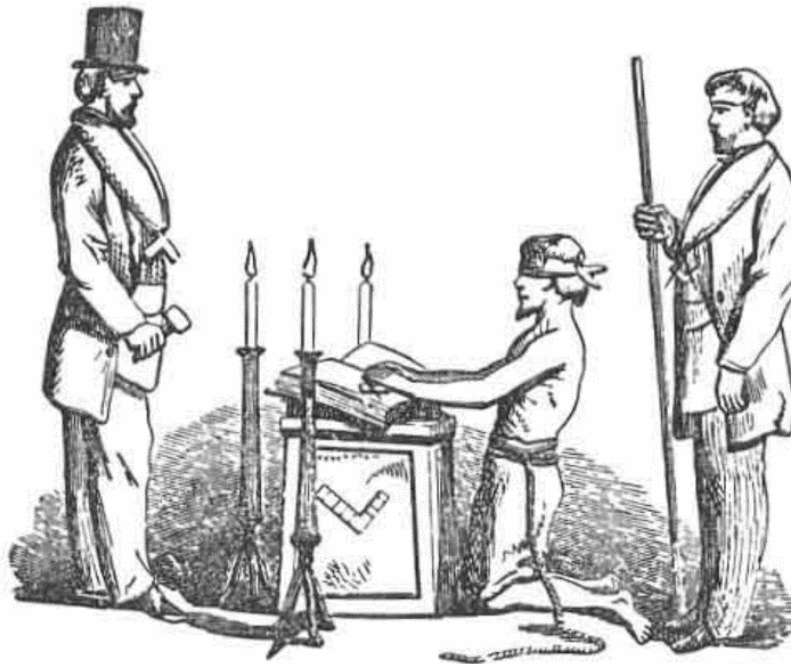


Fig. 23 b. Oath of Master Mason⁵⁷⁸

⁵⁷⁷ First grade, Mason Entered Apprentice. Cited in Morgan, W. (1827). *Illustrations of Masonry* (Vol. 1). Library of Alexandria, p.105.

⁵⁷⁸ Third grade, Master Mason. Morgan, W. (1827). *Illustrations of Masonry* (Vol. 1). Library of Alexandria, p.109.



Fig. 24 Tarazona, F. (1943). El Juramento Ñañigo [Oil]. Havana, Guanabacoa Museum.

Cuban anthropologist Lydia Cabrera described this moment of *indísemes* neophytes initiations in religion in these terms,

El gran día llega para los aspirantes ; « el día de la gran emoción », de la experiencia interna e intraspasable, en que un hombre, sumido en la oscuridad durante varias horas, firma en el cuero del tambor Ekue un pacto eterno con seres sobrehumanos y puede penetrar, sin riesgo, en el mundo del misterio[...]. La ceremonia del nacimiento en el interior del santuario comienza poniendo el dignatario Abasi, custodio del Crucifijo, y en su ausencia el Isué, una vela encendida en la mano izquierda del Indíseme, mientras reza frente al altar. Cuando todos los indíseme han respondido a las preguntas rituales y besado el Crucifijo — Itón Manansere — el Abasi se queda con él en la mano. Es costumbre ponerlo en el altar, lo que no debe hacerse, nos advierte un viejo Isué, porque cada pieza sagrada ira dando fe de los demás juramentos, y es muy importante el testimonio de Abasi.⁵⁷⁹

⁵⁷⁹ Cabrera, L. (1969). Ritual y símbolos de la iniciación en la sociedad secreta Abakuá. *Journal de la Société des Américanistes*, 58, 139-171.

Translation:

The big day comes for the aspirants; «The day of great emotion», of the internal and intractable experience, in which a man, plunged into darkness for several hours, signs an eternal pact with superhuman beings on the leather of the Ekue drum and can penetrate, without risk, into the world of mystery [...]. The ceremony of the birth inside the sanctuary begins by placing dignitary Abasi,

The symbols are universal and ambivalents. And in both, Freemasonry and the Abakuá exercise are re-used, accommodated and remedied. The importance may be in the relationships that are established between them and in non-simplification. The only Masonic symbol perhaps is the emblem formed by the square, the overlapping compass and the letter G (eometry⁵⁸⁰) that can be found in the middle or not. All other symbols identified as Masonic are not. The symbol in its own ambivalence transcends time and traditions.

Perhaps the concept of altar can be incorporated into the Christian religious connotations with which some Freemasons, also outside the regular ones, do not feel comfortable using. Let us remember that there is no need to profess a particular religion to be initiated into Freemasonry, nor to be indise into Abakuá⁵⁸¹. In the case of the Abakuás the term altar is used and it is not located between the candidate for initiation and the priest or Righteous Worship Gran Master but behind the latter. The altar, or the place where the oaths are taken, could morphologically go from a table, to a pedestal and all its imaginable intermediate forms. Both practices will share crucifix use, though not necessarily.

As Cuban anthropologists Lydia Cabrera⁵⁸² and Maria del Carmen Muzio⁵⁸³ have described to us, the crucifix was one of the accommodations linked to their busy path to the Catholic additions that Andrés Facundo de los Dolores Petit introduced in Abakuá. In the case of regular Freemasonry the crucifix can accompany at the altar with the Volume

custodian of the Crucifix, and in his absence the Isué, a lit candle in the left hand of the Indise, while praying in front of the altar. When everyone has told me they have answered the ritual questions and kissed the Crucifix - Itón Manansere - the Abasi stays with him in his hand. It is customary to put it on the altar, which should not be done, an old Isué warns us, because each sacred piece will be attesting to the other oaths, and Abasi's testimony is very important.

⁵⁸⁰ Although the letter G is understood as God, it actually represents the science of Geometry or Sacred Geometry because the study of space and between dimensions goes from the outside, from the macrocosm to the interior of man, the microcosm. Thus Masonry can be understood as an ordering of the worlds where man lives. Also in, Anderson, J. (1723). *The Constitutions Of The Free-Masons: Containing The History, Charges, Regulation... For the Use of the Lodges*. William Hunter.p, 8-9.

⁵⁸¹ In most Afro-Cuban religions, the candidate will be baptized in a Christian church before initiation. Baptism prior to initiation can be considered as a use or custom that accounts for the relationship and connections between Christianity and the practice of religions of African genesis in Cuba. This use has become almost essential in any process of initiation of Afro-diasporic beliefs on the island.

⁵⁸² Cabrera, L. (1970). *La sociedad secreta Abakuá*. Ed CR.p,55, 238.

⁵⁸³ del Carmen Muzio, M. (2001). *Andrés Quimbisa*. Ediciones Unión. P,89, 105, 113.

of the Sacred Law, and above is placed the square and the compass. The altar is usually in the middle of the square closest to the Right Worshipful Master (R.W.M)/Righteous Worship Gran Master, although this differs in different Obediences. In the Grand Lodge of England working, there is usually no altar, or at most, only an appendix to the master's pedestal; so that when the candidate takes the initiation he kneels in front of the pedestal in front of the R.W.M.

Albert Mackey, in his *Lexicon of Freemasonry*, defines the altar as a place or artifact where sacred offerings were presented to the deity. After the construction of the Tabernacle, the altars were of two classes, sacrificial altars and altars of pregaries. The altars of Freemasonry and in Abakuá can be considered as the representative of both forms.

Before reaching these scenes, *'los que se van a jurar/those who are about to swear'*, whether they are neophyte freemason candidates or indídemes⁵⁸⁴ Abakuás have to be prepared for initiation. After applying to enter both associations of their own free will, their candidacies will be thoroughly investigated among their close circles, family, work, acquaintances and their profile reports will be discussed in relation to whether or not they are masón⁵⁸⁵ o Abakuá⁵⁸⁶. Each institution has a decalogue that governs its members in rules and principles. Accepted applications are indicated on the day of initiation. Both institutions will reproduce the performance of the founding myth and the initiate will be part of 'terrible trials' in which the profane self dies to be reborn as *'the widow's son!/apprentice'*⁵⁸⁷, and the 'son of Ekwe'/Abasekesongos, respectively.

⁵⁸⁴ Blanco, D. (1896). Los ñañigos. El asunto del día. Exterminio de criminales.-La sociedad tranquilizada. Origen de los ñañigos.-El juramento y las ceremonias.-Cómo se ha logrado el exterminio.-El último golpe de los Estados Unidos. *El Imparcial*, 20.

⁵⁸⁵ Anderson, J. (1923). The Constitutions of Freemasons, 1723. B. Quaritch.

⁵⁸⁶ Cabrera, L. (1969). Ritual y símbolos de la iniciación en la sociedad secreta Abakuá. *Journal de la Société des Américanistes*, 58, 139-171.

⁵⁸⁷ In the construction of the foundation the denomination "son of the Widow" is sustained by a conglomerate of myths of different origins and chronologies in which the same scheme is repeated. Among them, it is perhaps within the Isis-Osiris myth that the common or at least recognizable extensions in the Abakuá myth are best visible. If we remember the myth of Osiris, the palace intrigues cause the body of God to be dismembered in the Nile. His companion Isis will be forced to look for the parts of his body to revive him. Isis found everything but genitalia engulfed by a creature of the Nile. Even with variations, the refraction of this legendary myth could well be the story of the Sikán Abakuá. There are figures and dynamics that are repeated: the dismemberment, the palace intrigues and the water creature.

Both Masonic initiations represented (Fig.23 a yb) correspond to the regular or yorchin tradition. In the case of Fig.23a, it is proper an initiation to Freemasonry in the first of the grades as Apprentice. In Fig.23b, what it shows is not itself an initiation but the ritual for the change of level to Master Mason, the third of the Masonic degrees. As noted in both illustrations although there is an apparent continuity, a performance in progression but it should be noted that both rituals are separated and have no continuity in the same neophyte since the ritual of Companion would be located in the middle of both.

The selection of both ceremonies has been reality under the criterion of being able to compare it similarly in terms of aesthetics, performance and paraphernalia of the initiation ritual with the initiation Abakuá (Fig.24) of the painting of Fernando Tarazona⁵⁸⁸. The candidate for apprentice Freemason places a hand on the Volume of the Sacred Law, blindfolded and the broken shirt exposes half a upper body. In the change of degree to Master Mason the candidate is bare-chested, shirtless and it is both hands that are placed on the Volume of the Sacred Law, a Rope with three turns is placed around his body.

In both cases they are the same actors present in the initiation of the new member of freemasonry. The Righteous Worship Gran Master and the Orator⁵⁸⁹, both veiled in the sight of the initiate. In the same way the indisemes are veiled before the titleholder, during the nineteenth century this main square of power was occupied by the Isué (ex. Andrés de los Dolores Facundo Petit was Isué del Baroko Efor). Behind the indísime, in the same place that the Orator occupies for the Masonic initiation, is a Ireme/diablito that occupies the 'plaza'/titleholder. This is not the only ceremony within Abakuá, when the vacant titleholders or 'plazas' need to be filled, once communicated to the candidate of the power this will prepare him for his second initiation in the new position. The hierarchy in the Abakuá also exercise in both spaces. Dignitaries from their titleholders lead the institution in the ancestral liturgy, the rituálic and must ensure the learning of the new

⁵⁸⁸ Fernando Tarazona is a Spanish painter born in Valencia, on October 4, 1893 and died in Madrid, Spain on January 28, 1979. He had a unique approach to Afro-descendant religions in Cuba. He frequently incorporates his paintings the moment he reproduces The magic act, the wonder and the invisibilia.

⁵⁸⁹ Mackey, AG, & Hughan, WJ (1913). *An Encyclopedia of Freemasonry and Its Kindred Sciences: Comprising the Whole Range of Arts, Sciences and Literature as Connected with the Institution* (Vol. 1,2). Masonic History Company. p, 534.

initiates and the progress of the older members. But also, the hierarchy can be made visible with the sponsored lodges that are helped to their birth.

Los jefes de sociedades como Bakokó, Akanarán y Biabangá, gracias a sus relaciones paternas con varias sociedades ahijadas, a su condición de muñón, integraron «tribunales superiores» a donde se acudía para resolver los más graves problemas surgidos en (o entre) las sociedades por ellos consagradas: como los Effiom, Iyamha y Eyo de Atakpa e Ikot Itunko, gozaron de gran autoridad, prestigio e indiscriminado poder sobre sus subordinados: eran grandes «plazas» promotoras de Abakuá.⁵⁹⁰

This hierarchy of the sacred Abakuá moves into the unholy space, is exercised and executed in the public space in processions or in semi-public rituals that are performed outside the Fambá,

El ñañigo, por el ritual complicado [...], como el iniciado en los Misterios de Demeter, de Isis o de Mitra, también obtiene la salvación⁵⁹¹

It is in this explanation of moving from neophyte to obonekue that Cabrera describes and that as she explains the analogies with ancient mysteries that help us understand similarities,

[...] obonekue al salir ya 'jurado' del cuarto del Secreto, del fambá, Kufói Ndibó en el que no se le prepara, como en el santuario de Eleusis, 'cuando vuelve a ver la luz', (al quitarle la venda que cubría sus ojos) ningún efecto teatral, sino la contemplación, 'verdaderamente emocionante' del conjunto de objetos del culto que se llama Potencia, —tambores y cetros, con excepción del Ekue.—, viene de sellar un pacto 'con los Espíritus'. [...] 'Lo que

⁵⁹⁰ Enrique, S. R. (1982). Los ñañigos. *Casa de las Américas, La Habana*, p, 144.

Translation:

Taking care of yourself, not forgetting yourself and taking care of yourself is something different from a knowledge. It is in this sense that the occupation becomes both incitement and incorporation, because what is at stake is what really can be, what we want to be, what we are willing to do, and this enhances any form of characterization of the truth. And that is only possible with a transformation of the subject, a task, a task that calls into question the being of the subject himself and that, without fear of the word, can be said to transfigure it.

⁵⁹¹ Cabrera, L. (1970). *La sociedad secreta Abakuá, narrada por viejos adeptos*. Ediciones C.R.p, 15.

Translation:

The ñañigo, by the complicated ritual, [...] like the one initiated in the Mysteries of Demeter, Isis or Mithra, also obtains salvation

se ha escrito no se borra', .—yuate makateréré— reza una sentencia Abakuá, refiriéndose al trazo, —la cruz de sangre que estampa el iniciado en el Secreto sagrado, —el tambor, Ekue—, sobre cuyo parche, jura el evangelio de su fe, y a los trazos [...] que se le dibujan en la cabeza, en el pecho, en los brazos, en las piernas, y en la espalda; signos que lo elevan muy por encima de los demás hombres. Pues sin duda el ñañigo es un privilegiado en comparación con los nos iniciados, a los que llama 'judíos', —amanipáwa, sofakoró, o indisime amanipáwa.—, que no han bebido la Mokúba, —la bebida sacramental— ni han experimentado la conmoción inexpresable de escuchar a Uyo en sus oídos, como en el origen del mito. Esto es ¡'Ñanguirirí!' momento culminante de la ceremonia de 'entrada': los tres chillidos Sacramentales de Ekue, que- ahija al neófito y le responde[...].⁵⁹²

Lydia Cabrera explains how Abakuá consists of only two initiations, the entry into the religion of indíseme to Abasekesongos and a second initiation in which the member of the institution will be granted a place o titleholder, from Abasekesongos to Obonekue. If the figures of greater leadership occupy the frontal position of the neophyte in his initiation, behind him are the Speaker in the case of Freemasonry and the Ireme in the Abakuá.

The Orator as a Masonic figure/ an office is one who realizes that the Law and standards are met inside and outside the work in Lodge. He is an officer in a Lodge whose duty is to explain to a candidate after his initiation the mysteries of the degree to which he has just been admitted. Therefore, your occupation is of instructor to the initiate. They also

⁵⁹² Cabrera, L. (1970). *La sociedad secreta Abakuá, narrada por viejos adeptos*. Ediciones C.R. p, 15.

Translation:

[...] obonekue when leaving already 'jury' of the room of the Secret, of the fambá, Kufóií Ndibó in which he is not prepared, as in the sanctuary of Eleusis, 'when he sees the light again', (when removing the bandage that covered his eyes) no theatrical effect, but the contemplation, 'truly exciting' of the set of objects of the cult called Power, - drummers and scepters, with the exception of the Ekue. -, comes from sealing a covenant 'with the Spirits '. [...] 'What has been written is not erased', - yuate makateréré - reads an Abakuá sentence, referring to the line, - the blood cross stamped by the initiate in the Sacred Secret, —the drum, Ekue—, on whose patch, he swears the gospel of his faith, and the lines [...] that are drawn on his head, on his chest, on his arms, on his legs, and on his back; signs that raise it far above other men. For without a doubt the ñañigo is a privileged one in comparison with the initiates, whom he calls 'Jews', - amanipáwa, sofakoró, or an indisputable amanipáwa. - who have not drunk the Mokúba, - the sacramental drink - nor experienced the inexpressible shock of hearing Uyo in his ears, as in the origin of the myth. This is 'Ñanguirirí!' Highlight of the 'entrance' ceremony: the three Sacramental shrieks of Ekue, who- there the neophyte and answers [...].

decide whether a vote/ballot would be appropriate and, where necessary, give their views on a debate. You can challenge the Righteous Worship Gran Master if you think that officer has made a mistake. In addition, they give the welcome speech to the new initiates. In contrast, while the Orator is the one who has and exercises the word of the Law in the Lodge, the Ireme lacks the mouth or lips in his suit to articulate sound. Even in his performance he is not allowed to speak. The prohibition is traced in the founding myth and in the genesis of hermetism and the secrecy that defines the institution.

Not only not to talk about sacred secrets but also of one's belonging. Occupy the square or tittlerholder occupying the Ireme⁵⁹³ as spirit, is mute does not speak, but it does communicate and its performance, as the gandos/anafouranas and other spellings, inscribe the language of the Abakuá. In his thesis on communication and hermeneutics of the Abakuá Society, Ramón Torres Zayas points out on this figure,

El hombre que asume esa función litúrgica ha de estar 'cargado', es decir, vestir el traje (efomíremo, akanawán o mokondó, aunque el nombre más común en español es el de 'saco'), y se comunica a través de un variadísimo repertorio corporal de ademanes, pasos, saltos, carreras que influyen sobre las personas que lo atienden⁵⁹⁴.

Significant also in the Tarazona picture is the incorporation of the racial diversity⁵⁹⁵ of Cuba to Abakuá. The author was only interested in religion but was aware of the importance that the introduction of whites by Andrés Facundo Petit⁵⁹⁶ in 1857. The representation of these '*three races*' gives account of the public and social history Abakuá as an institution made by and for Afro-descendants and with a founding goal that had been mutual help to its members. And perhaps Fernando Tarazona could have a much

⁵⁹³ Díaz, M. D. R. (2008). The tragedy of the Ñañigos: genesis of an unpublished book. *New West Indian Guide/Nieuwe West-Indische Gids*, 79(3-4), 229-237.

⁵⁹⁴ Zayas, R. A. T. (2016). *La sociedad Abakuá desde un enfoque transdisciplinar: hermenéutica de su supervivencia, desarrollo y función comunicativa pública en la sociedad cubana actual*. Editorial Universitaria. p, 73.

Translation:

The man who assumes that liturgical function must be 'charged', that is, wear the suit (efomíremo, akanawán or mokondó, although the most common name in Spanish is that of 'saco'), and communicates through a very varied body repertoire of gestures, steps, jumps, careers that influence the people who attend.

⁵⁹⁵ Martínez-Castillo, G. (2011). Apuntes sobre la vida y obra de Fernando Tarazona para un estudio de colección. XII Coloquio Guanabacoa en la Historia.

⁵⁹⁶ Urrutia y Blanco, C. (1882). Los criminales de Cuba y D. José Trujillo.p, 365.

more approach than just aesthetics. According to the museumologist Gretel Martínez of the Museum of Guanabacoa, where some of his works are kept, including *El Juramento*, in the first report he makes for the museum for the study of a future collection, he says that, as with the Abakuá Foundation, the painter did not want that his paintings will come out of Cuba.

The analogies found in initiation do not appear to be exceptional. (Per)formance of different nature could correspond between Abakuá and Freemasonry. At first glance and on the opposite side of the initiation could be found the funeral rituals. Its members in the event of death receive private and institutional ceremonies of preparation, the wake and farewell. But both institutions in some cases extend the rituals to the public part. Both institutions can piecemeal or in their entirety take care of the costs, expenses, requirements and needs of the family of the deceased in the form of a charitable aid not only in the territory but also in the case of territorial mobility⁵⁹⁷.

But let's not for a moment think that the black Freemasons of the Prince Hall Lodges could be included in these mainstream white American masonic lodges. The Prince Hall and its members did not have the financial capacity to cover the social aid networks of all their members. Its social base crossed all the states of the Afro-descendant community, but let us remember that the economic capacity of Afro-descendants, ex enslaved and enslaved since the late 18th century could not have an economic capacity, let alone comparable to the white community, especially slave-holders and slave stewards. So in these cases of medical help that is established in times of need, help and mourning of a member, the Prince Hall had to join other fraternal or philosophical organizations in a kind of charitable organizations for their members due to the denial of white lodges to recognize them as regular and thus incorporate them into their mutual aid systems, medical and death insurance to help family members, and the payment of rituals within the order and in the profane,

Prince Hall Masons often joined and organized friendly societies such as the Oddfellows, which provided their members with financial help at a time when they were totally deprived of healthcare and had to pay for funeral expenses their families were

⁵⁹⁷ Harland-Jacobs, J. (2007). *Builders of empire: freemasons and British Imperialism, 1717-1927*. Univ of North Carolina Press.p, 162-203. Cite also in, Bogdan, H., & Pike, JAM (2014). *Handbook of Freemasonry*. Brill.p, 451.

unable to cope with. Besides, they set up their mutual benefit societies, such as the New England Masonic Mutual Relief Association, attached to the 'Springfield Sumner Lodge' [...]⁵⁹⁸

Only the Masonic/symbolic/religious⁵⁹⁹ family will participate in the ceremonies. Although we lack specific details about the funeral rituals in both institutions, the truth is that both have their rituals to celebrate the funeral rites of their members and that the Freemasons of the Manigua Lodges are made in community:

Un hecho significativo y que lleva al criterio de que la actividad masónica se efectuaba en las más diversas circunstancias, se presenta el domingo 16 de noviembre de 1873. Ese día fallece uno de los tres iniciadores de la conspiración independentista en Bayamo y uno de los fundadores de la logia Estrella Tropical de esa ciudad, Francisco Maceo Osorio. Las relaciones entre Céspedes y Maceo Osorio no fueron siempre las mejores. Pero ambos eran masones e independentistas. Ese día Céspedes escribe en su Diario: Se había dicho q. Maceo mejoraba; po anoche estuvo muy grave. Siempre mando saber de su salud y no voy á verlo pr las aguas. Hoy no han mandado mas q. dos ordenanzas. Hace frío. Como á las 9 1/4 de la mañana murió Maceo. Invité, como Ven :. de la L :. 'Independencia'. á los hh :. mas :. pa. q. asistieran al entierro. (Léase: Invité, como Venerable de la Logia 'Independencia' a los hermanos masones para que asistieran al entierro) Sicut vas figuli coufringes eos [...] Como a las 4 1/4 de la tarde, á pesar de estar malo de la cabeza, fui al entierro de Maceo. [...] Asistieron varias otras personas y presidimos el duelo J. Rodríguez y F. Figueredo; á mi me incorporaron á ellos, como Ven (Léase: Venerable) :.Cargándole [...].(sic)⁶⁰⁰

⁵⁹⁸ Freemasons. (1874). *Proceedings of the Prince Hall Grand Lodge of the most ancient and honorable fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons, located at Boston, in the commonwealth of Massachusetts, for the year 1873: Its jurisdiction commensurate with its masonic form, and designed to advance our race to a higher degree of prosperity and happiness, by inculcating the principle of brotherly love.* Boston: Published by Prince Hall Grand Lodge. Cite also in, Bogdan, H., & Pike, JAM (2014). *Handbook of Freemasonry.* Brill.p, 431.

⁵⁹⁹ On the differences in the religious relationship between the family of blood and the family of religion, in the case of Brazilian candomblé and Cuban santería see Sarduy, AEB (2014). *The twilight of the women's priestly leadership in the Xango of Recife: the city of women that will not be.* Complutense University of Madrid.p, 382. On kinship extrapolations in Abakuá see , Rodríguez, ES (1998). The Chinese legend in Cuba: its documentary value. *Tebeto: Yearbook of the Insular Historical Archive of Fuerteventura*, (11), 307-322.Brave, JDLCC (2016). Esoteric Man: Expressions of masculinity in men initiated at the Abakuá Society in Havana. *Journal sexology and society*, 21(2).

⁶⁰⁰ Torres-Cuevas, E. (2019). Las logias masónicas del 68. *Revista de la Biblioteca Nacional José Martí*, (2), 178-192.

Translation:

A significant fact that leads to the criterion that the Masonic activity was carried out in the most diverse circumstances, is presented on Sunday, November 16, 1873. That day one of the three initiators of the independence conspiracy in Bayamo dies and one of the founders from the Tropical Star Lodge of that city, Francisco Maceo Osorio. Relations between Céspedes and

Funeral rituals in both institutions mark the transition to the afterlife, an institutional farewell if you will. The Freemasons exercise the rituals of the return to the Eternal East and the funeral ritual (N)lloro⁶⁰¹ in the case of the Abakuá. The Nlloro is the weeping / farewell ceremony for the death of an Abakuá titleholder. The ceremony is also known as lloró, llanto, ángaro, ñankue o nampe. Lydia Cabrera comments on the performances of help of the last help that are established in Abakuá for its members,

[...] Si jura Abakuá y se vuelve a enfermar la Potencia lo atiende, le da lo que necesita. Si se muere lo entierras. No abandonan a los muertos. Todos se lloran en la Sociedad. Y me hice ñáñigo para tener hermanos y familia. (sic)⁶⁰²

The most important squares in the ancestral genealogy of the institution. Although the blood family of the deceased is aware of the secrecy of their membership in either institution, their Masonic family and the Abakuá should not be understood as an extension of kinship with the former. And as Susan Buck-Morss asserts, the origin and development of both institutions determine their nature to their members. We have pointed to some of the analogies shared by both institutions. However, it should be noted

Maceo Osorio were not always the best. But both were freemasons and pro-independence fighters. That day Cespedes writes in his Journal: He had said q. Maceo improved; Last night was very serious. I always send out his health and I will not see him in the waters. Today they have not sent more than. Two ordinances It's cold. About 9 1/4 in the morning, Maceo died. I invited, as Righterious of the Logde 'Independence'. to the brothers masters for attending the funeral. (Read: I invited, as Venerable of the Lodge 'Independence' to the Freemasons to attend the funeral) Sicut vas figuli coufringes eos [...] About 4 1/4 in the afternoon, despite being bad in the head, I went to the funeral of Maceo. [...] Several other people attended and we presided over the duel J. Rodríguez and F. Figueredo; they incorporated me to them, like Ven (Read: Venerable): Loading him [...].(sic)

⁶⁰¹ Cabrera, L. (1988). *La lengua sagrada de los ñáñigos*. Ediciones Universal. p, 426-7. Also, see Belkis Ayón, Nlloro (1991). Museo del Barrio, Brooklyn. Significant to see how ñáñikué remains to this day in the religiosity of the bonkó of Equatorial Guinea registered by the hundreds of ñáñigos sent as inmates and that many of them remained in Malabo. For the analysis of the Abakuá ritual in Equatorial Guinea ver, de Aranzadi, I. (2012). El legado cubano en África. Ñáñigos deportados a Fernando Poo. Memoria viva y archivo escrito. *Afro-Hispanic Review*, 29-60.

⁶⁰² Cabrera, L. (1969). Ritual y símbolos de la iniciación en la sociedad secreta Abakuá. *Journal de la Societé des Américanistes*, 58, 139-171.

Translation:

[...] If Abakuá swears and becomes ill again, the *Potencia* attends him, gives him what he needs. If he dies you bury him. They do not abandon the dead. Everyone cries in the Society. And I became ñáñigo to have brothers and family.(sic)

the importance of the significant pact between the four branches Efor (Efori), Efik, Oru, Efo established in the social creation of Abakuá.

While speculative Freemasonry is organized around a homogeneous social base and through its regulations, rules and uses where the candidacy is guaranteed, neophytes that maintain that social base are guaranteed. In the case of the Abakuá, as happened in the tremendous Haitian pact of religions and Afro-descendant subjects in their different degrees of freedom and backgrounds of Bois Caiman, faced the realization of a significant survival pact. Subjects now enslaved but who had salve-mastered in Africa had to deal in Abakuá equally with their former enslaved, Africans of different places, ethnicities, religions were incorporated into Abakuá, and although in this case and Saint Domingue's difference the pact was not public. Instead of the rule to revolution, aid would be exercised exclusively for its members and spice ye to help them buy their freedom.

The conjure of the Abakuá in Cuba and the Voodoo of Saint Domingo, should not be seen as exceptional events. Events such as these were replicated and occurred on a greater or lesser scale between religions and beliefs created under the amalgam of different African origins, but primarily shaped by black trafficking, slavery, and racial discrimination. Joao Reis pointed to something extrapolated to the rest of the religiosities in the creation and recognition of that religious family of the Black Atlantic,

Discutimos a família africana na Bahia sobretudo no sentido de família convencional, consanguínea. Mas as relações de parentesco oriundas da África dos presos de 1835 implicavam a existência de poligamia, patrilinearidade, patrilocalidade, famílias extensas. Nada disso pôde ser socialmente reeditado na Bahia. Aqui o patriarcalismo africano sofreu um grande golpe, entre outras razões porque as mulheres passaram a ter preeminência e independência na comunidade africana, e a separação das famílias pelo tráfico destruiu redes extensas de parentesco? Os africanos redefiniram na Bahia sua noção de família e linhagem. Neste ponto retorna o elemento étnico. A palavra 'parente' foi escolhida do vocabulário da língua do senhor para significar patricio. Os membros de um mesmo grupo étnico eram 'parentes' entre si. É também significativo que, até hoje, os candomblés se dividam em 'nações' e seus membros pertençam à mesma 'família de santo.' Na ausência de uma rede familiar de sangue, a identidade étnica ganhou feições de uma grande família, talvez o

principal canal de solidariedade e organização de vida da maioria dos africanos que viveram na Bahia o ano de 1835.⁶⁰³

It is in this context of resilient spiritual exercise that we must also understand the foundation of a mutual aid institution such as Abakuá, creating a safe environment for the socialization of enslaved and color-free subjects. As in the case of the Ocha / Santería Rule and in Candomblé, in Abakuá the so-called spiritual family, the initiates, form a community unit that in the words of the anthropologist Lydia Cabrera are those in which the so-called '*hijos de Ekué*'⁶⁰⁴ and more at the same time in the words of Ramón Torres Zayas, communication researcher, he has articulated the denomination of the '*hijos de Ekpe*'⁶⁰⁵. The mere choice of terms would give us an analysis of gender and racialization.

The internal constitution of Abakuá in the order of the '*familia nuclear*,' despite its secrecy, would not get rid of the conflicts affecting Cuban society in the 19th century. Segregation was not only manifested between blacks and whites but among racialized⁶⁰⁶ subjects themselves. Discrimination against dark-skinned versus light-skinned added to traditional forms of racism. Professor of equality jurisprudence Taunya Banks' arguments

⁶⁰³ Reis, J. J. (1986). *Rebelião escrava no Brasil: a história do levante dos malês, 1835*. Brasiliense.p, 230-1.

Translation:

We discussed the African family in Bahia especially in the sense of conventional, inbred family. But African-born kinship relations of the 1835 prisoners imply the existence of polygamy, patrilineality, patrilocality, extended families. None of this could be socially reprinted in Bahia. Has African patriarchalism suffered a major blow here, among other reasons why women have come to have preeminence and independence in the African community, and has the separation of families by trafficking destroyed extensive kinship networks? Africans redefined in Bahia their notion of family and lineage. At this point returns the ethnic element. The word 'relative' was chosen from the lord's language vocabulary to mean patrician. Members of the same ethnic group were 'related' to each other. It is also significant that, to this day, Candomblés are divided into 'nations' and their members belong to the same 'holy family'. In the absence of a family blood network, ethnic identity has taken on features of a large family, perhaps the main channel of solidarity and organization of life for most Africans who lived in Bahia in 1835'.

⁶⁰⁴ Cabrera, L. (2015). *El monte*. Linkgua. p.96-98, 268.

⁶⁰⁵ Zayas, R. T. (2015). *La Sociedad Abakuá: Los Hijos del Ekpe*. Editorial de Ciencias Sociales.

⁶⁰⁶ Societies, clubs and other meeting places for people of African descent could be subscribed to selective membership requirements. Thus there were clubs for subjects categorized as black or mulatto and important Afro-Cuban intellectuals such as Martín Morúa defended this colorist categorization. See, Bacardí, E. (2016). Crónicas de Santiago de Cuba. *Revista de la Biblioteca Nacional José Martí*, (1-2).p, 327-32, 340-41. Delgado, M. M. (1957). Factores sociales. In *Obras completas*(Vol. 3, pp. 233-234). Publicaciones de la Comisión Nacional del Centenario de don Martín Morúa Delgado Havana. Smith, R. T. (1982). Race and class in the post-emancipation Caribbean. In *Racism and colonialism* (pp. 93-119). Springer, Dordrecht.

about what we know today as colorist segregation or colorism⁶⁰⁷ they adapt perfectly to the internal conflicts of the Abakuás associations. As Aline Helg points out,

[...] la concientización de los negros y mulatos cubanos y su desafío autónomo, incitaron a la elite dominante a hacer más explícita la ideología de la supremacía blanca⁶⁰⁸ [...].

In the same vein as Joao Reis, but specifically limited to the Abakuá, the Cuban anthropologist Lydia Cabrera said,

Los signos que se dibujan en el cuerpo del recipiendario para las pruebas de la iniciación — « rayas », « fimbias », « marcas » — lo unirán hasta la muerte y más allá de la muerte, a la fuerza misteriosa que veneran, a los espíritus de los antepasados y a sus hermanos en la religión, con lazos más estrechos que los del parentesco sanguíneo.⁶⁰⁹

The African family was dismembered, sold, violated, and separated by black trafficking and slavery, and continues to be offended by the discrimination and racism we still deal with. The family, as understood in the West, exclusively contends with the saguír ties or those established through marriage to form a nuclear family. The enslaved Africans arrived could neither nor reproduce their forms of consanguíneo kinship, nor in the first centuries of slavery in the Caribbean, those who emulated those of their owners. The

⁶⁰⁷ Burton, L. M., Bonilla-Silva, E., Ray, V., Buckelew, R., & Hordge Freeman, E. (2010). Critical race theories, colorism, and the decade's research on families of color. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 72(3), 440-459. Banks, T. L. (2010). A Darker Shade of Pale Revisited: Light-Skinned Negroes, Neo-Mulattoes and Colorism in the 'Post-Racial' Obama Era. *SSRN Electronic Journal*. doi:10.2139/ssrn.1658566. 'O colorismo funciona como um sistema de favores, no qual a branquitude permite a presença de sujeitos negros com identificação maior de traços físicos mais próximos do europeu, mas não os eleva ao mesmo patamar dos brancos, ela toleraesses 'intrusos', nos quais ela pode reconhecer-se em parte, e em cujo ato de imitar ela pode também reconhecer o domínio do seu ideal de humano no outro'. In Djok, A. Colorismo, o que é, como funciona. Disponível em <http://blogueirasnegras.org/2015/01/27/colorismo-o-que-e-como-funciona/>

⁶⁰⁸ Helg, A. (2000). *Lo que nos corresponde: La lucha de los negros y mulatos por la igualdad en Cuba, 1886-1912*. Imagen Contemporánea.p, 21.

Translation:

[...] the awareness of Cuban blacks and mulattos and their autonomous challenge, prompted the ruling elite to make the ideology of white supremacy more explicit [...].

⁶⁰⁹ Cabrera, L. (1969). Ritual y símbolos de la iniciación en la sociedad secreta Abakuá. *Journal de la Société des Américanistes*, 58, 139-171.

Translation:

The signs that are drawn on the body of the recipient for the initiation tests - "rayas", "fimbias", "marks" - will unite him to death and beyond death, to the mysterious force they worship, to the spirits of ancestors and their brothers in religion, with closer ties than those of blood kinship.

white masters made decisions about all the properties they bought, and the black bodies were, and they marked the reproductive cycle of enslaved subjects. In the case of enslaved women were not only abused in the Modernity of the enslaved black subject to be a tool that gives birth to another device, but their gestation was also used to feed not only their progeny, but that of the am or white if necessary.

The crucible of religions was constituted as a unifying instrument, a nexus or ligaments and capable of generalizing an extra family born of the prior choice of the initiate and the oppressions of the slave trader. But not the one that the original kinship could replace by returning to its members both voodoo and Abakuá the freedom to its members, both by uprising sublevation and by the purchase of liberty from the enslaved members from their owners.

Encontrándonos en un país donde no es posible que la gente de color alterne con la clase blanca, hasta el caso de estar muy marcada la línea que las divide en la sociedad, donde no son admitidos con absoluta libertad, se diga a la M.R.G.L [Muy Respetable Gran Logia] que no es dable recibir a ninguno que no sea considerado como blanco, aunque sea del estado llano, para evitar de esta suerte los disgustos que podría proporcionarse y el conflicto en que todos se en contrarían de admitir a un sin número de pardos y morenos a quienes conocemos revestidos de las mejores cualidades⁶¹⁰.

As we have already pointed out, Freemasonry established, within its disciplinary rules for the most pressing matters, the expulsion of the order. The other lodges in the jurisdiction were informed of the member's affront and punishment so that it would not be incorporated into any other institution. It should also be noted that as in the cases of Afro-

⁶¹⁰ Álvarez, A. M. (1933). *Historia documentada de la masonería en Cuba*. Molina y Compañía, impresores.p, 206. Cited also in, Soucy, Dominique. *Masonería y nación (Escuadra y Compás)* (Spanish Edition) (Posición en Kindle 1086-1087). EDICIONES IDEA. Edición de Kindle.

Translation:

Finding ourselves in a country where it is not possible for people of color to alternate with the white class, even if the line that divides them in society is very marked, where they are not admitted with absolute freedom, the MRGL [Very Respectful Grand Lodge] that it is not possible to receive any that is not considered as white, even if it is from the flat state, to avoid in this way the dislikes that could be provided and the conflict in which everyone was against admitting to a number of brown and brown whom we know clad in the best qualities.

descendant lodges, Prince Hall regularly asking the Grand Lodge Scotia⁶¹¹ of Philadelphia and the People of Color Lodge, Union of Florida asking the Cuban GLUCI⁶¹² regularly, in both cases members of the regular white lodges were warned under penalty of expulsion of not allowing or the entry of any Afro-descendant sins into the regular lodges. Members of the Scotia and GLIC were also advised not to fraternize with such lodges under penalty of similar punishment. In the Abakuá case, we should highlight two different moments. As in Freemasonry, there is a discipline and rules that cross all the Masonic institutions and that were collected in the Anderson Constitutions⁶¹³ and the Mackey Landmarks⁶¹⁴. In the case of Abakuá, Lydia Cabrera points out the punishment must be in correspondence with the indemnity of the initiate,

Si comete algunos de los delitos que condena la justicia Abakuá, ninguna otra Potencia recibirá al culpable. Será inútil que toque a la puerta de otros Partidos. Y lo que reza para el simple obonekue, condenado a pena de suspensión temporal o definitiva, es extensivo al indiabón, al jerarca. El ñáñigo sólo presta dos juramentos solemnes en su vida : al nacer en la religión y al otorgársele una Plaza. Es decir, que existen dos grados de iniciación.⁶¹⁵

As for the problems that the initiation of whites would be unleashed in the institution, which may well be analyzed comparatively with those that have occurred in Freemasonry concerning the regularization of Afro-descendants. Andrés Petit in 1857 began the first whites of society, but it was not until 1863 that the early Abakuá Society of Whites could not be founded. As the testimonies of members and police reports of the nineteenth century collect, the more traditional black members saw in the initiation of whites in the

⁶¹¹ Collecting in Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania. Free and Accepted masons. (1877). Sherman & co. Printers. p, 184-5.

⁶¹² Anuario de la Gran Logia Unida de Colón e Isla de Cuba (1884-1885). p,41.

⁶¹³ Anderson, J. (1723). *The Constitutions Of The Free-Masons: Containing The History, Charges, Regulation... For the Use of the Lodges*. William Hunter.

⁶¹⁴ Mackey, A. G. (1859). *The Principles of Masonic Law: A Treatise on the Constitutional Laws, Usages and Landmarks of Freemasonry*. Jonathan R. Neall.

⁶¹⁵ Cabrera, L. (1969). Ritual y símbolos de la iniciación en la sociedad secreta Abakuá. *Journal de la Société des Américanistes*, 58, 139-171.

Translation:

If any member commits some of the crimes condemned by the Abakuá justice, no other Power will receive the guilty party. It will be useless to knock on the door of other Parties. And what prays for the simple obonekue, condemned to penalty of temporary or definitive suspension, is extensive to the indiabon, to the hierarch. The ñáñigo only takes two solemn oaths in his life: at birth in religion and when granted a place. That is, there are two degrees of initiation.

Abakuá Secret a great betrayal on Petit's part. In the streets of Havana was the scene where the insult that the Black Abakuás believed to have inherited was directed. And the bad reputation of the Abakuá institution grew from the violence that both sororities, Black and White, exerted on each other. The first because they felt betrayed and the second threatened and tried to legitimize through violence a space that after being sworn in belonged to them. Racial revolts had jumped into public space, and according to sources consulted, it is at this time that the White Institutions of Abakuá are founded is when the most public violence under their signatures is visualized. Cuban historian Enrique Sosa argues that the new societies started massively, and perhaps the times of inquiry were not respected. They became lax and transigent in what was once a strict selection of possible candidates/indisemes. Sosa also realizes that it is at this time that Catholic additions to the Abakuá liturgy are accelerated.

Integrated institutions (black and white joint membership) also appeared. The situation between Black and White Abakuás was so aggravated that they had to be legislated between them. And the laws for the societies of White Ñañigos⁶¹⁶ were rewritten, making it clear that there could be no interference between societies or therefore of their members.

El Abakuá blanco tendría que considerar a un Abakuá negro como a un hermano, y como en aquel tiempo los blancos les daban mucho cuero a los negros, los que se hicieran ñañigos no les pegarían a sus hermanos. Hasta contribuirían también a que los que no lo eran les pegasen menos. Esa idea se llamaba abolicionista (*sic*), y eso era lo que explicaba Andrés. ¡Qué grande era Petit!⁶¹⁷

To the same extent, in the transnational way where there is evidence of area mobility. Some Abakuás moved their foundation with them when charged by the police were

⁶¹⁶ Pérez Beato, M. (1893). Curiosities: Instructions and regulatory provisions for the society of white ñañigos. *The Curious American*, 1, 35-38.

⁶¹⁷ Cabrera, L. (1970). *La sociedad secreta Abakuá*. Ed CR.p. 52-53. Cited also in, Castellanos, J., & Castellanos, I. (1992). Sociedad secreta Abakuá: Los ñañigos. *Cultura Afrocubana*, 3. p, 214.

Translation:

The white Abakuá would have to consider a black Abakuá as a brother, and since at that time the whites gave the blacks a lot of leather, those who made themselves ñañigos would not hit their brothers. They would also contribute to those who were not hitting them less. That idea was called abolitionist (*sic*), and that was what Andres explained. How big was Petit!

exiled in prisons⁶¹⁸ outside Cuba, or decided on their own to emigrate off the island. Abakuá was and is⁶¹⁹ - presently - exercised outside Cuba, aware of its members that the Ñañigo Foundation could not leave the island. And although we know that many of the Afro-Cuban mambises shared Abakuá membership and Freemasonry as is the case of José Maceo y Grajales, brother of Antonio Maceo⁶²⁰ who had at his command Lieutenant Colonel and writer Lino D'Ou,⁶²¹ and who shared both memberships. D'Ou was also a member of the Directory of Color Societies (1887)⁶²² led by the Mason Juan Gualberto Gómez.

The positioning of Afro-Cuban enlightened institutions sometimes walked under the same white/Eurocentric criteria as the white media and white institutions advocated. How was it possible that from the institutions led by these Afro-Cuban intellectuals not only did African roots not be defended, but they were categorized as backward, and atavism? Lino D'Ou himself, let us remember that member Abakuá, criticized the same

⁶¹⁸ Some of the primary sources on the deportation of Cubans during the Cuban War of Independence (1868-1898) see, Echegaray, C. G. (2003). *Cubanos en Fernando Póo Un capítulo en las memorias de John Holt*. *Cuadernos de historia contemporánea*, (1), 205-212. Estrada Palma, T. (1918). *Desde el castillo de Figueras*. *La Habana: Sociedad Editorial Cuba Contemporánea*. Miranda, M. M. (1903). *Memorias de un deportado*. Imprenta La Luz. Balmaseda, F. J. (1899). *Los confinados a Fernando Poo e impresiones de un viaje a Guinea*. AM Lamy. Senties, M. B. (1869). *Revolución cubana: deportación a Fernando Póo: relación que hace uno de los deportados*. Hallet & Breen.

⁶¹⁹ Palmié, S. (2014). The Ejamba of North Fairmount Avenue, the Wizard of Menlo Park, and the Dialectics of Ensoniment: An Episode in the History of an Acoustic Mask. *Spirited Things: The Work of 'Possession' in Afro-Atlantic Religions*, 47-78.; Miller, I. L. (2010). Voice of the leopard: African secret societies and Cuba. *Univ. Press of Mississippi*. p, 4-5. Gomez, A. (2017). Jim Crow and the Caribbean South: Cubans and Race in South Florida, 1885–1930s. *Journal of American Ethnic History*, 36(4), 25-48. Castellanos, C. G. (1935). *Motivos de Cayo Hueso (contribución) a la historia de las emigraciones revolucionarias cubanas en Estados Unidos*. Ucar, Garcia y cia. Kennedy, S. (1940). Ñañigo in Florida. *Southern Folklore Quarterly*, 4, 153-6. Salillas, R. (1901). Los ñañigos en Ceuta. *Revista general de legislación y jurisprudencia*, 49(98), 337-360. de Aranzadi, I. (2014). Cuban heritage in Africa: Deported Ñañigos to Fernando Po in the 19th century. *African Sociological Review/Revue Africaine de Sociologie*, 18(2), 2-41.

⁶²⁰ Febles (1996) Audio recordings. Cited in, Miller, I. (2000). A secret society goes public: The relationship between Abakuá and Cuban popular culture. *African Studies Review*, 43(1), 161-188.

⁶²¹ Miller, I. L. (2010). Voice of the leopard: African secret societies and Cuba. *Univ. Press of Mississippi*. p, 142, 150. Also, Sosa Rodríguez, E. (1982). Los ñañigos: ensayo.p, 324-5. D'ou, L. (1977). *Papeles del Tte. Coronel Lino D'ou*. Unión de Escritores y Artistas de Cuba.

⁶²² Montejó Arrechea, *Sociedades de Instrucción y Recreo de Pardos y Morenos*, 44. Lanier, O. H. (1996). *El directorio central de las sociedades negras de Cuba (1886-1894)*. Editorial de Ciencias Sociales. Helg, A. (1995). *Our rightful share: the Afro-Cuban struggle for equality, 1886-1912*. UNC Press Books.p, 39. Arrechea, C. V. M. (1993). *Sociedades de instrucción y recreo de pardos y morenos que existieron en Cuba colonial: periodo 1878-1898*. Gobierno del Estado de Veracruz, Instituto Veracruzano de Cultura.p, 93.

comparisons that for years were constituted with members⁶²³ of the Abakuás associations. Ivor Miller explained that in 1935,

[...] D'ou's lecture on Abakuá history was broadcast by radio from Havana; it was meant to explain 'the origin, meaning, and ends of Abakuá in Africa and Cuba,' as well as 'advocate for the respect and consideration sideration of an African institution whose morality and altruism have nothing to learn from Masonry, for example, nor from any religion[.].(sic)⁶²⁴

Lino D'Ou was Abakuá member of the Lodge Bakoko Efó, Freemason, writer, lieutenant colonel of the Mambi army, also was an elected member of the national House of Representatives. Unlike Miller, we haven't been able to access the text of Lino D'Ou. However, we find it interesting to see how in this fragment it is positioned concerning Freemasonry and Abakuá despite the compromise of the situation of having to pronounce because D'Ou loaded with both memberships. While we do not know in what context this lecture seems to be a response to an affront that, while not personal, D'Ou was forced to position itself publicly. We know D'Ou was active as Abakuá, but not if his Masonic activity was maintained or had 'entered into dreams.' In any case, Lino D'Ou makes a defense of the principles of the Abakuá as something indigenous to the institution. It legitimizes the moral discourse of the Abakuá teachings. And it separates it in any case, that there may have been a possible Masonic emulation made by the ñañigos to copy/reproduce/emulate the precepts of freedom, equality, and fraternity linked to the children of the Widow. Punctuation is important because it is the same Lino D'Ou that years earlier criticized⁶²⁵, like the rest of Afro-Cuban intellectuals, the samples of Afro-Cuban 'folklore' in the public space. In 1916, a series of articles were published where D'Ou and other Afro-Cuban intellectuals were concerned that the entire Afro-Cuban community would be judged by the same standard and could not occupy places in high society. In Dou's pass-a-few, they feared that these behaviors related to the manifestations of Afro-Cuban culture such as the comparsas could serve as an incentive to a new

⁶²³ Miller. Ivor L. *Voice of the Leopard: African Secret Societies and Cuba* (Caribbean Studies Series) (Posición en Kindle 2140-2141, 2271-2275). Edición de Kindle.

⁶²⁴ Ivor L. Miller. *Voice of the Leopard: African Secret Societies and Cuba* (Caribbean Studies Series) (Posición en Kindle 2271-2274). Edición de Kindle.

⁶²⁵ Some of the articles published are TRISTAN, "Comparsas," LA PRENSA, March 2, 1916; Francisco Mendoza Marrero, "El carnaval pasa," LA PRENSA March 12, 1916; D'Ou, "Otro raserero." Cited in, De la Fuente, A. (2001). *A nation for all: Race, inequality, and politics in twentieth-century Cuba*. Univ of North Carolina Press. p, 154-55.

awakening of 'white racism.' This is why if Lino D'Ou needed a more 'multimedia' support like radio to respond to this specificity it seems to have subverted it, at least in its public opinion on the real exaltation to the values that the Abakuá institution bestowed on its m and radiated to the Afro-descendant community in short.

It is no coincidence, and if causality, that both societies have remained in force, young and active until the Cuba of our day, creating and adapting their vital needs of social survival to dynamic internal models in a scenario of national upheaving shared in time and space. The similar characteristics between the Abakuá Secret Society and the Cuban Masonic Lodges will be demonstrated with the respective flexibility in the face of unforeseen events, the adaptation to the environment and in particular, the emergence of both as Cuban entities with precise and clear evident offspring of Europe and Africa, but at the same time with an identity rupture towards them. We can dare to say that both societies are born for and for multiple purposes that reach a similar level in the esoteric and they are respective social and political interactions with 19th-century Cuban society. Thus, both fraternities could stand as paradigms of the paths that the island would draw.

9.2 **Kimbisa Emblemata⁶²⁶, the fragmented exegesis.**

The Rule Kimbisa founded by Andrés Petit is considered as the first expression of mixture of the social, political and religious and also integrated from the very beginning whites into the cults of black slaves and Afro-descendants. Kimbisa took the concepts related to the Nganga: the nature and the influence of spirits and ancestors. From the Rule of Ocha (Santería) we find its *orichas* syncretized with other names (Eleggua turns into Lucero Mundo or Oya into Centella), as well as the assimilation of the coconut in divination and the belief of "feeding" and "Strengthen" the garment by sacrificing animal blood. Spiritualism assimilates direct communication with spirits, on the basis that what happens on earth is ruled by forces from beyond. The influence of Catholicism is manifested through the worship of the Holy Spirit and the use of the crucifix and prayers of Catholic ritual. In fact, the main Catholic guide of the kimbiseros is the saint San Luis

⁶²⁶ Allegorical compositions that have a symbolic meaning. See Alciato, A.(1531).Emblemata.

Beltrán⁶²⁷. Finally, the abakúa element is verified in the method of selection of its aspirants, who must comply with certain ethical-social behavior.

Some anthropological works already put in 1857 the beginning of the swearing of whites by Petit, very much in spite - they always say - of the intransigent negative of the black brothers of the fraternity. This fact would unleash the dismissal of Andrés Petit de Abakuá and the subsequent foundation of Kimbisa. The dates around these facts fluctuate and become erratic, others place it in 1863. Years before, in 1853, according to oral testimonies of old ñañigos collected by Lydia Cabrera.

In her 1986 monograph⁶²⁸, *Regla Kimbisa Santo Cristo del Buen Viaje*, the anthropologist Lydia Cabrera brings up some of the emblems incorporated to the Kimbisa Andrés Petit's project and brings us closer to one of the branches of the religion known in Cuba as Palo Monte. The Rule Kimbisa or Quien Vence was founded according to Lydia Cabrera's informants by Andrés Facundo de los Dolores Petit. However, with the will to get closer to what concerns us, we will approach those emblems that Cabrera reveals to us. The analysis that Cabrera offers us, however, does not deal with the etymology, nor with the origin and the semiotics of the image itself but it does give us some clues. Kimbisa emblemata reveals that for its better understanding it should be dismembered and analyzed in detail separately.

The fact that Petit belonged to various brotherhoods, societies, and creeds explains the creation of the Kimbisa Rule as a belief system that brings together symbols of Christianity, such as the cross/crucifix; abakuás Firms, vodou vevés and masonic elements, such as the two columns at the entrance to the Temple of Solomon. At times, even the Temple itself, as the house/home of the deity, was represented, although adapted to the new Kimbisa cosmogony. Cabrera⁶²⁹ makes clear the Catholic printing within the Kimbisa association. Some of the Cabrera's informants also argue that Andrés Petit would make a tour of Rome, visit the Pope and some cardinals, as well as some places of the sacred antiquity, such as Jerusalem.

⁶²⁷ Saborit, V.(1651), "Historia de la vida, virtudes y milagros del beato Luis Beltrán, de la orden de Predicadores", Valencia, Crisóstomo Garriz. See also, Vidal Micó, F. (1743), "Historia de la prodigiosa vida, virtudes, milagros y profecías del segundo ángel del Apocalipsis y apóstol valenciano d las Indias Occidentales San Luis Beltrán", Valencia, Joseph Thomás Lucas.

⁶²⁸ Cabrera, L. (1986). *La Regla Kimbisa del Santo Cristo del Buen Viaje*. Miami, FL: Ediciones Universal.p, 28-30.

⁶²⁹ Cabrera, L. (1970). *La sociedad secreta Abakuá*. Ed CR.p, 34.

[...]Antonio Piñera Cuartárez ("Tatica") Ecriamo de Bakokó Efó, ya fallecido, justamente Reputado como "uno de los hombres que más ñañigo sabía en Cuba", aseguró al autor que a mediados del siglo pasado Petit fue a Roma y habló con el Papa⁶³⁰ [...].

Cuando fue a Roma a visitar al Papa," –me ratifica un Padre Nkisa, Jefe del Templo 12- "el Papa bendijo su bastón y le dio autorización para que a su regreso fundara las congregaciones de aspecto católico del Cristo del Buen Viaje y San Benito de Palermo⁶³¹[...].

Y el Papa le dijo a Petit: "Lo único que usted tiene que hacer, cuando llegue a su país, es poner un Cristo crucificado en el altar de su religión, y con nosotros no tiene problemas". "Desde entonces — me aseguró Tatica Piñera — todos los juegos de ñañigos de Cuba tienen entre sus atributos un crucifijo católico⁶³²[...].

However, the fact that a mestizo of the XIXth presented himself to Pius IX in search of the approval of the Rule Kimbisa or Santo Cristo del Buen Viaje as a Catholic order had to leave behind some documentation or record in Rome. The documentary evidence of Andres Petit's journey through Europe has not yet been registered by scholars, but it is included in the oral testimonies of the abakuás brothers collected by anthropologists Lydia Cabrera and Maria del Carmen Muzio⁶³³.

According to Cabrera, both Initiation and El Jubileo de los Padres are both ceremonies are summoned invoking San Luis Bertrán, the saint of the temple, the spiritual Catholic father and guide. This devotion for the catholic is concordance with the past of the leader, again according with Lydia Cabrera's informants member of the Dominicos Order same order to which the saint belongs. All Petit's life is constructed as an hagiography, the combination of creeds makes Kimbisa and Andrés Petit its creator a metaphor for the island of Cuba per se.

⁶³⁰ Cabrera, L. (1986). *La Regla Kimbisa del Santo Cristo del Buen Viaje*. Miami, FL: Ediciones Universal.p, 28-30.

⁶³¹ Muzio, M. D. C. (2001). Andrés Quimbisa. *Ediciones Unión, La Habana*.p,63.

⁶³² Quiñones, T. (1994). *Ecorie Abakuá: cuatro ensayos sobre los ñañigos cubanos*. Ediciones Unión.p, 36.

⁶³³ Muzio, M. D. C. (2001). Andrés Quimbisa. *Ediciones Unión, La Habana*.p, 31, 63. See also, Quiñones, T. (1994). *Ecorie Abakuá: cuatro ensayos sobre los ñañigos cubanos*. Ediciones Unión.p,29.

Many are the cults as a practitioner attributed to Andrés Facundo Petit, freemasonry, Dominican Order, Franciscan tertiary, Abakuá and his half Haitian origin gave him -but also to Kimbisa- a connection to vodou . Whether or not Petit have been a practitioner of all of them, the important thing is the flexibility and the capacity for accommodation of the Afro-Atlantic cults in the Caribbean. Freemasonry, for example, does not oblige to leave religious beliefs aside. What is forbidden is religious or political discussions in the lodge. Any creed seems to be compatible with Freemasonry, that is why we find Masonic lodges in Morocco⁶³⁴ or Israel, places that share Jewish, Muslim and Christian beliefs among their population, with any racial or religious issues . On the other hand, in the Caribbean, Vodou, Abakuá and Regla Kimbisa in Cuba seem to have harmoniously incorporated some Masonic symbols to their emblems, gandos and veves respectively.

About the expeculations if Andrés Facundo de los Dolores Petit was a freemason, in spite of the fact that academics have not yet been able to find any documentation of initiation or ascription to any Masonic lodge; what we do have are incorporations of Masonic elements to the Regla Kimbisa emblems that Lydia Cabrera reveals:



Fig.25 Tracing or Lodge Board. Apprentice degree. Grand Orient of France. (1979).

⁶³⁴ Bobet, V. A. (2017). Hermano moro: masonería y colonialismo en el Protectorado español de Marruecos (1931-1936). *REHMLAC+. Revista de Estudios Históricos de la Masonería Latinoamericana y Caribeña*, 9(2).

BALUANDE – LA VIRGEN DE REGLA

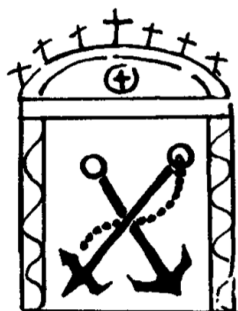


Fig. 26⁶³⁵

DE KENGUE, OBATALA – LAS MERCEDES

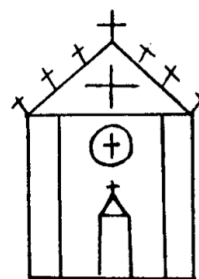


Fig. 27⁶³⁶

NFUMBE – SAN LAZARO

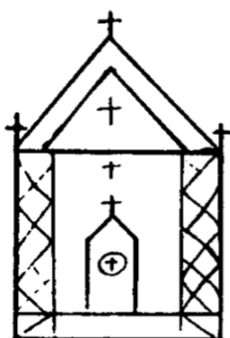


Fig. 28⁶³⁷

CHOLA – LA CARIDAD DEL COBRE

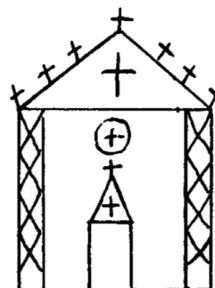


Fig. 29⁶³⁸

Ancient traditions such as Hebrew and Islamic also share this way of representing the (divine)house/ temple, the home or the place where the divinity lies or from where it can be invoked. The Jewish exegesis could be applied to theorize about the usages of this figure in other religious practices. In the oral Rabbinic tradition, the Shekinah (Fig. 06) is where the divinity inhabits. So, the Shekinah was given as a tool of religious exercise that allows us to invoke God from the representation of his dwelling. Also can be consider such a mechanism of invaluable religious accommodation that worked for the Jewish community with the destruction of the temple and its exodus to the diaspora. It is in the diaspora that this representative model appears and take sense. And it is that "portable" construction of the divine dwelling that makes it analogous to the accommodations of

⁶³⁵ Cabrera, Lydia. (1989).La Regla Kimbisa del Santo Cristo del Buen Viaje. p. 32.

⁶³⁶ Idem.

⁶³⁷ Cabrera, Lydia. (1989).La Regla Kimbisa del Santo Cristo del Buen Viaje. p. 33.

⁶³⁸ Idem.

Afro-Atlantic religious practices. As we have pointed out before, the slave trade in equivalence to a forced exodus that would end up shaping the religious accommodations that the Afro-descendant community would need in the Caribbean.

Analogously, all the fourth figures (Figs. 26-29) could be considered in the aesthetic design as a Tracing or Lodge Board (Fig. 25). Understanding the Lodge Boards as emblems or a complex of symbols. They can be used as teaching lectures of each Masonic Degrees initiation. So it works for neophits but also for members that are going to be initiated in a new grade.

Tree of these emblems (Figs. 27-29) have the representation of a house/temple inside another house/temple that refers us to the inner temple of Henri Corbin⁶³⁹ metaphor that can also be applied to Fambá abakua. Cabrera for each of Kimbisa's emblems makes the analogical comparison with Santería/Regla Ocha (Fig. 26). It is very significant because, unlike the rest of the figures, it incorporates a rounded roof, in the form of a celestial vault. Inside the temple there is not that small house which could be understood as an interior temple, but rather the Ocha's representation of Yemayá for the Rule Kimbisa, which are two crossed anchors. The relation of the anchor with the water is evident, and this refers to Yemayá according to the own annotation of Lydia Cabrera. However, it is two crossed anchors that the emblem shows us and only one of them has a chain. The symbolism of the anchor chain has to do with the professed desire for stability, for wanting to anchor and not be shaken by the strong waves of the sea or of one's own life. That chain refers to the house, in this case to a ship or ark. It is then when the Noah's biblical narratives appears, who could not choose the complex situations and controversies of his own life, and faced with that implacable nature / God force, he could only prepare himself to survive. But we know little of that second anchor that crosses the first, but this time without chains.

Cabrera makes clear the importance of the Catholic worship in Kimbisa initiation. Elements like the cross, inside the temple but specially on top of the roof. The columns in freemasonry are well known as Jakim & Boaz. They represent the columns of Solomon's

⁶³⁹ Corbin, H. (1986). Temple and Contemplation Henry Corbin.

temple. Is interesting how the four figures have strong walls on the side that from the front perspective they look like columns. but also the columns .

The initiation is one of the most important ceremonies for Kimbisa, but also El Jubileo de los Padres, where celebrate the saint of the temple, spiritual father and guide of the same one, Saint Luis Bertrán. This devotion is in concordance with the past of the leader, active member of the Dominicos as well as Alma Matter of the Saint. Extraordinary is also the attribute of the Saint Luis Bertrán, who always holds with his hands a chalice from which a small dragon appears. Understand why Kimbisa Andrés Petit choose this valencian priest due to that like him, Bertran was also a Dominico.

At the beginning of the book Cabrera clarifies the religious pillars incorporated to Kimbisa, and although she name them cults as the catholic, the lucumí, the congo, that disignan a concrete exercise. Cabrera also mentions Providence and the three in one, terms that refer to Freemasonry and Marian worship. In the images that accompany this text are exposed the elements that Kimbita incorporated for his religious exercise.

In this regard Cabrera gives a very short explanation, however what interests us are those processes of convening multiple religious exercises and cults for the construction of a new one. And although it manifests a strong charisma towards the Catholic, which is demonstrated by the election of a Saint of Dominicus origin, perhaps the most strict mendicant order, strongly orthodox and combative with heresies, not in vain were the promoters of the Holy Inquisition.

Primeramente, en vez de Kimbisa puede decirse Quien Vence. A Andrés Petit por sus grandes poderes naturales, la Providencia le encomendó fundir tres en uno, Congo, lucumí, católico [...].⁶⁴⁰

⁶⁴⁰ Cabrera, L. (1986). *La Regla Kimbisa del Santo Cristo del Buen Viaje*. Miami, FL: Ediciones Universal.p, 4, 78.

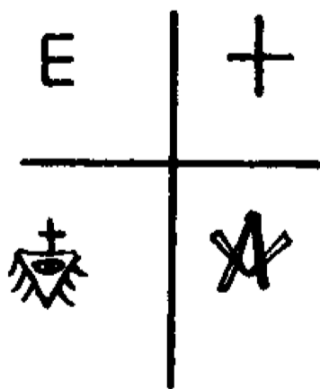


Fig. 30 Emblemata Santo Cristo del Buen Viaje⁶⁴¹

We consider that this figure is an emblem as a composition of symbols that separately have a meaning for themselves, and that together they incorporate this meaning a *bildung* for a new one in conjunction. Recognizable in this case are some of the symbols that make up the emblem, the cross located on the upper right, below which stands the identifying symbol of freemasonry a compass and a square. The lower left part of the emblem we see a triangle, inside which there is an eye and a cross that crowns them. There are also fringes or sun rays that come out of this triangle.

The triangle as a Trinitarian element -God, Jesus and holy spirit-, associated with the heart as the place from where it is seen without the need of vision⁶⁴², the place from where it is seen without the need of vision. It is a look without the eyes, a look from the heart, the place where God live, its tabernacle. And this is where we could incorporate the extensive European visionary tradition⁶⁴³ incorporated into Catholic dogma- from Hildegard Von Bingen⁶⁴⁴ to San Juan de la Cruz -, but also on many occasions taken to trial by the Holy Inquisition. The neoplatonic sintagma *Visibilia ad invisibilia* and repeated by the Pseudo-Dionysius: "the sensible is a reflection of the intelligible" help to use symbol as a reader of the social reality. It is, however, the upper left with this representation of the letter E, which perhaps seems to us more cryptic. Lydia Cabrera do

⁶⁴¹ Muzio, M.C. (2001). *Andres Quimbisa*. p, 132. Emblema Santo Cristo del Buen Viaje with incorporation of the Masonic Symbology of the Squad and the Compas.

⁶⁴² Cirlot, V. (2014). *Grial: poética y mito (siglos XII-XV)*. Siruela, p, 251.

⁶⁴³ Cirlot, V., Garí, B., & de Aguilera, B. G. (2008). *La mirada interior: escritoras místicas y visionarias en la Edad Media* (Vol. 59). Siruela.

⁶⁴⁴ Cirlot, V. (2012). *Hildegard von Bingen y la tradición visionaria de Occidente*. Herder Editorial.

not give us any clue about the letter E, but sentences before she was writing about initiation. And could be here where the letter E makes sense.

In the fifth volume of his *Moralia*, Plutarch, who was priest at the temple of Apollo, explains through his guests at a feast, the meaning of the mystical E on the wall of the Delphi temple. He avoids giving his own opinion because he has already been initiated to the Delphic mysteries, and cannot reveal their secrets without committing the worst of betrayals. The meaning of this mystical E becomes fundamental for the initiation in the most important temple of the western religiosity. If Delphi was at the center of the ancient world where the two eagles of Zeus chose to roost, why could not be Kimbisa the center for Cuban religiosity? In the introduction to *The E at Delphi*, keys to Plutarch's essay are given to the reader. They help the reader follow the original text, and also to question it, Plutarch, in this essay on the E at Delphi, tells us that beside the well-known inscriptions at Delphi there was also a representation of the letter E, the fifth letter of the Greek alphabet.

The Greek name for this letter was *ei*, and this diphthong, in addition to being used in Plutarch's time as the name of E (which denotes the number five), is the Greek word for "if," and also the word for the second person singular of the verb "to be" (thou art). In searching for an explanation of the unexplainable it is only natural that the three meanings of E/ei ("five," "if," "thou art") should be examined to see if any hypothesis based on any one of them might possibly yield a rational explanation. The Epsilon on the main wall of Apollo's temple at Delphi was so relevant in Roman times that it was stamped on one side of the coins⁶⁴⁵ of the Delphic territories. Epsilon is associated with the sublime, the sacred, the holy, or the extraordinary, and is paired with the ordinary, or the fallen.

⁶⁴⁵ Comoth, K. (1995). Rekonstruktionen zum delphischen E [Epsilon] und gnostischen G [Gamma]. Winter. Idem. 1998). Hestia. Zur Bedeutung des mystischen E. Winter. Bates, W. N. (1925). The E of the Temple at Delphi. *American Journal of Archaeology*, 29(3), 239-246.



FIGURE 1.—THE DELPHIC E
ON A COIN OF FAUSTINA THE
ELDER.

Fig. 31 Coins of the Delphic E ⁶⁴⁶



Fig.32 Cover ¡ Écue-Yamba-Ó!⁶⁴⁷

Much has already been written about the initiation oaths in Freemasonry. Not only about the etymology of the discourse but about its liturgy, ritual and the setting in the scene. On page 20, Cabrera shows us this image (Fig. 25) accompanied by the following text as part of the initiation oath in Kimbisa cult:

En el principio del Mundo dijo el A. G. D. V. hágase la luz y la luz fue hecha. Querido hermano, decide este instante este ojo que veis aquí, E es la Fe, la Cruz, la Providencia, el Corazón, la convicción con que se jura."⁶⁴⁸

Again, A.G.D.V, could be an anagram for GADV (GADU/ GAOTU), that providence called among Freemasons as the Great Architect of the Universe.

9.3 Konga Sophia

How is it possible that the wonderful representation of the Gnosis Sophia of 1785 is almost exactly the same as the Nsimi signature of Osvaldo Fresneda, a palero priest in

⁶⁴⁶ Coins of the Delphic E of Faustina the elder and Hadrian emperor.c. 140 CE

⁶⁴⁷ Cover front. Carpentier, A. (1977). ¡ Écue-Yamba-Ó!. Ediciones Letras Cubanas.Edition for the 50th anniversary of the publication. Carpentier also incorporates E in the center of this representation of Abakuá lodge.

⁶⁴⁸ Idem. p, 20.

Translation:

In the beginning of the World said A. G. D. V. let the light be made and the light was made. Dear brother, decide this moment this eye that you see here, E is the Faith, the Cross, the Providence, the Heart, the conviction with which it is sworn.

Cotorro district in Havana (1989, 2000)? How is possible this resemblance between two images that do not share place-space, event less the same moment-time?. One plausible explanation is that human beings share the similar experiences through life, and regardless of the spatial and temporal context, they lead to convergent answers. However, this is not enough, because we must find out how such different societies can develop the same pattern of knowledge creation. Or how it prevails and reveals itself in a new form after centuries of hermeticism.

Although originally only secret society initiates learned the use of graphic writing in a religious sense, the advent of syncretic religions in Mbanza Kongo and the gradual shifting of cultural roles have resulted in a wider use of graphic writing. For example, it is not uncommon for uninitiated priests and prophets of syncretic churches such as Bundu dia Kongo, the Kimbanguista Church, and Mpeve ya Nlongo to incorporate a range of graphic writing into their practice, as detailed earlier in this chapter⁶⁴⁹.

What happens when the restricted knowledge, as commented by Prof. Bárbaro Martínez, comes out of the realm of the sacred and is re-used, appropriate in another context also sacred, protection or creation of knowledge but that is not the original one?

It is also important to highlight the variety of forms the firmas itself can take and note the wide array of mediums through which it can be employed. In general, signatures are made with white chalk (lুবemba or cascarilla), though other colors may be used depending on the function of the graphic. These signatures are influenced by location and material and can vary depending on whether they are drawn on the floor, on the wall, at a point of entrance or exit, in a path, on wood, paper, metal, or stone, or on religious objects or a person's body. Finally, the styles of the stamps and firmas vary depending on the artist or priest making them and the Palo Monte branch within which they are used. For example, in Matanzas province, firmas are written in what is known as a "sharp style," so named because of the practice of holding the chalk very firmly against the surface in order to make every angle or geometric form as straight as possible. The angular shape of the regular character is then alternated with emphatic lines and some circular forms.

In contrast, the "soft style," favored in Havana province, results when the stamps and firmas are written with more circular shapes that are occasionally interrupted by sharp geometric figures. The

⁶⁴⁹ Martínez-Ruiz, B. (2013). Kongo graphic writing and other narratives of the sign. Temple University Press.p.118.

difference between the styles is evident in the examples of complex signatures [...] ⁶⁵⁰.

The document about Gnosis Sophia ⁶⁵¹ (Fig.33) is anonymous and it was dated in circa 1785. It belongs to the third volume of the Geheime Figuren der Rosenkreuzer, and it is known as the Hermetic notebooks ⁶⁵².

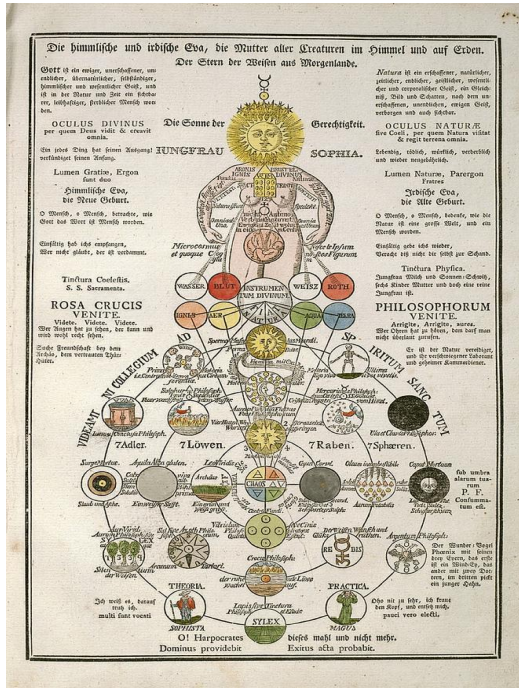


Fig. 33. Gnosis Sophia ⁶⁵³

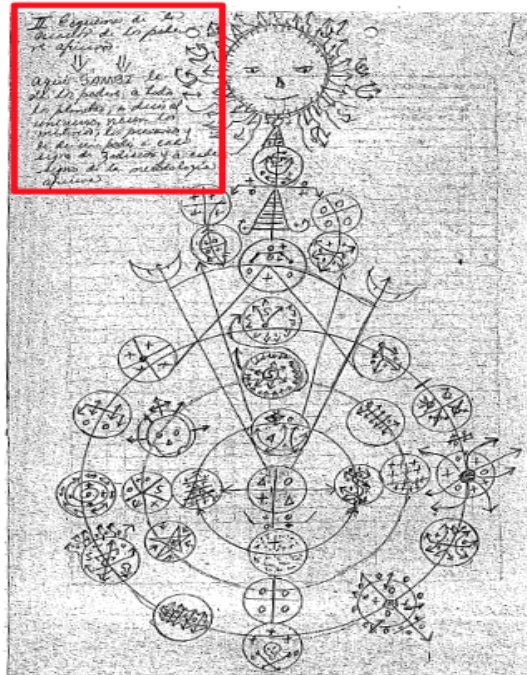


Fig. 34. Sambi/Sophia Konga ⁶⁵⁴

This diagram (Fig. 33) represents Sophia as the quality of the experience, the knowledge, the learning, the wit and wisdom. Gnosis Sophia is depicted as creator of all creatures in

⁶⁵⁰ Martínez-Ruiz, B. (2013). Kongo graphic writing and other narratives of the sign. Temple University Press.p.127.

⁶⁵¹ Geheime Figuren der Rosenkreuzer, aus dem 16ten und 17ten Jahrhundert: aus einem alten Mscpt. Zum erstenmal ans Licht gestellt: erstes -[drittes] Heft Altona: J.D.A. Eckhardt, in Commission in der Heroldschen Buchhandlung in Hamburg, 1785-[1788] 3 v. in 1 : col. illus. ; 40 cm.

<http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/HistSciTech.GeheimeFiguren>

To the interaction between Psyche concept of Jung and the Gnosis Sophia see, Mattoon, M.A. (2005). *Jung and the Human Psyche: An Understandable Introduction*. Taylor & Francis US. p. 55 ff.

⁶⁵² Since we started this research these notebooks are very familiar to us. They are used to record everything related to sacred knowledge that is learned by an initiate or that is collected as a file, guide or legacy. Lydia Cabrera had access to some of them thanks to her santeros and abakúas informants.

⁶⁵³ Fig. 28 Gnosis Sophia representation for Geheime Figuren der Rosenkreuzer collection, c.1785.

⁶⁵⁴ Fig. 29 FIRMA that represent Nzambi a Mpungu, from Palero priest Osvaldo Fresneda Bachiller. From Bárbaro Martínez-Ruiz, personal collection, 2000.

earth and cosmos. She is representing as the Cosmogony itself, organizing -using a masonic expression- the *Ordo ab Chao*.

The explanatory note of Fig. 34 was made by Prof. Bárbaro Martínez. In this case, both drawings and intention are the same in the two representations we have with different dates. The explanation is given by palero priest Osvaldo Fresneda, which is collected by Martínez-Ruiz. What is extraordinary is that it coincides with that from the hermetic studies of the XVII and the XVIII is granted to the Gnosis Sophia. However, it calls special attention that being aesthetically the same, both figures seem to belong to two different sexes⁶⁵⁵. in the sense that Prof. Oyèwùmí Oyèrónké speaks about gender, as a western construction, it seems that Fig. 33 is anamen⁶⁵⁶ and the Fig.34 has an undefined gender with the same sun as head but a body of a pregnant woman. But Fig.34 sun-head is crowned simultaneously by an anagram that incorporates the masculine and feminine symbols.

⁶⁵⁵ Oyèwùmí, O. (1997). *The invention of women: Making an African sense of western gender discourses*. U of Minnesota Press.p, 85-86.

⁶⁵⁶ Oyèwùmí use the terms anamen and anawomen for biological sexual difference, but she understanding of the *Senioridade* as the true structure of social order of the pre-colonial African societies. Implementation of the *Senioridade* in the African Diaspora, see BUENO SARDUY, A. *El ocaso del sacerdocio femenino en el xangô de Recife: la "ciudad de las mujeres" que no será* (Doctoral dissertation, Tesis de Doctorado a ser defendida en el Programa de Antropología de la Universidad Complutense de Madrid).p, 95. See also, Segato, R. L. (2003). *Las estructuras elementales de la violencia: contrato y status en la etiología de la violencia* (No. 334). Universidade de Brasília, Departamento de Antropologia. p, 215, 241.

Text Transcription:

II Esquema de los cielos de los poderes africanos

Aquí SAMBI le da los poderes a todos los planetas, es decir al universo, nacen los misterios, los _____ y le da un poder a cada signo del zodiaco y a cada signo de la metodología africana.

Translation:

II Scheme of the skies of the African powers

Here SAMBI gives the powers to all the planets, that is to say to the universe, the mysteries are born, the _____ and it gives a power to each sign of the zodiac and to each sign of the African methodology.

Is Gnosis Sophia engendered? It is clear that his body is a woman's. The breasts and the baby that curls up in his belly accredit him. However, we do not see his sex. These planetary knowledge spheres are organized around them like a cosmogonic skirt. However, its head is a sun around which the planets orbit. It is fair to ask the same question for Simbi.

Bisimbi spirits (singular: simbi) are manifestations of the universal power [...] and are referred to as "Holy Power"⁶⁵⁷

Gnosis Sophia is shown to us as the creator of the World, the one who knows and governs knowledge by its experience, the giver of life - and that is why it is represented with a baby that sleeps in her womb. But this emblem could be read as life, with no gender applications - and as giver of light - that is why in her hair shines like a sun and sustains the attributes of Philosopher's wreath as a crown. And it seems Simbi means the same as the Gnosis Sophia, the universal knowledge -in this case- of African mysteries referred to by the Palero priest Osvaldo Fresneda in the Nzambi/ Simbi firm of 1989 (Fig. 13).

It would be difficult for us to believe that there is no possible resemblance between the Gnosis Sophia of the Rosicrucians and the Osvaldo Fresneda Bachiller signature collected in the Kongo graphic writing and other narratives of the sign. Although from a posterior unknown author, the Gnosis of Sophia is in the line of the aesthetic representation of the sephirot, the Kabbalah and theosophical and metaphysical

⁶⁵⁷ Martinez-Ruiz, B. (2013). Kongo graphic writing and other narratives of the sign. Temple University Press.p,33.

doctrines such as Robert Fludd's⁶⁵⁸ (1574-1637) or Jakob Böhme's (1575-1624). The Afro-Cuban signature echoes an imago from another place and another space. In any case, if the Gnosis Sophia served as an inspiration to Osvaldo Fresneda Bachiller or the Palo Mayombe branch, of which he was a priest and from which he perhaps only reproduced its graphic representation, it would be an example of the incidence and use of an European school of thought in the exercise of the religious ritual of Palo Mayombe in Cuba. If that were not the cause of the resemblance, it would be almost imperative to find out how two traditions, so different and distant in appearance, seem to share the same form of representation of cosmogonies. I asked to Prof. Bárbaro Martínez-Ruiz⁶⁵⁹, who has been working with Osvaldo Fresneda Bachiller for more than twenty years as *bakonfula*⁶⁶⁰, how the aesthetic analogy was possible between the konga signature of priest pato Fresneda and Gnosis Sophia, both visual languages so separated in space and time (Cuba XX-Germany XVIII). He answered that the aesthetic analogy was undeniable, especially in the design. He also commented that there is a stage of Osvaldo before 1982 that he can not prove; and that although Osvaldo did not know how to read or write Spanish, he was perhaps the most illustrative person in terms of kongo graphic systems.

The visual language of Kongo graphics has to be understood as an alternative to the western conception of language. Could we apply this different African knowledge creation to the Masonic, Alchemical or Rosicrucian emblems, as to the Gnosis Sophia as well? In his book *Kongo Graphics*, Martínez-Ruiz explains the existence of two central African traditions of reading and creating knowledge using narratives from the inside out and vice versa (centripetal and centrifugal). Both agree that the focus of study should not be aimed at finding purely aesthetic similarities but rather as a socio-religious / cultural process of adaptation and cooptation. This raises the question of how a design with very different conceptual intentions and parameters has been reinterpreted from an aesthetic filter to religious needs and principles of the tradition. This process has to be analyzed not only for the Kongo (Ma Kisi Nsi) in Cuba but also for Jamaica, Haiti or Brazil.

⁶⁵⁸ Fludd, R. (1626), *Philosophia sacra et verve Christiana seu Meterologia cósmica*.

⁶⁵⁹ Bárbaro Martínez-Ruiz, March 12, 2018.

⁶⁶⁰ *Bakonfula*: butler of ceremony, assistant, assistant of the Tata nganga.

What is important is not design per se, but how Western forms of representation were incorporated into the religious practice of Afro-descendent culture, in such a way that even the most hermetic of practices were transferred. In other terms, how in traditions so distant in space and time does a resemblance phenomenon occur? Find out why two ways of creating different knowledge in origin, although aimed at the protection and the situation of man in relation to the cosmos, coincide in representation.

Examples like these are repeated over and over in the histories of the religious, metaphysical and school dynamics of Africa, the Afro-Atlantic and Western Diaspora. Appropriations, additions and refractions between these three spaces seem to respond to the interactions between them and their manifestation in accommodation, allegory or the imago have yet to be studied with caution. However, this is a first approach to those forms of representation which are possible to date in the history of the West but that are still difficult to date in Afro-descendant cultures because we continue to use European documentation to do so.

About the types of Firmas, Prof. Martínez-Ruiz continues citing two dictionaries⁶⁶¹ for the Kongo language, in which Mpungo is described as the strength of an ancestral spirit that protects you and helps you in the struggle.

Though most commonly referred to as firmas, Cuban graphic writing is also known as firmas, engángo, or anaforuana. Engángo and anaforuana, terms used within Cuban Abakuá initiatory societies of Efik and Ekoi origins, mean literally “the passageway of the mpúngu (force or energy)”⁶⁶².

Is it possible to consider this ancestral force and energy that cares, heals, protects, enlightens and defends, to be applied and found in each and every one of the African traditions that came to the Caribbean? Or is it exclusive to Mpungo?

⁶⁶¹ Bentley, Dictionary and Grammar of the Kongo Language, p. 875. Mpúngu: the all, the Almighty. In the language of the Palo Monte religion in Cuba, mpúngu means energy and force. See Laman, Dictionnaire Kikongo-Français, p. 589. Force or energy of an ancestral spirit that is employed for defense in wartime. In, Martínez-Ruiz, B. (2013). Kongo graphic writing and other narratives of the sign. Temple University Press.p,205.

⁶⁶² Martínez-Ruiz, B. (2013). Kongo graphic writing and other narratives of the sign. Temple University Press.p,121.

It seems that this is applicable to all religious practices of African origin that arose in the colonies as a result of the slave trade. The illegal trade of Africans to enslave them would become the shaper of each and every one of those religions, imaginaries, or cosmogonic forms that rose from those slave ships. It is possible that slaves had nothing more than their own ancestors, deities, a kinship that in the diaspora would be reorganized on the plane of the spiritual and of the religious, due to the rupture of the carnal family. It is conceivable that upon arrival in the colonies only those deities responsible for protection, healing, defense and especially revenge were those who were "fed" by Africans now enslaved. Moreover, as their situation of slavery, segregation and racial discrimination continued for their descendants born also in the diaspora, it was these and not other ancestors that were fed, danced, and summoned, In contrast, those that were not revived, most likely did not even come out of those slave trade ships, and were abandoned to the extent that they could not offer their worshipers anything extraordinary.

Conclusions

In his monograph "Los Ñañigos", the Cuban anthropologist Enrique Sosa defines the Abakuá as follows,

[...] 'potencias', 'juegos', 'naciones' y 'partidos': 'tierra', seguramente, por evocación filiativa africana; efik, efor, orú (ibibio), muñanga, etcétera, son 'tierras', así como las tres grandes ramas del ñañiguismo: efik, efor y oru; 'potencia', por el esencial fundamento mágico, todopoderoso, del conjunto de sus tambores, cetros, trajes litúrgicos, personajes..., así como por su organización interna sustentada en el criterio de su autosuficiencia, al margen del Estado y sus instituciones de gobierno: 'La ley de la Potencia es una, y la del Juez, de la república, otra...[...]'⁶⁶³

The political processes towards the construction of an Afro-descendant religious space circumscribed to the New World will have, in the 19th century, a parallel route to the acculturation processes of the African societies Ekpe (Egbo), the Cuban Abakuás and the Masonic obediences reproduced in the territory American. This work has the will to draw the so-called triangular trade of Africa, America and Europe but in the institutional-phenomenological key. We have not wanted to enroll in the very difficult task of exercising a Global History because it is an arduous task in which we are defeated by the Fragmentary character of the Afro-descendant and rhizomatic subject of traditional religious practices. If that is the intention that the reader believed to look for in this investigation, we have failed. Or rather, that was never the author's intention. This work is inscribed in the form of footprints, traces and fragments for which I propose a new reading. We aspire to the reconstruction of a story that although it has been denied, vilified - sometimes from the inside - is a necessary exercise to give light to spaces and transits that perhaps have not been new or exclusive for people of African descent: or that neither they have even traveled alone, we have been companions and we have accompanied - both of our own will and violence - the white subject.

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Enrique, S. R. (1982). Los ñañigos. Casa de las Américas, La Habana.p, 123.

Translation:

[...] 'potencias', 'plays', 'nations' and 'parties': 'land', surely, by African filial evocation; efik, efor, orú (ibibio), muñanga, etc., are 'lands', as are the three great branches of the ñañiguismo: efik, efor and oru; 'power', for the essential magical, almighty foundation of all their drums, scepters, liturgical costumes, characters ..., as well as for their internal organization based on the criteria of their self-reliance, regardless of the State and its institutions of government: 'The law of the Power is one, and that of the Judge, of the republic, another ... [...]

It has also been impossible to find all the info between the texts and classic media. For the African territory, oral literature and oralities in general, have served as an engram, inscribed memory - not necessarily written - of these stories. Thus we have had to go to the ritual, to the songs and to the iconographic ideograms that remain resilient and resistant.

By way of conclusion, not definitive, since these issues will have to be further investigated, it should be noted that the dynamics in which European whites have entered the Ekpe (Egbo) associations of Calabar respond to an economic interest. However, the entry of whites to the Abakuas associations comes from the hand of guaranteeing a possible resistance and continuation in the future of the hand of the mestizo Andres Petit (1857). But this is still the reason for people of African descent. There is still the question pending towards whites, why did you want to enter Abakua? We also know that the incorporation brought strong confrontations between traditional black Abakuas and the new Abakuas white associations. The blood events between the two societies spread to the public thoroughfare and filled newspapers and prisons also in Spanish, African and even Asian Asian exile. So we still don't know why whites wanted to enter Abakua. We only have to expel the idea of whites feeling seduced by the secret / Ekwe.

The dynamics that were established at the entrance of the blacks to the Masonry not only respond to the differences between the geographies that we have circumscribed. In Europe, the case of Soliman could have been an exceptionality both because of Soliman's exceptionalism as a subject of knowledge and because the lack of black subjects in Viennese seventeenth-century society did not indicate it as a threat. There is a great lack of studies on the subject, and we could seduce ourselves and think that the Soliman case is an example of meritocracy. However, it is his death that puts us on notice. Like many black subjects who traveled through Europe, Soliman after his death ended up dissected in a museum satisfying that justifying curiosity of Western scientific racism. The example of Soliman is joined by well-known examples such as Sarah Baartman *Hottentot Venus* that would end up in the Museum of Man in Paris. Or a more contemporary case with the so-called "black of Banyoles" in Catalonia.

The case of the black masonry of Prince Hall is exceptional for its organization and

because its claim is made with the same weapons and from within the organization to which it is claimed for its recognition. This identification should not be read in institutional code, the claim of the Prince Hall must be seen in the Civil Rights of blacks. We understand that these political prerogatives coincide both in the Masonic and in the American politicians. This is because it is the same subject and de facto, the claim is the same. A recognition that as a political / citizen being that is nothing more than solving the problem of slavery.

Both trafficking and slavery end up being embedded in the dynamics of the three institutions and in the relationships between the subjects in them. It is true that there were moments that served to foster a harmony between subjects of both races, but analogically always this differentiation inscribed an intricate hierarchy of the racial in all of them.

Between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the moments of revolutions for spaces in the Caribbean were events caused and driven by the black subject, or rather by the use and oppression of their bodies. It is these moments when Afro-descendants, those now born as black Creoles in the territory, will ask for their space in the spheres of the political, the social, but also in the religious. The so-called Afro-American identity constructions are established in the case of the United States, and although it would still be early to define them the problem of the race attached to the national membership would be established strongly in both Saint Domingue (now Santo Domingo and Haiti) as in Cuba. The big difference will be that it will be the Afro-descendants themselves who will discuss it.

This work aims to make a historical approach to the cofradic societies of Ekpe (Egbo), the Abakuás or Ñáñigos and the Masonic Lodges during the period of spatial and temporal coexistence that is the nineteenth-century Cuba. These processes of transformation and adaptation are the result of experiencing periods of evolution and internal development, and others in which the increasing hostility of the environment towards them causes the discrete habits of both towards the secrecy or the most absolute secrecy to be radicalized. We have tried, above all, to establish those few moments in which these societies accommodated and adapted their vital needs for social survival to dynamic internal models in a racialized and national convulsion scenario shared in time and space. The

similar characteristics that will become evident with the respective unforeseen flexibility, the performative adaptation in the esoteric and in their respective interactions

Social and political. The fact that fraternities Ekpe (Egbo), Abakuás and Masonic Lodges admitted to white and Afro-descendant citizens respectively, has two readings that, although a priori seem contradictory, coexist together. These organizations that once were openly against the admission of mestizos and whites in the case of the Abakuás, and of Afro-descendants and born slaves in the case of the Masonic lodges are examples of a subsistence adaptation. This does not mean that the ethnic or racial assimilation of these fraternities has been decisive or generalist for them. The entry of whites into the Abakuás did not improve the social acceptance of the fraternity or the relations between the black and white brothers. On the other hand, the entrance of Afro-descendants into Freemasonry also failed to open the doors to a general acceptance of them in relation to the white brothers neither Cuba or the United States, much less in the rest of the Caribbean. Nor did it facilitate them to obtain high positions within the Masonic obediences, nor did it have great repercussions on the social strata. However, I do help a recognition in the form of community and mutual help between members would be extended to kinship circles.

The new leaders of the descendants could have a shared membership that may include Masonry and Vudu, or Masonry and Abakua, and Freemasonry and EKpe (Egbo). Important figures like Toussaint L'Ouverture a Lino D'Ou or James Hayden are examples of this. As the title of this research "Incorporating the Averse" points out, that moment in which we know each other better, in which perhaps we learn something from ourselves is when we have to embrace the unknown.

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Annexes-

ANEXES :

1. Daniell, W. F., & Latham, R. G. (1848). On the Natives of Old Calabar, West Coast of Africa. Journal of the Ethnological Society of London (1848-1856)

The government of the Old Calabar towns is a monarchical despotism rather mild in its general character, although sometimes severe and absolute in its details. The king and chief inhabitants ordinarily constitute a court of justice, in which all country disputes are adjusted, and to which every prisoner suspected of capital offences is brought, to undergo examination and judgement. If found guilty, they are usually forced to swallow a deadly potion, made from the poisonous seeds of an aquatic leguminous plant, which rapidly destroys life. This poison is obtained by pounding the seeds and macerating them in water, which acquires a white milky colour. The condemned person, after swallowing a certain portion of the liquid, is ordered to walk about until its effects become palpable. If, however, after the lapse of a definite period, the accused should be so fortunate as to throw the poison off from the stomach, he is considered as innocent, and allowed to depart unmolested. In native parlance this ordeal is designated as “chopping nut”⁶⁶⁴. Decapitation is also practised, but not so much amongst criminals as the former process, being more employed for the immolation of the victims at the funeral obsequies of some great personage. Drowning is sometimes resorted to as a substitute for the first means of destroying life

⁶⁶⁴ Calabar bean was known as *éséré*, *eseri*, or chopping nut. The allegory could be due to its function since it served as a sieve artifact, who survived its ingestion lived who did not, dying.

2. Letter from Antonio Maceo to General Luperon. Masonic Signature so called 3 points.

14

00001

Sta Plaza Julio 1º de 1880

Sr. Gral. G. Luperon.

Distinguido Sr. y amigo: Ya con todos los preparativos para ausentarme de este país a bordo del vapor americano "Sto Domingo", solo me falta obtener de V. como americano ilustre, y como amante de la libertad, el beneficio de quince Remington y 5000 cartuchos del mismo sistema, las cuales saldrán del País sin ocasionar gravamen alguno ni á V., ni á la nación que representa. Yo marcho para Cuba y en breves dias espero estar en mi puesto cumpliendo con mi misión.

Al mismo tiempo le suplico detenga V. el vapor americano en puerto todo el tiempo que á V. como Gral. le sea permitido, pues en lo sucesivo llevarme consigo todo lo que, hasta ahora, por mi causa, le pueda haber sido un inconveniente

Me acio.

109 621

3. Letter of Quintín Banderas to Estrada Palma (c. 1906)

Masonic signature

Señor Tomás C. Palma
Presidente de la República de
Cuba

Señor:

Como contesta a' la limosina que pretendió Vd. hacerme, mandándome con su ayudante un billete de a cinco pesos el día que personalmente solicite de Vd. un destino, con arreglo a' mis actitudes, en la República que Vd. preside y que he contribuido a' establecer con el sacrificio de toda mi vida y de lo cual no me arrepiento jamás: le acompaño la tarjeta que acredita la ocupación a que debo el pan de mi familia, facilitada por una casa de comercio extranjera.

Despediéndome con sus modestos

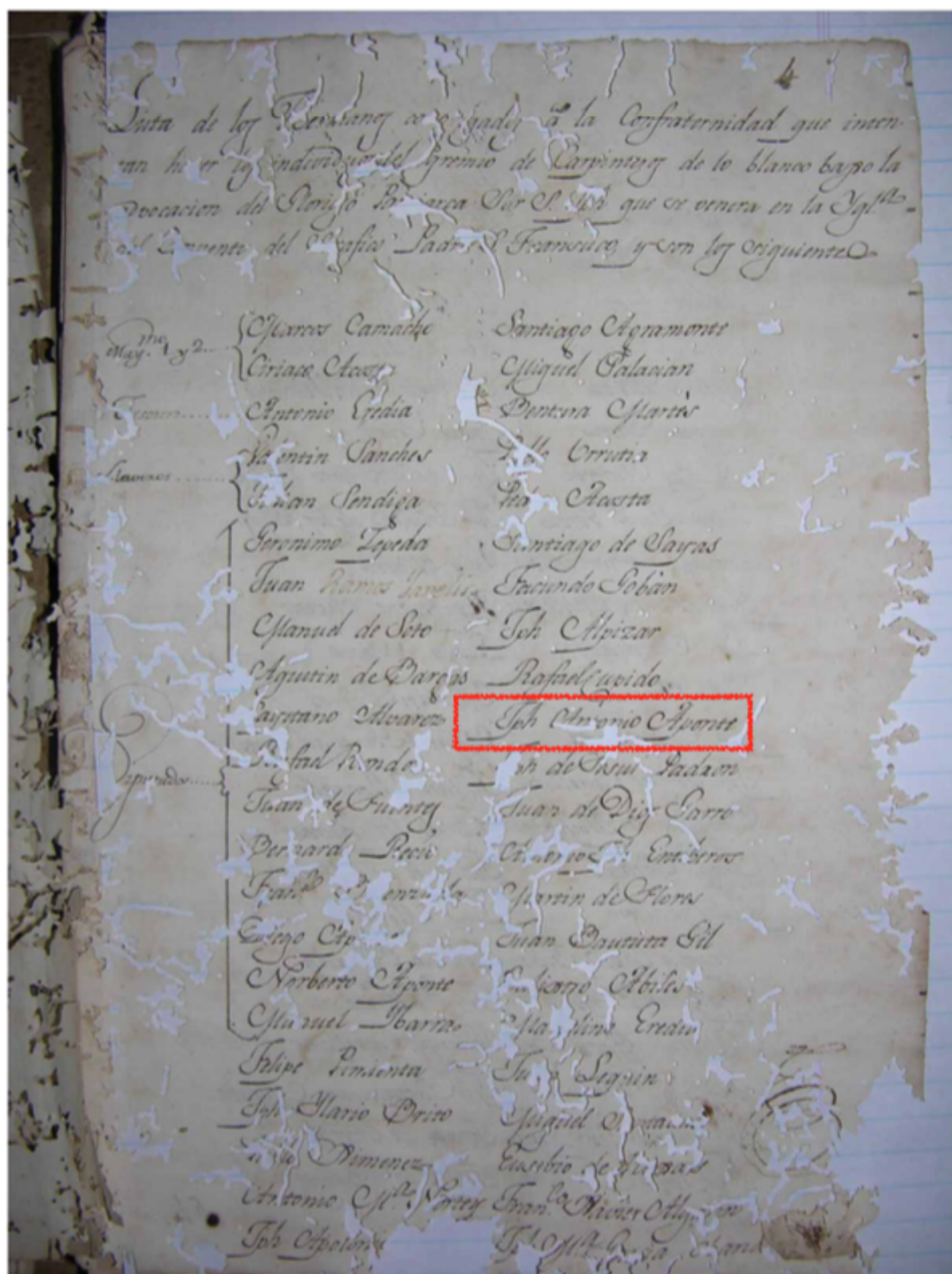
36~

empleo queda de Vd. atentamente

El J. mural,
Quintín Bandera.

4. Cover Page, Brotherhood of Carpenters, of which José Antonio de Aponte was a member.

ESSSS, Archbishopric Archive, Gobierno, Cofradías, Legajo 4, Expediente 21, Havana, Cuba.



5. Notas de la Masonería del Diario de Campaña del Generalísimo Máximo Gómez, escritas por Manuel Sanguily.(ca.1871)

APÉNDICE No. 12

(Corresponde este apéndice a partes de la DUODÉCIMA que ha sido imposible intercalar por no tener fecha determinada).

LIBRETA (Adicional) del Diario de Máximo Gómez,

DESCRIPCIÓN: Tiene esta libreta un tamaño de 3/4 " por 5.1 4", con encuadernación (que puede conocerse por la cubierta ya que la posterior ha quedado reducida a un cartón) de terciopelo (de terciopelo morado (de esto sólo quedan restos en los bordes) con guarda cantos de metal; gacillas en el borde para colocar un lápiz que fungiera de cierre. Las hojas son blancas sin rayas.

Recuerdo del Gral. cubano Calixto García Ifiiguez.

Contiene varios apuntes.

(Esto en la portada, escrito a tinta).

APÉNDICE No. 12

(Corresponde este apéndice a partes de la DUODÉCIMA LIBRETA (Adicional) del Diario de Máximo Gómez, que ha sido imposible intercalar por no tener fecha determinada).

Nociones preliminares.

La masonería tiene por objeto la regeneración intelectual, moral y civil de la especie humana, degenerada de los altos destinos a que la llaman sus facultades por la educación oficial que viene recibiendo desde que alboreó la civilización.

Por eso la verdadera masonería es un plan de estudios.

Este plan de estudios se divide en cinco enseñanzas. En el R.: A.: A.:E.: , que es el más generalizado.

La primera, llamada enseñanza elemental, se dá en cinco cursos, llamados grados, y en una localidad especial, llamada; logia, taller o templo simbólico.

La segunda, llamada enseñanza superior, se dá en tres cursos, llamados grados asimismo, y en una localidad especial, denominada capítulo de rosa-cruz.

La tercera, llamada enseñanza secundaria, se dá en doce cursos, llamados grados también, y en una localidad especial asimismo, denominada consejo de Kadosh.

La cuarta, llamada enseñanza normal, se dá en dos cursos, llamados grados igualmente, y en una localidad especial también, denominada cámara del real secreto.

Y la quinta, llamada enseñanza administrativa, se dá un solo curso llamado grado asimismo, y en una localidad especial igualmente, denominada cámara del supremo consejo.

ENSEÑANZA ELEMENTAL. LOGIA SIMBÓLICA.

GRADO PRIMERO. APRENDIZ:

En este grado tiene la logia una especie de antesala que representa un panteón, y que se llama cuarto de reflexiones. La doctrina de este grado en el cuarto de reflexiones puede reducirse a las proposiciones siguientes:

I.—El hombre debe a Dios, —cuya revelación eterna es la Naturaleza, que al mismo tiempo pregona su existencia y perfección, atesora sus beneficios, —amor, gratitud y adoración.

II.—¡El hombre se debe a sí mismo— y esto lo revelan a la par sus instintos, sus facultades y sus altos destinos— amor, educación, conservación y bienestar.

III.—El hombre debe a sus semejantes— y esto lo revelan sus instintos, y lo aconseja su conveniencia— lo que a sí mismo se debe.

IV.—Iniciarse en la masonería, es morir para la ignorancia, la preocupación y el vicio, y nacer para la ciencia, la verdad y la virtud.

V.—El mejor criterio de la ciencia, de la verdad, de la virtud, del bienestar— que es la sabiduría en acción— es la duda, aplicada a todos nuestros conocimientos, así actuales como venideros.

VI.—Ninguna privación, ningún peligro, ninguna amargura, debe hacernos faltar a nuestros deberes, que no son otra cosa que el cumplimiento de las leyes de la naturaleza por nosotros respecto de Dios, de nuestros semejantes y aún de nosotros

mismos, no renunciar a nuestros derechos, que tampoco son otra cosa que el cumplimiento de las leyes de la naturaleza por nuestros semejantes, por nosotros y aún por Dios mismo respecto de nosotros.

La logia de aprendiz representa el Universo. La doctrina de este grado en la logia puede reducirse a las proposiciones siguientes: (I)

I.—La virtud es el esfuerzo perenne con que dominamos nuestras pasiones, poniendo nuestra vida en armonía con la Naturaleza y la Sociedad.

II.—El vicio es la perenne debilidad que nos somete a nuestras pasiones, poniendo nuestra vida en lucha abierta con la Naturaleza y la Sociedad.

III.—El estado actual de la civilización permite que el mal sea mayor que el bien, y todo hombre honrado, y particularmente todo masón, debe trabajar porque suceda algún día lo contrario.

(1) Aquí corresponden las dos proposiciones adicionadas al fin de estos estudios con los números 1 y 2.

IV.—No debemos hacer ostentación de nuestra dicha, porque esa ostentación puede insultar la desgracia de nuestros semejantes.

V.—Cuando la circunstancia nos hagan apurar hasta las heces la copa del mal, el cáliz del dolor, si fuéramos culpables, deberemos sufrir con dignidad, y si inocentes, deberemos levantar con santo orgullo la cabeza, porque Dios nos ha hecho á su imagen y semejanza.

VI.—Los tres viajes simbólicos que se hacen dar al aprendiz enseñan:— en unión de su estancia en el cuarto de reflexiones.— Que así como los elementos reparan y purifican la vida material por medio de la muerte, la masonería repara y purifica la vida espiritual por medio de la luz, y que el hombre está llamado a dominar la Naturaleza, que es su enemiga si él desconoce sus misterios; y si los conoce, su madre cariñosa.

El juramento de aprendiz es

La llamada a la logia.....

Los pasos son.....

El signo de orden es.....

El saludo.....

La batería

El tocamiento.....

La palabra sagrada, obza.

Se da.....

La fórmula sacramental de reconocerse los aprendices es.....

Su ampliación.....

La edad.....

Grado 2o. Compañero.

La logia de compañero continúa representando el Universo, notándose empero la variación de verse en ella un cuadro que representa el atrio del templo de Jerusalén, cuyas gradas contienen en orden ideológico los nombres de las ciencias naturales naturales y en cuyo interior, que se entrevé, se aperciben los nombres de las bellas Artes.

La enseñanza de los cuatro primeros viajes simbólicos de los cinco que se hacen dar al compañero, puede reducirse a las proposiciones siguientes:

I.—¡El hombre es el rey de la tierra, y sus títulos a tan excelsa dignidad son su inteligencia, que concibe todas las modificaciones de la materia, y su mano que las realiza, convirtiéndose en hacha, en pico, en/ espada, en pluma, en cincel, en todos los instrumentos que ha inventado y puede inventar el arte.

II.—Para ejercer el hombre esa excelsa dignidad debe estudiar las ciencias naturales, es decir, la Astronomía, que tiene por auxiliares la Aritmética, el Álgebra y la Geometría, y que le revelará los misterios, armonía y bellezas del cielo; y la Geología, la Mineralogía, la Botánica, la Zoología, la Física y la Química, que tienen los mismos auxiliares, y que le revelarán los misterios, armonías y bellezas de la tierra.

III.—Para este estudio dispone el hombre de las facultades de su alma, es decir, de la sensibilidad externa, que le pone en comunicación con el resto del Universo; de la imaginación, que le permite recordar las impresiones recibidas, llevando entonces el nombre de memoria, y combinar esas mismas impresiones, llevando entonces el nombre de inventiva o ingenio; de la sensibilidad interna o sentimiento, que le permite sentir lo verdadero, lo bueno y lo bello; finalmente de la inteligencia, facultad principal, que valiéndose de las otras como de auxiliares, analiza o sintetiza, compara, juega y conoce.

(Aquí corresponde la proposición adicionada al fin con el número 3).

La enseñanza del último de, los cinco viajes de compañero,
puede reducirse a las proposiciones siguientes:

I.—La inacción intelectual , moral y profesional nos hace retroceder en la senda de la perfección humana.

II.—Los pueblos —como los individuos— deben rebelarse contra toda tiranía, prefiriendo el aniquilamiento a la servidumbre.

El juramento de compañero es.....

La llamada a la logia

Los pasos
son.....

La palabra de paso es hisbotel

El signo de orden

El
saludo.....

La
batería.....

El
tocamiento.....

La palabra sagrada, ajnik

Se dá.....

La fórmula sacramental de reconocerse los compañeros es.....

Su ampliación.....

La edad.

Grado 3o.—Maestro.

La logia de maestro representa una sala mortuoria.

El cuadro que representa el atrio del templo de Jerusalem, brillà también en ella.

La doctrina de los dos primeros viajes simbólicos de los tres que se hacen dar al maestro, puede reducirse a las proposiciones siguientes:

I.—La inteligencia humana, es un destello de la inteligencia divina que se ostenta en las perfecciones de la naturaleza.

II.—La misión del hombre como ser inteligente, es buscar y difundir la verdad, sin omitir para ello sacrificio alguno.

III.—La verdad es la conformidad, de la idea con la naturaleza, piedra de toque de todo conocimiento.

IV.—El suicidio para la masonería es, o un acto de demencia o un acto de debilidad, pues el hombre es un instrumento de bien que sólo debe romperse en manos de la Providencia.

V.—El desafío, suicidio y homicidio a la vez, es un rezago de los juicios de Dios que la masonería no admite, particularmente entre los hermanos, sino cuando no haya otro modo de reparar el agravio que lo motiva.

VI.—La guerra —suicidio, desafío y sacrificio múltiple hasta lo incalculable—i es una manifestación del egoísmo, que puede ser provincial,/nacional y aún continental, y la masonería no la aprueba, sino cuando no hay otro) medio de mantener incólumes los derechos de los pueblos.

VII.—Así como el sueño es una reparación parcial, la muerte es una reparación total de la vida, pues por medio de ella los seres organizados se desorganizan natural o prematuramente, gracias al trabajo de vivir o merced a una falta más o menos prolongada de armonía con el resto de la naturaleza, se purifica y aumentan las fuerzas generadoras de nuestro planeta, y entran de nuevo en la vida.

VIII.—La tierra con su atmósfera constituye un vasto y magnífico cementerio, y las generaciones de hoy huellan, consumen y respiran la materia de las generaciones de ayer, y las generaciones de mañana hollarán, consumirá y respirarán a su vez la materia de las generaciones de hoy.

IX.—Los seres organizados, y el hombre no es sino el principal de ellos, no son más que un poco de atmósfera condensada; salen de la atmósfera, entran en ella y vuelven á salir de ella eternamente.

XI.—Todo cambia de forma y de lugar, más nada perece en el Universo.

XI.—La creación es el estado normal y,, eterno de la naturaleza.

XII.—La música, que fija las armonías del espacio, la poesía que .fija las armonías del alma humana; la pintura, la escultura y la arquitectura, que fija las armonías de las formas y de los colores; las artes liberales en una palabra, que se entrevén en el interior del cuadro que representa el templo de Jerusalén, y cuyo estudio se prescribe al maestro, son un alma triunfo que el genio humano alcanza sobre esa hechicera eterna que se llama muerte.

XIII.—Si la materia, sustancia rígida, es inmortal, el espíritu, el pensamiento, sustancia regente, debe ser imperecedero.

XIV.—El verdadero sentido de la Metempsicosis es la representación del pensamiento del hombre, inspirado eternamente por el instinto de progreso, y eternamente glorificado por la gratitud humana.

XV.—Cuando nos sea preciso morir por la verdad, no debemos vacilar, pues morir por la verdad no-es morir, sino cambiar de forma, para eternizarse en el Capitolio de los benefactores de la humanidad.

La doctrina del último viaje simbólico de los tres que se hacen dar al maestro puede reducirse a las dos proposiciones siguientes:

I.—Jubelaz, Jubeloz y Jubelón son un mito de todos los ignorantes, de todos los hipócritas y de todos los ambiciosos, que aspiran a la, riqueza, a los honores y al poder, sin merecimiento para ello, y que el maestro tiene la misión de enseñar, desenmascarar y abatir respectivamente, pero con la mayor benevolencia posible; porque la justicia humana solo es amable y fecunda, cuando es sosegada y generosa— como la justicia divina.

II.— La resurrección de Hiram—Abif, al tercer día, como la de Cristo, como la de otros muchos bienhechores de la humanidad, que la .historia, embriagada de amor y gratitud, ha divinizado, es un mito de la gloria purísima que alcanzan los grandes hombres, cuando pasan los

contemporáneos, cuando el tiempo hace desaparecer las emulaciones, las envidias, los agravios y los odios que los rodean.

El juramento de maestro es.....

La llamada a la logia.....

Los pasos son.....

La palabra de paso es Utlabacni.

El signo de orden es.....

El saludo

La batería.....

El tocamiento.....

La palabra sagrada es aomnob.

Se dá.....

La fórmula sacramental de reconocerse los maestros es.....

Su ampliación.....

La edad.....

El signo de socorro.....

La palabra de socorro es eial ebenlaamean.

Grado 4o. —Maestro Secreto.

La logia de maestro secreto representa un santuario, conteniendo una tumba en medio.

La doctrina de este grado que no tiene viaje alguno, pero que representa el embalsamiento de Hiram-Abif, puede reducirse a las proposiciones siguientes:

I.—La conciencia es el sentimiento íntimo de que conocemos la verdad, y se llama instintiva, intelectual o moral, como la verdad conocida.

II.—La conciencia instintiva, es decir, el instinto, es el sentimiento íntimo que todos ios animales tenemos de que conocemos la verdad en lo que atañe a nuestra conservación y procreación y conservación de nuestros semejantes, es decir, de los animales de nuestra especie.

III.—La manifestación más fecunda del instinto es la asociación que—por lo que hace al hombre— asegura su reinado sobre la tierra, produciendo la comunión de necesidades, de esfuerzos y de adelantos, y lo perpetúa, haciendo que las generaciones se leguen providencialmente unas a otras los veneros de ciencia, verdad, virtud y bienestar que atesoran y acrisolan incesantemente.

IV.—La conciencia intelectual es el sentimiento íntimo de que conocemos la verdad en lo que atañe a la ciencia, que es el conocimiento de las leyes que presiden el orden de la naturaleza, y el arte, que es el conocimiento de las leyes que presiden a la fijación de las armonías del espacio, de las armonías del alma humana, de las armonías de la forma y de los colores, a la fijación de la belleza en una palabra.

V.—La conciencia moral, es el sentimiento íntimo de que conocemos la verdad en lo que atañe a las acciones- humanas.

VI.—La Ética, la filosofía de las costumbres, la Moral, no es una convención pasajera; es una conciencia, un conjunto de leyes eternas que brillan en la conciencia de Dios, y reverberan en la conciencia humana.

VII.—Si la duda, aplicada a todos nuestros conocimientos, es el criterio por excelencia, la conciencia ilustrada con la meditación, de los misterios de la vida y de la muerte, es el maestro secreto que la aplica, la estrella misteriosa que nos guía al Oriente de la ciencia, de la verdad, de la virtud y de la dicha.

El juramento de maestro secreto es.....

La llamada a la logia.....

La palabra de paso, izaz.

El signo de orden.....

El saludo.....

La batería.....

El tocamiento.....

La palabra sagrada, doi.

Se dá.....

La fórmula sacramental de reconocerse los maestros es

Su ampliación.....

La edad.....

Grado 5o. —Maestro Perfecto.—

La logia de maestro perfecto representa el santuario de la de maestro secreto, pero embellecido con todos los primores de las artes.

La enseñanza de este grado, que no tiene viaje alguno, pero que representa una visita al sepulcro de Hiram-Abif, puede reducirse a las proposiciones siguientes:

I.—El hombre tiene el instinto de la inmortalidad, y el monarca, erigiendo palacios que no ha de habitar, sino como huésped; el sabio escribiendo tratados, que apenas podrá ver impresos; el artista, componiendo obras maestras, que apenas podrá ver admiradas; y aún el labrador, plantando árboles cuya sombra y fruto disfrutarán otras generaciones; obedecen providencialmente a esta alma o instinto.

II.—La providencia satisface con magnificencia esta alma o instinto, pues el hombre posee la inmortalidad de la materia por medio de esa inagotable fuente de vida llamada muerte; la inmortalidad de la inventiva y del sentimiento, del genio, por medio de esas omnipotentes hadas llamadas las artes; la inmortalidad de la inteligencia, por medio de esa alma de la creación llamada la ciencia; la inmortalidad de la fuerza del alma, de la virtud, del heroísmo, por medio de esa generosa manifestación de la gratitud humana, llamada la historia; y la inmortalidad del espíritu mismo, por medio de esa eternidad del espacio, llamada lo infinito.

III.—El cuerpo es a la vez el ministro y el santuario del espíritu, de ese rey de la tierra, y para su saciedad y su pompa, atesora la misma tierra los manjares más gratos, los néctares más deliciosos, los vestidos más brillantes y las mansiones más opulentas, en sus tres órdenes de seres llamados reinos; y el ayuno y el cilicio de los hijos espúreos de la miseria y del cálculo, no son más que un doble sacrilegio (!)

El juramento de maestro perfecto e s.....

La llamada a la logia.....

La palabra de pase.... aacaic.

Los pasos son.....

El signo de orden es.....

El saludo.....

La batería.....

El tocamiento.....

La palabra sagrada, oilov.

La fórmula sacramental de reconocer los maestros perfectos es.....

Su ampliación.....

(Prop. IV).

La edad.....

(!) Aquí corresponden las proposiciones que llevan al fin el número 4 y

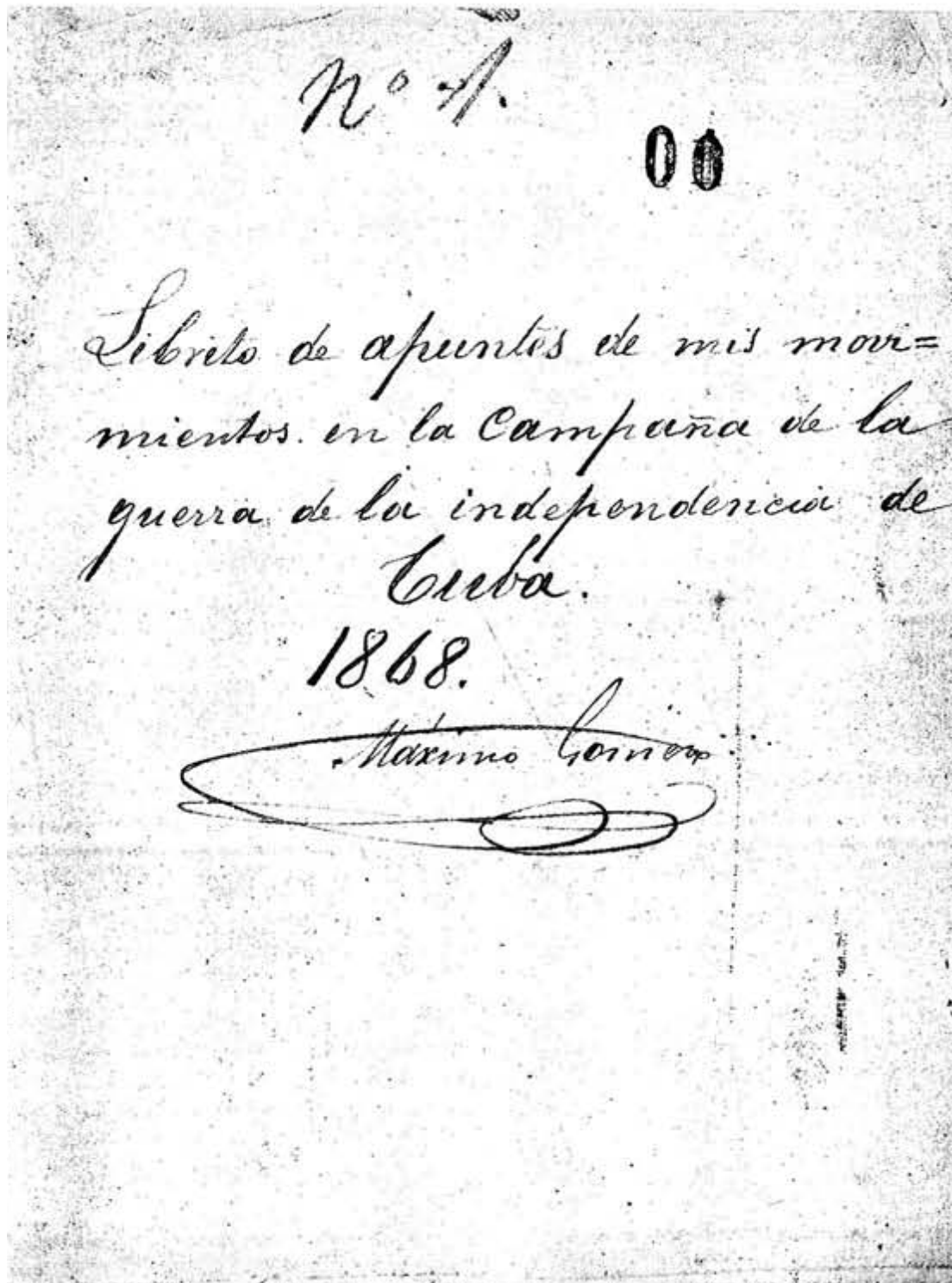
I—Dios es la causa, la armonía y el bien del universo.

2—El culto que más place a Dios y esto lo reclama la naturaleza en dos de nuestros más nobles instintos, es el cumplimiento del deber y el sostenimiento del derecho a todo trance; pero, todo hombre honrado, y particularmente todo masón, debe tolerar y aún respetar todos los cultos, porque la libertad de la conciencia humana es un derecho sagrado que ni el mismo Dios conculca.

3—El estudio de las ciencias naturales conduce al hombre con la luz de la geometría, cuya inicial es la letra G, emblemático del grado de compañero, a la cosmogonía, o hipótesis acerca del origen del mundo, y a la teogonía, o hipótesis acerca de la naturaleza de Dios.

4—La creencia de la inmortalidad perfecciona, la creación, pues según ello el hombre simbolizado por el cuadrado o pequeño cosmos de la filosofía antigua, debe llenar/ con su pensamiento su cuerpo y con su espíritu en la eternidad el círculo ó gran cosmos de la antigua filosofía.

5—Ni en la ausencia de nuestros hermanos, separación breve y en sí siempre determinada, ni en la muerte de ellos mismos, ausencia breve e indeterminada— debemos faltar a nuestras obligaciones para con ellos, teniendo en cuenta que debemos reunimos en la mansión sin tiempo en la logia eterna.



7. William Blake, "The Ancient of Days Measuring Time" (1794). British Museum - Londres



8. Adoption Lodge initiating a woman

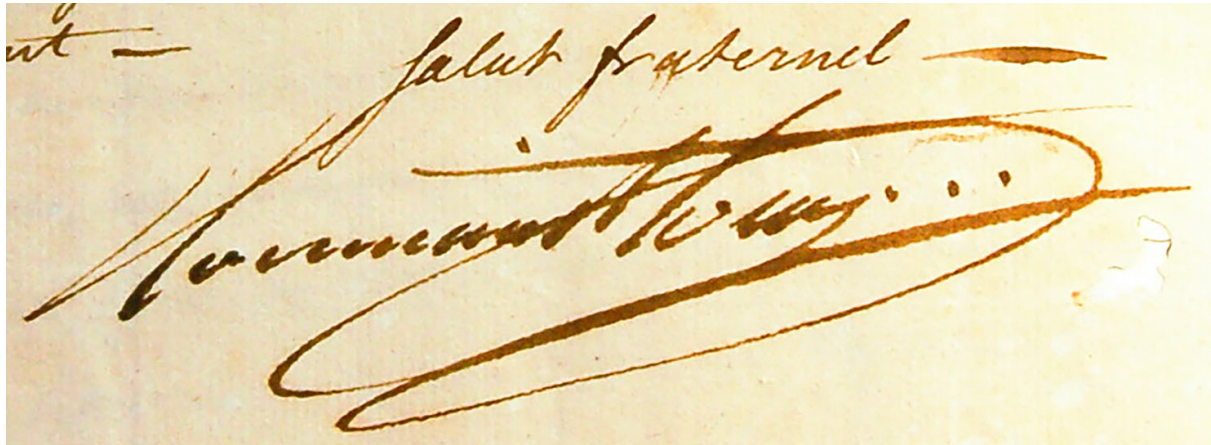


Dioux, Christophe (1810). Réception d'une femme dans une loge d'adoption française sous le Premier Empire

9. Masonic signature of Toussaint Louverture (ca. 1743-1803),

Document dated in Port-au-Prince on 27 prairial, Year 9 [16 June 1801], appended to a notarized document dated 1 messidor Year 9 [20 June 1801].

Photo by J. Garrigus in Garrigus, 2007.



10. Prohibición de las Asociaciones Nanigas en 1884 (continuación de la Ley de 1876)

En contestación al oficio de V.S. fecha 20 del que cursa, por el que ese Juzgado interesa se le manifieste si la Asociación de ñañigos es perseguida como contraria al orden y tranquilidad de los ciudadanos, tengo el gusto de hacer presente a V. S. que las Asociaciones de referencia se hallan terminantemente prohibidas y declaradas ilícitas, por decreto del Gobierno Gral. de esta Isla de 21 de Agosto de 1876, del cual acompaño copia; cuya superior resolución fue recordada y ampliada por otra de este Gobierno Civil fecha 10 de Octubre de 1880, de la cual es también a~junta íntegra; y tanto por lo que en dichas disposiciones se establece, cuanto por las distintas medidas tomadas por este Centro en diferentes ocasiones se ha reunido manteniendo siempre la más activa y eficaz persecución sobre las aludidas asociaciones, las cuales constituyen un verdadero peligro para el orden y el sosiego [sic] de esta Sociedad que protesta unánimemente contra esas tenebrosas y semisalvajes colectividades que en vano se ha pretendido proscribir por completo hasta el presente.

Dios guíe a V. S. ms as Habana 28 de Diciembre 1884

P. S.

José del Rey

Sor. Juez de Ira. Instancia del Distrito Jesús María

(Con un sello que dice: Gobierno Civil de la Provincia. Habana.)⁶⁶⁵

11. Bocú, negro brujo condenado a muerte/ Carta autógrafa del negro Bocú. ca, 1904

(Ortiz, 1995)⁶⁶⁶

⁶⁶⁵ Disposición del Gobernador Alejandro Rodríguez Arias prohibiendo las salidas de «comparsa ñañigas». Boletín Oficial de la Provincia de la Habana. Gobierno Civil de la Provincia. Habana 10 de octubre de 1880. Cited in, Enrique, S. R. (1982). Los ñañigos. Casa de las Américas, La Habana., p. 392-3.

⁶⁶⁶ Pavez Ojeda, J. (2009). El retrato de los «negros brujos»: Los archivos visuales de la antropología afrocubana (1900-1920). *Aisthesis*, (46), 83-110.



Figura 42. Bocú, negro brujo condenado a muerte.

Corrijo pablo de se de a la
 cual en un momento de los dos por
 es la sea casa no, hoy no be-
 dad al Dios grande, amigos
 es la es para de un le to a
 quien le que la Maria en la
 a 5 y es el fin. Salta uno
 soy a es tu tra. Cuando nos
 de el 37 tenmo abar a Dios
 quien como lo he es con el
 factor de Dios el negocio es
 lo de vos padre sus, que un po-
 do colorado y mangra a las
 doce y pasaba a la noche
 que por en como de vos y
 en la a una la a hier to
 enriban de fanda y que
 que no quien se por hora
 Como lo de de a y si

a me sea y critan en a
 la - de lo que prami
 nca de al pablos prami
 mag de hora Lage de
 He a na del Juan
 y el no de la manda. de
 de los amigos y la ocha
 que son de los amigos
 informados por los de amigos
 Domingo y de los
 Los Cristóbal es apremi
 de un amigo
 el pelle de la al pie
 de la caida que es to. en
 la deca.

Figura 43. Carta autógrafa del negro Bocú.

THE
CONSTITUTIONS
OF THE
FREE-MASONS.

CONTAINING THE
History, Charges, Regulations, &c.
of that most Ancient and Right
Worshipful *FRATERNITY.*

For the Use of the LODGES.



L O N D O N:

Printed by WILLIAM HUNTER, for JOHN SENEX at the *Globe*,
and JOHN HOOKER at the *Flower-de-luce* over-against *St. Dunstan's*
Church, in *Fleet-street*.

In the Year of Masonry ——— 5723
Anno Domini ——— 1723

13. Letter Rev. Anderson about the ordeal of the " éséré and Nka Iyip/Bloodmen

Letter The Rev. W. Anderson to Consul Hutchinson. May 30, 1856.

Inclosure 1 in No. 70.

The Rev. W. Anderson to Consul Hutchinson.

Mission House, Duke Town, Old Calabar, Dear Sir, May 30, 1856.

I BEG leave to lay before you the following facts, in reference to the procedure of the authorities of Duke Town. You will remember that when you were here on an official visit in January last, I showed you three individuals ; an old woman named Abasi Odiong, a young man named Okun Ya, and a young woman named Iqua Ya, who had fled to me for protection from the ordeal of the " éséré," or poison bean, on the foolish and superstitious charge that they had killed a boy with " ifot" or "freemason." You were kind enough and humane enough to take these three persons under your protection, and to write a letter to the Duke apprizing him of the fact and holding him responsible for their safety. I can certify, that with the exception of the young woman, who is staying pro tern, with Mrs. Sutherland at Old Town, your proteges have never been off the Mission premises at Duke Town. They have been afraid to leave them. Well, some four or five weeks ago, a brother of the young man died in the plantations, ten or twelve, or, for aught I know, twenty miles from this. The name of the deceased was Oko Odiong. The refugees are charged with having killed him by "ifot ; ". and the Duke sent to the plantation to call the blood people to come into the town with the view of compelling the refugees to take the ordeal of the "éséré." For this purpose, bands of the blood-men (as they are called) came into Duke Town on the 26th and 27th instant. I spent the greater part of the 28th.