

Mycorrhizal Universes

*// Marronage, Memory, and
Architectures at El Cedro*

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394-01: Marronage | Professor Walter D.
Greason | 04 May 2023



"Mycorrhizal Universes" (Linocut on Kozo) | B.P. Levy | A/P. | 2023

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INTRODUCTION

“There were more than thirty shanties, each containing a runaway and his wife. The captain in charge was named Manuel Matoso and his deputy was Lorenzo... there was a council building where the runaways often met. She did not know what they used to talk about in there, for the women did not go in there... They staved off hunger by working on their estancias, sowing all kinds of victuals to feed themselves, catching jutías and wild boars...”

// Josesfa Rita Bibí, a (formerly/) enslaved person who lived in the palenque El Cedro

A Framing, from Josefa Rita Bibí

I began this multi-modal essay with the voice, the memory, of Josefa Rita Bibí, a (formerly/) enslaved person who reside(s/d) in El Cedro, a *palenque* (maroon community) to the west of Santiago de Cuba in the early 19-nineteenth century. This conversation must begin, and continue in a way that, affirms and prioritizes the humanity of those who exist(ed) within dominated and commodified social bodies. Bibí's voice offers us poignant insight into the spatiopolitical organization of El Cedro, noting both the relationships of domination and subjugation were reproduced—namely patriarchal structurings of power that concentrated leadership within those socialized as men—within it *and* the possibilities of an otherwise—a community that rejected the realities of enslavement and commodification that defined the landscapes that the inhabitants of this palenque marooned themselves from—that exist(/ed) materially through El Cedro.

Point of Departure

In this multimodal essay, I will develop a theory framework of (landscape) mycorrhizal architectures, an *otherwise way of doing space*, in order to analyze the relationships between memory and maroon architectures present at El Cedro in order to understand, fully, the ways in which they challenge the layered domination of economies of enslavement. In order to do this, I shall draw upon a rich array of sociospatial—including architectural theory and history—literature in order to build my notion of mycorrhizal architectures in relation to relevant, existing theories/frameworks. I shall then turn, specifically, to the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Cuban context to unpack the ways in which Black bodies were commodified, and how (formerly/) enslaved peoples engaged in resistance through the formation of palenques, as understood through the notion of mycorrhizal architectures: laying the groundwork for, and teaching us of the possibility of, *mycorrhizal universes*.

On Archival Fragments & Silences

Marisa J. Fuentes, in her work *Dispossessed Lives: Enslaved Women, Violence, and the Archive*, draws attention to the archival violence undertaken by enslavers and imperial powers; the violence of the (attempted) intentional destruction of the humanity of enslaved peoples within dominant archives—which are, unfortunately, often the only things that are readily accessible when one seeks to do research on maroon communities. This holds true with this work. While I had initially hoped to thoroughly analyze memory and architecture in relation to one another and, from that, develop the idea of a mycorrhizal architecture, the archival silences were too substantial (given the time I have to work on this): there were very few records of the built environment within these communities. As such, I have worked with the archival fragments that I do have, and read into the silences when I have been able to, in order to piece together an analysis of memories and architectures at El Cedro—using an interpretive framework that I will develop first.



PART I

Subterranean Spatialities: The Undercommons

The “Undercommons,” as negotiated by Fred Moten and Stefano Harney their eponymous groundbreaking anthology, represents an everpresent, yet never visible, “downlow low-down” space in which “the work gets done, where the work gets subverted, where the revolution is still [B]lack, still strong,” the space in which life is “stolen back.” Moten, here, indubitably speaks of spaces akin to maroon communities: the spatialized resistance to commodifying forces that (re)affirm and (re)assert humanity; the spatialized resistance that destroys relationships of domination and subjugation and restores life to be defined on the terms of oneself and one’s people.

Subterranean Spatialities: The Undercommons [cont.]

As he builds his notion of the undercommons within “The University and the Undercommons,” Moten’s repeated assertion of the “underground” in relation to the undercommons holds significant possibilities for considerations of what this fugitive space—everpresent (central) yet never present (peripheral/marginal)—may look like, of how it may be built. It is in this vein that I consider the Undercommons in relation to subterranean organizing, subterranean ways of doing space.

Subterranean Spatialities: From Rhizomes to Mycorrhizae

In the introduction to their 1980 work *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari introduce the concept of the rhizome. As they describe it, a rhizome is the multiplicity of realities that are inextricably intertwined within one another, multiplicities that “are made, not by always adding a higher dimension, but...with the number of dimensions one already has available,” or, “ $n - 1$.”

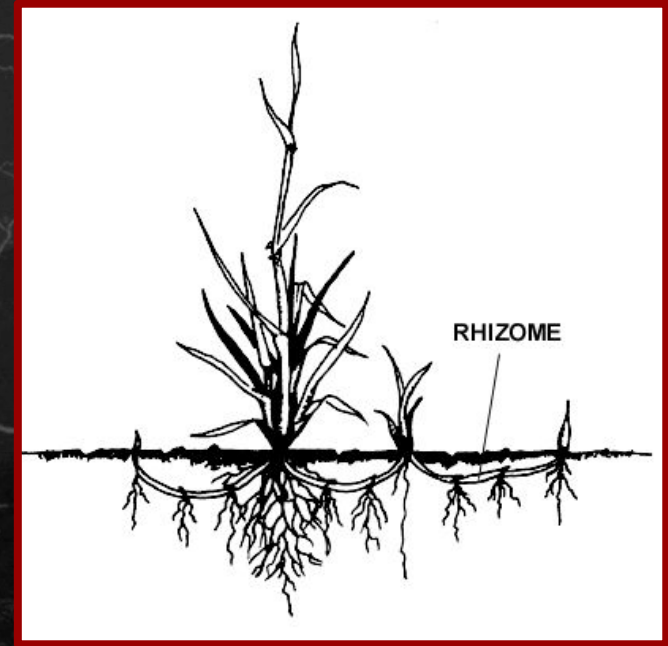


Figure 1: Rhizomes

Retrieved from: [AlternateRoots → Rhizomes](#)

Subterranean Spatialities: From Rhizomes to Mycorrhizae [cont.]

If a rhizome is to be everything existing alongside itself, then rhizomes themselves demand that any of their nodes be able to connect to any other—regardless of spatiotemporal location—and is in the constant process of (re &/ dis)connecting. This rather nebulous concept, in refutation of the trees' hierarchical organizational template (which Deleuze and Guattari discuss at fairly great length), can be understood as an anti-colonial organizing principle that allows one to (re)imagine ways in which knowledges can be arranged throughout spacetime in non-linear fashions wherein connections can be made between any of the nodes of the rhizomatic network.

Subterranean Spatialities: From Rhizomes to Mycorrhizae [cont.]

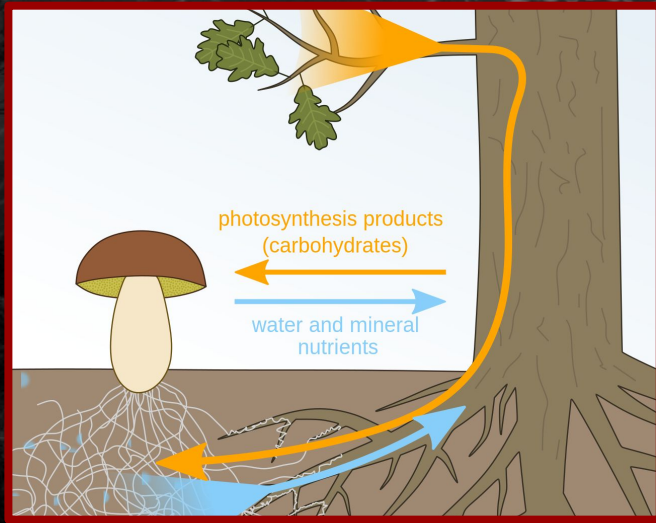


Figure 2: Mycorrhizal Relationship Between Fungus and Tree

Retrieved from: [Mycorrhiza \(Wikipedia\)](#)

These points of connection amongst, in particular, stand out to be as being particularly important as one considers multiplicitous histories of marronage (and their relationships to memory and architectures). In relation to their notion of a rhizome, I consider the spatioepistemic potential of *mycorrhizae*. Angela M. O’Callaghan, a horticulturalist at the University of Nevada, Reno, notes that mycorrhizae are the “associations” between root systems and various fungi.

Subterranean Spatialities: From Rhizomes to Mycorrhizae [cont.]

Crucially, these relationships between the roots and fungi are symbiotic, offering the fungi an opportunity to produce hyphae (nutrient carrying filaments) and allowing the plants to augment their root networks so that they may survive in perilous environments more easily. If rhizomes are non-hierarchical modes of subterranean organizing that allow knowledges to be structured in ways that prevent certain pieces thereof from being prioritized over others, then mycorrhizal networks are ones that build upon rhizomes with a particular emphasis on relationships that sustain all of the entities, or nodes, present in these more expansive bodies. Placing this in conversation with Moten and Harney's Undercommons allows one to conceive of it as a mycorrhizal network: symbiotic, reciprocal, relationships (both to people and space) undergird its construction, and from this base, life is sustained *in spite of* that which aims to destroy it.

“The extensive reshaping of what lies beneath our feet—sidewalks, streets, and building foundations—that modernity demands from urbanism is related not only to rational engineering but to speculation, image, the collapse of great distances, and the suppression—the literal burying—of maintenance.”

// V. Mitch McEwen, Professor of Architecture and African-American Studies, Princeton University



Theorizing (Landscape) Mycorrhizal Architectures

V. Mitch McEwen, whose words opened this section on the previous slide, reminds us of the ways in which the built environment, as they analyze Mexico City in 2017, is all too often designed in order to prioritize the senseless accretion of all forms of capital—what George Lipsitz terms the “white spatial imaginary”—at the expense of those within socially dominated bodies. Holding the possibilities of mycorrhizal spatialities I unpacked in the previous section in mind, I will synthesize literature on ecological architecture (Steele, Washington), participatory design (Fathy, Leo), and memory (Barton, Isoke, Morrison) in order to develop an interpretive framework of mycorrhizal architecture.

Component 1: A Refutation of Conventional Ecological Architectures

Green and sustainable architectures—which are largely one and the same, differentiated by their use in public and institutional spaces, respectively—encompass elements of the built environment that are designed to minimize the harm that is done to the surrounding, non-built, environment. Emerging in relation to, yet distinct from, these practices, biophilic design emphasizes the incorporation of environmental features (i.e.; light, open courtyards with trees, etc.) into the built environment. Perhaps these practices, as they are theorized, could be essential components of a mycorrhizal architecture, but, in effect, they are often no more than adjustments that are made to an existing architectural practice—a retro-fitting, of sorts—to ‘improve’ the way in which it exists in relation to the land and people. Mycorrhizal architecture necessitates design practices that are rooted in creating alongside people and the space they live within and through... *so what is needed for that?*

Component 2: Participatory Design

The collected works of Hassan Fathy, a 20th century Egyptian architect, emphasized “cooperative building” in order to construct the built environment in ways that challenged the “systematic abandonment” (to borrow language from Ruth Wilson Gilmore) of those within socially dominated bodies; while also drawing upon place-based design practices to build with the environment, rather than without regard for it. The foundational premise of his work can be seen, broadly, within the field of participatory design. Sloan Leo, a New York-based designer, lays out five key principles for participatory design: “design with people... build on existing assets... hold a facilitator mindset... aim for engagement... [and] design-infused process.” The first four of these principles, along with Fathy’s overarching works, form the foundation for this component of mycorrhizal architectures: if the built environment is to be in symbiotic relation with those who live within and sustain it, it must be built alongside them and the space within which they live; it must be built to shift as they need it to shift.

Component 3: Spatialized Memory

Through a brief analysis of Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man*, Craig Evan Barton discusses relationships between visibilities, architecture, and memory within the context of the U.S. South. Barton, in agreement with Ellison, notes that an ability to “render” visibility is reflective of, and deeply ingrained within, racialized power structurings, drawing upon both the plantation owned by Thomas Jefferson, Monticello, and its intentionally designed landscape, viewed from various windows, to emphasize the ways in which Black bodies, and their commodification, are rendered invisible through the spatialization of white supremacy.

Component 3: Spatialized Memory [cont.]

Sitting with Barton's reflections on how race is (in)visibly spatialized and the power that exists within it, I once again consider Moten's "The University and the Undercommons," particularly as he unpacks relationships between being and fugitivity; in which he unpacks the ways in which socially dominated bodies—whose space is the Undercommons and whose collective, and relational, being constitutes it—engage in theft against the university and produce knowledges in defiance thereof. Moten's frame of the Undercommons illuminates the harm of forced visibility—or visibility that is imposed by either socially or positionally dominant bodies—and the benefit of creating an invisibility, or fugitivity, that allows a project to continue. This power, created through and with this fugitive invisibility—in defiance of forced visibility—allows for the construction of a collective memory, once more in line with Barton's notion of place and memory.

Component 3: Spatialized Memory [cont.]

The archival absences, noted at the beginning of this essay, are indicative of the success and sustenance of their marronage, for if there were buildings to be present—the maroon communities would not be as such. They were, and are, to be known by those who they make themselves known to. Zenzele Isoke’s words— “the [B]lack archive exists in the deep waters of memory”—ring true here; and the deep water is the space in which these architectures still exist. Yet, as Toni Morrison reminds us that “all water has a perfect memory and is forever trying to get back to where it was,” we must consider the relationships between memory and mycorrhizal architectures to move in both ways: architecture holds memory and memory holds architecture. Fugitive architectures render themselves invisible as they exist through, and within, memory.



Portrait of Toni Morrison, Dr. Nettrice Gaskins

The Framework

Holding together the three central components of mycorrhizal architectures I have outlined above alongside one another, I draw together the following framework—or working definition of—mycorrhizal architecture I shall use to frame my analysis of memory and architectures at El Cedro in Part II of this essay:

Mycorrhizal architectures are fugitive architectures, visible only to those who sustain them, those who reside within them, and held within memory. They are premised upon networks of symbiotic relationalities amongst those who live within them—those within dominated social bodies—and with the space in which they are created; and they are rooted in the collective fact of experience of all. Mycorrhizal architectures are, themselves, infrapolitical resistance to structures and relationships of domination and subjugation.



PART II

Commodification of Black Bodies in Eastern Cuba, 18-19th c.

Daina Ramey Berry, an historian of the relationship(s) between gender and enslavement in the southern U.S., in her pivotal work *The Price for Their Pound of Flesh: The Value of the Enslaved, from Womb to Grave, in the Building of a Nation*, couples the analysis of (formerly/) enslaved peoples along with her own to break down varying systems of both imposed and self-defined valuation: appraisal, market, ghost, and soul (with only the final one falling into the latter category). Charles IV's 1793 order to "promot[e] agriculture and industry in the eastern region" allows one to understand how the commodification of enslaved African peoples was intensified and spatialized through the formation of coffee plantations. This spike in commodification is readily evident, moreover, within the records of the number of enslaved people that were trafficked through Santiago de Cuba, with there being a notable increase in the number of people who were disembarked at the major port city between 1700 and 1840 (refer to graph on following slide).

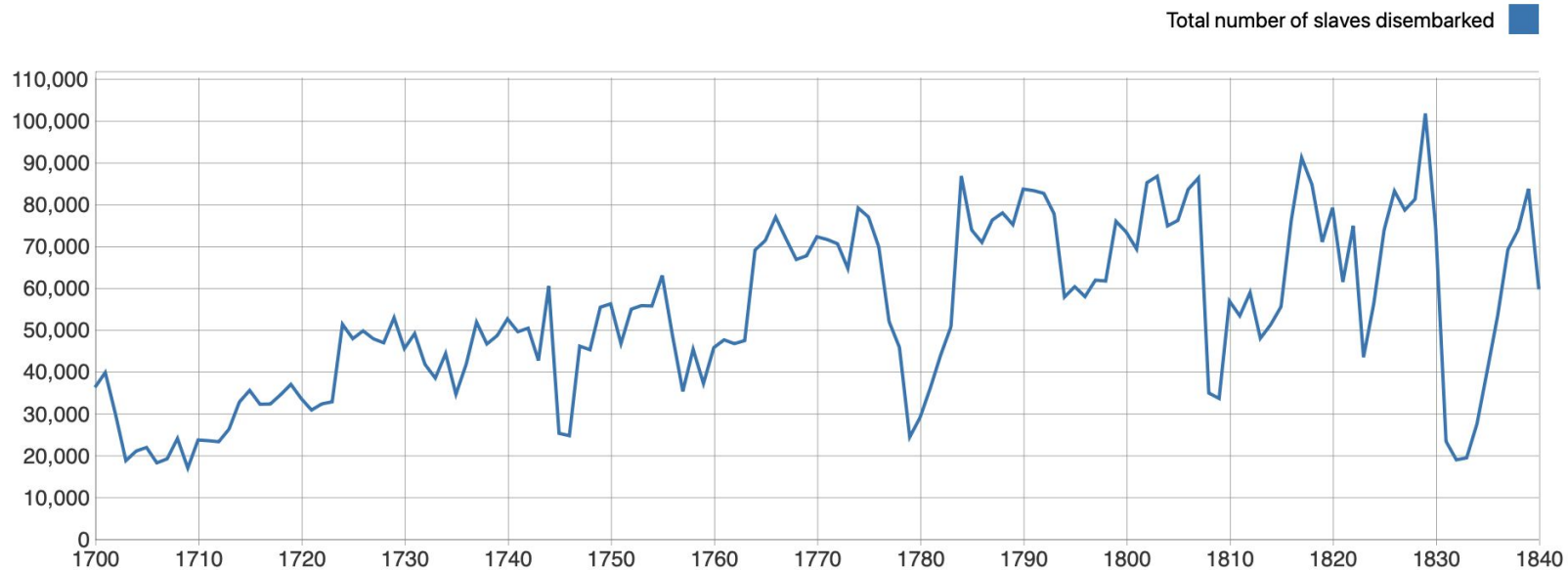


Figure 3: Total Number of Enslaved Peoples Who Arrived at Santiago de Cuba, 1700 - 1840

Retrieved from: Slave Voyages Database

A Brief Overview of Marronage in Eastern Cuba

While market (as well as appraisal and ghost) values were imposed upon the entirety of Black peoples during and after their lives, soul values served as an everpresent refutation of these violent systems of commodification. Describing the “self-worth” of enslaved peoples that formed the basis of their refusal of any and all forms of commodification, Berry synthesizes, once more from the analyses of (formerly/) enslaved peoples, a framework of “soul value”: an unquantifiable prioritization of self, and one’s people, in order to resist and survive economies that are predicated on the destruction of the humanity of enslaved peoples. Drawing most powerfully upon the story of Isaac, a (formerly/) enslaved person who was working to lead an uprising against these structures of enslavement, Berry discusses the ways in which soul value is rendered collective; is made to exist *within the relationships between people*. Marronage, or self-theft from physical sites of enslavement, then, can be understood to be a spatialization of this collectivized soul value: a lived, and discursively produced, *soulscape*.

A Brief Overview of Marronage in Eastern Cuba [cont.]

These soulscapes are seen, most evidently, in what the political scientist Neil Roberts discusses as grand marronage: a form thereof that relie(d/s) on “physical escape, geographic isolation, [the] rejection of property relations associated with a slavery regime, and the avoidance of sustained states of war.” Through this one can see the ways in which grand marronage worked more wholly against the institution of slavery and processes of commodification by (re)creating an *otherwise* that refuted its violences (i.e.; the equation of Blackness with property) and (re)asserted the intrinsic soul value through the landscape itself. Within the context of eastern Cuba in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, this could be seen, most notably, within four distinct subregions: the Sierra Maestra, Gran Piedra, Mayarí, and El Frijol mountain ranges. Levying the “distance... inaccessibility... [and] natural concealment” these landscapes provided, maroon communities were established in these in defiance of the landscapes of enslavement (plantations) that surrounded Santiago de Cuba itself. These soulscapes constituted the core of the infrapolitical resistance against the spatialized institution of enslavement that destroyed life within the eastern regions of Cuba.

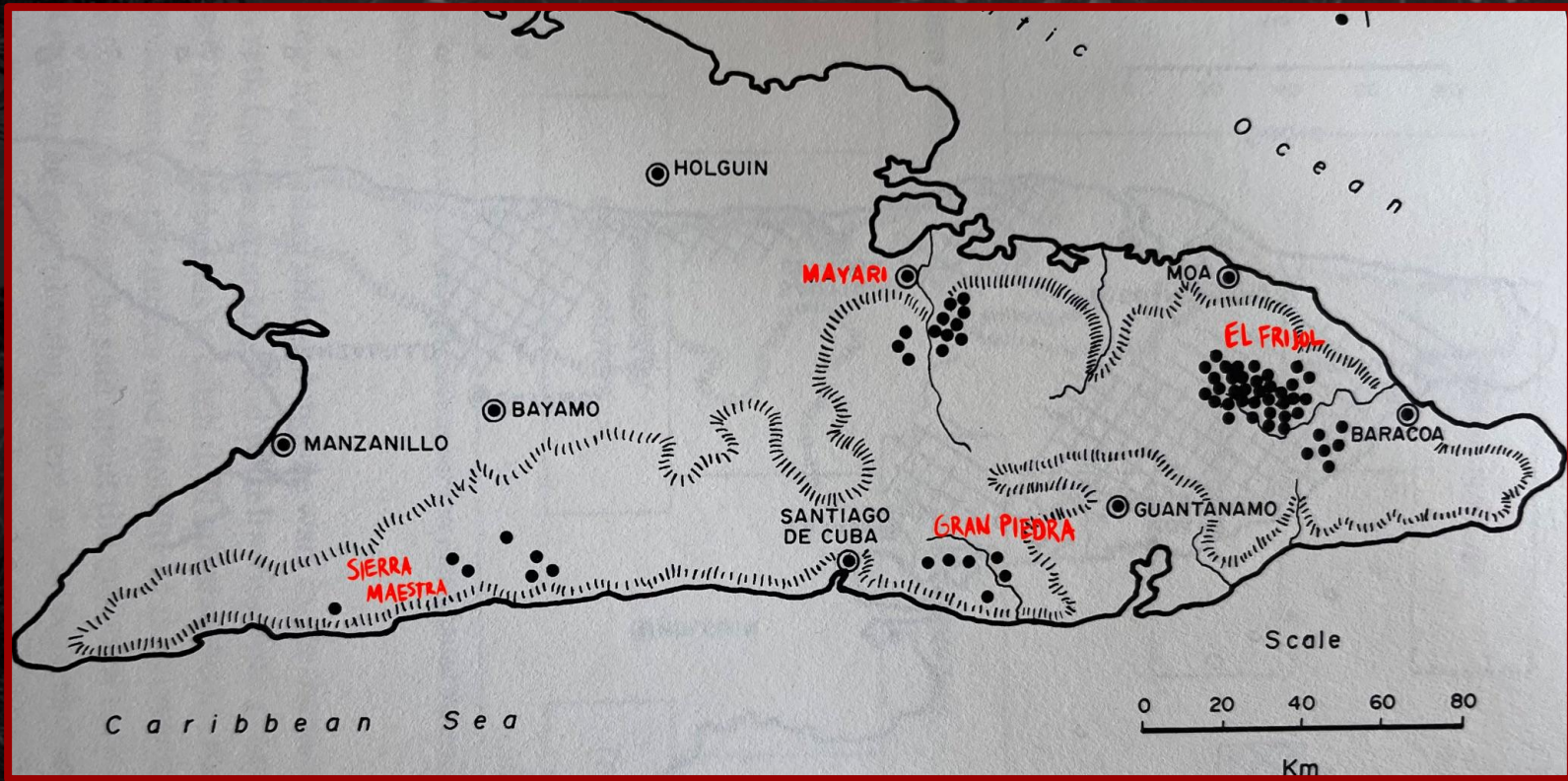


Figure 4: Map of Cuba with Maroon Subregions (red text) and Maroon Communities (black dots)

Retrieved from: Corzo, *Runaway Slave Settlements*, 251 // Subregion markers, save for Mayarí, added by B.P. Levy

Narrowing in: El Cedro, Sierra Maestra

Within the Sierra Maestra mountains, Corzo identified three distinct maroon communities that existed in relation to one another: El Cedro (The Cedar), La Cruz (The Cross), and Pilón (Tower/Pylon). A mix of, to use Corzo's language, "permanent" and "temporary"—although it should be noted that the temporary palenques *still* engaged in grand marronage even as the people who lived within them moved—palenques remained in communication with one another to, effectively, create a network that allowed each to sustain one another.

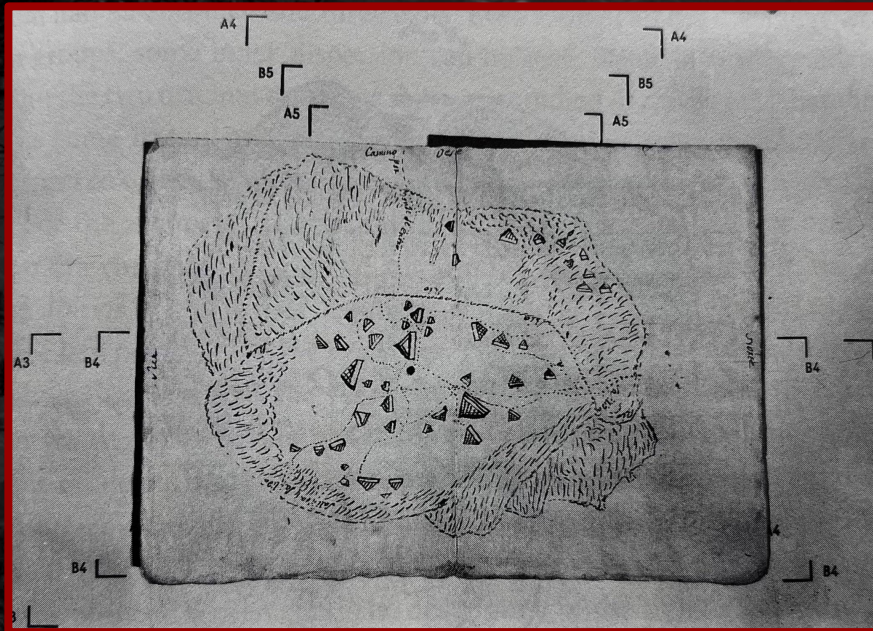


Figure 5: Spatial design of an unidentified palenque in the eastern region of Cuba

Retrieved from: Corzo, *Runaway Slave Settlements in Cuba*, 237.

Held in: *El Archivo Nacional de Cuba, en la Correspondencia de los Capitanes Generales*

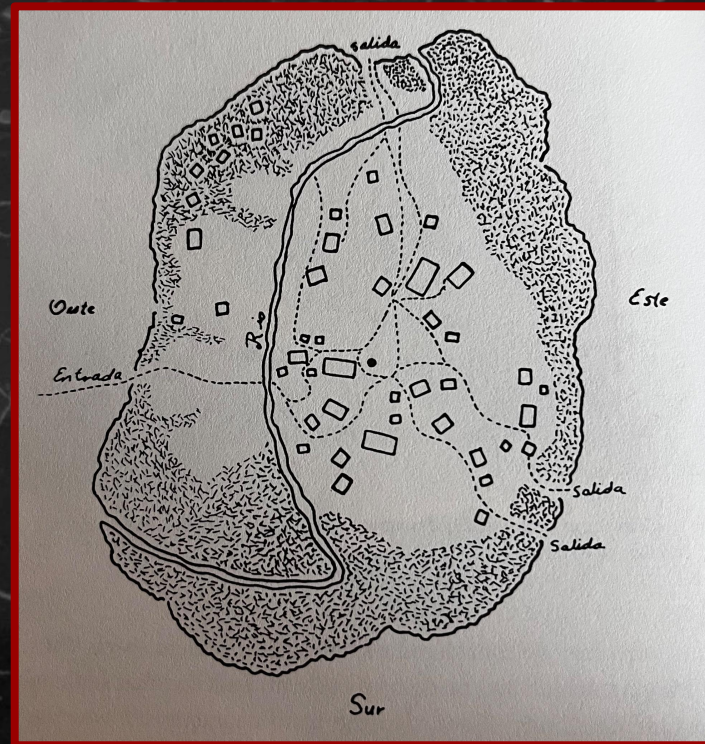


Figure 6: More detailed version of Figure 2

Retrieved from: Corzo, *Runaway Slave Settlements in Cuba*, 238.

Memories (of/and) Architectures at El Cedro [early 19th century]

With a broad understanding of the function and impact of marronage within the Cuban context, one is able to return, once more, to the memories offered within Gloria García Rodríguez's *Voices of the Enslaved* in order to, crucially, learn and develop an understanding of the specific spatialities of marronage as they were understood by those who knew it intimately as their "fact of experience." Considerations of space, broadly—as I will discuss later—must occur from the bottom up, rooted in the lived realities of those who are within socially dominated bodies. The next several slides will offer the voices, the memories, of several people who lived within El Cedro (all from Rodríguez's *Voices of the Enslaved*) and sustained its fugitive project— including but not limited to Josefa Rita Bibí, whose words served as the framing from which I began this inquiry into memory and architectures in maroon spaces in Cuba—as well as brief analyses of what they have offered, considered through the framework of mycorrhizal architectures.

“There were more than thirty shanties, each containing a runaway and his wife. The captain in charge was named Manuel Matoso and his deputy was Lorenzo... there was a council building where the runaways often met. She did not know what they used to talk about in there, for the women did not go in there... They staved off hunger by working on their estancias, sowing all kinds of victuals to feed themselves, catching jutías and wild boars...”

// Josefa Rita Bibí

“Only the men ever left the palenque. They did not tell the women anything about what happened to them await from there... (they sold the wax) half of them made for this city and the rest for the hamlet of Bayamo.”

// Genoveva

Animating the map of the unidentified palenque, left, Bibí and Genoveva’s memories offer a glimpse into the ways in which the spatialized resistance of El Cedro was undertaken; or, more explicitly, how it was *lived*. The arrangement of the homes and gathering space(s) in relation to one another on the map (slide 31, left) are indicative of design that occurred alongside the space, as areas that offered concealment were likely used to build within to ensure the space was kept invisible so that it may sustain life even when violent “slave hunting militias” were sent out to destroy (/ [re]commodify) those living in these places. The efficacy of El Cedro’s mycorrhizal architecture, in this regard, was made evident within a journal of one of these groups—the “Manzanillo Column”—which noted that all living within the palenque escaped and that it was “impossible to capture any of them.” Yet in the same moment that one considers this, one must also give attention to the ways in which structural relationships of domination and subjugation were produced within this space that challenged *some* of them—a reminder that Bibí and Genoveva offer us in explicit terms.

“He fled the hacienda Jicotea alone, heading out into the scrubland there, where he came upon several other slaves belonging to his master who had run away earlier named Luis, Federico, Desiderio, José Caridad, Carlos Sebastián, Eduardo, and Celestino. All together they embarked upon their march deep into the scrubland...they made for Demajagual, because there were wild yams there that they could live on, and built their shantytown settlement there... They remained in Demajagual for about a year, until the day that the black men Ignacio, Estéban, and Vicente showed up. They invited them to go with them to the fugitive shantytown of El Cedro, where they told him that there was plenty to eat”

// Bartolomé Portuondo Congo

Considering the emphasis of mycorrhizal architectures on symbiotic relationships between both people and space itself, one can understand Congo’s recitation of how he came to El Cedro to reveal the way in which this palenque shifted its visibility in order to make itself known to people who would join in its fugitive project. Congo’s memory emphasizes the reciprocity that was, and is, so central to marronage, and core, too, to any form of a mycorrhizal architecture.

“(There was) a large council building where they used to meet in the morning at Matoso’s request. He would advise them that when they made forays in small parties they must not do harm to any whites, to only pilfer what they needed. At night they played drums...”

// Manuela Calás Gangá

“The deponent believed that the main purpose [of the large house] was a place to hang up the tobacco that they cut out in the field, because it was full of that leaf...they had no clothing other than what they made from the bark of the jagüey tree”

// Federico Bibí

Seemingly paradoxical, an initial reading of Gangá and Bibí’s memories of the “large council building,” or “large house,” at El Cedro may leave one at a loss for where to move forward in a consideration of this critical point within the palenque’s landscape. However, when one considers the location of these (archival) fragments of memory—within Cuba’s national archive—and the third person voice in which all of them are recorded in, it is not a far-fetched guess to infer that someone within the Spanish colonial regime, someone within the dominant—enslaving—body, recorded some, if not all of these memories and entered them into the archive (cont. on next slide)

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// Federico Bibí

Read through, and in relation to, the notion of a mycorrhizal architecture—wherein architectures are held in memory and regulating visibility is a form of power and, in some instances, a way of protecting one’s community—and holding the language of “deponent” in mind, which indicates that Federico’s memory may have been offered/recorded within the context of the white supremacist, Spanish, legal or judicial system, I infer that his recollection of the large building was intentionally distorted in order to protect those living in El Cedro: a choice to render the palenque invisible, through memory, in order so that its fugitive project may be sustained. This, then, supports Gangá’s memory, in which she names the building as the site of organizing efforts to plan infrapolitical attacks (theft) in order to ensure everyone in the palenque is able to live.

CONCLUSIONS



Mycorrhizal Universes

Through the memories of Josefa Rita Bibí, Genoveva, Bartolomé Portuondo Congo, Manuela Calás Gangá, and Federico Bibí—alongside more explicitly (or perhaps normatively) architectural maps—one can readily understand how mycorrhizal architectures, as I have theorized them within the context of this work, exist(ed) within the context of El Cedro. As they exist within this particular node of spacetime, though, they can and *must* exist elsewhere. The education provided by the memories of those in the maroon communities has provided us with a template: how may we rethink our negotiations of space and place? How may we (re)build in ways that prioritize people and refute structural relationships of domination and subjugation, wherever they may appear? Spatiotemporally dislocating, and subsequently relocating in an infinite number of potential other localities, mycorrhizal architectures and marronage will allow us to work toward a world in which the built environment is not antithetical to life; a world in which relations amongst people and place are prioritized. *We must create for ourselves a mycorrhizal universe. The stars, our futures, are here. The stars are underground.*