



---

The Influence of Native American and African Encounters on Haitian Art

Author(s): Barbara Nesin

Source: *Journal of Haitian Studies*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (Spring 2005), pp. 73-85

Published by: [Center for Black Studies Research](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41715291>

Accessed: 13/05/2013 12:25

---

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



Center for Black Studies Research is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Journal of Haitian Studies*.

<http://www.jstor.org>

**Barbara Nesin**  
**Spelman College**

## **The Influence of Native American and African Encounters on Haitian Art**

In higher education and elsewhere, divisive polarizations between ethnically and culturally different people persist despite the efforts in academia to expand discourse in order to achieve true plurality and inclusiveness. For example, cultural and artistic expression in Haiti is commonly regarded as a strictly African-European nexus, disregarding the contributions of indigenous Americans.

Not much has changed since Jack D. Forbes wrote his book, *Africans and Native Americans: The Language of Race and Evolution of Red-Black Peoples*, over ten years ago. Forbes articulated what had become obvious, yet incredible: that writers, scientists, historians and artists have largely dismissed the multiple mixture of cultures and races that characterizes the Americas.<sup>1</sup> He encouraged further study of the confluences between African and Native people in all disciplines. Little has been done to study this subject from the discipline of the visual arts, even while art is widely celebrated as one of Haiti's most significant achievements and exports.

The visual arts mirror the past, present, and future of a society. The negation of the contributions, real and potential, of those who are simply (albeit vastly) outnumbered prevents us from knowing the whole truth about ourselves and about others. Time has shown us again and again that the human spirit persists, adapts, and survives, even through its bleakest moments and across generations, even if only in the subtlest of visible forms. In Haiti, this spirit not only survived, but its rich African heritage flourished. Sometimes art can help to uncover more truth, or at least provide a starting point from which to extend what artist Newton Harrison has called the "conversational drift" of our time.

The Native American legacy in Haitian art was largely ignored until the mid-1990s when an art exhibition—marking 500 years since the first European contact with Haiti—was presented at the Chicago Cultural Center.<sup>2</sup> That exhibit seems to have spurred other artists in Haiti and the

Haitian Diaspora to make this forgotten aspect of Haiti's history visible, though within the prevailing notion that all native people—and their cultural influence—in Haiti were “wiped out” in the 16th century, soon after the arrival of the Spaniards.

The earliest evidence of people in the Caribbean around 4,000 BCE comes from Taíno sites in Haiti, Cuba, and the Dominican Republic.<sup>3</sup> Thus, much of the scholarship in this area concerns the Taíno people, but little of that work has addressed their presence in Haiti proper. This paper will also look to common elements in the history, culture, and art of the Dominican Republic and Cuba. In addition, Haiti at one time included the eastern portion of the island of Hispaniola that it now shares with the Dominican Republic, and the eastern portion of Cuba is home to many Haitian descendants. While other nations of the Greater Antilles have also studied Taíno culture, Cuba and the Dominican Republic seem most relevant to the aim of discovering the far-reaching contributions of the relationship between African and Taíno people to Haiti and to her art.<sup>4</sup>

### **Historical Background**

Island Arawakan people, including the Taíno and Caribs, who inhabited the Caribbean at the time of European arrival in 1492, constitute part of the triad of Christian, African and Amerindian sources that provide a common basis for most Caribbean religious systems, including Haitian Vodou and the Santería of the Spanish-speaking islands. Each is widely acknowledged as a creolization of West African religions originating in the lands of Dahomey, Yoruba, and Kongo (among others) and crafted to coexist covertly alongside Christianity under the noses of the particular colonizing culture.

Questions of national identity can become all-consuming when a nation is struggling for survival. The Négritude movement generated pride in both individual and national identity; in the process, perhaps it also blotted out some of Haiti's reality. In 1921, Leon Damas, the leader of the French Négritude movement, warned that this expression of Black pride “is a means and not an end.”<sup>5</sup> Yet, for 400 years, schools have failed to teach the indigenous history, deeming it unimportant for national identity. Peter J. Ferbel states that “...admission of the survival of the Taíno is a critique of the state control of history and national identity.”<sup>6</sup>

The importance and beauty of the many African elements in the Americas, and more recently, inquiry into Northern Native American culture, are finally receiving the scholarly and popular interest they deserve, at least in pockets of the Americas. Yet much remains unknown about the relationship between Native Americans and Africans, and even less about those interactions in the Caribbean region.

We continue to rely largely on the 16th century reports, including a study of Taíno religion commissioned by Columbus.<sup>7</sup> Documentation of the early history of the Caribbean is fraught with intentional misrepresentation and less obvious cultural biases that distort reality, as is often true when the dominant culture writes about the “other.” All that is written warrants our scrutiny and openness to hidden truths. The scarcity of information may also be due to the fact that most professional archaeologists and anthropologists have simply neglected the Caribbean for the larger archaeological sites of Meso America and South America.<sup>8</sup> Some believe there may have been earlier African contact with the Caribbean before Columbus’ arrival.<sup>9</sup> The Antilles were probably peopled by migrations from various parts of Meso and South America, homes of the great civilizations of the Incas, Mayans and Aztecs. Their progeny were the first “discoverers” of the Antilles.

“Taíno: Pre-Columbian Art and Culture from the Caribbean,” an exhibition at El Museo del Barrio in 1997, displayed over 120 Taíno objects, four of which were from the region that is present-day Haiti; the majority of the pieces (over 70) came from the Dominican Republic. The essays accompanying the exhibition catalogue provide an enlightened view of the sophistication of the Taíno people who, among other things, were skilled maritime navigators and organized into an advanced system of government that included the support of its artists.<sup>10</sup>

The first European account of the arrival of Africans in the Antilles in 1503 is generally understood in terms of replacing the dying Taíno labor force. Many neighboring islands were also raided to supplement the labor force in Hispaniola. Prior to 1530, the number of Native American slaves brought in exceeded the number of Africans. Apparently, this practice persisted: records show that as late as the 1720s, many Natchez people were sent as slaves to Haiti.<sup>11</sup> There are those who claim that small communities of “Indians” remain on Hispaniola and Cuba today, that they were not completely exterminated. “It is true, that by the end of the sixteenth century, the Antillean Arawak had ceased to exist as a *sociocultural entity*. Nevertheless, Arawak tribe transfigurations and codes persist in present day culture as important traits. Most of the tangible emblems have been ‘lost’ or ‘creolized,’ and much is tied to African and European culture, but many salient themes constitute a Carib-Indian identity.”<sup>12</sup>

In Haiti, most people do not know much, if anything, about this heritage. Even if there were not living evidence of the survival of native people,

The definition of a group’s ethnicity is not a simple and static measure of blood quanta; or a catalog of cultural traits, but rather involves the interrelation of collective

thoughts, emotions and shared experiences, which are constantly changing through time and space.<sup>13</sup>

Forbes describes the following evolution in the Americas: "...the initial slave-population was [Native] American. In the second stage, it became African and [Native] American. In the third stage, it became increasingly Africanized in certain regions [especially in plantation areas such as Cuba and Haiti]... As time went by, the initial African and [Native] American nature of the slave population became obscured by Africanization..." Forbes challenges us to "replace the shallow, one dimensional image of non-whites with more accurate multi-dimensional portraits."<sup>14</sup>

Cuban art historian Yolanda Wood also emphasizes that "the Caribbean essence is diversity; it cannot be defined in terms of any single culture."<sup>15</sup> Haitian Vodou is not the same as African Vodun, nor are the Yoruba elements "pure" in Santería, although many aspects are recognizable. The added non-African elements are not only Christian ones. Furthermore, these religious elements are pervasive in the art of the Caribbean whether the artist is a "believer" or not.

Wood goes on to assert that Africa [alone] cannot be the form for Caribbean art, because slaves were immediately put to work in tandem with a concerted process of de-culturation on the plantations. Stripped of their own culture, and thrown together with Africans from different nations with different languages, religion and cultures, slaves had to fashion a new culture of their own. Very little painting and sculpture produced in the Caribbean prior to the 20th century has been found, so it appears that ritual music, dance, storytelling and decorative forms were the core of artistic production for a long time.<sup>16</sup> However, LeGrace Benson points out that both before and after Haiti declared its independence in 1804, elite Haitians educated in European schools produced paintings and other art in the style of the French academy that were ignored by the world art market; during slavery, Haitians were producing art that included stitchery, blacksmithing, and "preciously-guarded *Qu'rans* and amulets," the latter suggesting the incorporation of African Muslim elements in addition to motifs from African religions.<sup>17</sup>

Cuban historian Leyda Barrios states, "We must study the maroons to understand America."<sup>18</sup> Bands of *palenques* (communities of runaway slaves later known as *marrons* in the French period of the colony) flourished according to several sources who believed that many Taíno and Caribs actually escaped to the mountains. The land mass of Hispaniola is two-thirds mountains, making ideal hiding places for those who knew the terrain.<sup>19</sup> While Indians and Africans encountering each other for the first

time probably did not form immediate alliances (they were purposely kept separate to prevent just that possibility), they did have much in common: significant aspects of their belief systems and colonial oppression.

Forbes estimates that 2000-5000 "Spaniards" living on Hispaniola in the 1560's were mostly mixed bloods, who also came into frequent contact with incoming Africans.<sup>20</sup> It is estimated that at the time of the Haitian revolution, begun in 1793, there were bands of maroons numbering as many as 1500-2000 living in the mountains of Haiti.<sup>21</sup> Thus, although the colonists "hastened the decline of the Taínos, the seeds of survival and revival were sown."<sup>22</sup>

As late as 1804, the year of Haiti's independence, a census of Saint Domingue, as it was called by the French, revealed some 300 known Indians.<sup>23</sup> How many more were still living hidden in the mountains, or how many had intermarried, we will never know. Is it any wonder that when the former slaves won their independence from France in 1804, they named their new nation after the Arawak word *ayti*, meaning "mountainous land"? Why would Africans take an Arawak name for their victorious new nation if Arawak-speaking people were unknown or unimportant to them?

### **Parallels between Amerindian and African Forms & Beliefs**

Since the prevalence of many Christian forms syncretized with the African as the basis of Caribbean religions has been very well documented in the work of Robert Farris Thompson<sup>24</sup> and others, these comments are limited to some of the parallels that suggest Native American connections.

As the major indigenous group in the Caribbean, the Taíno were evolving toward full civilization on Hispaniola and Cuba at the time of the arrival of Europeans.<sup>25</sup> Parallel to a complex social hierarchy was a supernatural one of nature spirits, a pantheon of deities worshipped in the form of zemi figures related to their most important food, cassava (comparable to the importance of corn in mainland societies). The term *arawak* derived from *aru*, a Locono (mainland Arawak) term for "cassava," or possibly *arau*, Locono for "jaguar," which are believed to have important spiritual powers in Mayan as well as African belief.

Carved stone zemi figures and ceremonial *duhos* (stools) are the only indigenous art to survive the period of Spanish control. Deeming the religion of the Taínos to be pagan and repulsive, the Spaniards destroyed any object used for Taíno religious practice. But Spanish journal entries provide some descriptions. Red was a favorite color, and Taínos often painted themselves for ceremonies. Red was also a powerful color for Africans for whom it (still) signifies *ashe*, the power to make things happen. Many artifacts were

decorated with figures of zemis, and Taínos also carved or painted outlines of nature spirits in places where they believed them to live, especially in caves and on rocks along streams or coasts. Taínos believed that they came from caves in a sacred mountain on Hispaniola.

Taíno religion, like African religion, was integrated with Taíno art, not only plastic or visual, but also music, dance and literature.<sup>26</sup> The most important parallels are the belief in a deity as a first source and ancestral worship. Both Taínos and Caribs believed the dead returned to the waters of the Orinoco country (present day Venezuela). Orinocan water spirits, or mermaids called *orehu*, drag men to the depths of their aquatic haunts, reminiscent of the Haitian Lwa, La Sirène. According to Maya Deren, Vodou's language for communicating with gods includes words used by Arawak priests when possessed with spirits.<sup>27</sup>

*Caciques*, Taíno chief/priests, each kept a zemi in a separate house or room, just as Haitian *houngan* (priests) keep religious objects in a kind of temple called a *hounfò*. Zemis were receptacles of the spirits of the ancestors or nature spirits, like the Lwa of Vodou. Zemis had powers of fertility, rainfall and childbirth, like the Haitian Lwa, Marasa.<sup>28</sup> There is a record of finding a zemi made from rhinoceros horn, which could only have come from Africa.<sup>29</sup> A stolen zemi left a person transformed into a zombie: a body without a soul, comparable to the living dead of the Caribs, which walked about at night.

The Dahomean serpent deity Damballa also had a parallel in Amerindian belief. The first Carib came from a serpent, and was associated with a rainbow, the same symbol used for Ayida, the female counterpart of Damballa in Vodou. It appears in Haiti as a metaphor for order, combining male and female aspects, aggression and compassion.<sup>30</sup>

Kongo tradition may have provided the inspiration for ground signatures of deities, called *vèvè* in Haiti, which correlate to *nsbidi*, the ideographic writing of the Ejagham people. However, *vèvè* also correlate to the deity designs made by the Aztecs by dropping flour or ash.<sup>31</sup>

Another parallel evident in African and Taíno symbolism are the dog images. A large, cadaverous stone face of a dog found in northwest Haiti is believed to represent the Taíno dog-god, Opigielgourian, who was believed to watch over the spirits of the dead on a remote island called Coaybay, ruled by the Lord of the Land of the Dead.<sup>32</sup> In Haiti, this is the role of Baron Samedi. The Bakongo people of Africa also believed that "between the village of the living and the village of the dead, there is a village of the dogs," which was invoked by Kongo masters to see beyond our world. So Kongo minkisi (singular nkisi) charms, usually contained in clay pots but

sometimes in rough hewn fibers, often included the shape of a dog to serve as seers. In Haiti, these became *pakèt kongo*, more elegantly wrapped in silk ribbons and adorned with sequins and beads, and sometimes metallic cloth and plumes.<sup>33</sup>

A 1987 novel by Haitian writer Jean-Claude Fignolé, based on stories told to him by inhabitants of an isolated rural village in southwestern Haiti, tells of the Lwa Simbi, the spirit of fresh water, rain and magic. Simbi acts as a mediating presence at the crossroads not just among the African spiritual nations present in Haitian vodou, but also between African and indigenous culture. Kitzie McKinney points out that, in the story, the authorities arbitrarily eliminated from their text all that eluded their rational understanding.<sup>34</sup>

In the *Sacred Arts of Haitian Vodou* catalogue, Rachel Beauvoir Dominique cites several Taíno sources for Vodou practice: the Taíno name Bayakou retained for the planet Venus, the development of burnt sticks weaponry used in the Haitian revolt, and the basis for Rara ceremonial dances. In fact, she credits the deity Loko, the leaf healer, with preserving and passing on the wisdom of the massacred peoples. Secret Bizango rites also keep alive the history of the intermingling of Africans and Native Americans in Haiti.<sup>35</sup>

Another striking connection is the Haitian Lwa “Cinq Jours Malheureux,” (“Five Unlucky Days”) referring to five “nameless” days that are the last days of the year left over from the difference between the lunar and solar calendars of the Mayans and Aztecs. Such calendarian concerns are not typical of African cultures.<sup>36</sup> Yolanda Wood also spoke of a Taíno vessel found in Cuba containing an Arawakan calendar with four of the five days of the Mayan calendar. Occurring at the end of the 365-day cycle, these “nameless” days are considered to be especially dangerous, because “the gods might choose that moment to end life on earth.”<sup>37</sup> The “un-Africanness” of this whole concept seems too strong a case for establishing important interaction between Native Americans and Africans in the Caribbean to be dismissed.

Dacey Taylor, Marco Biscione and Peter G. Roe describe some of the characteristic visual elements of Taíno art: positive/negative designs, split representation, rotation, inversion, pairing reflection and transformation, and the relentless recycling of energy. Dualism, they say, is a “quintessentially Amerindian concept,” but is equally prevalent in the symmetrically painted sculptures from West (Yoruba) and Central (Kongo and Bena Lulua) Africa. Taíno art favors bright, reflective surfaces; so does African art.<sup>38</sup> It is not a case of Africans borrowing Taíno forms as much as of finding numerous



parallels between the two cultures, which could certainly have facilitated communication and the exchange of ideas and information.

### **Taíno Elements in Modern & Contemporary Visual Art**

...the native intellectual who wishes to create an authentic work of art must realize that the truths of a nation are in the first place its realities. —Frantz Fanon<sup>39</sup>

Up until the last fifty-five years, Haitian artists produced a nationalistic art that selectively edited out images of anything that did not support the chosen viewpoint. The first half of twentieth-century Haitian art abounds with historical paintings of the revolution and its heroes, but not until the 1995 exhibition, *Haiti: 500 Years*, have Haitian artists displayed so many images of the indigenous peoples or the whole era of colonization.

What has been called the “magico-religious” nature of Caribbean art may be the real key to the popularity of “naive” Haitian art promoted since the 1940’s through the Centre d’Art in Port-au-Prince.<sup>40</sup> Virtually all these-artists drew upon Vodou themes. Their mystical visions had much in common with principles of the Surrealist movement, which has lived on as a dynamic force in the Caribbean long after it died in Europe.

Hector Hippolyte is perhaps the most legendary “Haitian master” from the early days of the Centre d’Art, thanks to André Breton, a founder of Surrealism, who wrote about him, bought his work, and exhibited his paintings in Europe with great success. In “En Avan, En Avan,” we see the aforementioned zombies, whose native origins Hippolyte himself may have never known.

Georges LaRatte’s modernist interpretation of a zemi is made of stone. He began working in stone after a dream in which a voice commanded him to pick up rocks along the riverbeds and seashore and free the spirits —perhaps Taíno?—imprisoned in them.<sup>41</sup>

Of artists working in Haiti today, some of the most interesting are those who began as members of the community known as “Saint Soleil,” established by Tiga Garoute in the 1970s. High in the mountains outside the capital, these artists work in the political tradition—though not the style—of Mexican muralists with a social mission of reconciliation in the community.<sup>42</sup> Prospère Pierre-Louis and Louisianne Saint-Fleurant were among this group who developed “a recognizable idiom, characterized by intricately patterned psychedelic colours and two-dimensional, frontal compositions defined by heavy black outlines,” while Saint-Fleurant’s son, Stevenson Magloire, expanded upon that idiom to incorporate Haiti’s modern realities.<sup>43</sup>

Emilcar Similien (often know as “Simil”) is one of the growing number of Haiti’s professionally trained artists whose work gives visual form to the Taíno heritage of Haiti. Simil’s “School of Beauty” style is academic and his themes wholly Haitian, though from a highly idealized point of view. Notwithstanding acquired knowledge of European formalist concerns, it is a Haitian tradition and the foundation of Caribbean art, to go against the grain of official values, reinserting the culture and context of the people, liberating the original form.<sup>44</sup> Yolanda Wood believes that painting is the most coherent art form for a search for Caribbean cultural identity, especially in the last twenty years, because of its profound nature that is trans-cultural.

The work of Edouard Duval-Carrié and Jean-Paul Gardère, two contemporary Haitian artists living in the United States, begins to achieve some of this trans-cultural quality. While both received formal training, their work reflects a reverence for the forms and cosmology painted by artists like Hector Hippolyte,<sup>45</sup> occasionally portraying elements from Haiti’s indigenous past. Some of their work dares to present pointed, politicized viewpoints about current events in Haiti, in a wry sort of way. This wryness is noteworthy given that many commercial Haitian art galleries and collectors state a preference for colorful “naive” imagery to anything politically “serious.”<sup>46</sup>

## **Conclusion**

“Nobody can say he has all of the truth...”<sup>47</sup> The material considered here does not constitute conclusive evidence, but it may provide some reasonable ideas for some new inferences that dispel the entrenched “extermination” myth, or at least suggest some new insights for consideration. Because all myths live as long as they serve a purpose for someone, one has to wonder what purpose is served by resisting new information that expands Haitian self-image and worldview.

Even without the strong case made by Forbes, the art we are seeing today from the Caribbean as a whole, and increasingly from Haiti, is replete with images that are consistent with the parallelisms between Amerindian and African belief systems. There is enough common ground to have been the basis for cultural exchange in the maroon communities prevalent, though heretofore underestimated, in the colonial era. As Forbes points out,

... [Native] American survivors and African survivors merged together to create the basic modern populations of much of the greater Caribbean and adjacent mainland regions...produc(ing) tens of millions of “cosmic” persons

who have become the dominant population in many regions of the Americas ...It is sad that many persons have been forced by racism into arbitrary categories which tend to render their ethnic heritage simple rather than complex.<sup>48</sup>

If we accept that one role of art is to mediate between artist and community, and that at the root of Haitian culture and its art is Haitian religion, then it becomes clear that Haitian artists are doing more than merely appropriating ethnographic elements. Haitian art can be a force for recovery, “a means to defend the collective values, a touchstone of art and life, and often of a[n] ...identity,”<sup>49</sup> one that Chicano artist Guillermo Gomez-Peña has rightly claimed as a “borderless” identity.<sup>50</sup>

Overtly, at least, it seems that few Haitian artists today can shed much light on the Native American aspects of their work. But if we look closely at the work, and place it in its true cultural context, we can find those elements, uniquely blended with the other more dominant cultures of New World society. New work by new or established artists may also emerge, casting new light on that which has been invisible for so long.

Many scholars agree that there is much we still do not know or understand about the significance and impact of African and Native American contact in Haiti. There is work yet to be done to understand the full breadth of the underlying influences on Haitian art and culture. Doing so portends potentially far-reaching benefits. Maybe if a people as diverse as those of Haitian heritage can fully accept their whole heritage, rather than selecting some aspects and rejecting others, common ground can be found that transcends differences. Haitians might set an example for what André Breton told Haitian poets in 1930: that they didn’t yet understand “what a force they could be, all united.”<sup>51</sup>

Whatever else colonialism achieved or destroyed, in Haiti we have a microcosm of the cultural complexity of today’s world. Notions of a simple black/white nexus, racial purity, or any ethnocentrism becomes absurd, because, in fact, all of the Americas is a glorious post-colonial métissage that offers the possibility of drawing upon the strengths of our diversity. Artists have the opportunity to show us how it might look to live the Haitian motto, “l’union fait la force.”



*From the collection of the author.*

**Notes**

- <sup>1</sup> Jack D. Forbes, *Africans and Native Americans: The Language of Race and Evolution of Red-Black Peoples*, second edition (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1993)
- <sup>2</sup> Jean-Marie Drot, editor and curator, *An Encounter between Two Worlds as Seen by Haiti's Artists* (Paris: Fondation Afrique en créations, 1995).
- <sup>3</sup> Samuel M. Wilson in Fatima Bercht, Estrella Brodsky, John Alan Farmer, and Dicey Taylor, eds. *Taino: Pre-Columbian Art and Culture from the Caribbean* (New York: The Monacelli Press, Inc. and El Museo del Barrio, 1997): 15.
- <sup>4</sup> Much has been done to reclaim Taíno culture in Puerto Rico as a matter of national identity. Of the images of Pre-Columbian art in the "Taíno" exhibit at El Museo del Barrio, 25 were from Puerto Rico.
- <sup>5</sup> J. Eugene Grigsby, Jr., *Art and Ethnics: Background for Teaching Youth in a Pluralistic Society* (Dubuque, Iowa: William C. Brown Company Publishers, 1977): 101.
- <sup>6</sup> Peter J. Ferbel and John M. Weeks, *Ancient Caribbean* (New York and London: Garland Publishing Inc., 1998).
- <sup>7</sup> Irving Rouse, *The Tainos: Rise and Decline of the People who Greeted Columbus* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992): 13, 139.
- <sup>8</sup> Ferbel and Weeks, *Ancient Caribbean*: xxxiv.
- <sup>9</sup> Forbes, *Red-Black Peoples*: 14
- <sup>10</sup> Fatima Bercht, Estrella Brodsky, John Alan Farmer, and Dicey Taylor, eds. *Taino: Pre-Columbian Art and Culture from the Caribbean* (New York: The Monacelli Press, Inc. and El Museo del Barrio, 1997).

- <sup>11</sup> Forbes, *Red-Black Peoples*: 54.
- <sup>12</sup> Lee Drummond, "Arawak" in *Encyclopedia of Indians of the Americas*, Vol. 2 (St. Clair Shores, Michigan: Scholarly Press, Inc., 1974): 222.
- <sup>13</sup> Ferbel and Weeks, *Ancient Caribbean*: xxvii. See also: Rachel Beauvoir-Dominique, "Underground Realms of Being: Vodou Magic," in Donald J. Consentino, ed., *Sacred Arts of Haitian Vodou*. (Los Angeles, UCLA Fowler Museum of Cultural History, 1995) 157-158.
- <sup>14</sup> Forbes: 62.
- <sup>15</sup> Yolanda Wood, "Transculturación y religiosidad en las artes visuales del Caribe," Havana, Cuba: Presentation at Casa de las Americas, August 1995.
- <sup>16</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>17</sup> LeGrace Benson, "The Art of Haiti in Haiti, in Diaspora and in the International Art Market." Presentation at the Latin American Studies Association, Guadalajara, Mexico, 1997.
- <sup>18</sup> Leyda Oguendo Barrios, "Omi Tutu: agua fresca," Havana, Cuba: Presentation at Casa de las Americas, August 1995). See also Sidney E. Mintz and Richard Price, *An Anthropological Approach to the Afro-American Past: A Caribbean Perspective* (Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1976): 15.
- <sup>19</sup> Rouse, *The Tainos*: 155.
- <sup>20</sup> Forbes, *Red-Black Peoples*: 61.
- <sup>21</sup> Nancy Gordon Heintz and Robert Debs Heintz, *Written in Blood: The Story of the Haitian People 1492-1971* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1978): 28.
- <sup>22</sup> Rouse, *The Tainos*: 165.
- <sup>23</sup> Ute Stebich, *Haitian Art* (New York: The Brooklyn Museum, 1978): 13.
- <sup>24</sup> Robert Farris Thompson, *Flash of the Spirit: African and Afro-American Art & Philosophy* (NY: Vintage Books, 1983).
- <sup>25</sup> Rouse, *The Tainos*: 19.
- <sup>26</sup> Fernando Ortiz, a Cuban anthropologist, has studied identifiable Native American and African elements in Cuban music. See, for example, "La música y los areíto de los indios de Cuba," *Revista de Arqueología y Etnología. La Habana*, vol. 3 (1948): 115-189.
- <sup>27</sup> Maya Deren, *Divine Horsemen: The Living Gods of Haiti* (New York: McPherson & Co., 1953): 274-75, 284. Deren was one of the first to point out examples of African and Native American convergences.
- <sup>28</sup> Ibid., 279.
- <sup>29</sup> Rouse: 159.
- <sup>30</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>31</sup> Thompson: 164.
- <sup>32</sup> Rouse, *The Tainos*: 119 and Mary Ellen Miller, *The Art of Mesoamerica from Olmec to Aztec* (New York: Thames and Hudson Inc., 1986): 31-40.
- <sup>33</sup> Thompson, *Flash of the Spirit*: 117, 125.

- <sup>34</sup>Kitzie McKinney, "Simbi between Two Waters: Figuring and Transfiguring Spirit in Jean-Claude Figolé's 'Les possédés de la pleine lune,'" Presentation at Casa de las Americas, Havana, Cuba, 1995.
- <sup>35</sup>Beauvoir-Dominique, "Underground Realms of Being": 156-158.
- <sup>36</sup>Interview with Hippolyte Brice Sogbossi, a linguist doing doctoral work in Havana, Cuba, August, 1995. Also confirmed in conversations with dele jegede, Ph.D. and professor of African and African-American art history at Indiana State University, Terre Haute, Indiana.
- <sup>37</sup>Miller, *Art of Mesoamerica*: 40.
- <sup>38</sup>Dacey Taylor, Marco Biscione and Peter G. Roe in Bercht, Brodsky, Farmer, Taylor, eds. *Taino: Pre-Columbian Art and Culture from the Caribbean* (NY: Monacelli, 1998) 164-166.
- <sup>39</sup>Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York: Grove Press, 1968): 225.
- <sup>40</sup>Stebich, *Haitian Art*: 38.
- <sup>41</sup>*Ibid.*, 13.
- <sup>42</sup>Alan W. Barnett, "Report from Haiti: Revolution on the Walls," *Art International*, (May/June 1982): 67.
- <sup>43</sup>Veerle Poupeye, *Caribbean Art* (NY: Thames and Hudson, 1998): 88-89.
- <sup>44</sup>Drot, *An Encounter*: 195.
- <sup>45</sup>Karen McCarthy Brown, *Tracing the Spirit: Ethnographic Essays on Haitian Art* (Davenport, Iowa: Davenport Museum of Art, 1995).
- <sup>46</sup>Duval-Carrie and others have been successful with exhibitions in non-Haitian, contemporary art galleries and museums outside Haiti.
- <sup>47</sup>Alice L. Hageman and Philip E. Wheaton, eds. *Religion in Cuba Today: A New Church in a New Society* (New York: Association Press, 1971): 139.
- <sup>48</sup>Forbes, *Red-Black Peoples*: 264, 270-271.
- <sup>49</sup>Ivonne Muniz, "Complejos Religiosos Afrocubanos y su Appropriacion en Creadores Cubanos Contemporaneos," Havana, Cuba: Presentation at Casa de Las Americas, August, 1995.
- <sup>50</sup>Guillermo Gomez-Peña, *The New World Border: Prophecies, Poems and Loqueras for the End of the Century* (San Francisco: City Lights, 1996).
- <sup>51</sup>André Breton, *What is Surrealism? Selected Writings* (NY: Pathfinder Press, 1978).