

I DREAMED I SAW JOE HILL LAST NIGHT

FALL SEMESTER, 2017

PART 2: THE HIDDEN LINK

Material from the reading by Herskovits

1. Know whether or not, in the case of the New World Negroes who live under **Catholic influence** in Brazil, Cuba and Haiti, the exchange (**between Catholic and nativist beliefs**) has been **more one-sided**. Know whether or not **syncretism** among Negroes has been studied **with care** in Haiti, and somewhat **less systematically in Cuba and Brazil**. Know whether or not, in Haiti, **baptism** into the Catholic church was required for all those who were **unloaded from the holds** of the slave ships. Know whether or not the somewhat **more thoroughgoing assimilation** of Christian and pagan beliefs which has taken place among New World Negroes has gone **in large measure unrecognized**. Know whether or not, were a **given African god** everywhere found to be identified with the same Catholic saint, there would be a great probability that this had resulted from **contacts between slaves** subsequent to their arrival in the New World. Know whether or not **Legba** is clearly identified with **deities in Brazil and Cuba**. (Entire article)
2. Know whether or not the data which have been sketched from Haiti will be **strikingly familiar** to those **conversant** with the literature on Cuba and Brazil, though the names of the **Haitian deities** will be **unfamiliar to them**. Know whether or not **Legba**, the Dahomean **trickster**, is held in Brazil to be the equivalent of the **Devil**. Know whether or not the table in the article has been **abstracted** from the available literature on Brazil, Cuba, and Haiti, and in addition is *supplemented* by data recorded during **field-work** in the latter country. Know whether or not, as it is, there can be little question that the **syncretizations** have developed **independently** in each region where they are found. Know whether or not even the conception of a force such as the power that can bring reverses to a man may be **anthropomorphized** and **worshipped**. Know whether or not, in the Brazilian system of belief, on a **given day** of the year, God permits **each saint** to have **control over the universe**. (Entire article)
3. Know whether or not, in the Haitian system, **St. John the Baptist** is so **irresponsible** that he is tricked with drink into falling asleep and sleeping **past his day** to run the universe. Know whether or not, in Dahomean mythology, which has influenced so much of Haitian belief, the **ram** is the emblem of the **god of thunder**. Know whether or not Haitians **stop** at identifying saints **with African gods**. Know whether or not **Mawu**, the Great God of the Dahomeans, **has not been retained** in Haiti. Know whether or not the **Ogun loa** include several gods who are generally **regarded as brothers**. Know whether or not the chromolithographic representation of **Mater Dolorosa** shows her as a **beggar**, clothed in **tattered rags**. Know whether or not **Damballa**, the Dahomean rainbow-serpent deity, is one of the most **widely worshipped** and important Haitian vodun gods. Know whether or not **St. Louis**, the patron of the town of **Mirebalais** where the field work for this study was carried out, is a loa in his own right. (Entire article)
4. Know whether or not the saint identified with Damballah is **St. Patrick**, on whose image **serpents are depicted**. Know whether or not **La Sirene** is derived from European mythology and is identified with **Notre Dame de Grace**. Know whether or not **St. John the Baptist** is a powerful **nature spirit** and is believed to control the **thunder and lightning**. Know whether or not two indications of the tendency to regard the phenomena of nature supernatural beings are **St. Soleil** and **Sts. Etoiles**. Know whether or not, in Haiti, **Maitresse Erzulie** is syncretized as the **Holy Virgin**. Know whether or not **two of the kings** who figure in the image that depicts the Adoration of the Christ Child are also held to be **Vodun deities**. Know whether or not **Shango**, identified with Santa Barbara both in Brazil and Cuba, is also represented in Haiti by his Dahomean counterpart, **Xevioso**. Know whether or not, in Haitian belief, as in Yoruban concept, the **ram** is the emblem of the god of **thunder**. (Entire article)
5. Know whether or not, in the case of **African religious systems**, handicapped by **scorn** and official **disapprobation**, the followers are almost **inevitably split** into local groups. Know whether or not the local groups are **dominated** by the **personality of the priest** whose individual powers furnish the principal drive toward any **outer organization** the cult-group under his charge may achieve. Know whether or not, in the Haitian vodun, there are **differences of opinion** not alone from region to region, but within a given region

even between **members of the same group** concerning **details of cult belief**. Know whether or not, in all these countries a **general frame of reference** concerning the supernatural has been **handed down from Africa**, and within this a **variety of beliefs and modes of worship exist**. Know whether or not, from the valley of **Mirebalais**, there were collected **three separate lists** of names of deities. Know whether or not comparison of the lists of deities from Mirebalais valley showed that while **certain designations** were found in **all lists**, there were **extreme divergences** as well. Know whether or not **Legba** is given the **first offering** in any Haitian vodun ceremony. Know whether or not, in **gathering data**, in some cases African deities were **equated** with Catholic saints in the course of discussions of **general theological problems**. (Entire article)

6. Know whether or not, in the **comparison lists of deities** from Mirebalais valley, the **resemblances** were **much greater** than the **differences**, or the **other way around**. Know whether or not, **unlike elsewhere in the New World**, the imagination seems to have been taken by the **ordinary chromolithographs** found widely distributed in Catholic countries. Know whether or not **Erzulie**, the guardian of **crossroads**, is widely worshipped in Haiti, where she must **"open the path"** for other supernatural powers. Know whether or not, for the research, **invocations of songs** were recorded which **coupled** the name of a given saint with that of its **corresponding pagan god**.

Material from the reading by Holbraad

1. Know whether or not **Jorge's Ochun** was on display alongside a number of **other santos**. Know whether or not, in Cuba, people seem concerned with the **evidence gods give**. Know whether or not the occasion Jorge was talking about was Jorge's **first anniversary** of initiation. Know whether or not the "birthday" was to emphasize that Santeria initiation is **about giving birth** to the **neophyte** and to the deities he or she **receives as part of the ceremony**. Know whether or not the occasion of his third birthday and the story of Ochun's prueba **are unrelated**. Know whether or not the **appearance of contradiction** between Jorge's **comments** and the researchers' **initial assumptions** may just as well be due **misunderstanding**. Know whether or not the idea that ethnography can **both constitute "evidence"** and be an **index of "alterity"** is in a crucial sense **coherent**. (p. 593-594)
2. Know whether or not the idea that the **alterity of ethnography** must lie in its negation of our own assumption smacks of a crime most anthropologists **proclaim as capital**. Know whether or not the author's approach, by contrast to some **habitual anthropological strategies**, addresses alterity in **ontological terms**. Know whether or not the assumptions with which the ethnography of **pruebas conflicts** are integral to habitual ways of thinking about the **role of evidence** in anthropology. Know whether or not, while the best translation of pruebas is **"evidence,"** Jorge's comments **conflict** with our common understanding of the **notion of evidence** to such an extent that they **appear absurd**. Know whether or not, if our **misunderstandings** of ethnography stem from the fact that it is incongruous with assumptions we take as initial, then it must those assumptions that **require analytical attention**. Know whether or not, rather than using the ethnography to **rethink their analytical concepts**, the researchers use their **own analytical concepts** to make sense of a given ethnography, or the **other way around**. Know whether or not, elsewhere, the author has called his approach **"ontographic."** Know whether or not, by addressing an ethnography of evidence, the article adopts a strategy that could be **described as recursive**. (p. 594-597)
3. Know whether or not the impulse that makes the author think of Jorge's mind as a **kind of lab or courtroom** allows him to assume the **same of anthropology**. Know whether or not, to Jorge, gods are not **proven once and for all**, but rather slowly, as if by a **process of induction**. Know whether or not anthropology is scientific mainly inasmuch as it **admits ethnographic evidence** that may offer support for **theoretical hypotheses**. Know whether or not, even though Jorge's *pruebas* can be **translated as "evidence"** by analogy to kettle and boiling-points, it **cannot do so by analogy to anthropology**. Know whether or not, either in Santeria the influence of the *santos* is **not beyond doubt**, or "evidence" is in some crucial respect a **misleading translation of pruebas**. Know whether or not Jorge's interest in evidence is **unapologetically theological**. Know whether or not the author asks the question, if theological knowledge is **indubitable**, why should one bother to **provide it with evidence**. Know whether or not, caught up in the **transition to Enlightenment**, 17th century scientists' **naturalism** could be made respectable by drawing on already **established intellectual concerns** with proof. Know whether or not **Lakatos** makes a point of refuting the idea that **willingness to provide evidence** for hypotheses may in itself qualify as the kind of **skepticism** he consider the hallmark of science. Know whether or not Lakatos' **logical point** relies on a clear-cut **normative distinction** between proof as a **theological** concern and evidence as a **scientific** one. (p. 597-599)

4. Know whether or not, in Santeria, worshippers' **ascent** through a series of **initiatory steps** is largely measured against a **scale of divinatory expertise**. Know whether or not practically **all aspects** of worship require the disclosure of the **santos' will** through **divination**. Know whether or not, as diviners themselves emphasize, oracles are required to **arbitrate on so many aspects** of worshippers' lives precisely because their pronouncements **are beyond doubt**. Know whether or not, when the *santera* says that Jorge's flat is occupied by spirits, she is making a claim about an **already existing state of affairs**. Know whether or not positing divinatory pronouncements as **infinitions** gets us out of imputing dogmatism to the *santeros*. Know whether or not Jorge's account **cannot be read** as one of **personal conversion**. Know whether or not anthropological accounts often present conversion as a **matter of persuasion** or at least as some kind of **change in people's beliefs**. Know whether or not **horror stories abound** in Santeria probably as much as those of *pruebas*, with people frequently **lamenting** how far divinations they were given **diverged** from how things turned out to be. Know whether or not, much like Evans-Pritchard showed for the Azande, in Santeria **dissatisfaction** with divinations is **far from uncommon**. Know whether or not **infinitions** make any claim on the world, for they **partake of it**. (p. 599-605)
5. Know whether or not **anthropology** also **partakes of the world**. Know whether or not the role of infinitions is to **populate** the world with entities through acts of **conceptual transformation**, but to makes claims about the world that **could be doubted**. Know whether or not the **indubitable truths** of the gods do not, logically, admit of evidence as this is **ordinarily conceived**. Know whether or not reconceptualizing anthropological analysis as reconceptualization, the author transformed ethnographic *pruebas* into anthropological ones. Know whether or not *pruebas* do not **test divination acts**, but rather **consummate them**, in the capacity of **transformations**, by **prolonging** them as such, that is, by **transforming them further**. (p. 605-607)

Material from the reading by Ige

1. Know whether or not the spiritual world of the African people is very **densely populated** with spiritual beings. Know whether or not a cult is a **system** or **community of religious worship and ritual**. Know whether or not **Africa's own people** are best to study **such people**. Know whether or not the **cult of ancestors** belong to the category of **spiritual beings** who were **once human beings**. Know whether or not a cult is an **obsessive devotion** to a person or ideal. Know whether or not one category of spiritual beings are those which were created as such, or **emated**. Know whether or not the author **discredits** the bulk of works from **foreign investigators**, even those with an **objective mind**. Know whether or not cult includes all the **acts of religion** performed by the **devotees** in honor of God, the Saints, divinities and **ancestors**. Know whether or not the cult of ancestors is one of the **essential elements** of African traditional religion. Know whether or not investigators such as **Mbiti and Dopamu** have accepted the prevailing conception of **African ancestor worship**. (p. 026-028)
2. Know whether or not the ancestors are the **deceased** who were **once members** of the social group of a clan. Know whether or not, generally, in Africa, **men** are believed to become **ancestors**. Know whether or not, in the African belief system, the family is made up **only of the living members**. Know whether or not ancestors are believed to be interested in the **welfare of their living descendants**. Know whether or not, when a woman is being given in marriage **libation is poured** to the ancestors. Know whether or not **worship** combines the act of **submission**, which shows the attitude of an **inferior** to his superior with **veneration, devotion and respect**. Know whether or not Africans **worship** their ancestors, not **venerate** them, or the **other way around**. Know whether or not, according to **Amposah**, Ghanians worship their ancestors **as Christians worship God**. Know whether or not veneration is done or given to the saints just the same as **worship to God alone**. Know whether or not veneration at times **comes close to worship**. Know whether or not worship in its **strict theological usage** suggests the acknowledgement of **God's unique excellence** and His **total dominion** over all nations express by **adoration**. Know whether or not the function of worship is in **making the sacred present** in the consciousness of the worshipper as the power responsible for **preserving their existence**. Know whether or not, according to **Amposah**, Ghanians venerate ancestors, honor them and are more involved in the **day-to-day activities** of the gods **than the people**, or the **other way around**. Know whether or not the honor and prayers said to the saints **end with them**. Know whether or not one who performs veneration sees his object of worship as an **end in itself**, not as a **means to an end**. (p. 028-029)
3. Know whether or not the **ultimate qualification** to become an ancestor is a **lived life**. Know whether or not **young boys and girls** who die can become **ancestors**. Know whether or not an ancestor must have led to

a **transparently good moral life** as dictated by the **ethical standards** of the society. Know whether or not Africans often **joke with their ancestors**. Know whether or not ancestors are believed **not to be deformed**. Know whether or not the celebration of a **second burial** by the children of the deceased is **very important**. Know whether or not death through **leprosy, epilepsy, suicide or motor accident** are considered **natural deaths**. Know whether or not, among the Yoruba and Igbo, it is believed that the death of young people may have been **caused supernaturally** as a result of some **hidden fault** of the deceased. Know whether or not there is a belief that if a living person is **not good**, his ghost can **still be good**. Know whether or not, if the second burial is not done some believe the deceased soul will remain in a **dirty place** and shall not be **properly cared for** in his new world. (p. 029-030)

Material from the reading by Lefever

1. Know whether or not **proponents of Marx** have argued that religion contributes to the development of **false consciousness** and to a spiritual and otherworldly emphasis that results in a **passive attitude** toward existing social, economic, and political realities. Know whether or not Santeria developed out of the encounter of the religious beliefs and practices of **African slaves**, the Roman **Catholic church**, and **French spiritism** as interpreted by **Allan Kardec**. Know whether or not it is important to understand the hermeneutical principle of **double-voicedness** because it has been used by the **adherents** of Santeria in their efforts to mount a **counterhegemonic challenge** to the **existing** social, economic, and political order. Know whether or not Santeria is **any longer practiced** by either Cubans or those who emigrated to the island. Know whether or not, within decades of the Spaniards' settlement of Cuba, the original inhabitants were **nearly all decimated**. (p. 318-319)
2. Know whether or not, in order to meet their labor needs (for Cuba), **Spaniards** forcefully brought **Africans** as **replacements for the Indians**. Know whether or not about **seven percent** of the total **Atlantic slave trade** was sent to Cuba. Know whether or not, according **Kardec**, spirits exist in a **hierarchy** are are constantly seeking light (**enlightenment**) from the moment they **cease being material**. Know whether or not, for the Yoruba in Africa, contact with the supernatural world was **important**, but since the high god was so **transcendent**, such contact could be made only through **divine intermediaries**. Know whether or not food offerings are eaten by the participants **before** the *orishas* have consumed the invisible *ashe* of the sacrifices. Know whether or not a **common drum rhythm and dance** is used for all the *orishas*. Know whether or not the dances for **Shango** include the shouts of a **hunter** and the actions of using of bow and arrow. Know whether or not the drum rhythms and dance postures **are not utilized** to attain a **sacred state of consciousness** but as **ends in themselves**. Know whether or not the drum and dance festivals in Santeria are known as **bembe**. Know whether or not, whether it is vegetable or animal offering, what is important is the **reciprocal nature** of the offering. (p. 319-322)
3. Know whether or not because of the **secrecy** associated with Santeria, **no one knows** with any certainty how many of the **one million Cubans** living in the United States today **practice some form of Santeria**. Know whether or not, in 1959, **Walter King** traveled to Matanzas, Cuba, where he was **initiated** as a Santeria priest. Know whether or not **Adefunmi** became active in the **black power movement** within which he promoted his interpretation of Santeria as an aspect of **black nationalism**. Know whether or not the best known Anglo American initiated into Santeria is **Judith Gleason**, an anthropologist who became attached to the religion while researching **Candomble in Brazil**. Know whether or not Santeria is **moving away** from a **mythological structure** to a belief system more in line with **current psychological knowledge** and with the **ethical principles of Christianity**. Know whether or not, in Cuba, all adherents are encouraged to undergo **full initiation**, whereas in the United States only those **whose heads had been claimed** by an *orisha* were initiated, or the **other way around**. Know whether or not, in the United States, Santeria is developing forms that have a **more universal appeal**. Know whether or not there is a **growing conservatism** within Santeria, as reflected in the importance given to **learning African languages** and interpreting the rituals in more **traditional Yoruban ways**. Know whether or not, especially in New York City and northern New Jersey, Santeria is becoming **more and more syncretized** with Puerto Rican **spiritism**. Know whether or not, with specific reference to the *orishas*, out of **sixteen recognized** in the United States, **seven are singled out** and given special attention in Cuba, or the **other way around**. (p. 322-324)
4. Know whether or not Santeria, as it was created and re-created in Cuba and the United States, can only be understood adequately within the **context of colonialism and oppression**. Know whether or not **Apter** empirically documents the **counterhegemonic nature** of Yoruba religion. Know whether or not **Gates** finds **convincing evidence** that as Echu-Elegua moved from Cuba to the United States he was transformed into

the secular myth of "**The Signifying Monkey.**" Know whether or not **Geertz** states that myths provide both a **model of reality** and a **model for reality**. Know whether or not the **deep knowledge** of the Yoruba provides a **metasocial commentary** on the everyday life of the Yoruba and on the lives of those who inherited the **Yoruba's hermeneutical legacy**. Know whether or not Santeria can be understood as a **complex system of signification**. Know whether or not, although still important in Cuba today, the beliefs and practices of Santeria have **diffused to many other countries**, including the **United States**. Know whether or not the creators, re-creators and followers of Santeria have developed a religion that **dispenses positive meaning and power** to their lives and, at the same time, makes available to them a **complex oppositional and counterhegemonic strategy**. Know whether or not Santeria can be understood as a **textual rewriting and rereading** of the **biographies**, the **histories**, and the **social contexts** of its adherents. Know whether or not, central to the perspective of Santeria adherents is the characteristic of **double-voicedness**. (p. 324-329)