

# The Exchange of Letters Between Arthur Ramos and Rüdiger Bilden (1936-1943): Notes on the History of Afro-Brazilian Studies

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## Abstract

Arthur Ramos and Rüdiger Bilden were central figures in the creation and consolidation of Afro-Brazilian studies, taking part in a collaborative network that involved several other Brazilian and American researchers, such as Gilberto Freyre, Edison Carneiro, Melville Herskovits, Donald Pierson, and Ruth Landes. The two researchers were positioned differently in the academic field; while Arthur Ramos was a professor of anthropology in Brazil, Bilden encountered many difficulties in his efforts to secure a permanent position in the United States but was close to some of the main figures in anthropology, such as Franz Boas (1858-1942). Despite this asymmetry, they developed an important partnership that was decisive for the debate on Afro-Brazilian studies between the 1930s and 1940s. In this article, I reconstitute the networks of relationships established between Ramos and Bilden, using as a source the correspondence exchanged between them, available at the Arthur Ramos Archive at the National Library (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil). This reconstitution allows us to understand, on the one hand, the power relations and alliances that were being established at the time in the field of Afro-Brazilian studies and, on the other hand, the self-representation that these agents were producing about themselves.

**Keywords:** Arthur Ramos; Rüdiger Bilden; Brazilian studies; Afro-Brazilian studies.

## Resumo

Arthur Ramos e Rüdiger Bilden desempenharam papéis cruciais na criação e consolidação dos estudos afro-brasileiros, participando ativamente

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de uma rede colaborativa que incluía diversos pesquisadores brasileiros e americanos, como Gilberto Freyre, Edison Carneiro, Melville Herskovits, Donald Pierson e Ruth Landes. Os dois pesquisadores ocupavam posições diferentes no campo acadêmico: Arthur Ramos era professor de antropologia no Brasil, enquanto Bilden encontrou muitas dificuldades em seus esforços para assegurar uma posição permanente nos Estados Unidos, mas ele era próximo de alguns dos principais nomes da antropologia, como Franz Boas. Além dessas assimetrias, eles desenvolveram uma parceria importante e decisiva para o debate sobre os estudos afro-brasileiros nas décadas de 1930 e 1940. Neste trabalho, tenho interesse em reconstituir as redes de relacionamento estabelecidas entre Ramos e Bilden, utilizando como fonte a correspondência trocada entre eles, disponível no Arquivo Arthur Ramos na Biblioteca Nacional (Rio de Janeiro, Brasil). A partir dessa reconstituição, é possível compreender, por um lado, as relações de poder e alianças que estavam sendo estabelecidas no campo dos estudos afro-brasileiros nessa época e, por outro lado, a autorrepresentação que esses agentes estavam produzindo sobre si mesmos.

**Palavras-chave:** Arthur Ramos; Rüdiger Bilden; estudos brasileiros; estudos afro-brasileiros.

## Introduction

Arthur Ramos (1903-1949) was arguably one of the leading Brazilian anthropologists of the first half of the twentieth century, and of the pioneers in Afro-Brazilian studies. Although in some of his most famous books he preferred terms such as *O negro brasileiro*<sup>1</sup> [The Brazilian Negro] or *Culturas negras no Novo Mundo*<sup>2</sup> [Black Cultures in the New World], his role as one of the key figures behind the 2nd Afro-Brazilian Congress held in Salvador in 1939<sup>3</sup> undeniably contributed to the consolidation of the field we know today as Afro-Brazilian studies. On the other hand, Rüdiger Bilden (1893-1980) is better known among Brazilian readers as “Gilberto Freyre’s friend,” whom he met during his time at Columbia University. However, Bilden did not gain significant academic recognition, due to a series of incidents in his personal and professional life.<sup>4</sup>

The literature on Afro-Brazilian studies tends to emphasize Bilden’s relationship with Freyre, as well as Ramos’s connection with Melville Herskovits (1895-1963),<sup>5</sup> an American anthropologist who was a student of Franz Boas (1858-1942) and was directly involved in the institutionalization of African studies in the United States, especially through the center he founded at Northwestern University.<sup>6</sup> This is precisely why, in this work, I would like to explore the relationship between Bilden and Ramos, emphasizing how it is central to understanding certain tensions and disputes arising in the formation of Afro-Brazilian studies.

In addition to engaging with the literature on the subject, my research also draws from the letters exchanged between Bilden and Ramos, which constitute the primary empirical material for my analysis. I consulted the letters at the Arquivo Arthur Ramos [Arthur Ramos Archive], available at the Biblioteca Nacional [National Library] in Rio de Janeiro.<sup>7</sup> In the archive, there are eight letters from Ramos to Bilden and 26 letters from Bilden to Ramos. It is possible that not all the letters sent by Ramos to Bilden are recorded, as the collection contains only those that Ramos copied and kept. Their correspondence began in late 1936 and continued until 1943. It should be noted that Bilden's letters are mostly typed, while all of Ramos's letters in the archive are handwritten, some with corrections, leading me to believe that they are initial versions of the letters signed by Ramos.

Initially, I considered the possibility that Ramos might have later translated the letters into English in their final version, similarly to what he had done when preparing notes for the course he taught at Louisiana State University in the 1940s.<sup>8</sup> However, in a letter sent by Bilden in 1940, he expresses his gratitude toward Ramos for writing to him in Portuguese, indicating his preference for reading in that language.<sup>9</sup> As Bilden was a Brazilianist, it was expected that he could read Portuguese, and he even makes comments about works sent by Ramos that were only available in Portuguese. However, it appears that Bilden felt more comfortable writing in English.

Navigating through these letters is undoubtedly an exercise of deep immersion in an important chapter in the history of Brazilian social sciences, one that allows us to revisit prominent figures, reconstruct their networks of relationships, and situate them within the social context of the time. It is important to consider that in this analysis I primarily draw from a Bourdieusian perspective to understand the dynamics of the scientific field.<sup>10</sup> On the one hand, I consider that positions within this field—represented mainly in the form of university titles—, publications in legitimized spaces (in scientific journals or with prestigious publishers), participation in scientific societies, as well as positions in research institutions are the main elements capable of measuring scientific capital. On the other hand, I recognize that the academic field, although related to the scientific field, is not equivalent to it and is also driven by the social capital that its agents possess.<sup>11</sup> Thus, by emphasizing the personal relationships between Bilden and Ramos, I want to highlight how the formation of a field of study is based not only on research, article publication, etc., but also on the personal relationships that agents establish among themselves.

I have organized this work as follows: I begin with a brief contextualization of the alliances and disputes that shaped the formation of Afro-Brazilian studies, highlighting the collaborative efforts of Brazilian and foreign researchers. Next,

I succinctly present the trajectories of Ramos and Bilden. Finally, I analyze the correspondence exchanged between these two social scientists, seeking to understand the dynamics of their relationship and what these exchanges reveal about the field of Afro-Brazilian studies.

### **Networks, Friendships, and Conflicts in Afro-Brazilian Studies**

The notion of Afro-Brazilian studies is relatively recent in the history of social sciences. A significant milestone in this context was the organization of the 1st Afro-Brazilian Congress in 1934 in Recife,<sup>12</sup> under the leadership of Gilberto Freyre (1900-1987). Interestingly, in the previous year, Freyre had published his most famous work *Casa-Grande & Senzala* (*The Masters and the Slaves*), which had an immediate impact on the Brazilian academic scene. However, in the last two chapters of his book, the title referred to “The Negro Slave in the Sexual and Family Life of the Brazilian,”<sup>13</sup> without explicitly emphasizing the concept of the Afro-Brazilian, even though this notion emerged throughout this work.

The period from 1930 to 1940 plays a particularly crucial role in the development of research on Afro-Brazilian populations, which were also often referred to as “Africans in Brazil” or “Black populations in Brazil” or even “Negroes in Brazil.” This period coincides with the process of institutionalization of social sciences in Brazil, marked by the foundation of the first undergraduate degree programs starting in 1933.<sup>14</sup> Until then, Brazilian social scientists were mainly self-taught, and only a few had completed their academic training abroad, as was the case for Gilberto Freyre.<sup>15</sup>

However, during the same period, a significant number of foreign researchers came to Brazil with the purpose of conducting studies on Afro-Brazilian populations, especially US researchers.<sup>1617</sup> According to Sansone:

Between 1941 and 1943 the city of Salvador, Bahia became the site of the battle between two different perceptions of black integration in the United States and of the place of Africa in this process. Franklin Frazier, the most famous black sociologist of the time, who had already published *The Negro Family in the United States*, was locked into an argument with the equally famous, white, and Jewish anthropologist Melville Herskovits on the “origins” of the so-called black family. To make things even more complex, both centered their contention on fieldwork done among the same informants: the *povo de santo* (the members) of the same *candomblé*

house of worship in Salvador—the prestigious and “traditional” Gantois terreiro, of the Ketu/Yoruba nation.<sup>18</sup>

Other social scientists were also conducting research in Bahia. Ruth Landes (1908-1991) arrived in Brazil in 1938 and developed a significant partnership with Edson Carneiro (1912-1972). Additionally, the linguist Lorenzo Turner (1890-1972) conducted research in the 1940s, also in Salvador. It is evident that this well-established network of Brazilian and foreign researchers was marked by alliances and disputes, friendships, and enmities, all revolving around the legitimation of a particular interpretation of Afro-Brazilian populations, especially concerning *candomblé*.<sup>19</sup>

One of the central points in the interpretive debate surrounding Afro-Brazilian studies lies in the division between those who argue that the experiences of Black individuals in Brazil can be understood through the lens of African studies—recognizing a cultural continuity between the two contexts—and those who emphasize the distinctiveness of Afro-Brazilian culture. Among American researchers, Herskovits is perhaps the main proponent of the former view, while Franklin Frazier (1894-1962) aligns more closely with the latter. When discussing the debate between Ruth Landes and Edison Carneiro on one side, and Herskovits and Arthur Ramos on the other, the focus shifts to Landes’s interpretation of the roles of women and homosexuals in *candomblé* in Bahia. A key argument against Herskovits’s and Ramos’s perspective is the absence of similar structural elements in Africa or other regions influenced by the African diaspora.

In the chessboard of these dynamics, the different agents were differently positioned in the field. Herskovits, for example, had been supervised by Franz Boas at Columbia University and founded the first African studies program in the United States, while Ruth Landes was a young anthropologist who, despite having contacts at Columbia University, was still at the beginning of her academic career.<sup>20</sup>

Frazier (1894-1962), on the other hand, built his academic career primarily at the so-called Black colleges, teaching at Fisk University and Howard University. He gained great prominence in the United States, becoming the first Black president of the American Sociological Association. Donald Pierson (1900-1995) also conducted research in Brazil and was recognized as a true representative of the Chicago school in the country, having been supervised by Robert E. Park (1864-1944). In addition to his research in Brazil, which resulted in his thesis “Negroes in Brazil, a Study of Race Contact at Bahia,” published as a book in 1942,<sup>21</sup> he also became a professor at the Free School of Sociology and Politics

in 1939, during which time he also worked as a researcher in the Department of Culture of the municipality, led by Mário de Andrade (1893-1945).

On the other hand, Brazilian researchers were positioning themselves in a context where the social sciences were still in process of establishing themselves in institutions. Arthur Ramos, despite holding a permanent position as a professor of Anthropology and Ethnography at the Universidade do Brasil (University of Brazil), did not have academic titles in the social sciences, as his entire university education had been in medicine. Edison Carneiro, in turn, also did not have formal training in the field and never secured a permanent position at a university. Gilberto Freyre was perhaps closest to being legitimized as a social scientist, as he had conducted his studies in the United States, where he obtained a Master's degree in Social History at Columbia University and had the opportunity to take courses with Franz Boas and Franklin Giddings (1855-1931). However, his experiences as a university professor, both in Brazil and abroad, were sporadic.

Amidst these complex dynamics, the figure of Bilden emerged as part of an extensive network of relationships in the United States, especially with professors at Columbia University, and also with Brazilian researchers, particularly with Freyre. Bilden, unlike Landes, had not completed his doctoral studies and did not hold an academic position like Herskovits or Frazier. However, his social mobility and involvement in the field of Afro-Brazilian studies placed him in a central position in these relationships. Bilden was introduced to Ramos by Freyre through letters and, in turn, introduced Landes to Ramos, who later introduced Landes to Carneiro. He was the first to propagate the idea that Brazil had a racial singularity characterized by relative cordiality, consolidating a notion that already existed among some academics but that, with Bilden, began to be formulated in the social sciences.<sup>22</sup>

Although the relationship between Ramos and Herskovits is more widely known,<sup>23</sup> it is important to highlight that the relationship between Ramos and Bilden was equally relevant, despite having fallen into some degree of obscurity, reflecting the overall erasure of Bilden's figure in the history of Afro-Brazilian studies.<sup>24</sup>

This relationship encompasses alliances, without a doubt, but also involves confrontations, as Carneiro & Ivy pointed out in Ramos's obituary:

Very important in this respect is his criticism of the theses of Gilberto Freyre (with his polarities of big-house – slave quarters; town-houses – hovels; masters – slaves, etc) and Ruediger Bilden in their interpretation of Brazilian society. It seemed a capital error to him to view the Negro almost exclusively from the coign of



slavery instead of as the representative of a culture group. Such a deceptively simple generalization was inconceivable to Ramos.<sup>25</sup>

Between Ramos and Freyre, we can place Bilden closer to the latter, not only due to personal connections but also because of the intense intellectual exchange that occurred between Freyre and Bilden, as they both incorporated each other's ideas. The passages praising Bilden in *The Masters and the Slaves* are well-known. In the preface to the first edition, Freyre goes as far as to say, referring to Bilden and Francis Butler Simkins: "To these two friends, and especially to Ruediger Bilden, I am indebted for valuable suggestions in connection with the present work."<sup>26</sup> Further on, Freyre cites:

And Ruediger Bilden remarks, with admirable critical sense, that in Brazil it was private colonizing effort to a far greater extent than official action that promoted mixture of races, a latifundiary agriculture, and slavery, thereby rendering possible, upon such bases, the founding and development of a large and stable agricultural colony in the tropics.<sup>27</sup>

These ideas attributed by Freyre to Bilden largely form the basis of some of the central theses present in *The Masters and the Slaves*. The main publication by Bilden in which these ideas can be found is the article "Brazil, Laboratory of Civilization,"<sup>28</sup> as Bilden attempted to write a book on the history of slavery in Brazil but never managed to complete it.

### **Bilden and Ramos: Points of Convergence and Divergence**

In this section, I do not intend to provide a detailed biographical synthesis of Bilden and Ramos, as this has been done previously by other authors.<sup>29</sup> However, I would like to highlight some points in common and divergences between the two intellectuals so that we can better understand the relationship they established with one another.

Bilden and Ramos share, to some extent, similar trajectories marked by migration and gradual immersion in the world of Afro-Brazilian studies. Bilden migrated from Germany to the United States, while Ramos migrated from Alagoas to Bahia and later to the federal capital, at the time, Rio de Janeiro. However, Bilden was a German living in the United States during the interwar period, which made his situation as a migrant more complex, affecting the objective possibilities of his being offered an academic position. Bilden never

completed his doctoral thesis and published very little, while Arthur Ramos, despite his premature death, defended his thesis in Medicine titled “O primitivo e a loucura” [The Primitive Man and Madness], and had a significant number of publications, many of which were translated abroad.

It is important to emphasize that some of Bilden’s main contributions to the field of Afro-Brazilian studies were precisely in the emphasis his work placed on the process of miscegenation and the way different races would relate to each other. This directly influenced the work of Gilberto Freyre, and consequently, those who came after him.<sup>30</sup> However, whether due to having suffered some xenophobia for being a German during the interwar period in the United States or due to more personal reasons, he had considerable difficulty establishing himself academically. Arthur Ramos, on the other hand, had a flourishing career, migrating from medicine to psychoanalysis and being a pioneer in the dissemination of Freud’s ideas in Brazil. It is not by chance that he first established himself as a professor of Social Psychology, before moving on to Anthropology. It is worth emphasizing that Ramos was part of a generation of doctor-anthropologists, a rather usual academic path at that time.

These points of convergence and divergence between the two scholars allow us to understand nuances of the relationship they established, since they had different academic credentials and distinct advantages to offer one another. Ramos, despite his prestige in the Brazilian academic field, was essentially a self-taught figure in the social sciences, with a strictly medical background—a relatively common characteristic among Brazilian anthropologists of the time. On the other hand, Bilden possessed specialized training and an impressive network of contacts, including names like Franz Boas, Ruth Benedict (1887-1948), Melville Herskovits, and others. As highlighted by Pallares-Burke:

The ambitious and innovative work that Bilden was engaged in demanded more than broad knowledge, effort, and penetrating analysis – qualities in which he abounded. Besides visiting a number of libraries in the United States, Bilden needed to complement his investigation with a visit to Brazil. It was not easy for him to raise funds for this, but eventually – with the support of his Columbia teachers and others, like Manoel de Oliveira Lima and another Brazilian diplomat and historian, Hélió Lobo – he received a grant from the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial Fund which allowed him to visit Brazil for a year and a half in 1925-1927.<sup>31</sup>

During this period, Bilden came into contact with various personalities in Brazil, having been introduced through letters from Hélió Lobo (1883-1960)



and Oliveira Lima (1867-1928). He had the opportunity to meet notable figures such as Assis Chateaubriand (1892-1968), Max Fleiuss (1868-1943), Rodolfo Garcia (1873-1949), Capistrano de Abreu (1853-1927), Afonso Taunay (1876-1958), Carneiro Leão (1887-1966), Júlio de Mesquita Filho (1892-1969), and anthropologist Edgard Roquette-Pinto (1884-1954).

After his return to the United States, Bilden published the article “Brazil, Laboratory of Civilization,”<sup>32</sup> which can be considered the only sample of the ideas that he had planned to expose in his book. In this article, he presents central theses on miscegenation in Brazil, some of which deeply influenced Gilberto Freyre in his work *The Masters and the Slaves* published in 1933, as mentioned earlier. Here, we find another point of intersection with Ramos’s work, as these ideas largely formed the basis of what became known as the defense of the existence of a “racial democracy” in Brazil.<sup>33</sup> Although this expression is not used by Freyre, it is widely associated with his work,<sup>34</sup> and the first academic to use this expression was, precisely, Arthur Ramos.<sup>35</sup>

Between 1937 and 1943, Bilden held temporary teaching positions at some Black colleges, such as Fisk University in Tennessee, the Hampton Institute in Virginia, and the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, as well as the Rand School of Social Science in New York. His tenure at Fisk University is particularly relevant because this institution was considered “preparatory” for several researchers planning to conduct studies in Brazil, such as Donald Pierson and Ruth Landes. According to Pallares-Burke and then Oliveira:

Another essential location is Fisk University, located in Nashville, the capital of Tennessee. This institution was a recognized “black university,” where several researchers had at some point or another dealt with the theme. With the invitation of Charles S. Johnson (1893-1956), Bilden – who in fact had difficulty finding a permanent position at any university – obtained a temporary post at Fisk University between September 1937 and June 1939, where he delivered a course on slave society and racial mixing in Brazil, comparing it with the situation in North America.<sup>36</sup>

Beyond the promising intellectual environment, a happy coincidence meant that Bilden was working in the institution at the same time that Donald Pierson had just returned from Brazil, where he had conducted a survey on black populations in Bahia. Pierson had been assistant to Robert Park (1864-1944) in 1935 at Fisk University as part of his preparation for the research in Brazil.<sup>37</sup>

Ramos had a more stable professional trajectory, consolidating mainly from his entry into the Universidade do Distrito Federal (University of the Federal District) in 1939.<sup>38</sup> Initially, he worked in the field of Social Psychology, later moving to Anthropology and Ethnography, where he became a full professor in 1945.<sup>39</sup> In fact, Herskovits referred to him as the only full professor in this area in Brazil.<sup>40</sup>

Observing these factors, we can see that the closeness between Ramos and Bilden offered benefits of different natures for both. Bilden had important contacts in the field of Anthropology in the US, an academic transit that Ramos did not yet have. On the other hand, Ramos was perhaps the researcher of Black populations who had the most academic stability in Brazil, representing a trajectory completely different from figures like Edison Carneiro or Gilberto Freyre. This stability could be crucial for Bilden's integration and the dissemination of his ideas in Brazil.

### **The Exchange of Correspondence between Bilden and Ramos (1936-1943)**

It is true that before exchanging correspondence with Ramos, Bilden was already relatively well-known among Brazilian academics. As mentioned earlier, during his first visit to Brazil, he had the opportunity to meet various prominent figures in their respective fields. In 1926, Bilden and his wife Jane traveled to Recife to participate in a meeting for the organization of the Congresso Regionalista [Regionalist Congress]. The *Diário de Pernambuco* published a summary of Freyre's speech introducing Bilden at the American Baptist College of Recife,<sup>41</sup> in which he not only made reference to the period when they met at Columbia—as early as 1921—but also summarized some of his main ideas.<sup>42</sup>

When we examine the letters exchanged between Bilden and Ramos to understand the relationship that was established between them, we can see that the first found letter is dated December 2, 1936.<sup>43</sup> In it, Bilden thanks Ramos for sending him *O negro brasileiro* and *O folclore negro do Brasil* [The Negro Folklore in Brazil],<sup>44</sup> works published by Ramos in 1934 and 1935, respectively, one can discern the strong influence of psychoanalysis on his analyses. According to Bilden, these works would be essential for the book he was writing about the racial situation in Brazil and, in that same letter, he states:

I have been of course long familiar with your important work on these subjects, and I am glad that your kind gift gives me an opportunity to establish direct contact with you. Also I am grate-

ful to our mutual friend Gilberto Freyre for making this contact possible. When I come again to Brazil, as I hope to do in the near future, I look forward to meeting you personally and profiting directly from your expert opinion and advice.<sup>45</sup>

Ramos wrote his response on February 3, 1937, thanking Bilden for his comments on his books and again mentioning Gilberto Freyre's role in facilitating their contact.<sup>46</sup> It is also noteworthy that Ramos emphasizes that his studies on the "Brazilian Negro" follow in the footsteps of his master, Nina Rodrigues, emphasizing his theoretical affiliation. However, it is interesting to consider that this affiliation with Nina Rodrigues's work can be interpreted more as a quest for legitimacy within Afro-Brazilian studies than as a continuation of the pioneer's work, as there are more ruptures than continuities between their works.<sup>47</sup>

On April 2, 1937, Bilden promptly responds to Ramos, thanking him again for sending the books and making another mention of the importance of Freyre in mediating their introduction. He reiterates that he hopes to travel to Brazil the following year and meet Ramos in person. With the two books that Ramos had sent him, Bilden now had three of the eight volumes published so far by the Biblioteca de Divulgação Científica [The Library of Scientific Outreach], the other book being *Valor social da alimentação* by Ruy Coutinho.<sup>48</sup> Bilden asks Ramos, who had been the director of this collection since 1934, to intervene with the other authors so that they could send him copies of their works, which he could incorporate into his book on "Racial mixture in Brazil." He also explains that he had not been able to send a presentation for the first and second Afro-Brazilian Congresses due to the invitations arriving very close to the event date, but would be interested in sending his work for the congress proceedings if this was still possible.<sup>49</sup>

In fact, the academic field is built through exchanges and the use of not only scientific but also social capital.<sup>50</sup> Bilden was aware of the political weight that Ramos had in Brazil, especially—but not exclusively—in the field of Afro-Brazilian studies. At that time, Ramos held key positions in the Brazilian publishing field, so contact with him facilitated access to other academics in Brazil, just as contact with Bilden gave Ramos access to American scholars.

In that same letter, Bilden mentions another anthropologist who came to play a key role in the relationships established by Ramos: Herskovits. Bilden puts it as follows:

I enclose a review (New York Times, March 17, 1937) of the recent interesting work by my old fellow student under Professor Boas, dr. Melville Herskovits, with whose on Negro problems you are

no doubt familiar. I am writing Prof. Herskovits about you and suggesting that he send you his book. In return you might send him some of yours. If you are not already in touch with Herskovits, you should be, for he is one of the foremost Africanists in this country. In that case, I shall try to arrange it.<sup>51</sup>

On April 27, 1937, Ramos thanked Bilden again, mentioning that he had been corresponding with Herskovits for over a year. According to the Brazilian anthropologist: "I received his two books: *Suriname Folk Lore*, in collaboration with Frances Herskovits, and *Life in Haitian Village*."<sup>52</sup> He also expressed interest in Bilden's work, stating that he looked forward to reading his forthcoming book and would be interested in his papers on the subject. Ramos also requested that Bilden send him his papers, as they would be published in the proceedings of an event.<sup>53</sup>

As Guimarães has pointed out,<sup>54</sup> Gilberto Freyre had put Ramos and Herskovits in touch back in 1935, and in this case, too, Ramos had sent three volumes from the Biblioteca de Divulgação Científica, including *O negro brasileiro*. It can be inferred that both the collection he coordinated and this particular book served as a calling card for Ramos, especially for foreign specialists. Obviously, because the book was only available in Portuguese at that time, its circulation was primarily restricted to Latin Americanists and Brazilianists. In 1939, the book was published in English as *The Negro in Brazil*, translated by Richard Pattee, who also wrote the introduction.<sup>55</sup>

In the subsequent correspondence in 1937 (undated), Bilden introduced another figure into his relationship with Ramos: the anthropologist Ruth Landes. Bilden mentioned that he was introducing her to Ramos, Gilberto Freyre, and Roquette-Pinto, asking Ramos to introduce her to some people who could assist her in her fieldwork, such as Theodoro Sampaio (1855-1937) and "to Dr. Eloisa Alberto Torres, who as a fellow-anthropologist and a woman can probably be of special assistance to her." According to Bilden, Landes had extensive research experience with Black populations in North America and would arrive in Brazil by the end of the year. She planned to spend a few weeks in Rio de Janeiro and then go to Bahia, following Bilden's advice that she research the situation of Black people in Salvador, aiming to conduct fieldwork for a year.<sup>56</sup> Shortly after, Bilden sent another letter, and it can be inferred that the two letters were sent in close proximity, as Bilden wrote, "No doubt, you have in the meantime received my last letter. In which I spoke of Dr. Ruth Landes and her prospective journey to Brazil to study the Negroes of Bahia." In this same correspondence, he also referred to Herskovits's upcoming books and the materials sent by Ramos.<sup>57</sup>

In addition to Bilden's support, Landes had been supervised in her doctorate by Ruth Benedict, one of the most prominent figures in American anthropology. Ramos may have seen this as an opportunity to expand his personal academic network. Landes, a Jewish woman—an aspect that came across in her writing—was part of the group of outsiders among Benedict's former students.<sup>58</sup>

In a letter dated October 10, 1937, Bilden informed Ramos that Landes had postponed her trip to Brazil.<sup>59</sup> However, his comments extended beyond that, as he indicated that she needed to better prepare for her trip to Brazil. According to Bilden:

In my opinion, she was too deficient in knowledge of Brazilian history and conditions. I am one of those who believe that a thorough understanding of the historical background and general conditions is necessary for comprehension of the role of any of the racial groups, whether Negro, Portuguese or Indian. There are people in this country, who will disagree, but, like Herskovits, I believe thoroughly in the combination of historical and functional methods of investigation.<sup>60</sup>

Shortly afterward, he mentioned that Landes was currently at Fisk University, and that, during the academic year, he would be teaching courses for graduate students on a variety of topics: the historical development of Brazilian slave society and racial mixing, the racial situation in Brazil, race and culture in the New World, as well as a comparison of the position and origins of Black populations in Brazil and the United States. He also noted the growing interest in the department regarding racial issues in Latin America, especially Brazil, mentioning that Robert Park and Donald Pierson would be visiting the institution in the coming weeks. Indeed, it seemed to be a period of academic fervor for the debate about Brazil at Fisk University, given the presence of various researchers dedicated to Brazilian studies with an emphasis on race relations. It is worth mentioning that Bilden sent this letter on university letterhead, thus asserting his status as an academic in the United States, which helped mitigate institutional imbalances between him and Ramos.

It is beyond the focus and scope of this article to delve into the issues that unfolded among Bilden, Ramos, and Landes from there, which also involved Herskovits later on, as well as Carneiro. However, it's worth noting that on March 10, 1938, Bilden amended his opinion about Landes to Ramos, withdrawing his initial support for her work.<sup>61</sup> He indicated that he did not want to hinder her research but could no longer endorse a recommendation, and he had made the recommendation only at the request of his colleagues at Columbia University.



Donald Pierson had also sent a letter introducing Landes to Ramos, which might be proof that she relied on an extensive network of contacts established in the United States.<sup>62</sup> In August 1938, Ramos wrote to various contacts of his, introducing her to Isaías Alves,<sup>63</sup> Aidano do Couto Ferraz,<sup>64</sup> Aristides Norris,<sup>65</sup> Hosanah de Oliveira,<sup>66</sup> Edgar Santos,<sup>67</sup> and Edison Carneiro.<sup>68</sup> In September 1938, Landes sent a postcard to Ramos thanking him for the introduction letters, saying, “I am very grateful for your introduction letters. I have benefited greatly from them, especially from the knowledge of Dr. Edison Carneiro. He is a good guide and very intelligent.”<sup>69</sup> It can be assumed that Bilden’s letter retracting his recommendation for Landes did not arrive in time, or that Ramos proceeded with the recommendation regardless, considering Pierson’s request.

Ramos ultimately became one of the main critics of Landes’s work in Brazil, as did Herskovits in the United States.<sup>70</sup> This certainly constitutes one of the major controversies in the field of Afro-Brazilian studies. In later correspondence, in 1940, Ramos indicated that his opinion about Landes’s work coincided with Herskovits’s, highlighting the convergence of their actions in the academic field.<sup>71</sup>

It is important to mention here that Landes’s *The City of Women* is now considered a landmark in interpreting the relationships between race, gender, and religion within Afro-Brazilian religions, as it emphasizes the role of women and also homosexuals in their worship, and is a pioneering work in this area. Both Ramos and Herskovits disagreed with this view. Herskovits’s main argument revolved around the fact that he did not find a similar structure in other regions, whether in Africa or the Americas. Furthermore, as Birman<sup>72</sup> aptly emphasizes, scholars of Afro-Brazilian religions during this period sought to construct a normative vision that contributed to the destigmatization of these cults, thereby valuing the reproductive aspects of female identities, which led them to exclude or, at least, downplay the deviant aspects pointed out by Landes. Healey<sup>73</sup> further emphasizes that part of the critical reception of Landes’s work at that time can be explained by the very rupture her work implied in relation to how “ethnographic authority” had been presented until then, as she continuously positions herself in the text from her place in the world, in a move that has been revisited and debated in contemporary anthropology.

Ramos’s criticisms took on another dimension when on January 22, 1940, he received a request from Guy B. Johnson—writing on behalf of the Carnegie Corporation of New York, which had sponsored Landes’s research—to read and provide critical comments on Landes’s research report. The request specified that she was asked to bring results from her research on the ethos of the Negro in the New World.<sup>74</sup> The response letter from Ramos is not available in the collection. However, it can be inferred that Ramos offered strong criticisms



of Landes's work as, in a letter dated April 15, 1940, Johnson indicated that he had read the letter sent by Ramos on March 14, 1940, with the translation done by Renato Willmann. Johnson expressed disappointment with Landes's work and stated that they had no intention of using it. Moreover:

As far as our study of the Negro in America is concerned we are greatly disappointed in the manuscript by Dr. Landes, and we have no intention of making use of it. No doubt she will publish one or more articles based on her research in Brazil. When she does, I trust that you and other Brazilian scholars will come forth with criticism in an effort to correct the misstatements and inaccuracies of her observations.<sup>75</sup>

It is worth emphasizing that in most discussions of this debate, Bilden's role is often overlooked. However, he was at the center of it from the beginning. He not only introduced Landes to Ramos but was also the first to question her research in Brazil, even before it began. This suggests that Bilden, despite being distant, was part of a broad network of researchers dedicated to the study of Black populations in Brazil, aligning himself with specific alliances and opposing others. In this particular case, it is important to highlight that Landes had the support of Carneiro, whose final chapter in the book *Ladinos e crioulos*<sup>76</sup> is titled "A 'falseta' de Arthur Ramos," and is where he takes sides in this debate. As Carneiro states in a version in English of this chapter:

In one of his lesser-known books (*A aculturação Negra no Brasil*, 1942), Artur Ramos published an article, which as far as I know had never previously been published against Dr. Ruth Landes's research on the religion of the Blacks in Bahia from 1938 to 1939.

This article is quite distinct from Artur Ramos' writing in general. He condemns the American anthropologist's research without knowing anything about it, declaring that she "generalized from isolated facts" and finding in her work "rancour against the Bahins and the Blacks." In truth, the entire article is based on suppositions—"knowledge of the first conclusions, some given verbally..."—effectively not directly from Ruth Landes but from third parties as we will see further on.<sup>77</sup>

The reference to "conclusions, some given verbally" may pertain to some information conveyed to Ramos by Bilden, as in a letter dated August 1, 1939,

Bilden indicated that Landes had been giving absurd interviews to the press about the situation of Black people in Bahia.<sup>78</sup> Carneiro mentioned that Ramos's article had originally been rejected by the journal *Sociologia*. Indeed, on October 22, 1941, Emílio Willems, the journal's director at the time, suggested some modifications to Ramos's article.<sup>79</sup> However, in a letter written on October 27, 1941, to Emílio Willems, Ramos indicated that he would not make the suggested modifications and would take full responsibility.<sup>80</sup>

In the relationship between Ramos and Bilden, it is evident that Bilden sought to highlight the value of his network of contacts, demonstrating how it could open doors for Ramos in the United States. Conversely, Ramos could open doors for Bilden, facilitating his academic pursuits in Brazil. Despite Freyre's intellectual prestige, he was not a university professor in the strict sense, and, to a considerable extent, Ramos could be considered the patron of Afro-Brazilian studies due to his institutional position at that time.<sup>81</sup> Among the doors that Bilden could open for Ramos was the possibility of translating and publishing Ramos's works in English. In a letter dated April 22, 1938, Bilden indicated, on the one hand, that he would be able to send contributions for the second volume of the proceedings of the 2nd Afro-Brazilian Congress. On the other hand, he mentioned that Richard Pattee had begun the translation of *As culturas negras no Novo Mundo* and expressed his happiness at contributing to making this book available in English, noting that it would be very useful in his courses since few of his students were proficient in Portuguese.<sup>82</sup>

The letters also contain exchanges of impressions about books, authors, and studies on Black people in the New World. Bilden regularly thanked Ramos for sending copies of books by Brazilian authors or for facilitating the acquisition of such copies. On June 2, 1939, Bilden stated that he was using the book *The Negro in Brazil*<sup>83</sup> in his courses and inquired about the publication of the second volume of the proceedings of the Afro-Brazilian Congress.<sup>84</sup> Shortly thereafter, on June 16, 1939, Ramos mentioned sending copies of *As coletividades anormais* by Nina Rodrigues<sup>85</sup> and *A escravidão no Brasil* by João Dornas Filho,<sup>86</sup> in addition to informing about the publication of his book *The Negro in Brazil*. Given the short interval between the letters, it is possible to assume that Ramos wrote to Bilden before receiving the letter from his German friend. On March 17, 1940, Ramos wrote to Bilden, asking if the books by Nina Rodrigues and João Dornas Filho had been useful and also sent the proceedings of the 2nd Afro-Brazilian Congress.<sup>87</sup>

On May 30, 1941, Bilden asked Ramos for another favor, reiterating a previous request that Ramos introduce linguist Lorenzo Turner to academics who might assist him in his research in Bahia, similar to what he had done with Landes a few years earlier. However, unlike with Landes, Bilden indicated that during his

time at Fisk University, he was able to consolidate his opinion about Turner's personal and professional qualities. In fact, Ramos wrote letters of introduction for Turner to Dunshee de Abranches,<sup>88</sup> Edison Carneiro,<sup>89</sup> Pedro Cavalcanti, José Lucena,<sup>90</sup> and Hosanah de Oliveira.<sup>91</sup> References to Turner's work in Ramos's letters precede this period. In the same letter in which Bilden had retracted his endorsement of Landes, he had also recommended Turner's work.<sup>92</sup> On June 15, 1940, Pierson also introduced Turner to Ramos, which suggests that Turner sought to activate a wide network of contacts to facilitate his research stay in Brazil.<sup>93</sup> Moreover, it appears that Landes and Turner had very similar networks into which to tap, as both were introduced to Ramos by Bilden and Pierson.

These networks were profoundly relevant to Ramos's plan for academic consolidation. Turner also wrote letters of recommendation for Ramos during the period when he was preparing to teach at Louisiana State University, writing to Logan Horton,<sup>94</sup> Leo S. Buttler,<sup>95</sup> Charles S. Johnson,<sup>96</sup> Maxfield Parrish,<sup>97</sup> and William Bell.<sup>98</sup> It can be inferred from this action that the relationship between Ramos and Turner was more fruitful than the one Ramos developed with Landes. Turner was also a key figure in the existing disputes within the field of Afro-Brazilian studies, as he was a friend of Frazier's but closer in theoretical terms to Herskovits, scholars who had significantly opposing views on Black cultures in the Americas.<sup>99</sup>

In 1940, another event in Ramos's life could have led to a closer bond between him and Bilden. At the invitation of Thomas Lynn Smith (1903-1976), Ramos gave a special lecture at Louisiana State University. Between October 1940 and March 1941, Ramos taught a course on "Races and Cultures in Brazil." During this period, he took the opportunity to visit other institutions in the United States and to establish closer relationships with researchers with whom he had been corresponding, such as Herskovits.<sup>100</sup> In October 1940, Ramos wrote to Bilden, informing him of his course and indicating significant interest from professors and students in Brazilian issues. He mentioned that he was using this period to make observations about the situation of Black people in the southern United States.<sup>101</sup> On November 2, 1940, Bilden congratulated Ramos on his course and expressed his desire to see him when he visited New York. He also mentioned discussing Ramos with Franz Boas and expressed a desire for Ramos to visit him in his office at Columbia University;<sup>102</sup> he reiterated this invitation in January 1941.<sup>103</sup> This would have been a great opportunity for Ramos, who in 1937 got in touch with Boas, sending him the books *O negro no Brasil* and *O folclore negro do Brasil*.<sup>104</sup> Boas acknowledged this gesture and thanked him politely, but it seems that this initial contact did not progress further at the time.

Besides meetings with academics, Bilden was also arranging a meeting between Ramos and Black leaders such as Wilkins, White, Randolph, and

Marshall, demonstrating that his social capital extended beyond the academic world.<sup>105</sup> Despite these efforts, on April 21, 1941, Bilden wrote a letter to Ramos expressing regret for not having been able to meet him during his stay in the United States.<sup>106</sup> However, in a letter written in August 1941, Bilden referred to the time he spent with Ramos and his wife during their visit to New York, apologizing for not being able to see them off at the train station. In the same letter, Bilden mentioned a conversation with Sérgio Buarque de Holanda (1902–1982) in New York about the creation of an institute with a focus on Brazil, inviting Ramos to participate in its organization.<sup>107</sup>

It appears that the relationship between the two cooled after these encounters, as no letters are found from 1941 or 1942. However, in 1943, Bilden sent a letter to Ramos, thanking him for the Christmas card he had received from Ramos and his wife. In the same letter, Bilden mentioned that he was teaching at the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama and took the opportunity to recommend his former student from Fisk University, Dorothy Scott, describing her as “light colored [morena], attractive, charming, intelligent, cultured—quite different from the Ruth Landes type.”<sup>108</sup> There is no record in the consulted archive of a response to this letter, nor are there other letters referring to Miss Scott. It is possible that Ramos never responded, but it seems that the relationship between the two was not reestablished after Ramos’s return from the United States.

It is interesting to note that even after a hiatus in their contact, when Bilden resumed communication, he continued to do what he did best: build networks and create alliances. The lack of responses from Ramos suggests that perhaps they both stopped investing their energies in this relationship. This contrasts with Ramos’s relationship with Herskovits, which continued through letters until the year of Ramos’s death.

## **Final considerations**

Undoubtedly, Bilden and Ramos were protagonists in the process of shaping the field of Afro-Brazilian studies, inserting themselves into relevant networks of Brazilian and foreign researchers, especially Americans. Reflecting on the formation of a field also involves considering how the agents that constitute it relate to each other, how they develop their relationships. I believe one of the most interesting elements in this reflection is to understand that scientific capital is just one of the elements that make up a specific scientific field, but there are other factors at play.

Bilden, due to various personal and professional factors, did not produce an extensive body of academic work. The work he had planned to write about the

history of slavery, as announced in letters to Ramos and on other occasions, was never completed. However, his few writings made a significant impression on Brazilianists and Brazilian academics who saw in his interpretation of Brazilian racial relations an interesting representation of Brazilian society. By translating relatively diffuse ideas about race relations in Brazil into the social sciences, and through his notion of Brazilian “cordiality,” Bilden also influenced Ramos’s work. It is worth noting, however, that Bilden believed there was no racial discrimination in Brazil in the same sense as there was in the United States, as he made clear in his comments on Samuel H. Lowrie’s work,<sup>109</sup> leaving open the possibility of other forms of racial discrimination.

In some of the most emblematic disputes in the field of Afro-Brazilian studies, such as the one between Ramos and Landes, Bilden was at the center of the events, even though his role is sometimes downplayed. This demonstrates his ability to build bridges and to organize offensive actions against certain agents, although the attacks by Herskovits and Ramos are more widely known due to the publicity they received.

I believe the main contribution of this article lies in its shedding light on Bilden’s role in forming networks. Undoubtedly, the impact of his ideas is of great relevance in understanding his intellectual significance, but a field is also formed by relationships among agents, by their positions and actions, all of which Bilden actively engaged in. Afro-Brazilian studies, as we know them, would not have developed in the same way without Bilden’s actions and his network of relationships with Brazilians like Ramos.

## Notes

1. Arthur Ramos, *O negro brasileiro* (São Paulo: Cia. Editora Nacional, 1940).
2. Arthur Ramos, *As culturas negras no Novo Mundo* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1937).
3. The 1st Afro-Brazilian Congress took place in Recife in 1934, organized by Gilberto Freyre, a year after the publication of *Casa-Grande & Senzala*, and is considered a turning point in this field of study. The 2nd Afro-Brazilian Congress was held in Salvador and was organized by Edison Carneiro and Aydano Couto Ferraz. The dispute over primacy in Afro-Brazilian studies between the Bahian and Pernambucan schools, which became evident in these congresses. Mateus Silva Skolaude, *Entre escritos e eventos: Gilberto Freyre e o Congresso Brasileiro* (Vitória da Conquista: Edições Uesb, 2020).
4. Maria Lúcia Garcia Pallares-Burke, *O triunfo do fracasso, Rüdiger Bilden, o amigo esquecido de Gilberto Freyre* (São Paulo: Editora Unesp, 2012).



5. Antônio Sérgio Guimarães, “Africanism and Racial Democracy: The Correspondence between Herskovits and Arthur Ramos (1935 1949),” *EIAL: Estudos Interdisciplinarios de America Latina y el Caribe*, 19:1 (2008), pp. 53-79.
6. Herskovits had completed his undergraduate studies at the University of Chicago, later moving to New York, where he pursued his master’s and doctoral degrees under the supervision of Franz Boas. His doctoral thesis was titled “The Cattle Complex in East Africa.” He became a professor of anthropology at Northwestern University in 1927 and went on to establish the program in African studies there in 1948.
7. Arquivo Arthur Ramos (AAR), Rio de Janeiro, Biblioteca Nacional (BN).
8. Amurabi Oliveira, “Um antropólogo brasileiro nos Estados Unidos: Arthur Ramos e o curso sobre Raças e Culturas no Brasil,” *Revista Antropológica*, 55: 2 (2023), pp. 1-26.
9. AAR, BN, Rüdiger Bilden, Carta a Arthur Ramos, Nova York, 2/11/1940. 2 p. Orig. Dat. I-35, 23, 733.
10. Pierre Bourdieu, *Os usos sociais da ciência* (São Paulo: Editora UNESP, 2004).
11. Pierre Bourdieu, *Homo Academicus* (Florianópolis: EDUFSC, 2011).
12. I am emphasizing the popularization of the concept of “Afro-Brazilian studies” in the academic field of Brazil. However, it is relevant to highlight the pioneering work of Raimundo Nina Rodrigues (1862-1906), especially through the publication of *O animismo fetichista dos negros baianos* (1900). Arthur Ramos himself not only recognizes Nina Rodrigues’s role as a precursor but also positions himself as a continuator of his work, despite substantive theoretical differences between the two. See Mariza Corrêa, *As ilusões da liberdade: a escola Nina Rodrigues e a antropologia no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora FIOCRUZ, 2013).
13. The book is organized into five chapters, with the last two sharing the same title. However, the fifth chapter is presented as a continuation of the fourth.
14. The first undergraduate courses in social sciences were established at the Escola Livre de Sociologia e Política de São Paulo (Free School of Sociology and Politics of São Paulo) in 1933, the Universidade de São Paulo (University of São Paulo) in 1934, the Universidade do Distrito Federal (University of the Federal District) in 1935, the Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciências e Letras do Paraná (Faculty of Philosophy, Sciences, and Letters of Paraná) in 1938, and the Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciências e Letras da Bahia (Faculty of Philosophy, Sciences, and Letters of Bahia) in 1941.
15. Freyre completed his undergraduate studies at Baylor University in Texas and his master’s degree at Columbia University in New York. However, his master’s was in Social History, although he took courses in the departments of Sociology and Anthropology. Amurabi Oliveira, *Gilberto Freyre & a educação* (Recife: Massagana, 2023).
16. A detailed analysis of the work of American researchers in Bahia was recently conducted by Livio Sansone, *Field Station Bahia Brazil in the Work of Lorenzo*



- Dow Turner, E. Franklin Frazier and Frances and Melville Herskovits, 1935-1967* (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2023).
17. We must also not forget the significant presence of Roger Bastide (1898-1974) in this field, with the notable fact that the French sociologist taught in Brazil at the University of São Paulo from 1939 to 1954.
  18. Lívio Sansone, "USA & Brazil in Gantois. Power and the Transnational Origin of Afro-Brazilian Studies", *Vibrant: Virtual Brazilian Anthropology*, 8: 1 (2011), pp. 536-567, pp. 537.
  19. Amurabi Oliveira, "Afro-Brazilian Studies in the 1930s: Intellectual Networks between Brazil and the USA," *Brasiliana: Journal for Brazilian Studies*, 8: 1-2 (2019), pp. 32-49.
  20. Sally Cole, *Ruth Landes: A Life in Anthropology* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003).
  21. Donald Pierson, *Negroes in Brazil, a Study of Race Contact at Bahia* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1942).
  22. Sansone, *Field Station Bahia Brazil*.
  23. Guimarães, "Africanism and Racial Democracy."
  24. Pallares-Burke, *O triunfo do fracasso*.
  25. Edison de Souza Carneiro & J. W. Ivy, "Arthur Ramos: Brazilian Anthropologist (1903-1949)," *Phylon*, 12: 1 (1951), pp. 73-81, pp. 75-76.
  26. Gilberto Freyre, *The Masters and the Slaves* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1946), p. xx.
  27. *Ibid.*, p. 26.
  28. Rudiger Bilden, "Brazil, Laboratory of Civilization," *The Nation*, 128: 3315 (1929), pp. 71-74.
  29. A biographical summary of Bilden can be accessed in: Maria Lúcia Garcia Pallares-Burke, "An Intellectual Portrait of Rüdiger Bilden, Forgotten Forerunner of Gilberto Freyre," in *Bérose - International Encyclopedia of the Histories of Anthropology*, Paris, 2020. Similarly, a biographical summary of Ramos can be accessed in Amurabi Oliveira, "Afro-Brazilian Studies from Psychoanalysis to Cultural Anthropology: An Intellectual Portrait of Arthur Ramos," in *Bérose - Encyclopédie internationale des histoires de l'anthropologie*, Paris, 2021.
  30. Pallares-Burke, *O triunfo do fracasso*.
  31. Pallares-Burke, "An Intellectual Portrait of Rüdiger Bilden," p. 3.
  32. Bilden, "Brazil, Laboratory of Civilization."
  33. Racial democracy had at least three different meanings during the twentieth century in Brazil: a) an ideal of equal rights between races in a political democracy; b) a hierarchy of races in a limited and hierarchical citizenship; b) the transit, mixing, intimacy and coexistence between races, having in this sense the name "social democracy" in Freyre, which Ramos changed to "racial democracy." Antônio Guimarães, "A democracia racial revisitada," *Afro-Ásia*, 60 (2009), pp. 9-44

34. Roberto Motta, "Paradigmas de interpretação das relações raciais no Brasil," *Estudos afro-asiáticos*, 38 (2000), pp. 113-133.
35. Christophe Brochier, "Le concept de 'démocratie raciale' dans l'histoire intellectuelle brésilienne," *Revue de Synthèse*, 135: 1 (2014), pp. 123-150.
36. Pallares-Burke, *O triunfo do fracasso*.
37. Oliveira, "Afro-Brazilian Studies in the 1930s," pp. 36-37.
38. The University of the Federal District was founded in 1935; however, in 1939, its activities were discontinued, and it was incorporated into the University of Brazil.
39. As emphasized earlier, Arthur Ramos joined higher education as a faculty member in the field of psychology before transitioning to anthropology. It is important to mention that such migration between fields was relatively common, especially from medicine to anthropology. In addition to his own academic merits, Ramos also had an impressive network of contacts, which was highly relevant for attaining a prominent academic position. In other words, we can assert that Ramos's ability to navigate different fields was facilitated not only by his scientific capital but also by his social capital.
40. Guimarães, "Africanism and Racial Democracy."
41. Freyre had completed his studies at this institution, which had strong ties to Baylor University, where Freyre went on to pursue his higher education.
42. Gilberto Freyre, "Sobre as ideias gerais de Rüdiger Bilden," *Diário de Pernambuco*, January 17, 1926.
43. AAR, BN, Rüdiger Bilden, Carta a Arthur Ramos, Nova York, 11/12/1936. 1 p. Orig. Dat. I-35, 23, 714.
44. Arthur Ramos, *O Folk-lore negro do Brasil: demopsicologia e psicanálise* (Rio de Janeiro: Casa do Estudante do Brasil, 1935).
45. AAR, BN, Rüdiger Bilden, Carta a Arthur Ramos, Nova York, 11/12/1936. 1 p. Orig. Dat. I-35,23,714.
46. AAR, BN, Arthur Ramos, Carta a Rüdiger Bilden, Rio de Janeiro, 3/2/1936. 2 p. Rasc. Ms. I-35,13,43.
47. Corrêa, *As ilusões da liberdade*.
48. Ruy Coutinho, *Valor social da alimentação* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira [Coleção Bibliotheca de Divulgação Científica, v.8], 1937).
49. AAR, BN, Rüdiger Bilden, Carta a Arthur Ramos, Nova York, 2/4/1937. 2 p. Orig. Dat. I-35,23,715.
50. Pierre Bourdieu, *Homo Academicus* (Florianópolis: EDUFSC, 2011).
51. AAR, BN, Rüdiger Bilden, Carta a Arthur Ramos, Nova York, 2/4/1937. 2 p. Orig. Dat. I-35,23,715.
52. Translated from the original.
53. AAR, BN, Arthur Ramos, Carta a Rüdiger Bilden, Rio de Janeiro, 27/4/1937. 2 p. Rasc. Ms. I-35,13,44.
54. Guimarães, "Africanism and Racial Democracy."

55. Arthur Ramos, *The Negro in Brazil* (Washington: The Associated Publishers Inc, 1939).
56. AAR, BN, Rüdiger Bilden, Carta a Arthur Ramos, Nova York, [1937]. 2 p. Orig. Dat. I-35, 23, 718.
57. AAR, BN, Rüdiger Bilden, Carta a Arthur Ramos, Nova York, 26/6/1937. 2 p. Orig. Dat. I-35, 23, 716.
58. Sidney W. Mintz, "Ruth Benedict," in Sydel Silverman, *Totems and Teachers: Key Figures in the History of Anthropology* (Walnut Creek, CA: Rowman Altamira, 2004), 103-123.
59. AAR, BN, Rüdiger Bilden, Carta a Arthur Ramos, Tennessee, 10/10/1937. 3 p. Orig. Dat. In English. I-35, 23, 717.
60. AAR, BN, Rüdiger Bilden, Carta a Arthur Ramos, Tennessee, 10/10/1937. 3 p. Orig. Dat. In English. I-35, 23, 717.
61. AAR, BN, BILDEN, Rüdiger, Carta a Arthur Ramos, Tennessee, 10/3/1938. 2 p. Orig. Dat. In English. I-35, 23, 719. In that same letter, Ramos also recommended the linguist Lorenzo Turner, who was going to conduct fieldwork in Bahia as well.
62. AAR, BN, Donald Pierson, Carta a Arthur Ramos, [S. l.], 6/4/1938. 1 p. Orig. Dat. I-36, 1, 2.138.
63. AAR, BN, Arthur Ramos, Carta a Isaías Alves, Rio de Janeiro, 1/8/1938. 1 p. Rasc. Ms. I-35, 13, 6.
64. AAR, BN, Arthur Ramos, Carta a Aidano do Couto Ferraz, Rio de Janeiro, 1/8/1938. 1 p. Rasc. Ms. I-35, 15, 143.
65. AAR, BN, Arthur Ramos, Carta a Aristides Norris, Rio de Janeiro, 1/8/1938. 1 p. Rasc. Ms. I-35, 17, 300.
66. AAR, BN, Arthur Ramos, Carta a Hosanah de Oliveira. Rio de Janeiro, 1/8/1938. 1 p. Rasc. Ms. I-35, 17, 305.
67. AAR, BN, Arthur Ramos, Carta a Edgar Santos, Rio de Janeiro, 1/8/1938. 1 p. Rasc. Ms. I-35, 19, 398.
68. AAR, BN, Arthur Ramos, Carta a Edison de Souza Carneiro, Rio de Janeiro, 1/8/1938. 1 p. Rasc. Ms. I-35, 14, 76.
69. AAR, BN, Ruth Landes, Cartão-postal a Arthur Ramos, Salvador, 00/9/1938. 1 doc. Orig. Doc. com fotografia, em preto-e-branco, da Faculdade de Medicina da Bahia. I-35, 32, 1.595. Author's translation.
70. Oliveira, "Afro-Brazilian Studies in the 1930."
71. AAR, BN, Arthur Ramos, Carta a Melville J. Herskovits, Rio de Janeiro, 1/8/1940. 2 p. Rasc. Ms. I-35, 15, 185.
72. Patrícia Birman, "Transas e transes: sexo e gênero nos cultos afro-brasileiros, um sobrevôo," *Revista Estudos Feministas*, 13: 2 (2005), pp. 403–414.
73. Mark Healey, "Os desencontros da tradição em Cidade das Mulheres: raça e gênero na etnografia de Ruth Landes," *Cadernos Pagu*, 6/7 (1996), pp. 153-199.
74. AAR, BN, Guy B. Johnson, Carta a Arthur Ramos, Nova York, 22/1/1940. 2 p. Orig. Dat. I-35, 32, 1.533.

75. AAR, BN, Guy B Johnson. Carta a Arthur Ramos, Nova York, 15/4/1940. 1 p. Orig. Dat. I-35, 32, 1.534
76. Edison Carneiro, *Ladinos e crioulos: estudos sobre o negro no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Civilização Brasileira, 1964).
77. Edison Carneiro, "Artur Ramos' Falsetto," *VIBRANT-Vibrant Virtual Brazilian Anthropology*, 7: 1 (2010), pp. 20-24, pp. 20.
78. AAR, BN, Rüdiger Bilden, Carta a Arthur Ramos, Nova York, 1/8/1939. 2 p. Orig. Dat. I-35, 23, 727.
79. AAR, BN, Emilio Willemsn, Carta a Arthur Ramos, São Paulo, 22/10/1941. 1 p. Orig. Dat. I-36, 7, 2.727.
80. AAR, BN, Arthur Ramos, Carta a Emilio Willems, Rio de Janeiro, 27/10/1941. 1 p. Rasc. Ms. I-35, 20, 477.
81. Mariza Corrêa, "O mistério dos orixás e das bonecas: raça e gênero na antropologia brasileira," *Etnográfica. Revista do Centro em Rede de Investigação em Antropologia*, 4: 2 (2000), pp. 233-265.
82. AAR, BN, Rüdiger Bilden, Carta a Arthur Ramos, Tennessee, 22/4/1938. 1 p. Orig. Dat. I-35, 23, 720.
83. Arthur Ramos, *The Negro in Brazil* (Washington, DC: The Associated Publishers Inc, 1939).
84. AAR, BN, Rüdiger Bilden, Carta a Arthur Ramos, Tennessee, 2/6/1939. 1 p. Orig. Dat. I-35, 23, 726.
85. Raimundo Nina Rodrigues, *As colectividades anormaes* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1939).
86. João Dornas Filho, *A escravidão no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1939).
87. AAR, BN, Arthur Ramos, Carta a Rüdiger Bilden, Rio de Janeiro, 17/3/1940. 2 p. Rasc. Ms. I-35, 13, 50.
88. AAR, BN, Arthur Ramos, Carta a Dunshee de Abranches, Rio de Janeiro, 5/[11]/1940. 2 p. Orig. Ms. I-35, 13, 2.
89. AAR, BN, Arthur Ramos, Carta a Edison de Souza Carneiro, Rio de Janeiro, 29/7/1940. 2 p. Rasc. Ms. I-35, 14, 78.
90. AAR, BN, Arthur Ramos, Carta a Pedro Cavalcanti e José Lucena, Rio de Janeiro, 29/7/1940. 2 docs. (1 p.) Rasc. Ms. I-35, 14, 91.
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